

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

W O R K S

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APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY AT THE NEW YEAR

January 1, 1946

Fellow countrymen,

Welcoming the first New Year after liberation, I extend warm greetings to my compatriots, brothers and sisters who are devoting themselves to nation building.

The year 1945 will go down in world history as a great year. On the international arena fascist Germany and militarist Japan, the sworn enemies of all people who love peace and liberty, were finally defeated and the Second World War ended in victory for the democratic camp including the Soviet Union.

Our nation, freed from 36 years of colonial slavery under Japanese imperialism, started a new, free and happy life, and embarked on the road of establishing a democratic people's government. Therefore, 1945 is a great year to be recorded forever in the history of our nation, too.

On seeing out 1945, however, and looking back at the work accomplished in nearly five months since the August 15 liberation, it must be said that we have failed so far to fulfil the historic tasks set in 1945. Many problems are still unsolved. We have not yet completed the formation of a united front or established a unified democratic government representing the will of the Korean people. We have failed to improve the people's living standards and to push ahead with industrial rehabilitation. We have also failed to settle the

problem of the 38th Parallel demarcation line.

The people of north Korea have now won genuine freedom. All political power in north Korea is in the hands of the people. But in south Korea the American army has not yet handed over political power to the Koreans. In south Korea traitors to the nation and remnant forces of Japanese imperialism are rampant and fascist activities are becoming rife, while the national united front has not been formed.

What, then, should be done in 1946?

We should bear deep in mind the experiences and lessons gained in the five months or so after liberation to achieve genuine independence for Korea. We should organize the national united front solidly from the bottom up, establish a democratic provisional government as soon as possible, and strive to ensure that our country plays a prominent part in the anti-fascist, anti-aggression movement as a member of the international democratic camp. Further, by wiping out the surviving elements of Japanese imperialism and carrying out democratic policies, we must guarantee genuine freedom for the masses and take concrete measures to improve the people's living standards.

Of course, there are many other problems to be solved, but at the present stage we can only tackle all other problems successfully by carrying out the tasks mentioned above. Therefore, all the patriotic people of Korea to a man must be mobilized for fulfilment of these sacred tasks. In particular, the Korean communists should play a leading role in the struggle to accomplish these tasks.

The conference of foreign ministers of the three countries—the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain—held in Moscow recently adopted a decision on the Korean question. It is stated in this decision that in order to abolish the 38th Parallel demarcation line and establish a democratic, independent and sovereign state in Korea, four countries—the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and China—will establish a guardianship of five years. However, it all depends on whether we form a strong democratic national united front and

achieve unity or not, and how we work to liquidate thoroughly the remnants of Japanese imperialism, to build a truly democratic state and to become a member of the world's democratic camp. In the final analysis, everything will be settled by the efforts of us Korean people.

Therefore, all the Korean people should unite more closely around the Communist Party, the most progressive party in our country, which is carrying out a democratic programme in the interests of our people. And the Communist Party should strive to form a solid united front with democratic political parties so as to win the complete independence and early reunification of our country.

**LET US FIGHT RESOLUTELY FOR
THE BUILDING OF A GENUINELY
DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT
AND SOVEREIGN STATE**

Speech Delivered at the Mass Rally in Haeju

January 12, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen,

I am very glad to meet you today, and, on behalf of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea and all the Korean people, would like to extend warm congratulations and greetings to Haeju citizens of all social strata gathered here.

Fellow countrymen,

In the past the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea for nearly half a century and imposed their savage colonial rule, inflicting no end of misery and distress on our people. The Japanese imperialist aggressors enmeshed the whole of Korea in a network of army, gendarmerie, police, prison and terrorist organizations and harshly repressed our people; they tried in every way to exterminate the Korean nation.

No brutal suppression or desperate moves on the part of the Japanese imperialists, however, could halt our people's struggle for the country's resurrection and national liberation. The staunch revolutionaries and patriotic people of Korea waged a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle for many years and, after finally defeating the Japanese imperialist aggressors, won back their lost country.

Thus, our people shook off the miserable 36-year-long slavery for all time and became an independent people embarking on the road of building a new, happy life.

Several months have passed already since our people greeted the liberation with enthusiasm and excitement. In this time our people have established people's committees in all local areas and achieved considerable success in setting up public order and rehabilitating the economy ravaged by the Japanese imperialists.

Five months after liberation, however, we have still failed to accomplish our nation's historic task of building a new country. We have not yet established a central government and, moreover, have not laid the foundation for stabilizing the people's livelihood. Industrial establishments and workshops are not run as they should be and, what is more, they lack discipline.

The main reason for this is that our people are not yet united firmly and the energies of all the people are not mobilized and concentrated on the work of nation building. Our people, who were deprived of their country and plunged into the miserable plight of statelessness because of their lack of unity in the past, are not united firmly even now when the nation has been liberated. This is a great pity. We should be keenly aware that if the people of our country had established a democratic government in firm unity immediately after liberation, such a situation would not have arisen where a decision on the Korean question was adopted at the recent Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers.

As a nation with a 5 000-year-long history, our people should endeavour to build a genuinely democratic state in firm unity as soon as possible and advance with dignity side by side with the democratic states of the world. Workers, peasants and all other patriotic, democratic forces must strive to form a national united front and build a truly democratic state.

We must build a democratic state and establish friendly relations with all nations who love peace, oppose fascism and treat our nation as an equal. Thus, we must see to it that in the near future our country

appears on the international arena on an equal footing with the democratic countries of the world and advances rapidly in the world's democratic ranks.

In order to build a democratic state, we must strongly oppose the pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation. At present the pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation are endeavouring to steer our country along the anti-democratic road. While they are free to do as they please, we cannot build a democratic society. All the people should sharpen their vigilance against the schemes of the reactionaries to hinder the building of a new, democratic Korea and launch a vigorous struggle to clean up the pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation.

Today the virus of the old ideology left behind by the Japanese imperialists constitutes a big obstacle to our nation building. By occupying Korea for so long, the Japanese imperialists managed to instil all sorts of reactionary ideas in the minds of our people. Today the remnants of those ideas are hampering our efforts to build a new Korea. We should combat the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism and eradicate the virulent poison of Japanese imperialist ideology from the minds of the people.

At the same time, it is essential to restore the excellent spoken and written language and brilliant culture of the Korean nation and develop popular and democratic education so as to give full rein to the national consciousness smothered by Japanese imperialism. Thus, we must encourage all the people to participate in nation building with a high sense of national pride and self-respect.

Although our country has been liberated from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, we have not yet built an economy strong enough to provide the people with a happy life. Many of our compatriots are now leading a hard life and wandering about without a job. Therefore, we should rehabilitate and build up the country's economy as soon as possible.

To begin with, we should quickly rehabilitate and put in order the factories and enterprises destroyed by the Japanese imperialists and

develop industry, so as to eliminate unemployment and stabilize the workers' living. Meanwhile, we should distribute land among the tillers to realize their age-old dream and develop agriculture.

All the people must strive for the economic construction and industrial rehabilitation of the new Korea—the moneyed donating their money; the knowledgeable giving their knowledge; the technicians contributing their techniques; and the physically strong giving their strength. In this way, our nation must demonstrate its united strength.

Fellow countrymen, all patriots who love their country and people,

Let us drive out of our national ranks the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries and anti-democrats who hinder the unity and cohesion of our nation, and set up a genuine democratic national united front on a firm, mass foundation.

Let us rise as one man and devote our efforts in unison to building a democratic people's republic, a genuine people's power representing the people's interests. We will thus win the complete independence of Korea as soon as possible.

Let us support the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on the Korean question!

Long live the democratic national united front!

ON EXPANDING AND STRENGTHENING PARTY RANKS AND PROMOTING THE ROLE OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

**Speech Delivered to Officials of the Pongsan County
Committee of Hwanghae Province
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

January 13, 1946

Comrades,

It is already five months since we greeted the August 15 liberation. In this period the political situation at home and abroad has been very complex. However, the general situation is developing in our favour.

Today the balance of forces between democracy and anti-democracy, progress and reaction on the international arena has undergone a fundamental change, and the democratic forces of the world are growing and strengthening rapidly. The First World War resulted in the birth of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, and the Second World War ended in the defeat of fascist Germany and Italy and militarist Japan, liberating many peoples of Asia and Europe from the imperialist yoke and making them advance along the road of democracy.

How, then, does the situation stand in our country now? After liberation our people set up the people's committees—their own government bodies—everywhere, and progressive and democratic political parties, including the Communist Party, and social

organizations have been formed and are now active in north Korea. However, as soon as they landed in south Korea, the US troops proclaimed the establishment of military government. They are suppressing the people's committees set up on the initiative of the people, and making every attempt to check the struggle of the south Korean people for the democratic development of the country by using the reactionary forces.

What should we do now under these circumstances and how?

We should strive to establish a unified democratic government at the earliest possible date in Korea and turn north Korea into a powerful democratic base for building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state. For this purpose, we should first form a solid national united front and rally all the patriotic, democratic forces closely around it; we should root up the legacies of Japanese imperialism in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and introduce democratic reforms, thus guaranteeing the people genuine liberties and rights and improving their living.

In order to fulfil these tasks successfully, it is essential to strengthen the Communist Party. Our Party is a true Marxist-Leninist party around which the progressive elements of the working class and other working people have rallied to build a new, democratic Korea and accomplish the Korean revolution. The successful carrying out of the Korean revolution is unthinkable without our Party's correct leadership. We should do everything in our power to expand and strengthen the ranks of the Communist Party and promote the role of its organizations.

As yet our Party has a small membership, is not organizationally strong enough, and has not struck roots deep among the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the masses. Pongsan County, for one, has only 70 to 80 Party members as yet, and the Party cells have not yet been formed in many factories, mines and farm villages. In this situation our Party will not be able to fulfil its historic mission properly.

In order to strengthen the Party, its ranks should be expanded

rapidly before anything else. To this end the closed-doorist tendency should be thoroughly eliminated in the work of increasing the Party membership.

Because some Party organizations make the mistake of taking a closed-doorist attitude in the work of increasing the Party membership, they fail to admit to our Party those eligible for membership. The same is true of Pongsan County.

One of the closed-doorist tendencies manifested in the work of increasing the Party membership is to put forth too rigid requirements and reject people eligible for Party membership. As you all know, the level of political theory and ideological consciousness among our working class and other sections of the working people at present is not high. This is because they were barred from education under the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and had no political and ideological training in the past for lack of a Marxist-Leninist party in our country. It is a gross mistake to disregard such conditions and try to admit to the Party only those who are fully qualified ideologically and theoretically.

Another closed-doorist tendency manifested in the work of Party's numerical growth is to prevent eligible persons from joining the Party by defining the qualifications of the person recommending Party membership incorrectly out of keeping with the actual conditions in our Party. At present only those members who have been in the Party for more than one year are entitled to recommend others for Party membership. This is wrong. Our Party was founded quite recently, and if the matter is handled as it is now how can we expect large numbers of people to join our Party? In the final analysis, the definition that the person making the recommendation should have been in the Party for more than one year is little short of intentionally putting an obstacle in the way of increasing the Party membership.

We should correct these closed-doorist tendencies. If we fail to do so, we will not be able to expand and strengthen the Party ranks rapidly, and those persons who should become Party members in the natural order of things will join other parties.

The Party organizations should conduct the work of increasing the Party membership on the principle of boldly admitting and educating good people who have a high degree of class awakening and are enthusiastic about building up the country, even though their political and theoretical level is low. And under the present circumstances we should not be so mechanical with regard to the length of Party membership of persons making recommendations, and should see to it that all who are eligible are allowed to join the Party.

First of all, we should steadily expand the Party ranks among the working class. We should be bold enough to admit to the Party those progressive workers who have been tempered in labour for a long time, even if they are not as fully prepared as they should be. This alone will make it possible to strengthen our Party and firmly rally broad sections of workers around it.

In addition, candidates for Party membership should be selected from among the farmhands and poor peasants in the countryside and, for the present, the Party should admit those active peasants who had been tested through the campaign for the voluntary grain delivery and in the struggle for the 3:7 tenancy system. We should also register progressive intellectuals, and test them in the practical struggle before accepting them into the Party.

We should accept into the Party large numbers of the best, progressive elements from among the workers, farmhands, poor peasants, and working intellectuals, so that our Party cells will be formed in all factories, enterprises and farm villages.

An important problem calling for our attention in Party growth is to improve the composition of the Party. Our Party's present composition shows that workers are very few whereas peasants and intellectuals occupy a large proportion. This runs counter to the basic principle of Marxist-Leninist party building. We should conduct the work of increasing the membership correctly along the line of raising the proportion of workers in the composition of the Party.

In order to improve the Party's composition, it is important to take correct statistics of Party members. Like other Party organizations,

the Pongsan County Party Committee, too, carries out this work incorrectly at present. If one only counts the number of Party members and fails to analyse their composition, just as you are doing, it is impossible to build up the Party's ranks qualitatively. The county Party committees should always be mindful of the Party members' statistics and, by analysing the composition of the membership, steer the work of increasing its membership in the right direction.

In particular, we should strive to ensure the purity of the Party's ranks. It will not do to admit every man jack indiscriminately into the Party on the pretext of expanding the Party's ranks. Because some Party organizations have conducted the work of increasing the Party membership carelessly in the past, many impure and alien elements have sneaked into the Party's ranks. We should clear out all of them from the Party's ranks and keep a sharp lookout so that no pro-Japanese and alien elements can worm their way into the Party.

While steadily expanding the Party's ranks, we should be deeply concerned about securing the Party's unity in ideology and purpose. These days factions have appeared within some Party organizations in Hwanghae Province and each faction shows a tendency to bring over Party members. We cannot strengthen our Party without putting an end to such a factional tendency. We should give a sharp rebuff to the factionalists and wage a resolute ideological struggle against every practice that interferes with the unity and cohesion of the Party.

We should firmly unite broad sections of the masses around the Party, while consolidating the Party's ranks organizationally and ideologically.

The revolution cannot be carried out by our Party alone; it can be victorious only when the broad masses of the people are mobilized. Therefore, we should always endeavour to rally the masses around the Party.

In order to win over the broad masses, we should actively unite them in mass organizations such as labour unions, peasants associations, youth organizations, and Women's Union organizations, and work properly with these organizations.

We should first draw the workers of all factories and enterprises into labour unions and strengthen the guidance of them, so that the vanguard role of the working class is heightened in the building of a new Korea. At the same time, we should unite the peasant masses in the peasants associations, and organize and mobilize them at first to the struggle to lower farm rents, and then gradually to the struggle to confiscate the land of the landlords. Through such an actual struggle we should further cement the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and rally them closely around the Party.

We should also work efficiently to unite the youth around the Party. Young people always play a great role in the social revolution and the building of a new society. In order to give a proper education to the young men and women of the new Korea and organize and mobilize them for nation building, we should energetically draw them into the youth organization. The Party organizations should also pay close attention to the work of uniting the women, an important force of our revolution, in the Women's Union organizations.

We should intensify the Party's guidance of the social organizations and ensure that the Party members go deep among the masses and exert great Party influence on them.

If we are to build a new Korea successfully, we should strengthen the work of the united front. The Party organizations should form a solid national united front through intensified work with patriotic, democratic political parties and groups, and organize and mobilize its united force to the struggle for building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

By forming a united front we do not mean joining hands with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. In any event we should form a united front only with those who love the country and love the people and democracy. We cannot compromise with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation and should not pin any hopes on them.

However, we should not try to leave out even those who served passively with the Japanese imperialist establishments. We should

clearly understand that if we win over and rally as many people as possible around our Party, the enemy will be isolated and our revolutionary forces strengthened so much the more.

Next, we should further intensify the Party's information work.

There is nothing special about the Party's information work. To explain intelligibly to the masses what our Party is advocating, what the liberated people of Korea should do, and other problems, is precisely the Party's information work. We should acquaint thoroughly the masses of all strata—workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, students, tradesmen and manufacturers, and men of religion—with the character of our revolution, what should be solved in this revolution, and how to struggle to establish a unified democratic government.

Today our people are very eager to build their country. But they are not sufficiently aware of which path Korea should follow, what they should do and how. And as a consequence of the Japanese imperialists' malicious propaganda against communism in the past and affected by the sectarian activities of the factionalists, many people still have a distorted idea of our Party and some politically unawakened people lend an ear to the false propaganda of reactionaries such as the pro-Japanese and pro-American elements who sell out the national interests.

Under such circumstances a very important problem is posed of strengthening the Party's information work. If our Party does not intensify information work, the people may be fooled by the reactionaries' misleading propaganda, and this will seriously retard the work of nation building. We should lead the masses of the people along the right path through intensified information work by the Party. Information work should be better conducted particularly in the Sariwon region, since it is inhabited by many vacillating religious believers, and lots of reactionary rumours can circulate there because it is situated close to the 38th Parallel.

You are little concerned about the Party's information work at present, and are conducting it with no clear aim or focus. If this work

is to be successful, its aim and focal point should be clear. The focus of the Party's information work at the present stage should be on heightening the political awakening of the masses from all walks of life by informing them clearly of our Party's political line.

The revolution we are now carrying out is the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and the Korean people are confronted with the task of setting up a unified democratic government. Therefore, we should explain and propagate on a broad scale the character and immediate tasks of the Korean revolution to Party members and the masses, thereby inspiring them to contribute to the building of a new, democratic Korea. Meanwhile, we should strengthen the work of exposing and denouncing all the crimes of the quislings and reactionary elements before the masses to prevent them from placing any hopes on the reactionary clique.

We should mobilize competent people from the Party and social organizations to carry out information work actively. The Party's information work will be successful only when it is conducted deep among the masses in keeping with the actual conditions.

The Party organizations should strengthen the Party's information work first among the workers, so that they, deeply conscious that they are masters of the factories and the nation, firmly defend their factories and enterprises from the enemy's subversions and exert every effort to build a new country. Besides, the Party organizations should intensify among the peasants explanatory work and information work concerning the present movement for voluntary grain delivery and arouse their patriotism, and, at the same time, encourage the peasants to be active in the effort to introduce the 3:7 tenancy system and, furthermore, in the struggle to acquire their own land. We should also strengthen explanatory work among the intellectuals so that they may take an active part in the management of factories and enterprises and devote themselves to the education of the younger generation.

The Party organizations should also carry on information work effectively among the tradesmen and manufacturers. These people

should be infused with patriotism and inspired to fulfil their national duties in the building of a new country. We should explain to them explicitly our Party's policy of guaranteeing them freedom of business activity, and see to it that they participate with a will in making the country and people prosperous and run their enterprises efficiently.

Success in the Party's information work requires the participation of all Party members. They should always be in the forefront, educating and guiding the masses. Just as a stone thrown into a quiet lake starts a ripple that spreads out all over the lake, every Party member should educate tens and hundreds of people and arouse them to the building of a new country.

One of the important tasks confronting the Party organizations at present is to intensify the guidance of the people's committees and increase their role.

We should expel all alien elements and loafers who have sneaked into the people's committees, and build up the people's government bodies with good people ready to work devotedly for the people. In particular, the county Party committees should pay close attention to the work of solidly building up the personnel of the county people's committees. And they should always be on the alert and prevent any pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation from worming their way into the people's committees.

The county Party committees should give correct guidance to the county people's committees so that the latter may direct every effort to the immediate task of stabilizing the people's living.

At present there are many people in our country without a job, and the people's living conditions are very difficult. If this problem is left unsolved, the work of nation building cannot be carried on properly.

In order to stabilize the people's living, it is essential first to restore and operate the factories and enterprises damaged by the Japanese imperialist scoundrels. Only then will we be able to provide jobs for the unemployed, those who have returned from "conscription," "labour drafting" and "patriotic service corps" and

those who have come home from abroad, and turn out consumer goods essential for the people's living.

The county Party committees should see to it that the people's committees take charge of and efficiently carry out all activities—restoration and reorganization of factories and enterprises, voluntary grain delivery, collection of taxes, and so on. By so doing they should stabilize the people's living as soon as possible and correctly organize and mobilize the masses to nation building.

I hope that you will make every effort to expand and strengthen the Party's ranks and heighten the role of the county Party committee, thereby greatly contributing to the development of the Party and the building of a new, democratic Korea.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FORMATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE OF NORTH KOREA

**Speech Delivered at the Conference of Representatives
of the Democratic Youth Organizations in North Korea**

January 17, 1946

On the occasion of the formation of the Democratic Youth League of North Korea, I would like to express my warm congratulations.

The remarks I am going to make concern your future tasks.

When the Korean people were emancipated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the historic task of building a new, democratic Korea was set before them. This task remains unfulfilled to this day. The Japanese imperialist aggressors have been defeated, but there still remain the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. In south Korea the reactionary elements, among them Syngman Rhee, are making foolish attempts to put the Korean people of today in old-fashioned horse-hair hats and bind them again in imperialist fetters.

Therefore, the major fighting task facing us at present is to uproot the survivals of Japanese imperialism and develop politics, the economy and culture of Korea along democratic lines.

A prerequisite for the fulfilment of this task is the formation of a powerful national united front.

The Korean youth do not as yet have a broadly-based organization of their own. This means the conditions do not exist to form a national united front on a mass scale.

In order to form a national united front it is necessary to set up a broadly-based, united and democratic organization of young people who are to be the mainstay in building a new, democratic Korea.

Since we have dissolved the Young Communist League and formed the Democratic Youth League, the DYL should not take over the YCL programme as it stands, but should, as a matter of course, put forward its own programme. A large number of youths still remain outside the DYL. This is because the DYL fails to conduct the proper explanatory work on its democratic programme among the masses of youth. If the DYL had put up a democratic programme and conducted exhaustive explanatory work, the youth would all have joined it.

The DYL should build up its strength, to begin with, and achieve the ideological unity of its membership.

The principal fault of the Korean revolutionary movement in the past was factional strife. The factionalists were engaged in factional feud solely for personal gain. In olden times the sectarian feud of the feudal rulers ruined our country. During our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle, too, the quarrels of the factionalists did much harm. The factionalists did not fight Japanese imperialism; they were engrossed in feuds among themselves. This factional strife exerted a very bad influence on our youth.

The youth should not tolerate any manifestation of factionalist tendencies in their ranks, but wage a resolute struggle to expose and crush the factionalists.

There must be iron discipline in the DYL. The factional feud arises from lack of strict discipline. If neglect in carrying out the decisions and directives of the league is left unchecked, this can give rise, in the long run, to factions. Just as an army lacking iron discipline cannot win battles, so an undisciplined youth organization will be of little avail.

The training of youth cadres is another important aspect. Today we have very few cadres. The shortage of cadres places serious difficulties in the way of nation building.

True, we are short of cadres mainly because our young people grew up under Japanese imperialist rule. Another reason, however, is that the DYL failed to take energetic steps to train cadres after liberation.

It is wrong, indeed, to think that cadres can be trained by educational institutions alone. It is of special importance to train and temper them through practical work. Therefore, a system should be established for young people to study while working. Study material can either be given to those on the job for self-study or once every few months they can be called for a short course about matters relating to their relevant work and then they can be sent back to their jobs. If we apply these methods alternately in getting people to study diligently, we shall be able to raise their political and practical qualifications noticeably. In order to help comrades dispatched to the factories and villages in their work, checkups should be made and errors criticized in time. To criticize is to educate. Without criticism, there can be no progress. Criticism is an important means of educating cadres. We should not summarily dismiss those who have made mistakes, but explain to them clearly where they have gone wrong, educating them carefully and working together with them.

It is necessary for the DYL to have its own institutions for training cadres. It is advisable, first of all, to organize a short-term cadre-training centre and select and enrol promising young men and women for training. A system of guidance and inspection should be established to check up constantly on the activities of the local DYL organizations. The provincial DYL committees should send guiding personnel to the counties to teach the officials of the county DYL organizations how to conduct their work. In turn, the county DYL cadres should go to the sub-counties and educate their DYL officials and consolidate their organizations.

Further, statistical work should be carried out in the proper way. It is a serious drawback that the DYL has no statistics. In future the DYL should compile good statistics concerning the registration of its members and various other matters and, on this basis, draw up a

detailed plan of work so as to do everything in a planned manner.

The pro-Japanese elements who have wormed their way into the DYL should be cleared out to the last man. This must not be regarded as a matter of concern to merely a few cadres, but be presented as a primary task for the whole league.

At the same time, assistance should be given to the Democratic Party in expelling alien elements that have slipped into its ranks. We should associate with and exert a positive influence on progressive elements in the Democratic Party, actively helping them to clear their party of alien elements and to achieve its development.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize once again that our youth must clear out the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism completely and work energetically in the vanguard of the struggle to build a new, democratic Korea.

**THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COMMITTEE
MUST BE THE GENUINE ORGAN
OF PEOPLE'S POWER**

**Speech Delivered at the First Enlarged Committee
Meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial
People's Political Committee**

January 23, 1946

On behalf of the Communist Party, I thank you warmly for your devoted services in nation building.

Today we have convened this enlarged committee meeting to carry out the democratic tasks successfully.

At this meeting attended by delegates of various political parties and social organizations I am going to examine the work of our People's Political Committee.

Because the Korean people had no rights and no experience in politics under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our PPC failed to work satisfactorily soon after it was formed. But the confusion that prevailed immediately after the August 15 liberation is now being straightened out and the remnants of Japanese imperialism and pro-Japanese collaborators are being eliminated in the administrative organs and particularly in the organs of public law and order. This is gratifying.

We have rehabilitated the devastated industries and scores of factories are already operating, and the 3:7 tenancy system has been introduced in the countryside.

I think that these successes are due to the efforts of those who are working on the PPC and in the various localities.

In the course of struggle for democracy the PPC smashed the sabotage of Jo Man Sik and company and ensured the victory of the democratic forces. Following the publication of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, Jo Man Sik and his party turned reactionary. Even though Ri Ju Yon and others advised them to adopt a correct attitude towards the decision, they opposed it to the last and, finally, became reactionaries.

Reactionary circles in the United States are coming out against the decision even before the ink on it is dry.

Dancing to the tune of the American aggressive forces, reactionary elements at home are committing the crime of turning against the Moscow conference decision, viewing the democratic states in the same light as the imperialist aggressive countries.

All the Korean people headed by the Communist Party actively support the decision.

Only when the whole of our nation supports it and shows that it will carry it out with a will can the five-year period of guardianship be shortened and the building of our independent, sovereign state promoted.

This enlarged committee meeting is attended by many delegates from various social strata. So, it can be said that in fact, this meeting assumes the character of a conference of the people's representatives from South Phyongan Province.

We must bear in mind that sectarian quarrels are not to be permitted at this meeting on any account. Conflicting opinions must always be put to debate and settled fairly. Only then will the present enlarged committee meeting be a conference of the people representing various political parties and social organizations.

The Communist Party has not the least intention of monopolizing the seats on the committee. We sincerely hope that many leading figures from different democratic political parties and social organizations will become members of the committee.

Some people in the Democratic Party voiced the opinion that there were too many Communists on the PPC, so we must do away with the my-party-first attitude and strive in unison to put into effect our common political programme on behalf of the people.

The PPC failed to carry out its work successfully in the past, because many corrupt bureaucrats and reactionary elements had sneaked into it and played various tricks.

It neither paid attention to the urgent question of the people's livelihood nor solved the question of voluntary grain delivery to the state.

The reactionaries lurking in the committee were merely engrossed in speaking ill of our public security organs, of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Army and in slandering a certain individual, but did not apply themselves to carrying out a positive policy.

Because the committee tolerated misappropriation and squandering of the budget money by its former member responsible for finance, its finances were exhausted and, in the long run, it was compelled to start a campaign for donations. It would be correct to say that the responsibility for poor results in voluntary grain delivery lies not with one particular person but rather with the PPC. Some of the PPC members cherish the erroneous view that they are holding a high government post and indulge in misappropriation and squandering.

The PPC must make a clean sweep of all corrupt practices and must be a people's government organ truly serving the interests of the people.

In conclusion, I emphasize again that we must work hard to form a united front consisting of democratic forces from all social strata and establish a democratic provisional government of Korea as soon as possible.

ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA AND THE ORGANIZING OF THE PROVISIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF NORTH KOREA

**Report to the Consultative Meeting of Representatives
of the Democratic Political Parties and Social
Organizations, Administrative Bureaus
and People's Committees of North Korea**

February 8, 1946

Esteemed representatives,

We are gathered here today to solve important problems on the political, economic and cultural development of north Korea.

Five months have already elapsed since our people were liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule. Even though five months is a short period of time, it has witnessed great changes in north Korea. North Korea has confidently taken the road of truly democratic development.

Only five months ago Korea was a colony of Japanese imperialism. Nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule has left our nation with a distorted industry and transport, backward agriculture and ignorance and poverty for millions. Japanese imperialists deliberately hampered the economic development of Korea. The consequences of the Japanese aggressors' rule can be seen clearly in the state of affairs in every sphere in the different provinces of north Korea.

The Japanese imperialists began industrial construction in north Korea a number of years ago when they drew up their plans for the invasion of the continent. The factories, mines and hydroelectric power stations which they built were intended for the production of their own war supplies, not for our country's economic development or the improvement of the Korean people's living standards. Year after year Japanese imperialists robbed Korea of huge amounts of industrial raw materials and grain. Thus, Korea supplied Japan's war industry with raw materials and fed its rapacious troops.

Though Korea has favourable conditions for developing modern industry, the aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism made it impossible to build a national industry and left its agriculture in a terribly backward state.

The long-drawn-out war plunged the Korean people, particularly the peasants, into abject poverty. The Japanese imperialists' predatory policy in the countryside made the majority of the peasants landless. As a result, 80 per cent of Korea's peasants were reduced to tenant farmers, semi-tenant farmers and farmhands. By maintaining the feudal tenant system, the Japanese imperialist aggressors greatly retarded the development of the agricultural productive forces and forced millions of peasants into poverty and hunger.

The Japanese held the monopoly of industry and trade. Korean investment accounted for only five per cent of the total industrial capital, and 85 per cent of the commercial capital belonged to the Japanese.

All power was in the hands of the Japanese plunderers.

The Koreans were subjected to outrageous national oppression and humiliation. Special laws and special trials were applied to them and they were paid lower wages than the Japanese.

More than half of our children could not afford to go to school. Universities and specialized technical schools were mostly beyond the reach of young Koreans. Our national language was despised and suppressed. The Japanese imperialist aggressors sought to stamp out our national culture and national consciousness and turn our people

into “subjects of the Japanese Empire.”

In spite of oppression by the Japanese robbers, the Korean people were convinced that they would drive the Japanese aggressors out and attain national independence. They persisted in a valiant struggle against Japanese imperialism. The March First Movement of 1919, the June Tenth Independence Movement of 1926, the general strike of the workers in Wonsan in 1929, the peasant riots that lasted from 1930 to 1932 in various places and the fierce armed struggles waged both within and outside the country from the early 1930s on—these struggles are a striking demonstration of the fact that our people fought indomitably against Japanese imperialism.

After Japanese imperialism was defeated and Korea liberated, the situation in our country underwent a radical change. Having attained freedom and liberation, the Korean people have a bright future ahead and have confidently embarked upon the building of a democratic and independent state.

Political parties and social organizations have been formed and are carrying on their activities freely in north Korea today. The Communist Party, the Democratic Party and the Korean Independence Union have begun to function, and various democratic mass organizations—the labour unions, the Women’s Union, the Democratic Youth League, the peasants associations and the Korea-Soviet Cultural Society—have been formed. The labour unions, the peasants associations and other social organizations have more than two million members.

Over 30 different newspapers are being published in north Korea already, textbooks and other books used in schools of various levels are being printed and radio programmes are being broadcast in our mother tongue. Lessons in our schools are also given in Korean, and our language is heard everywhere—in every office and on every street. The art organizations, which were suppressed and trampled upon, have blossomed forth again and are very active.

All this is indicative of the great political enthusiasm of the masses and the ardent patriotism of the Korean people and shows

that our national culture is being restored.

All the political parties and social organizations in north Korea have set themselves the common goal of forming a democratic national united front and, on this basis, of building a free, democratic and independent state.

With the liberation of their country, the north Korean people started organizing people's committees, that is, independent and democratic local organs of power. The first task undertaken by the people's committees was to maintain social order and stabilize the people's livelihood.

Many bureaus—such as the Industry, Transport, Posts and Telecommunications, Agriculture and Forestry, Trade, Finance, Education, Public Health, Judiciary and Security—were then organized to direct all branches of the national economy and establish economic ties between all provinces of north Korea.

The bureaus and local people's committees have already achieved considerable success in normalizing economic life.

However, we cannot say that the work we have done until now is satisfactory. At present the work of the bureaus and local people's committees is beset with many difficulties and shortcomings.

First, and most important, no central organ of state power has yet been organized in north Korea.

A unified central organ of state power to orientate the work of the different bureaus and direct them does not yet exist in north Korea. This is highly detrimental to the unified, planned development of political, economic and cultural life in north Korea.

The bureaus function only in their respective fields of economic or cultural life. But they are closely related to each other in their operations. Life shows that more and more problems crop up which the bureaus cannot solve while acting separately.

The recovery of industry, for example, is the task of the Industry Bureau, but it has a bearing on the work of all the other bureaus. The Transport Bureau should guarantee that transport help the development in all branches of the national economy. The work of

the Finance Bureau is closely connected with the work of the different branches of the national economy—industry, agriculture, trade, transport, education, public health, etc. The Education Bureau is responsible for the training of qualified people needed in all domains of the national economy.

All this points to the pressing need for a central organ which will head the bureaus and coordinate and direct their work. The most urgent task today is to organize a central organ of state power in north Korea.

We believe that, pending the establishment of a unified government in our country, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea should serve as such an organ.

The establishment of a central organ of state power is a step in accord with the interests of the masses of the people and fully in conformity with the task of establishing democratic order in Korea. The proposal to set up a central organ of state power—the PPCNK—has been advanced by the leaders of the democratic political parties and social organizations. They have set up an initiating committee to organize this.

In order to elect the members of the PPCNK and to consider the important tasks ahead, we have now called a meeting of representatives of the people's committees of north Korea's six provinces and of the democratic political parties and social organizations.

What are the tasks confronting the PPCNK at the present juncture?

First, it is necessary to build up sound local organs of state power and thoroughly purge the state power organs of pro-Japanese and anti-democratic elements. This is the immediate and most important task of the PPCNK.

To build a new, free, democratic and independent Korea, it is first necessary to wage an active struggle against the pro-Japanese and the anti-democratic elements, the enemies of the people, and thus wipe out the reactionary forces root and branch. We cannot build a new, democratic Korea if we allow renegades and traitors to remain in the organs of state power. So the people's committees in all provinces,

cities and counties and all the democratic political parties and social organizations must fully expose the traitors to the nation and expel them from our ranks.

Second, the land held by the Japanese imperialists, the traitors to the nation and the Korean landlords should be confiscated through an agrarian reform and distributed free of charge to the peasants who work it, and the forests should be nationalized.

Agriculture is a key branch of our country's national economy. Under Japanese imperialist rule, most of the land was concentrated in the hands of the Japanese and the Korean landlords, while the vast majority of the peasants were landless or land-short. At present the feudal tenant system constitutes the economic basis of the reactionary forces. The landlords seek to preserve this system and are opposed to any type of democratic reform.

Unless an agrarian reform is carried out, it will be impossible to rehabilitate and develop agriculture and build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. The agrarian reform will bring the centuries-old dream of our peasantry into reality.

Third, industrial enterprises should be rehabilitated and developed.

Only this will enable us to eliminate unemployment, raise the people's standard of living and, at the same time, develop the national economy.

Fourth, railway and water transport should be restored.

Railways and waterways are the arteries of the country. Without them the normal development of the national economy is inconceivable. The different provinces of north Korea are related economically to each other and we should further develop those relations. Besides economic relations, the provinces need political and cultural relations as well. Yet, our transport work is in disorder at present. Our destroyed transport must be rehabilitated at an early date. This will do much to further the reconstruction and development of our industry and trade.

Fifth, the financial and banking system and the goods distribution system should be readjusted.

The rehabilitation and development of the national economy are impossible without the organization of a financial and banking system, the development of trade and a smooth flow of goods between the towns and the countryside and between the provinces.

We should tap all sources of income, spend funds properly, keep the right amount of currency in circulation and combat the speculators.

Sixth, freedom of activity should be granted to entrepreneurs and traders, and medium-sized and small enterprises should be encouraged. Only by doing this can we solve the problem of providing consumer goods for the people's livelihood.

Seventh, assistance should be given to the working-class movement, and factory committees should be widely organized in factories and enterprises.

Korea's development into a democratic, independent and sovereign state imperatively demands the active involvement of the broad masses of the people—the workers, first of all—in political life.

The labour unions and factory committees are mass organizations which represent the interests of the workers and, at the same time, draw them into public activities. We will consolidate the labour unions and organize factory committees widely in enterprises and in the field of transport, thus helping to increase the workers' political enthusiasm by far and to accelerate our economic construction.

Eighth, the education system should be revamped in keeping with the democratic advances of the country.

Because of the Japanese imperialist system of colonial enslavement education, large numbers of Koreans have been left in ignorance and darkness, and our children and young people have been subjected to the pernicious influence of reactionary Japanese imperialist ideas.

We must thoroughly reform the education system and set up a new, people-oriented, democratic system to open up the opportunity for the children of the working people to have an education, and we must root out the ideological vestiges of

Japanese imperialism in the minds of our children and youth.

Ninth, the masses of the people should be educated in democratic ideas, and work for their cultural enlightenment should be undertaken on a wide scale. Only then can the people's level of political awareness and their cultural standards be raised and our national culture be developed.

What we have achieved in this field until now is no more than a beginning, and a great deal of work lies ahead of us. This is also an important work which the PPCNK will have to carry out by all means.

Tenth, the true meaning of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers should be widely explained to the masses of the people.

The reactionary elements are trying to give it a wrong interpretation, particularly in regard to the concept of guardianship. They are endeavouring to prevent Korea from becoming a genuinely democratic and independent state by giving our people a wrong view of this decision and by attempting to smash the unity of the people and to disintegrate the democratic united front.

Therefore, an important task confronting the people's committees at every level is to help the masses of the people fully understand the true meaning of the decision of the Moscow conference.

These, in general, are the immediate tasks lying before the PPCNK.

These huge and complex tasks can scarcely be carried out without a central government body, that is, an organ which directs the work of our local people's committees and the different administrative bureaus. So I believe that representatives of all the administrative bureaus, people's committees at every level, democratic political parties and social organizations present at this meeting will understand very clearly the need for establishing the PPCNK.

I propose that this meeting take up the question of organizing the PPCNK and adopt a concrete resolution to this effect.

TALK TO RYO UN HYONG, CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF KOREA

February 11, 1946

It must have been difficult for you, Mr. Ryo, to come such a long way in this cold weather. How are you? Your good health comes before anything else because there is a great deal to be done in building a new Korea.

I received your letters and had several messages from you.

So I had hopes of meeting you, and I am very glad that you have come. When fighting the Japanese imperialists in the mountains in the past, we sent a political worker to establish contact with you. But to our regret, an unexpected accident prevented us from establishing contact with you.

You have said we experienced hardships fighting the Japanese imperialists in the mountains, but those who battled against them in the homeland likewise suffered a great deal. We are well aware that in spite of the Japanese imperialists' persecution you fought for the independence of Korea without forsaking your national principles.

We heard the news that the People's Party of Korea was founded in south Korea last October. Although it was inaugurated comparatively recently, it already enjoys support among large numbers of people in south Korea. This is a good sign. We hope that under your leadership the party will make a great contribution to the building of a new Korea.

In the protracted arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle our

people routed Japanese imperialism and liberated the country. The question now is how to build the liberated Korea. As you have said, many people are now making an outcry, each offering his opinion as to what road liberated Korea should follow.

Some people are trying to lead our people to adopt the obsolete American-style “democracy” under the signboard of “democracy.” This cannot be regarded as the right path for Korea to take. American-style “democracy” gives a handful of privileged classes unrestricted freedoms and rights, but it grants no elementary political freedom or rights to the broad working masses including the workers and peasants. After all, it is nothing but a camouflage to conceal the reactionary nature of the bourgeois system, the bourgeois government. If we follow this road, there will be no hope of prosperity for the country and people or of achieving complete national independence. Under no circumstances must our people take the road of American-style “democracy” so vociferously advocated by certain people.

There are people in south Korea who insist that the socialist revolution should be carried out right away in our country. This is wrong because it aims at bypassing a stage in the revolution in disregard of the actual situation in our country. The character and tasks of the revolution are decided not by the subjective desire of individuals but by the inexorable demands of social progress. Skipping a stage of the revolution arbitrarily regardless of the actual situation in Korea is no good. This claim of certain people for an immediate socialist revolution in our country cannot be called anything but “Left infantilism.” If we fail to surmount this ultra-revolutionary “Left infantilism,” we will lose many people and, in the long run, will not be able to carry out the Korean revolution with success.

Now that our country is liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule it must not follow the road taken by other countries mechanically. We should definitely carry on the work of nation building in a Korean fashion. Neither American nor Soviet clothes fit

Koreans. Therefore we should not put on ill-fitting foreign clothes but make clothes which fit us in the Korean style.

Our country was, as you know, a colony of Japanese imperialism for a long time. For this reason the baneful residues of Japanese imperialism and survivals of feudalism still remain deep-rooted in all areas of society, although our country has been liberated. We cannot achieve the country's full independence or the democratic development of society without wiping out these residues and survivals. Therefore, we have determined that the Korean revolution at the present stage is, by nature, an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

This being so, we should take the road of Korean-style democracy in keeping with the present conditions prevailing in our country. Korean-style democracy is genuine democracy that makes the masses of the people the masters of government, grants all the people equal political rights and jealously defends the interests of the people. Only by following this road will our people be able to achieve complete national independence and sovereignty and everlasting prosperity for the country and enjoy genuine freedom and happiness.

In order to realize Korean-style democracy, we should liquidate the pernicious remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism, and resolutely resist the colonization policy of foreign imperialists. The Korean people should establish a genuine people's government in accordance with the requirements of this democracy and carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in a thoroughgoing way, thereby building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

It is our opinion that in nation building we should never pin our hopes on the outside forces. The Americans will not bring our people full independence. Under all circumstances we should put our faith in the concerted efforts of the Korean people, instead of relying on the outside forces. We think you did well to have declined the post of adviser in the US military government some time ago. The Americans appointed you as adviser for the sole purpose of justifying their

reactionary military rule in south Korea and checking the democratic advance of the patriotic people. You dealt the Americans a hard blow by seeing through their ulterior motive in good time and refusing to accept the post. I feel sure that in the future, too, you will maintain such a resolute stand.

In order to assure the success of nation building, the whole nation should closely unite as one. A new, democratic Korea can only be built when there is firm unity among patriotic people of all strata who oppose imperialism and feudalism, love their country and nation and demand democracy, whether they are communists or nationalists and have different political views or not.

To closely unite the patriotic, democratic forces of all walks of life, it is essential to form a solid democratic united front.

Following liberation various democratic political parties and public organizations representing the interests of different classes and circles appeared in our country, and continue to appear to this day. In north Korea the Communist Party, the Democratic Party and the Chongu Party have already been founded and democratic public organizations formed, and all are active. In south Korea, too, progressive political parties and public organizations have been formed. At present, however, they are functioning separately, with the result that no powerful front has been formed and people of all social strata have not been rallied firmly for nation building.

It is our view that since all democratic parties, public organizations and patriotic people of all strata wish to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state they can easily unite to form a powerful united front. We should strive to create a democratic united front embracing all the patriotic, democratic forces including the democratic political parties and public organizations in north and south Korea.

In south Korea in particular, the formation of a solid democratic united front is a very urgent matter. In the situation existing at present in south Korea where pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation have come forward with the backing of the American troops

and are engaged in all kinds of anti-democratic moves, it will be impossible to prevent a split in the patriotic, democratic forces and lead the masses of the people along the right road, unless the formation of a democratic united front is stepped up. The realities in south Korea make it imperative for all political activists concerned about the future of the country and people to take vigorous measures immediately to form a united front and rally the masses of all walks of life. In our opinion, people like you with considerable influence among the south Korean people should play a prominent part in this work.

In forming a democratic united front it is important to carry out this work properly with correct views on the united front.

At present some people in south Korea are showing a lack of principle by drawing into the united front even pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation. As a matter of fact, this, in my opinion, only benefits the enemy by giving these elements and traitors room to step in.

The united front we are talking about has the aim of carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and building a genuinely democratic society in Korea. Under no circumstances, therefore, should we draw into the united front the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors who hold up the building of a new, democratic society. The united front should exclude these elements and traitors and embrace workers, peasants, intellectuals, men of religion and other patriotic forces of all strata desirous of building a democratic Korea.

You have asked if capitalists, too, can be included in the united front. We think that a sharp line should be drawn between the comprador and the non-comprador capitalists. The comprador capitalists are pro-Japanese stooges who faithfully served the Japanese imperialists in the past, and so they must be opposed, but the conscientious non-comprador capitalists should be included in the united front. The non-comprador capitalists have anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist sentiments and are interested in the anti-imperialist, anti-

feudal democratic revolution because they were made bankrupt and were ruined in the past by the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists. We should win them over to the side of the revolution. People like you, Mr. Ryo, should play an outstanding role in rallying into the united front south Korea's middle-of-the-road forces including the non-comprador capitalists.

In order to form a strong democratic united front in south Korea, it is imperative to do away with factional strife once and for all.

Factional strife is a disease that has become deep-rooted down the ages in our country. How much misery and distress has this long-established factional strife caused our people! The factionalists who did serious harm to the anti-Japanese national liberation movement in our country in the past, are disturbing the unity of the masses of the people again today, when liberation has come, by resuming factional strife. It is most distressing that the democratic forces in south Korea are not yet united owing to the factionalists' sectarian feud. In the long run, factional strife only helps the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation trying to frustrate the building of a new Korea.

Whether we unite or remain divided is a matter of great importance at this moment that will decide if we can build a state or not. Anyone who really cares about his country and people and about the future of coming generations should make every endeavour to unite, refraining from factional strife. The pro-Japanese elements and other traitors are resorting to every plot to split the democratic forces and drag our people along the anti-democratic path. Now is the time when all democratic political parties, groupings and democratic personages of various strata should stop taking a narrow view and go forward in firm unity.

We expect a great deal of you in doing away with factional strife and attaining the unity of the democratic forces in south Korea. I hope that as leader of a democratic party and from the standpoint of strengthening the united front, you will give principled advice about this tendency towards factional strife manifest among various

political parties and groupings and put it to rights without delay. Seeing that you are on good terms with many communists in south Korea, you will be able to cooperate with them in helping the democratic political parties and public organizations in various ways.

It is important to form a strong democratic united front and enhance its role.

The purpose of forming a united front is to carry out nation building efficiently. If, after its formation, the role of the united front is not enhanced it will become powerless and useless. We should not stop at the formation of a united front, but wage a vigorous struggle to build a new Korea by mobilizing the masses.

Some members of democratic parties in south Korea do not seem to realize well enough that the united front we suggest is one that struggles for the building of a new country. Although they say they advocate the united front, they try to weigh up the revolutionary spirit of the masses and the enemy's intentions, and fail to enter the struggle and adopt a noncommittal attitude. This will not do.

The united front should always strive to realize its programme. This is why all political parties and public organizations embraced in the united front should put forward action programmes compatible with their specific character and carry on various forms of struggle.

The democratic united front should adopt a correct militant slogan in keeping with the requirements of the situation and the preparedness of the masses. For the present south Koreans could fight under the slogan of "Wipe out the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation!" and the like.

The enhanced role of the democratic united front will enable us to deliver a heavy blow at the enemy and step up the building of a new country and, in this way, further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the democratic forces.

You seem to be annoyed greatly at the narrow-minded attitude of some people in south Korea. We fully understand your position. I imagine you will have still more troubles in the future in working for the unity of the democratic forces. Be that as it may, I believe that

from the viewpoint of the general interests of the Korean revolution you will keep an open mind in launching vigorous efforts to unite rather than divide. In close cooperation with the communists of south Korea, you should inform democratic political parties and public organizations and the people at large of the principled problems arising during the formation of the united front. By doing this you should remedy the deviations manifested and form a solid democratic united front in south Korea as soon as possible.

I am convinced that by giving a strong rebuff to every move of the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation, you will achieve marked results in cementing the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea and building a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

When you return to Seoul, plots against you by the US forces and reactionaries may be intensified. I hope you will be constantly on the alert against the reactionaries' vicious plots and take good care of yourself.

ON THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY AND ITS IMMEDIATE TASKS

**Report to the Fourth Enlarged Meeting of the Executive
Committee of the Central Organizing Committee
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

February 15, 1946

Comrades,

We have worked hard in the past to consolidate and build up the Party. Particularly since the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee (COC) of the Communist Party of North Korea, we have made vigorous efforts to improve Party work and build up the Party from an organizational and ideological point of view.

My report today is on the merits and shortcomings in Party work since the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting and on the immediate tasks of our Party.

1. ON THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY

Comrades,

In implementing the decision of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC, considerable successes have been

attained in Party work and the inner-Party situation has greatly improved.

Good results have been obtained so far by our Party in screening its members and candidate members in preparation for issuing membership cards and in inspecting provincial Party committees.

By screening the membership, we have cleared out impure elements lurking in the Party who hindered its work in the past and attempted to discredit it in the eyes of the masses. Those expelled from the Party during the recent screening are, without exception, such non-working-class and hostile impure elements as landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese elements, speculators, and position seekers who had strayed into the Party by chance. Removal of such shady elements from the Party ranks was a reasonable and indispensable step in the light of the nature and tasks of our Party. If they had been allowed to remain in the Party, it would have been impossible to strengthen and build up the Party, to say nothing of preserving the homogeneity of its ranks. By taking this determined step of removing hostile elements, we have gained an initial success in consolidating the unity and cohesion of the Party and maintaining the homogeneity of its ranks.

We have also scored fairly good results in improving the composition of the Party. Our Party has made tireless efforts to implement the decision of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC on admitting to membership fine elements from among the working class and the most progressive and self-conscious persons from among other working people in town and country. As a result, the proportion of workers, the most advanced class, and of poor peasants and farmhands who had been exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than anybody else by the landlords, has increased considerably. This proves that the work of increasing the Party membership has been conducted correctly.

Inner-Party work including the training of cadres and work with the members, too, has made considerable strides.

Our Party has also registered significant results in building state power.

As you know, on February 8, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was founded. This is a great victory for our Party. The establishment of this committee has made it possible to consolidate the national united front in north Korea and, with this as a basis and a pattern, to hasten the formation of a united front on an all-Korea scale; it has laid the foundation of the unified democratic provisional government of the future.

The establishment of the PPCNK has enabled the ties between provincial people's committees to be strengthened and all administrative matters and the question of the people's livelihood to be dealt with in a unified and planned way.

Despite our great successes achieved in Party work in the past, a number of shortcomings still remain in the Party that must be remedied as quickly as possible.

The most serious defect is the existence of factionalism.

Already at the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC we revealed the existence of factionalists in some local Party organizations, warning the danger, and sharply pointed to the need to put an end to this factionalist trend. However, the factionalists are turning a deaf ear to the Party's warning and continuing their factionalist acts, seeking to obstruct Party work and undermine the Party organizations. They are acting against the Party; they have refused to accept the correct decision of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting and deliberately neglected to implement it, and, worse still, they did not convey it to the lower Party organizations.

The factionalist acts of the senior officials of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, in particular, are very serious. As die-hard local separatists, they opposed the formation of the COC and, rejecting its line and leadership even now, are completely engrossed in parochial, factionalist acts.

The line of the COC is the one and only centralized line of our Party. This line was formulated on the basis of a scientific analysis of the character and tasks of our revolution, the balance of forces between classes, and the prevailing internal and external situation; its

correctness is eloquently proved in the course of revolutionary development.

Opposition to our Party's monolithic centralized line is, in the final analysis, a grave anti-Party act designed to split and destroy the Party and eliminate the General Staff of the revolution.

As revealed during the recent inspection, the factionalists protect the landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese stooges and other alien elements who have crawled into the Party, and defend themselves by refusing to remedy this error. This is a manifestation of their ideological viewpoint running counter to class interests. The factionalists do not give priority to the interests of the Party and the class but to factionalist interests and their personal career and authority. So they patronize their followers, be they landlords or pro-Japanese elements, in order to rally these people around them and use them to gain their factionalist ends.

A major shortcoming in our Party is that its discipline is still weak and slack and that the principle of democratic centralism is not thoroughly established.

The Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC stressed the need to tighten Party discipline, the decisive guarantee for consolidating Party organizations and implementing the Party's line. Discipline of democratic centralism, however, has not yet been established in our Party.

At present many Party organizations pay little attention to enforcing Party discipline, and connive at the liberalist, undisciplined practices found among their members. As a consequence, a large number of Party members fail to lead a proper life in their Party cells. In a word, many Party bodies fail to prove themselves organizations of revolutionaries. Some local Party organizations, far from being revolutionary bodies, have been reduced to a sort of club or social gathering.

Taking advantage of the inertia of Party organizations and weak Party organizational discipline, the factionalists are indulging in sectarian acts at will and alien elements lurking in the Party are engaged in underhand moves.

Further, political education and education in organizational life among the Party members is inadequate.

Our Party members have not been in the Party very long. Our Party is only a few months old and, moreover, a large part of its members joined after the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC. And most of them had had no organizational training or systematic political education before.

In view of this, Party organizations should naturally have intensified the education of their members, but they failed to do so. As a result, many Party members have a very narrow political outlook.

Their narrow outlook is one of the greatest shortcomings standing in the way of the Party's healthy development. Even when alien elements act against the Party upsetting its discipline and accusing its line and policy, Party members fail to see this clearly and to combat such moves in good time, because their qualifications are low.

One of the weakest points in our Party work is poor information work among the broad masses of the people.

The main task in Party information work today is to explain and propagate its line and policy widely among the masses of the people, and educate and rally them closely around the Party. Party organizations, however, fail to carry out this important task properly.

The Information Department of the COC, in particular, carries out its duties inadequately. When the Party's line and policy are made public, the Information Department should propagate them with vigour, but it conducts no organizational work to this end.

This is entirely the result of the irresponsible attitude taken by the department's senior officials. Its director works by rule of thumb without any concrete plan for information activities among the masses and shirks information work which after all is his duty.

The newspaper *Jongno* published now under the guidance of the Party Information Department has many shortcomings, too. Its content is meager and it fails to be an active propagator of our Party's line and policy. It should carry articles advocating and explaining

correctly the Party's line and policy, but it openly prints articles running counter to Party policy. It also carries many intricate items whose contents are not popular. When all is said and done, it fails to be a newspaper popular with the masses. Therefore, it has lost prestige both inside and outside the Party.

These defects of the *Jongno* are due entirely to the wrong ideological viewpoint and irresponsible work attitude of the director of the Information Department of the COC. Because he has factionalist ideas and a bureaucratic style of work, he has not carried out the Party's directives, and has deliberately neglected the guidance of the Party paper. We should examine and criticize this severely.

All these shortcomings are very serious ones hampering the development of our Party work. Every Party organization and its members should redouble their efforts to remedy the shortcomings in the Party as soon as possible.

2. ON THE PARTY'S IMMEDIATE TASKS

Comrades,

We are now confronted with a highly important task, that of hastening the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state. The proper implementation of this historic task requires, before anything else, the strengthening of our Party, the General Staff of the revolution, and increasing its leadership role.

I would like to mention a few of our Party's immediate tasks.

First, the current screening of Party members should be thoroughgoing and the composition of the Party improved.

Although we did wage a struggle to oust the alien elements which had crept into the Party ranks after the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC, we cannot assert that all of them have been driven out. Instances of disparaging the line and policy of

the Party and violating its discipline are still found among its members. This shows that alien elements are still lurking in the Party. Therefore, we should conduct the current screening of membership strictly in order to discover and expel from the Party all hostile elements sneaking about in the Party in disguise including landlords, capitalists and pro-Japanese elements who hinder Party work.

The chiefs of provincial Party committees should participate directly in the screening of Party members. The screening of Party members is a highly important job to ensure the purity of the Party ranks. Therefore, the provincial chiefs should personally take this work in hand and push ahead with it, instead of simply leaving it to subordinates, and make every effort for an early completion of this work.

By making a thoroughgoing screening of Party members we should eliminate alien elements from the Party, ensure its purity and consolidate the unity and cohesion of its ranks.

At the same time, we should continue to improve the composition of the Party.

In the past period some results have been attained in improving the composition of the Party, but this is no more than an initial success. If our Party is to be strengthened and developed into a revolutionary working-class party, it is necessary to continue to push forward vigorously the work of improving its composition.

We should take steps to admit into the Party those workers, poor peasants and farmhands who are making devoted efforts to build a new country. At present some local Party organizations, proceeding from a sectarian viewpoint, keep the doors of the Party closed and neglect to carry out the Party's decision on enrolling progressive workers, poor peasants and farmhands. We should resolutely combat such wrong practices and conduct the work of expanding the Party membership correctly, thereby strengthening the Party ranks qualitatively.

Second, the organizational life of Party members should be strengthened.

This is an important guarantee for training Party members to be true revolutionaries and increasing the Party's fighting efficiency. Without strengthening Party organizational life, it is impossible to temper the Party spirit of the members, establish iron discipline and develop our Party into a united revolutionary one.

By intensifying Party organizational life, we should bring every member to live and act under the guidance of Party organizations. Party organizations should not allow even the slightest factionalist, un-Party practices and resolutely fight undisciplined behaviour and every violation of Party discipline among their members. At the same time, Party work should be conducted strictly in line with the principle of democratic centralism. In this way an iron Party discipline should be established, and all problems presented through the medium of Party organizations and settled by regular procedure.

Party members lead an organizational life in Party cells. A Party member, whoever he is, should lead an organizational life in a certain Party cell. There are neither senior members nor junior ones in the life in a Party cell. Every member should observe Party organizational discipline faithfully and take part in Party cell life conscientiously.

It is important in strengthening the Party life of members to run Party cell meetings properly. At these meetings each Party member's work and life should be examined meticulously and summed up and, in particular, the faults of members in Party life should be severely criticized. Party organizations should encourage their members to participate actively in criticism and self-criticism.

Only when the organizational life of Party members is intensified like this, can the moves of the factionalists in the Party be checked in advance, the alien elements revealed in plenty of time and the Party members educated and trained well and systematically.

In order to strengthen the organizational life of Party members, good education should be given to heighten their concept of organization. We should properly educate all Party members to acquire the spirit of voluntary Party life relying entirely on the Party

organization in their day-to-day work and life, to strive for the interests of the Party rather than their own personal interests and to dedicate their all to the Party. Thus, they will become members with a strong Party spirit.

Third, ideological education and struggle should be intensified in the Party.

Our Party members have not yet armed themselves with Marxist-Leninist ideas nor grasped profoundly the essence of the Party's line and policy, and are incapable of making a correct analysis and judgment of the complex internal and external situation. Clearly realizing that such political and ideological shortcomings of Party members provide favourable ground for the factionalists' sectarian activities, we should intensify ideological education among Party members. Thus, we should firmly arm all of them with Marxist-Leninist ideas and our Party's line and policy.

While conducting ideological education properly in the Party, we should intensify ideological struggle.

In order to reinforce and build up our Party, it is necessary to thoroughly reject factionalism, individualism, liberalism, self-centredness, bureaucracy, domineering and other unsound ideological trends in the Party. In particular, a merciless fight should be waged against factionalism which is now assuming grave proportions in the Party.

Factionalism is an extremely dangerous sectarian idea splitting and destroying the Party. Without liquidating this idea, it is impossible to safeguard the unity and cohesion of the Party and build a revolutionary working-class party. Therefore, we should rouse the whole Party to wage an all-out ideological struggle against factionalism.

To this end, we should expose all sectarian acts of the factionalists among the Party members through concrete illustrations, and convince them of the anti-Party nature and harmfulness of these acts. Only then can all the Party members understand clearly the danger of factionalism and energetically wage an anti-factionalist struggle.

For vigorous inner-Party ideological education and struggle, the Information Department of the COC and similar departments of provincial, city and county Party committees should improve their work and decisively enhance their role.

For this purpose, their staff should be built up soundly before anything else. The Information Department of the COC and similar departments of provincial, city and county Party committees should be well staffed with people who have a firm class stand, are faithful to the Party and competent. When this is done, these departments will carry out their duties creditably and will give proper guidance to inner-Party ideological education and struggle which are problems of particular importance today.

The work of the *Jongno* newspaper office should be improved. This office should therefore be placed directly under the control of the Secretariat of the COC. We should take exhaustive measures to improve the work of this newspaper office and sharply raise the paper's political and ideological level.

Fourth, we should correctly implement the Party's policy on personnel affairs and intensify the work of improving the qualifications of Party cadres.

Party cadres are the leading personnel of our Party who directly organize the implementation of its line and policy among its members and the masses. However correct the line and policy we put forward, they are of little use if we have no cadres to carry them out properly. Therefore, we must always pay close attention to the Party's personnel affairs.

It is important in carrying out the Party's policy on personnel administration to select Party cadres from among workers, poor peasants and farmhands. Our Party is the most revolutionary party working in the interests of the vast working masses including the workers. Therefore, our Party should naturally build up the ranks of its cadres with people of basic class origin. We should not hesitate to choose fine Party members from among the workers, poor peasants and farmhands and appoint them to the Party's leadership bodies.

We should conduct the Party's personnel affairs in close conjunction with the current screening of the membership. While ridding the Party ranks of all impure elements through the screening of the membership, we should seek out excellent Party members and appoint them as Party cadres.

At the same time, it is important to manage well the work of improving the qualifications of Party cadres.

At present our Party workers' qualifications are very low indeed. Almost all Party workers are at a low politico-theoretical level and lack experience in Party work. Therefore, they fail to perform their duties properly. In this situation we have to take thoroughgoing measures to train Party cadres.

We should close down the political schools set up haphazardly in different areas now and establish new ones guided directly by the COC and by provincial Party committees. These schools should be opened not only at the central and provincial levels, but also in counties under the leadership of provincial Party committees, when necessary. These schools should enrol fine Party members and intensively train the cadres needed for Party work while giving reorientation training to those on the active list.

Fifth, we should intensify work with social organizations.

We have already formed such mass democratic organizations as the labour unions, peasants associations, the Women's Union and the Democratic Youth League and enlisted great numbers of people in them. Due to inadequate guidance of these organizations by the Party and poor political education of the people enrolled in them, however, the work of rallying the masses around our Party is not going well and the social organizations fail to discharge creditably their proper duty as outer bodies of the Party. Strictly speaking, only the framework of these organizations has been formed and they have not yet been built up substantially.

We should mobilize faithful Party members to strengthen the guidance of these social organizations and take energetic steps to educate the people who have joined them.

In improving the work of social organizations it is important to build up the ranks of their cadres and intensify their education. Party organizations should redouble their efforts to train cadres for social organizations and to improve their education.

Sixth, we should make every effort to strengthen the PPCNK.

Guidance of the PPCNK should be intensified and its function and role improved. We should build up its staff soundly and educate them properly to be true servants of the people. And we should bring the PPCNK to exercise completely democratic government suited to the will and wishes of the people, to restore and develop quickly the devastated economy, to stabilize and improve the people's living and to carry out democratic tasks creditably.

Information work should be intensified to enhance the authority and prestige of the people's government in the eyes of the masses. The character, immediate tasks and popular policies of the PPCNK should be thoroughly explained and propagated among the vast masses of the people, so that they obtain a correct idea of the people's government and zealously support and protect it.

Seventh, we should launch a campaign for labour heroes in the factories, mines and countryside.

The building of a new, democratic Korea requires the working masses including the workers to work with a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm, displaying all their creative initiative and activity. It is our working people's sacred and honourable duty to strive for nation building.

By organizing the campaign for labour heroes widely in factories, mines and rural areas, we should encourage the workers and peasants to take an active part in the revolutionary emulation for the building of a new Korea. This campaign should thus become a big driving force in rehabilitating and developing the country's economy.

The organization and conduct of this campaign require intensified information work about it among the masses. Party organizations should engage in energetic information work to encourage the workers, peasants and other working people to fight selflessly and

work diligently for the complete independence of the country and the creation of a new, prosperous homeland.

Eighth, we should make strenuous efforts to solve the food problem.

To solve the food problem is the most urgent task facing us today. Unless it is solved it will be impossible to stabilize the people's living, restore and develop the dislocated economy quickly and push ahead successfully with the work of nation building.

Party organizations should take active measures to solve the food problem which is very serious now, and place this matter under their direct control and guidance. They should give close attention to statistics concerning food and to its voluntary delivery and transport and induce Party members to take an exemplary and devoted part in these affairs.

Especially, a food-economy drive should be unfolded widely among the masses. They should be kept well informed of the country's food situation and encouraged to economize on food. And a campaign should be started to help the population of North and South Hamgyong provinces and urban workers at present suffering from a food shortage.

Ninth, we should make good preparations for the agrarian reform.

The agrarian reform is one of the most important tasks in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Only when feudal land ownership is abolished through this reform, will it be possible to free the peasants making up 80 per cent of our population from the landlords' exploitation and oppression and bring about a rapid development of our backward agriculture, propel forward the democratic development of the country and build a new, democratic Korea with success. Therefore, we should strive to carry out the agrarian reform as soon as possible.

The agrarian reform should be in keeping with the actual conditions in our country. To this end, we should compile detailed statistics on the areas and grades of land and the population and number of work hands in the countryside at the earliest date possible,

and investigate in detail the actual state of affairs in the countryside. At the same time, we should listen carefully to the opinion of the masses of the peasants on the question of land. We should make a detailed survey of the views of the farmhands and poor peasants who were harshly exploited and oppressed by the landlords in the past, and solve the land problem in a way best suited to their wishes.

Bearing in mind the importance of settling the land problem, all the Party organizations and members should work actively for the agrarian reform.

We should do our best to carry out to the letter the decision of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the COC and fulfil the immediate tasks of the Party correctly, and thus further strengthen and develop our Party and hasten the building of a new country.

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST
SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL
PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE
OF NORTH KOREA**

February 20, 1946

With the establishment of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea on February 8, our people came to have a genuine central government organ for the first time in the history of our country.

All the people are now showing a great interest in the PPCNK and following its activities. This is natural since our people now have their own genuine central government body which for a long time they longed for so much.

In the past our people waged a bloody struggle to win back the country from the Japanese imperialists and establish their sovereign power, and in this hard struggle a great number of revolutionaries and patriotic people laid down their precious lives. After the defeat of Japanese imperialism and the liberation of the country, our people established people's committees at all levels throughout the country despite all the manoeuvres of the reactionaries and, on this basis, made tireless efforts to set up a central government organ. The establishment of the PPCNK is, indeed, the priceless fruition of our people's long heroic struggle.

The PPCNK is the central government organ that fully meets the requirements of our revolution and the will of our people. It is a

genuine people's government body organized by the efforts of our people and serving their interests; it is a powerful instrument for carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and for founding a completely democratic, independent and sovereign state.

The establishment of the PPCNK is of utmost significance in building our new country. With its inauguration all the activities of the ten administrative bureaus, executive bodies in different fields, have now come under its jurisdiction and the local people's committees which used to operate separately have also come under its unified guidance. The founding of the PPCNK has enabled our people to push ahead vigorously with the democratic revolution and lay a firm democratic base in north Korea.

The PPCNK has a very weighty mission. It should play the central part in implementing all the political, economic and cultural tasks arising now in building a new, democratic Korea. Since what should be done is detailed in the 11-point immediate task set forth on February 8, I will not go into it further. As the PPCNK is taking upon itself the administration of state affairs, I would like to confine myself today to a few problems that must be solved without delay.

1. ON ESTABLISHING A RIGID SYSTEM IN THE WORK OF THE PROVISIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF NORTH KOREA

For the PPCNK to implement all the tasks confronting it with success, it is necessary, first of all, to build up its staff well.

Needless to say, the establishment of the PPCNK, the central government organ, is a great triumph for us. But the formation of the central government organ does not mean that everything will go smoothly of its own accord. How successfully the PPCNK carries out

all its tasks depends on its staff—how well it is built up. Only when it is staffed well and the role of its personnel is enhanced will it be able to fulfil its mission as the central government body and to press forward successfully with the building of a new, democratic Korea.

All bureaus of the PPCNK should be well staffed with competent people ready to devote themselves to nation building. Thus, it must be ensured that true servants of the people work at the PPCNK.

In building up the staff special attention should be devoted to preventing impure elements from finding their way into it.

While there are undesirable elements among the staff, it is impossible for the personnel to be as one in thinking and purpose and to fulfil properly the serious tasks that lie ahead of the PPCNK. Since the reactionaries are now resorting to every trick to split us from within and obstruct the building of a new, democratic Korea, it is especially important to keep bad elements from sneaking into the PPCNK.

Owing to the misdeeds of certain unstable elements in the past, administrative bureaus failed to coordinate their activities and revealed a tendency to group. This tendency is a manifestation of factionalism and, if allowed to grow, could lead to factional strife. On no account should members of different parties quarrel inside the PPCNK without ensuring coordination of activities. In the PPCNK the sectarian tendency should be uprooted, party prejudices and disputes eliminated, and unity among officials ensured.

To this end, a resolute ideological struggle should be waged against all manner of sectarian tendencies among officials and the staff of every bureau should be sorted out. Basing itself on the policy of the PPCNK, each bureau should drive out all undesirable and alien elements hampering the unity and cohesion of its ranks and hindering the work of nation building and should guard against evil elements slipping into its ranks.

Each bureau director should tirelessly educate his subordinates in democracy and nation-building ideology, so that they perform their duties excellently.

The PPCNK should build up its staff firmly and consolidate its unity, and thus correctly carry out the tasks arising in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The officials of the people's government organs should always remember that they are workers of the new, democratic Korea in the service of the people. By endeavouring to constantly improve their political and practical qualifications and to cultivate a popular work style, all the personnel of the PPCNK should become genuine servants of the people actively contributing to the building of a new, democratic Korea.

To continue. Revolutionary order should be firmly established in work.

Unless revolutionary work order is established, good results cannot be expected in work, no matter how well the bureaus of the PPCNK are staffed. In the bureaus such an outmoded attitude as being indolent and working in a happy-go-lucky way should be thoroughly rebuffed.

We should establish the system of doing everything according to a plan.

The enormous tasks confronting the bureaus cannot be dealt with all at one go. There are such things as order and relative importance in work, and so one must work in a planned manner according to order of priority and with due consideration for relative importance. If, instead, one works whimsically in a hit-or-miss manner, one cannot avoid disorder in work or attain due results and, worse still, may sometimes bring about grave consequences. Every bureau should draw up a plan of work and keep to it without fail.

A plan of work should always be drawn up realistically. A plan out of touch with realities is of no use at all.

The bureaus should draw up their plans every month on the basis of a profound study of their area of work and of concrete calculation of all conditions, in accordance with the PPCNK's general line and plan of work. It is advisable for the bureaus to chart their yearly and quarterly plans of work. These plans should be submitted for the

Chairman's approval before being put into effect.

All bureaus should first make correct plans for the implementation of the PPCNK's immediate tasks, which they should submit by March 3. The bureaus should pay special attention to the problems of food, agrarian reform, industrial rehabilitation and education, and include in their plans concrete measures for their solution.

It is important not only to map out a good plan of work but to carry it out exactly and sum up its fulfilment without delay. The timely summing-up of the plan fulfilment is indispensable for developing work and improving the qualifications of officials. All bureaus should make it a rule to sum up their work regularly. Thus, by assessing the merits and shortcomings in their activities and remedying the latter quickly, they should continue to develop their work.

Bureaus should keep up-to-date records of how their own work is summed up. Every bureau should also have the record of the work it has done ever since its formation.

Tightening work discipline is an important guarantee for success in all work. Only when a rigid work discipline is introduced, is it possible to heighten the officials' sense of responsibility, end the disorder in work and successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks on hand. Therefore, close attention should be paid to establishing a strict work discipline in the PPCNK.

First of all, two kinds of discipline should not be permitted in the work and life of officials. No discrimination is allowed between superior and subordinate in observing the set order and discipline, and everyone without exception is subject to one kind of discipline. In the PPCNK everybody, from Chairman to ordinary clerk, should strictly observe the established order and discipline in their work.

Among the PPCNK officials good order should be introduced, before anything else, in the matter of reporting for work and leaving the office for home. It is advisable for the office to begin at 9 a.m. and to close at 6 p.m.

Especially important in strengthening work discipline is close

adherence to the principle of democratic centralism. Without establishing the discipline of democratic centralism, there is no coordinating state affairs nor overcoming local separatism and factionalism. Lack of centralized discipline will cause confusion in state affairs and give rise to the sectarian tendency.

We must see to it that while democracy is given full scope, a revolutionary work discipline based on the principle of centralism should be established among officials. All officials should cultivate the trait of working strictly in accordance with the decisions and directives of the PPCNK and fulfilling them unconditionally. In the bureaus they should resolutely combat the undisciplined practices of acting arbitrarily by disobeying the superiors' orders and instructions and, in particular, of questioning and refusing to carry out implicitly the tasks discussed and decided on.

Strengthening work discipline is not an end in itself but is aimed at building a new Korea with credit. Therefore, our discipline in work should by all means be a voluntary one. Voluntary discipline alone accords with the nature of the people's government, and will increase the officials' sense of responsibility and greatly encourage them to display creative initiative. Bureaus should intensify the education of their personnel so that they may observe discipline voluntarily. Thus, all officials should be made to work strictly in accordance with the set system and order at all times and to display a high degree of responsibility and creative initiative in their work.

Because the reactionary elements are really desperate now, it is necessary to guard well the office buildings of the PPCNK. Thirty guardsmen should be posted for this purpose and a night watch arranged with the bureau staff.

We should redouble our efforts to consolidate the PPCNK and enhance its role. The work system of the bureaus should be properly established as early as possible, and the work under their respective jurisdiction should be vigorously pushed forward. The officials of the PPCNK should devote all their energies to fulfilling their assigned tasks and thus justify the people's great trust and expectations.

2. ON THE QUESTION OF PENCIL PRODUCTION

The PPCNK is now faced with the momentous task of enlisting the vast masses of the people in the building of a new, democratic Korea. In order to vigorously rouse them for the building of a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state, their political awakening and cultural level should be elevated.

In the past the wicked Japanese imperialists pursued a policy of turning our people into “subjects of the Japanese Empire,” the aim being to stifle their feeling of national independence and to erase Korea’s time-honoured history and its unique culture for good. Trampling upon the national spirit of the Korean people, the Japanese imperialists forbade them to learn their own written and spoken language and went so far as to force them to change their names in the Japanese fashion. Their evil colonial enslavement education policy kept the overwhelming majority of Koreans from attending school, leaving them ignorant and backward. At present there are as many as 2.3 million or more illiterate people in north Korea alone. Unless illiteracy is abolished, we cannot raise the political consciousness and cultural standard of the masses or propel forward the nation-building work with success. Therefore, an extensive cultural enlightenment movement should be launched to remove adult illiteracy quickly.

In particular, we should provide conditions for all the millions of children to learn. The future of our nation depends on how the younger generation is educated. Sending all the children to school is a pressing problem for us who are working for the country and the people, a problem whose solution brooks no delay whatsoever. We should open up for the sons and daughters of the working people the opportunity of learning and train them to be splendid people

shouldering the future of the new, prosperous Korea. For this purpose, we must thoroughly reform the colonial enslavement education system of Japanese imperialism and establish a new, popular democratic educational system.

The question of pencils is one of the knotty problems in educating all the children and abolishing adult illiteracy.

In the past the Japanese imperialists did not build a pencil factory in Korea but manufactured pencils in their own country with the raw materials plundered in Korea and sold them back to Korea at high prices. This is why today when Japanese imperialism has been defeated and our country is liberated, pencils pose a serious problem.

At present people's committees at all levels and educational institutions are constantly asking us to solve this problem. The shortage of school buildings and teachers may be settled to some extent by local government bodies themselves, but it will be difficult for the local authorities to solve the problem of pencils by themselves if the central authorities do not take steps.

To solve the problem of pencils is not simply a practical question. This is a highly important political question of rearing our younger generation to become competent persons and of satisfying a desire cherished deep in the hearts of our people. In the past, under the fierce colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, the Korean people were denied an opportunity of learning and their backs were bent in toil. But still, they wanted to put pencils in the hands of their children so that they could learn how to write. This is an ardent desire of our people just like our peasants' lifelong desire to own their own land and farm as they please. How happy our people will be if we satisfy their desire which could never be attained under Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

We should take positive steps as soon as possible to mass-produce pencils.

Some people are suggesting that pencil production be postponed, asserting that it will be difficult because of lack of experience and techniques. But we cannot do as they suggest. Others suggest

importing pencils from abroad, but this, too, is wrong. It would be a different matter if our country had no sources of raw materials for pencil production, but it has no end of wood and high-quality graphite. Then why should we import pencils? Even if we wanted to import, we are not in a position to do so now.

We should produce pencils by our own efforts and techniques and with our own raw materials. This is necessary to cultivate national pride and self-respect in our working people and children, too.

True, it is difficult to produce pencils on our own under present conditions. But if the talents and creative initiative of the broad masses are enlisted and measures are taken to supply equipment and raw materials, we are fully capable of making pencils for ourselves. It all depends on how our officials work.

The Industry Bureau and provincial people's committees should organize the mass production of pencils quickly.

Since we cannot build a state-run pencil factory right now, we should encourage private enterprises to produce pencils. If handicraftsmen and medium-sized and small entrepreneurs in Pyongyang, Hamhung, Sinuiju, Wonsan, Chongjin and other places are encouraged to make pencils, the national demand for them will be met to some extent.

The state should give active assistance to private enterprises producing pencils. The Industry Bureau should seek out technicians and send them to these enterprises, and the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau should assign a certain portion of woods to them so that they can fell trees for pencil production. The Finance Bureau should grant a loan to the private pencil-producing enterprises and should also study the question of reducing their taxes or exempting them from taxation altogether. If they raise the question of factory buildings, the existing buildings should be readjusted and some of them made available for their use. If they say they have difficulty with transport, motorcars should be placed at their disposal.

The private pencil-producing enterprises should devote close attention to improving the quality of their goods. The wood should be

of good quality and the lead should be hard so as not to break.

When experience has been accumulated in the production of pencils and the problem of techniques and equipment has been settled, the Industry Bureau should build state-run pencil factories in the future. It would be a good idea to build a large pencil factory in two or three years' time in the Kanggye area with its favourable conditions for procuring raw materials.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few brief remarks about the arrangement of functions to mark the March First Movement.

Soon we shall be celebrating the anniversary of the March First Movement for the first time since liberation. It is a significant day when our people waged a nationwide struggle against Japanese imperialism. Therefore, the functions to mark this day must be arranged well. We should draw up a detailed programme for the functions and make it public.

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE OPENING OF THE PYONGYANG INSTITUTE

**Speech Delivered at the Opening Ceremony
of the Pyongyang Institute**

February 23, 1946

Comrades,

Today when all the Korean people are waging a nationwide struggle to build a free, democratic, independent and sovereign state in the liberated homeland, we are holding a ceremony to open the Pyongyang Institute, the first central cadre-training establishment which will help build a new country and a revolutionary regular army for our people in the future.

Greeting this memorable day, I extend my warm congratulations and thanks to all the officials and students of this institute who have made every sincere effort to prepare for the establishment of this institute in spite of the difficult conditions in which everything has been in short supply.

The Pyongyang Institute has been set up for the purpose of training cadres urgently needed for the building of our country, especially military and political cadres needed for the building of a revolutionary regular army.

A great many things are needed to build a new country. There must be money, materials and cadres. Of these, cadres who can contribute to nation building are especially needed in large numbers. Cadres are the most important asset for the building of our new

country. The truth that “cadres decide everything” has been proved in the process of our long struggle. If only we have excellent cadres, we can cope with any problem.

In order to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state, our people should have their own cadres. Our people who have now risen to build a new country have a great deal of work to do. So, cadres are needed in all areas—political, economic, military and others. At present, however, we are very short of political, economic and military cadres and cadres in science, education, culture and the arts. This is because in the past the Japanese imperialists prevented the Koreans from learning to read and write freely so as to keep them ignorant and backward and to oppress and exploit them ruthlessly and they also did everything to prevent them learning technology.

If we are to build a new Korea we should have our own army. A country without its own army cannot be a fully independent and sovereign state. So, with a view to training military and political cadres needed for founding our regular army, our Party set up this Pyongyang Institute last November, where classes began early this year, and where today, at last, we are holding its opening ceremony.

When did we ever have such an institute to train our own cadres? Never. Now the young people of our liberated country can learn to their heart’s content.

From now on the Pyongyang Institute should train excellent cadres to serve as the pillars for nation building; we should use this institute as the parent body for setting up more military academies of different kinds. With this aim in view we should gradually expand it and establish the system of training cadres for all arms and services. We should build an air force, too, by our own efforts.

It can be said that the Pyongyang Institute is the beginning of the regular army to be built in the future. I am told that people are very glad to see you marching along the streets in columns, and call you “our army.” This shows how our people yearn to have an army of their own.

As you all know, the Korean people first came to have a

revolutionary army of their own when the Korean communists, arms in hand, launched the anti-Japanese armed struggle. The Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army founded early in the 1930s was a genuine armed force of the Korean people and a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army. The director and other leading personnel of the Pyongyang Institute are people who took up arms and fought together with us against Japanese imperialism. The anti-Japanese guerrillas were equipped with firm revolutionary ideas and possessed of superb tactics and military techniques. Therefore, all of you students should model yourselves on your anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners and become good cadres by following their example.

I have heard that you are very impatient to know what kind of revolution we are now carrying on and how the Korean revolution will develop in the future. I will make a few remarks about this.

It is good that you are eager to understand such questions and discuss them among yourselves a great deal. It is all the more important that you should have a clear knowledge of such questions because the Pyongyang Institute is a military and political school and all of you are to become political or military cadres upon graduating. In future, too, you should study a great deal and discuss such political problems and ask about puzzling questions so as to clear them up.

What kind of revolution, then, are we carrying on now?

It is not our policy to build a communist society in Korea right away. And we cannot build communism at once. Immediately after liberation some people propagandized that the Korean revolution was a socialist revolution, saying that communism should, and could, be built immediately in Korea. These people are ignorant of our country's socio-economic conditions and the prevailing political situation and know little of the stages of social progress.

Needless to say, nothing could be better if communism could be built right now. Communism is the highest ideal of mankind and the best society in which all working people alike can live happily. The building of a communist society, however, is not an easy undertaking, and it is impossible to bypass the stage of revolution to build

communism. Therefore, it will not do to put forward the policy of building communism in our country at this moment.

In bygone days the Japanese imperialists carried on such vicious reactionary propaganda against communism among the Koreans that many of them know little about it at present and some even consider it to be simply bad, and others have a dislike for it. In such circumstances, if we put forward the slogan of building communism now, it would not get the support of the masses.

Our Communist Party does not put forward the slogan of building communism in Korea right now not only because so many people are still ignorant of communism but such a slogan is not relevant yet from the viewpoint of our socio-economic situation.

Our country remained a colony of the Japanese imperialists for 36 years in the past, and feudal forces held sway in Korea for centuries. Although the Japanese imperialists have already been driven out of Korea, their faithful henchmen—the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation—and the reactionaries opposed to democracy have not all been cleared away. The landlords who cruelly exploited and oppressed the peasants in the past are left intact and the wicked pro-Japanese capitalists remain as well. That is why, first of all, we should eliminate the remnants of Japanese imperialism thoroughly from the political, economic, cultural and all other areas, confiscate the land of the Japanese imperialists and landlords and distribute it gratis among those who till it, and nationalize the mountains and forests. At the same time, we should confiscate and nationalize all industrial establishments, railway transport, posts and telecommunications, banks, commercial and cultural facilities owned by the Japanese imperialists and traitors to the nation. Only when we conduct such work efficiently, will we be able to liquidate all the remaining forces of Japanese imperialism and do away with the feudal forces. If we do not advance this policy today and solve this task first, we cannot develop our country into a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

As you see, we are now carrying out the democratic revolution

aimed at eliminating the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces. Only after this revolution has been carried out will it be possible to build socialism and communism. We cannot build communism right away before doing so.

True, the Communist Party is determined that some day it will definitely build communism in Korea, because it considers communist construction its ultimate programme. However, it does not conduct widespread information work about this at the present moment.

The policy of our Communist Party today is to encourage all the people to participate enthusiastically in the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state and to build a new country well by clearing Korea of all the surviving forces of Japanese imperialism and by taking various democratic measures including the introduction of an agrarian reform and an eight-hour workday. You should have a good understanding of this policy of the Communist Party towards our revolution and devote everything to the construction of a new, prosperous country. And you should seize every opportunity to give wide publicity, among the people, to what kind of revolution we are now carrying out and what our people must do and explain them well to peasants living in the vicinity of the institute, in particular.

Now I am going to refer to a few tasks incumbent upon you.

First of all, you should make yourselves fighters who faithfully serve the people, since you will become cadres of our People's Army in the future.

When fighting the Japanese imperialists in the past we were able to wage guerrilla warfare for 15 years even under such difficult conditions, because we, the anti-Japanese guerrillas, fought for the benefit of the people and had the active support of the people. Following the example of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, you should have high regard for the interests of the people and strive to protect their lives and property no matter when and where, and should under no circumstances isolate yourselves from them but should learn from them with an open mind.

Further, all students should do well at their military and political studies. As sons and daughters of workers and peasants, you had no opportunity of learning before liberation. What little learning some of you did have is useless today in building a democratic and independent state because it is out-and-out Japanese learning. All the learning we are acquiring now is for the people and for the building of a new Korea. From now on you should acquire this kind of learning. You should study, study and study.

What then, concretely, should you study and how? “Let us combine theory with practice and translate into action what we have learned” is the education policy to be followed by the Pyongyang Institute.

The *Analects of Confucius* and *Discourses of Mencius* which our forefathers were said to have studied in old-fashioned private schools for years, even for tens of years, in the past or the learning acquired under Japanese imperialist rule was knowledge that tended to cultivate subservience to great powers and was needed for serving feudal society and Japanese imperialism. This kind of learning is of no use any more. We should learn now what is of use in building a new, democratic Korea. The Pyongyang Institute should teach its students political and military affairs in accordance with this education policy.

If you are to become soldiers of a revolutionary army you should be equipped firmly with revolutionary ideas and, on this basis, you must have three attributes—first, physical strength, second, marksmanship, and third, knowledge of tactics. If you are to become political workers in the army you should have a great store of political theory as well as knowledge of military affairs. You should, therefore, apply yourselves both to political and military studies. It should not be the practice to do political study well but neglect military study, and vice versa. Only when you are proficient both in political and military matters, can you become good cadres of the revolutionary army.

In future the institute should closely combine political education

and military training. Military affairs separated from politics and politics separated from military affairs are of no use to us. They are bound up inseparably.

Through political study you should equip yourselves thoroughly with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the indomitable spirit of fighting resolutely to liquidate the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and to build a new country. Besides, you should arm yourselves firmly with the patriotic spirit of hating the enemy and ardently loving the country, enhance your national pride and foster the self-confidence that you can do everything for yourselves. In this way you will root out the servile spirit of the past when you lived under the oppression of others and lacked faith in your own strength and talent.

If you strengthen ideological tempering and foster patriotism and national pride well through political study, you will develop the will to make revolution and endeavour to possess brilliant tactics and excellent marksmanship. The Communist Party and Democratic Youth League organizations in the Pyongyang Institute, therefore, should pay special attention to intensifying the ideological education of the students.

In military training much attention should be devoted to learning modern tactics and improving marksmanship. If you sweat much in training, you will shed but little blood in battle. In military training theoretical study is indeed necessary to some extent, but more field drills should be undertaken. Because our country is mountainous, there must be plenty of exercises on mountains to learn the tactics of mountain warfare and improve shooting techniques in mountain areas.

It is most important for soldiers to acquire infallible marksmanship. There is no special secret in improving the art of shooting. If you want to be skilled at shooting, you should practise a great deal, sighting practice in particular, with hatred for the class enemy and should be well versed in the performance of your weapons to gain confidence. When shooting, you should regard the target as

the enemy's heart rather than a mere target. Then you can hit it without fail. I saw many dummies on one side of the school ground. This is very good. You should do plenty of sighting practice at odd moments in the morning and evening, thus improving your marksmanship rapidly.

The rifles you have now are not very good. But they are the ones seized from the Japanese imperialists in the past by the anti-Japanese guerrillas at the cost of their lives. When we started the armed struggle against the Japanese, we did not even have weapons such as these, so many revolutionaries had to shed their blood to obtain just one single rifle. In the future we will be able to have better weapons, but at present we should value and love like the apple of our eye these weapons soaked with the blood of our anti-Japanese forerunners and engage in intensive training so that we can hit the enemy at one shot.

You should also undergo plenty of close-order drill and physical exercise. In order to work for the building of a new Korea, you must be fit. Close-order drill is important in strengthening army discipline, in gaining the appearance of a regular army and in hardening yourselves physically. In particular, the army will only look like an army when it does its close-order drill smartly. Even when waging guerrilla warfare in the mountains before, we did much close-order drill.

To continue. Military discipline should be tightened. Discipline is the life of the army and the source of combat efficiency. In order to increase this efficiency, therefore, it is essential to establish strict revolutionary discipline in the army.

In the past discipline in the Japanese imperialist army was coercive, but in the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army it was revolutionary and voluntary discipline. In our guerrilla army there was very rigorous discipline, and yet there were splendid comradely relations with superiors regarding their subordinates with affection and the latter respecting the former and all of them helping and valuing one another. This precisely was the source of the invincible strength that enabled the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army to

fight and defeat the Japanese imperialist army of aggressors with a small force. The institute should establish rigid yet voluntary military discipline as the guerrillas did under which everyone will observe the set rules without question and abide by it willingly.

All the staff and students of the institute should strive to build it up in a cultured way. Creating the culture of the new Korea is also an important part of our nation-building work. You should conduct efficiently all kinds of mass cultural work, such as running the Nation-Building Room and pasting up wall newspapers and slogans. By doing so, you should see to it that Pyongyang and local areas follow the example of this institute in the future. I hope that you will build up the Pyongyang Institute in the most cultured way and lead a spick-and-span life, setting a pattern for the whole country.

Furthermore, you should always maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. The reactionaries are now making vicious attempts in many regions to frustrate our work of building democracy. Jo Man Sik who wormed his way into the chairmanship of the South Phyongan Provincial People's Committee is precisely a reactionary of this kind and a henchman of Syngman Rhee. As soon as the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on the Korean question was made public, he openly turned against us, revealing his true colours. Meanwhile, the US imperialist aggressors who have managed to get a foothold in south Korea and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, are sending spies and saboteurs into north Korea to commit vicious murders, acts of arson and subversive activities. There is no knowing what wicked fellows are lying low in our midst. We should be extremely vigilant at all times so that the reactionaries, spies and saboteurs will be detected and purged with all speed.

In conclusion, the Communist Party organizations in the institute should be strengthened and the pioneer role of the Communists enhanced. In particular, a resolute struggle should be waged against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological poison including localism, nepotism and anarchist liberalism, the hotbeds of factionalism, and

the organizational and ideological unity of the Party should be cemented. The Party organizations should give effective guidance to their members so that they will play a leading role, and should accept into the Party those who are exemplary in military and political studies and military service, thus steadily expanding the Party ranks.

The Party and people place very great hopes on the Pyongyang Institute students.

I hope that you will become faithful military and political cadres who make a positive contribution to the building of a new Korea, bearing deep in mind the important responsibilities you assume before the country and the people.

LET US BECOME SECURITY WORKERS TRULY SERVING THE PEOPLE

**Speech Delivered before the Personnel
of the Pyongyang Security Station**

February 27, 1946

In the past period you have fulfilled the difficult and complex task of maintaining public order and protecting state property and the people's lives and property. You must have encountered many obstacles in your work, for you had no experience in security affairs. But you have overcome all the difficulties and registered considerable success in the struggle against the reactionaries who were opposed to our people's government and the criminals who disturbed public order. This indicates that you have worked hard in the interests of the country and the people.

Along with successes, many shortcomings have also appeared in the work of the personnel of the Pyongyang Security Station in the past period. Some security men have been slack in detecting reactionaries and criminals and, after the manner of the Japanese police, acted contrary to the interests of the people.

You must have a correct understanding of the important tasks set before the security organs and make every effort to strengthen security work and become security men truly in the service of the people.

First of all, the security men should efficiently combat the reactionaries.

The reactionaries are now making desperate attempts to wreck the people's government and hamper the building of our new country. The American reactionaries in particular who have crept into south Korea and their lackeys, the Syngman Rhee clique, are making every attempt to stamp out the democratic forces in south Korea and, in the meantime, continue to send spies and saboteurs into north Korea. Therefore, without strengthening the struggle against the reactionaries, it is impossible to safeguard our revolutionary gains and to build a new, democratic Korea.

The security workers must fight resolutely against the pro-Japanese and pro-American elements, traitors to the nation, landlords, comprador capitalists and all other reactionaries, and thus detect and smash their plots in good time.

Further, they should tactfully combat offenders.

In Pyongyang there have now come to light many criminal acts encroaching on state property, endangering the lives and property of the people and disturbing public order.

The security men should fight relentlessly against imposters, swindlers and those who embezzle and steal state property and should bear down on profiteers, usurers and bootleggers. At the same time, they should step up the struggle against attacks on the lives and property of the people, such as murder, robbery and theft.

In particular, an end must be put to the practice of stealing the peasants' oxen and slaughtering them secretly. The peasants feel very uneasy now when rogues steal oxen from farm villages in the neighbourhood of Pyongyang and slaughter them on the sly. If they drive off oxen from the rural areas and slaughter them, how can the peasants do their farm work? You should expose cattle thieves in good time and crack down on secret cow slaughtering.

The security workers should be especially watchful so that no irregularities take place during the disposal of enemy property.

All the property owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation was produced at the cost of the blood and sweat of our people. The security workers must see to it

that the people's government organs confiscate enemy property lock, stock, and barrel and deal with it correctly, and must mercilessly combat the practices of embezzling and stealing it. Thus, all enemy property must be used effectively as the property of the country and the people for building a new Korea and stabilizing and improving the people's living standards.

The security men should jealously protect state property and the people's lives and property and establish strict public order through an energetic struggle against criminal offences, so that our nation building and the people's life progress smoothly.

If the security workers are to conduct this work efficiently, they should rouse the masses to activity. The struggle against the reactionaries and criminals of all kinds cannot be waged successfully by the security organs alone; it can be successful only when the strength of the broad masses of the people is enlisted. When the masses are active, no criminal will be able to hold out for long, and he will soon be exposed. Therefore, the security men should always go deep among the people to strengthen ties with them and mobilize them actively for a struggle against criminals.

While combating the offenders efficiently, the security workers should do a great amount of work in preventing crimes beforehand. You should not simply go around searching for criminals, but should be concerned about the people's livelihood and educate them well, so that no one commits an illegal act.

In Pyongyang now there are many people wandering about without a job as well as waifs and helpless elderly people. If we do not take care of them but leave them to their own devices, they will not be able to lead a stable life and may disturb public order. Therefore, in conjunction with the government bodies, you should investigate and register the jobless roamers and help them find work, and should take steps to settle waifs and elderly people.

The security workers should acquaint the people with legal order and educate unawakened people in democratic ideology. Only then can the people observe the state's laws properly, take an active part in

the struggle against the offenders and build a new country well.

You should discard the work style of the Japanese police and adopt a popular style of work so as to carry out correctly the important tasks facing the security organs and to become genuine people's security workers.

Our security organs work on behalf of the people. Accordingly, the security workers should not take actions that encroach on the people's interests or command and order them about, but should become faithful servants of the people.

Some security personnel encroach on the people's interests recklessly and go so far in their wrongdoing as to illegally arrest and beat people, instead of serving the people faithfully. Such actions are as bad as the behaviour of the Japanese police. Encroaching on the people's interests and beating people recklessly is a manifestation of the Japanese imperialist idea that the police is all-powerful and a bureaucratic style of work.

In the past the Japanese imperialists invented various vicious fascist laws to bring absurd "crimes" against Koreans and committed the beastly act of trampling underfoot even their right to existence. The Japanese police arrested and imprisoned innocent Koreans at random if ever they displeased them to the slightest degree, and tortured and murdered them savagely.

The Japanese police recklessly beat people and trampled upon their human rights, but our security workers must not behave like that on any account. In our society where the people are the masters of the state, the individual and his honour are respected. Therefore, our security organs are duty bound to protect them to the best of their ability. And if the security workers forget this and behave like the Japanese gendarme and police, the people will not follow us willingly.

The security workers should bear this in mind and always work with the interests of the people at heart.

If our security men are to work properly as faithful servants of the people, they should know how to clearly tell friend from foe.

Otherwise, they may mistake a friend for the enemy and harm innocent people.

Therefore, you should examine in detail the class origin of people, their past and their present life. If a man comes under question, you must find out if he belongs to a reactionary class or not, what his job was under Japanese imperialist rule, and if he served with a Japanese imperialist establishment, what he did for the Japanese imperialists and how he treated his fellow countrymen. And you must also check up what position and attitude he takes in the building of a new Korea today. This is the way to suppress thoroughly the reactionaries who obstruct the building of a democratic Korea without touching a single innocent person.

The security personnel should not arrest and detain people haphazardly. When you want to take a man into custody, you must base yourselves on scientifically substantiated data. You ought not to arrest and detain a man unquestioningly just because information accusing him of being a hooligan has been presented. Scoundrels may inform against a good man, accusing him of being a reactionary so as to land him in a trap, and some people may submit exaggerated information against others out of spite. So, the security workers should always handle matters by closely examining the information presented.

And it will not do to be dominated by personal feelings in dealing with a man. If security workers are swayed by personal feelings in dealing with people instead of maintaining a principled stand, they might wrong innocent people.

They should not arrest people at random and, further, should completely do away with the practice of beating. Even when they investigate offenders, the security personnel should not try to settle the matter by beating. In examining a guilty man, it is essential to ascertain concretely why he committed the crime and bring home to him clearly the seriousness of his crime so that he deeply repents and never repeats it.

In order to put an end to violations of human rights in the security organs, new laws should be enacted.

We cannot use as they are the outworn “Six Major Laws” of Japanese imperialism. All the laws of Japanese imperialism were aimed at oppressing our people.

We should have laws for the people. Only then will it be possible to combat crime successfully and defend the interests of our people thoroughly. We should repeal all the evil laws that were in force under Japanese imperialist colonial rule and make new laws commensurate with the will and interests of the masses, so that popular and democratic legal order can be established.

The security personnel should endeavour to eliminate the vestiges of the Japanese police not only in handling cases but in their behaviour. It is said that some security personnel strut about rattling the sabres worn at their side, the very sabres used by the Japanese police before. This is wrong. The Japanese police swaggered about arrogantly wearing sabres so as to bear down on the Koreans. But why should you, the security workers serving the people, act likewise? If you walk about with sabres at your side just as the Japanese police did, the people will fear you and give you security men a wide berth and blame you for imitating the Japanese police. The security workers serving the people ought not to behave like this.

In handling any matter the first thought of the security workers should be for the people’s interests. These days they let off rifles disorderly in the middle of the night in the city. This will not do. If you fire in the middle of the night when people are in bed, they cannot sleep for fear. The security workers should bear in mind that they are duty bound to ensure that people have a peaceful night’s rest and should refrain from firing shots noisily at random while exercising strict night control.

The workers serving with the security organs should be a model for the people. When a difficult and arduous task arises, they should readily undertake to do it themselves and put their shoulders to it, and be an example to the masses in everything. And they should always keep themselves neat and tidy and be polite and modest. In particular, they should not be blinded by greed to embezzle people’s property or

to take bribes. Only then can they enjoy the trust and respect of the masses.

The security workers should now arm themselves firmly with democratic ideology.

Only when they equip themselves with progressive ideas can they vigorously combat the reactionaries, closely guard the gains in building a new, democratic Korea and educate the masses properly.

By strengthening political studies, they should get a profound grasp of the line and policy of our Party and the democratic policies of the people's government. At the same time, an energetic struggle should be waged to eliminate the vestiges of the worn-out Japanese imperialist ideology. Thus, all of them should work in a truly democratic spirit of faithfully serving the people.

Another important thing is to fully guarantee the purity of the ranks of security personnel.

If there are alien elements in the ranks of the security personnel, it is impossible to ensure unity in the ideology and purpose of the ranks and efficiently carry out the serious tasks facing the security organs.

The security organs should get rid of all undesirable elements skulking in their ranks and sharpen vigilance to prevent scoundrels from slipping in. When enrolling new recruits, it is essential to accept good people who have a high degree of class consciousness and are firmly equipped with democratic ideology. And then, it is necessary to help them well so that they do not make mistakes.

The last of all I would like to stress the sharpening of revolutionary vigilance.

The security personnel should not rest content in the least with the successes already achieved or become easy-going and slack, but should always be on the alert.

At the present time false and reactionary rumours are being spread among the people, and attention should be paid to this. False reports and reactionary rumours are extremely dangerous because they give rise to restlessness among the people, keep them from living in peace and, worse still, interfere with the work of nation building. Therefore,

the security personnel should examine concretely such false reports and reactionary rumours with great vigilance and promptly detect the people who spread them.

The security personnel should strictly observe secrecy. At present the enemy is going all out to spy on our secrets. If we fail to keep our secrets rigidly because of slack vigilance, the state's important secrets might get into the hands of the enemy. So, the security workers should properly conduct the work of guarding secrets and thus ensure that our secrets never leak out.

It is not easy at all to protect state property and the people's lives and property and to defend the people's rights and interests. You may possibly encounter many hardships and difficulties in your work. But, no matter how great the difficulties may be, you will be quite able to overcome them if you fight on with the firm resolve to devote yourselves to the end to the country and the people.

The security workers should not vacillate in any adversity or before any difficulties but should vigorously strive with a revolutionary determination to work selflessly for the people and for the building of a new, prosperous country.

I hope you will become genuine people's security workers by making every effort to carry out your honourable tasks with credit.

ON THE SOLUTION OF THE CURRENT FOOD PROBLEM

**Speech Delivered at the Second Session of the Provisional
People's Committee of North Korea**

February 27, 1946

The food situation is acute now in our country. Unless we solve the current food problem, we shall be unable to build a new Korea successfully. Only by resolving this problem can we provide adequate food supplies for the factory and office workers, rehabilitate the damaged factories, mines and railway transport and run the state and economic bodies, educational and cultural establishments. Solving the food problem, therefore, is one of the most pressing and important tasks confronting us today.

To solve the food problem in our country we called on the peasants already in the autumn of last year to launch a movement for the voluntary grain delivery. But the actual delivery results are very low because of inefficient guidance and neglect on the part of provincial people's committees.

If the voluntary grain delivery is to be conducted properly, the 3:7 tenancy system, above all, should be enforced correctly in the countryside so that peasants have surplus grain. In South Phyongan Province, however, on account of the neglect of this effort by the ex-chairman of the provincial people's committee and some other officials in this province, there have been instances where landlords collected by threats more than half the harvests of their sharecroppers

as farm rent. Such improper acts in the introduction of the 3:7 tenancy system have obstructed voluntary grain delivery by the peasants. Besides, there is a certain reluctance among the peasants to deliver grain, while paying part of their rent in cash and secretly selling off the corresponding amount of grain.

The inefficiency in introducing the 3:7 tenancy system and in voluntary grain delivery is also due to the moves of the reactionaries. Throughout the country they are resisting these undertakings in every way. They are scheming to frustrate the voluntary grain delivery and aggravate the food situation in our country in an attempt to ferment discontent among the masses and turn them against the people's government.

For this reason, much of the grain due for state storage has not yet been delivered.

Food rationing, too, is not being handled properly at present. If food is to be rationed fairly, it must first be determined correctly to whom it should be given. But, instead of doing that, food is often supplied to the people who are not eligible for rations. Those who are entitled to rations should get supplies according to the number of days they have worked. In some cases, however, they are given rations even for the days when they have been absent from work without leave. The size of the rations differs greatly from province to province because each province fixed it arbitrarily. 500 grammes a day is the ration of a factory or office worker in South Phyongan Province, and 300 grammes in South Hamgyong Province, whereas 700 grammes is the ration in Hwanghae Province. On account of such an unstable rationing, the food situation in the country has become more acute.

We should quickly eliminate the shortcomings in food administration and take thoroughgoing measures to solve the food problem.

First of all, the work of voluntary grain delivery should be carried out correctly. The local people's committees should see to it that the food grain yet to be delivered out of the amount already allotted is handed over by March 20. The delivered grain should be paid for at

the fixed price.

In order to correctly ensure the voluntary grain delivery, we should explain it fully to the peasants and properly organize the work. At the same time, we should smash the reactionary manoeuvres against the voluntary delivery of grain and resolutely combat the tendency to boycott the delivery of surplus grain.

For success in this work we should organize shock brigades for complete delivery in every sub-county, which are to directly undertake the project and carry it through. The shock brigades should consist of the representatives of sub-county people's committees, public security organs, peasants associations, labour unions and other social organizations.

While properly carrying on the work of voluntary grain delivery, we should take measures to import food grain. Even if the voluntary delivery of grain is successfully carried out, it will be difficult for us to obtain all the amounts needed. Therefore, we must take emergency measures to collect the materials formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and barter them for rice from Northeast China and also buy it for cash.

The Industry Bureau and labour unions should organize work in such a way that industrial enterprises produce quantities of daily necessities, and barter them for agricultural produce to be supplied to the factory and office employees.

Next, it is important to transport and store the grain well.

We must organize efficient transport to carry in time the voluntarily delivered grain to the places of consumption. If the grain is not transported by the date set, the transport of fertilizer for this year's farming will be difficult. So the people's committees at all levels and the Transport Bureau must strive to carry all the grain within the set time.

We should take every measure to store the grain carefully. The people's committees at all levels should improve the existing granaries and build new ones wherever necessary. In this way the grain will be kept from going mouldy.

Another important thing is to distribute the grain correctly and keep its consumption under strict control.

However large the amount of provisions we have obtained, if we distribute and spend them haphazardly, the country's food situation will be as tense as ever. We should, therefore, ration them correctly and tighten control of their consumption, while endeavouring to procure them.

First of all, we must compile accurate statistics on provisions and adopt an efficient rationing system. We should not allow the provinces to define arbitrarily the size of the rations and the qualifications of the people who can receive them and distribute the food as they please just as they are doing now, but must standardize them on a national scale and ration food by that standard.

The size of the rations should not be uniform but be differentiated according to the people who get them. There should be a difference between the amount for people who do heavy work and those who do light labour and also between mental and physical workers. Workers and their dependents should also receive different size of rations. In my opinion 500 to 600 grammes a day will be advisable for a factory worker—600 grammes for a person who does heavy or dangerous work and 500 grammes for the rest. It will be proper to ration 400 grammes a day to an office worker, and 300 grammes to a dependent of any worker.

There must be no waste of rice. All distilleries that use food grain as raw material should be abolished and individual persons should not distil alcoholic spirits secretly. Only those crops that cannot be supplied as food grain and fruit should be permitted for distilling. And food grain should not be used for making cakes, candies, crackers, etc. or as livestock feed. New restaurants should not be opened and the number of existing ones reduced to the minimum.

Every provincial people's committee must launch a vigorous movement to save food among the people. All people should be encouraged to combat the waste of rice without compromise and strive to save even a gramme of rice.

The struggle for the economy of rice must be accompanied by an increased effort to combat profiteers. Profiteers are now shipping rice out of north Korea and making exorbitant profits by selling it. Taking advantage of the country's acute food situation, they are buying up rice to raise its price. So the security organs should keep them under rigid control to prevent them from profiteering in grain.

In order to solve the food problem, we must form a central food committee consisting of the directors of the Agriculture and Forestry, Trade, and Security bureaus, and similar committees in each province, city, county and sub-county. And we must ensure that specific activities are quickly organized to resolve the food question.

The Security Bureau should actively help the work of voluntary grain delivery and of saving food, and the Judiciary Bureau should enact a law on this work and promulgate it.

If we take these measures and work well, we shall be able to solve the acute food problem and provide food for the nation till the harvest of early-ripening crops.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH FIRST MOVEMENT

**Speech Delivered at the South Phyongan Provincial Celebration
of the 27th Anniversary of the March First Movement**

March 1, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen,

Today our 30 million compatriots are celebrating, with the joy of freedom and liberation, the 27th anniversary of the March First Movement which will go down in the history of the Korean people's liberation struggle.

March 1, 1919 is the day on which our people rose in a nationwide struggle against predatory Japanese imperialism, under the slogans, "The Japanese and their troops, get out!" and "Long live the independence of Korea!" It is a day when our nation dealt a telling blow to the Japanese imperialists. On this day our people shed their precious blood for freedom. Therefore, we honour the memory and recapture the spirit of this day to renew our resolve to fight for the independence, freedom and happiness of our nation.

We should emulate the noble spirit of our forerunners who fought bravely for the independence and freedom of our nation against the predatory Japanese imperialists during the nationwide March First Movement 27 years ago. At that time not only people in all areas of Korea but our compatriots wandering about abroad, too, rose together in struggle.

Our forerunners fought courageously and shed their blood unafraid of the Japanese imperialists' guns and bayonets. We should remember this noble spirit of our people and, learning from it, should strive devotedly in spite of all hardships to build a new, democratic Korea, rallied closely under the banner of a democratic national united front.

By the example of the March First Movement, our people showed the world that the Korean nation was alive and, moreover, hated its existence as a stateless people and was ready to fight to the last man for freedom and independence.

In the end, however, the March First Movement failed, and our nation was unable to emerge victorious. We should have a clear understanding of the reason why it failed and positively learn a lesson from it.

The main reason for its failure was the absence of a revolutionary class and party capable of leading the movement.

At that time, the workers came out actively in the struggle and fully demonstrated their unflagging will to fight, but as a class they were as yet unformed due to the backwardness of Korean society as a whole and had no revolutionary party of their own to give organizational leadership to the movement.

Another principal reason for the failure of the March First Movement was the bourgeois nationalists' unstable position, non-resistance policy and political speculation.

If a strong political party of the proletariat, a democratic party, had guided the movement organizationally at the time, the struggle would have been more vigorous and would have inflicted a heavier blow on Japanese imperialism.

As it was, broad sections of the masses participated in this struggle, but because it was unorganized and disconnected it finally ended in failure.

No revolutionary movement can win victory without a strong leadership, without the leadership of the revolution advancing a correct political programme and mobilizing the masses in an

organized and planned way. A struggle which is carried out spontaneously in a desultory way without any organization can never win.

The March First Movement was carried out without a fighting programme and plan of action because there was no political party to guide it. The national liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism should have been closely associated with the anti-feudal struggle in view of the nature of the Korean revolution at the time. But it failed to put forward the agrarian question, a pressing problem for the peasants. As a result, the revolutionary spirit of the peasants could not be displayed to the full.

Another reason why the March First Movement failed was that our people had to fight Japanese imperialism single-handed. In those days Japanese imperialism was very strong and had the support of imperialist powers like America and Britain. On the contrary, although our people rose valiantly in revolt against Japanese imperialism, the international support they received was not powerful enough to defeat such a strong enemy. The triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia exerted an enormous influence upon our nation's liberation struggle. At the time, however, Soviet Russia could not give immediate help to our struggle since it was fighting a hard-fought battle against the American, British, French and other armed interventionists and White Guard.

After the failure of the March First Movement the Korean landlords and capitalists surrendered to Japanese imperialism, and sold out the interests of the nation. However, the Korean workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals both at home and abroad continued to struggle unyieldingly against Japanese imperialism.

Fellow countrymen,

Although the Korean nation has been liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, its long-cherished desire to achieve national independence is yet to be realized. Today the Korean people are confronted with the historic task of building a new, free, independent and democratic Korea by availing themselves of every

favourable situation—internal and international—to strengthen our national forces.

In order to implement this task we should first clear our ranks of pro-Japanese elements and other reactionaries and form a democratic national united front, thus laying the foundation for a new, democratic Korea.

All establishments and organizations at different levels without distinction should clean out pro-Japanese and reactionary elements by means of mass struggle.

Second, to put production facilities into operation as soon as possible, those who have money should donate money and those who have labour capacity should dedicate their labour. Thus, we should conduct a campaign for increasing production, put an end to unemployment and ensure the stability of the people's livelihood.

Third, we should solve the agrarian question. We should abolish the feudal system of tenancy and carry out the agrarian reform on the principle of distributing the land to those who till it.

Fourth, we should reform the educational system by introducing a democratic system, thus training specialists and technicians capable of serving the people in different fields.

We should expel from the sphere of education the reactionary teachers and students who seek to check the advance of our country by continuing the Japanese imperialists' system of enslavement education. By so doing we should shatter the reactionaries' insidious schemes in the educational institutions.

Fifth, we should actively support and defend the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers and give wide publicity to it.

The Soviet people are helping us both materially and morally. We should make full use of this favourable situation to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Sixth, we should strengthen friendly relations with the Soviet people.

The Soviet people are the most reliable friends of our people.

Therefore, we should make every effort to cement friendly relations with them.

Long live the 27th anniversary of the March First Movement!

Glory to our forerunners who shed their blood in the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle!

Long live a democratic national united front!

Long live a new, democratic Korea!

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea!

LAW ON AGRARIAN REFORM IN NORTH KOREA

March 5, 1946

Article 1. The agrarian reform in north Korea is a historic and economic necessity.

The aim of the agrarian reform is to abolish the land ownership of the Japanese and of the Korean landlords and the tenant system. The right to use the land belongs to those who till it. The agricultural system in north Korea shall depend on the peasant economy which is the private ownership of the peasants who are not held in bondage to the landlords.

Article 2. The land to be confiscated and transferred to the ownership of the peasants consists of:

a. The land owned by the Japanese state, individuals and organizations;

b. The land owned by traitors to the Korean nation and by those who harmed the interests of the Korean people and collaborated actively with the ruling organs of Japanese imperialism and the land owned by those who fled when Korea was liberated from Japanese imperialist oppression.

Article 3. The land to be confiscated and distributed free to the peasants as their property consists of:

a. The land owned by the Korean landlords who possess more than five hectares per household;

b. The land of those owners who rent out all of it instead of

tilling it themselves;

c. All the land which is rented out continually, irrespective of its size;

d. The land owned by the church, monasteries and other religious communities which possess more than five hectares.

Article 4. The land which is not to be confiscated consists of:

a. The land belonging to schools, scientific research institutions and hospitals;

b. The land belonging to persons who have done good service in the struggle against the aggression of Japanese imperialism for the freedom and independence of Korea and to their families, and the land belonging to persons who rendered distinguished service to the development of Korea's national culture and to their families, both stipulated by a special decision of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Article 5. All the land confiscated under Articles 2 and 3 shall be transferred gratis to the permanent ownership of the peasants.

Article 6.

a. The confiscated land shall be placed at the disposal of the people's committees to be distributed among the farmhands, and peasants with little or no land;

b. The land of the peasants who cultivate it by their own labour shall be left intact;

c. The landlords willing to cultivate land by their own labour may possess land in other counties only on equal terms with peasants according to this Law on Agrarian Reform.

Article 7. Distribution of land among the peasants for their ownership shall be completed when the provincial people's committees issue certificates of land ownership and enter them in the cadastres.

Article 8. The land given to the peasants under this law shall be exempt from the general debts and burdens.

Article 9. All the debts of the farmhands and peasants owing to landlords whose land is confiscated under this law shall be cancelled.

Article 10. The land distributed among the peasants under this law shall be banned from being sold or bought, rented out or mortgaged.

Article 11. The draught animals, farm implements, houses and all the adjunct buildings and grounds and so on of the landlords whose land is confiscated in accordance with Clause a, Article 3 of this law, shall be confiscated and placed at the people's committees' disposal, and the people's committees distribute them among the farmhands and landless peasants who are to own the land in accordance with Article 6 of this law. All the confiscated buildings may be turned over to schools, hospitals and other public establishments.

Article 12. The orchards and fruit trees owned by the Japanese state and individuals and all the Japanese organizations shall be confiscated and left in the hands of the provincial people's committees. The orchards and fruit trees owned by the Korean landlords whose land is confiscated in accordance with Clause a, Article 3 of this law, shall be confiscated and left in the hands of the people's committees.

Article 13. All the wooded areas except the small woods owned by peasants shall be confiscated and placed at the disposal of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Article 14. All the irrigation facilities belonging to those whose land is confiscated under this law shall be turned over gratis to the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea for disposal.

Article 15. The agrarian reform shall be carried out under the guidance of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea. In the local areas responsibility for the agrarian reform shall be placed on the provincial, county and sub-county people's committees, and in the farm villages, on the rural committees elected at general meetings of the farmhands and tenant farmers with little or no land.

Article 16. This law shall be come into force upon promulgation.

Article 17. The agrarian reform shall be completed before the end of March 1946. Certificates of land ownership will be issued before June 20 this year.

ON SOME TASKS IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION

**Speech Delivered at the Fourth Session
of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea**

March 6, 1946

Today we are faced with the important task of quickly developing education.

As you all know, education is very important for the future development of the country and the nation. Without educational progress, it would be impossible to bring up well the younger generation, the masters of the future, to solve the problem of cadres nor would it be conceivable, therefore, to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state and hope for our nation's prosperity. So the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea must pay close attention to the improvement of education.

Now, I am going to dwell on some tasks in the sphere of education.

First, we must train teachers well.

For the educational institutions to function smoothly and for the younger generation to get a good education it is essential, first of all, to find a solution to the question of teachers. Unless this problem is solved, we shall be unable to advance educational work and train the rising generation well, no matter how many schools we may build, and no matter how correct an educational system we may establish.

We are very short of teachers and the qualifications of those we

have are very low. This is the reason why school education at all levels is unsatisfactory at present.

This is due to the harmful effects of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. As a result of the policy of colonial enslavement education pursued by the Japanese imperialists in Korea, very few people were teachers in the past, their qualifications are low, and there are not many people capable of teaching.

Under these conditions it is imperative for us to train large numbers of qualified teachers as quickly as possible.

For a start, there should be refresher courses for teachers on the active list. Having served in the educational institutions of the Japanese imperialists in the past, most of them retain in their minds many of the survivals of Japanese imperialist colonial enslavement education. We should re-educate them to be true teachers for the people in a new, democratic Korea.

The re-education of these teachers should be accompanied by measures to train new teachers. We should expand and reinforce the ranks of teachers with the sons and daughters of workers, peasants, and other working people. In this way, we will gradually improve the qualitative composition of their ranks and meet the demand for teachers at schools of different levels.

In order to train teachers quickly, we must set up teacher-training centres for the present. We must organize them as soon as possible and choose as future teachers suitable people who have some knowledge already. Later on we shall have to build special teachers' training schools.

The need for a quick solution to the question of teachers cannot be an excuse for slipshod training. The quality of teacher-training is a very important factor that has a bearing on the standard of education for the younger generation. Good teachers will educate their students properly and train the younger generation to be builders of the new country. We must train teachers well and produce many progressive ones capable of making an active contribution to the education of the new generation and nation building.

If we are to train good teachers, we must heighten the role of the teacher-training institutions. These institutions must strive to eliminate the remnants of obsolete Japanese imperialist ideology from the minds of their trainees and imbue them with democratic ideology. They should also teach advanced science applicable to the reality, and adequate knowledge of our country in particular. Thus, they will produce many teachers who are qualified politically and ideologically, scientifically and theoretically and ensure success in educating the younger generation.

Second, we should completely eliminate reactionaries from the educational establishments.

At present, there are reactionaries in some educational institutions who are opposed to the people's power and hamper the democratic development of the country. They try to retain the old educational system as opposed to the democratic one and instigate teachers and students to go against the policies of the people's power. Unless we purge our educational institutions of reactionaries, we shall be unable to wipe out the survivals of outdated Japanese imperialist enslavement education and introduce democratic education successfully.

The people's government organs should pay close attention to guaranteeing the purity of the teachers' ranks. They should deal resolutely with all sorts of unsound ideological elements among the teachers and, at the same time, screen the teachers in all schools and quickly remove the reactionaries. And after this, they should take thoroughgoing measures to prevent undesirable and heterogeneous elements from infiltrating into the ranks of teachers.

Third, we should provide the students with good conditions for study.

Unless they are provided with the material conditions for study they will be unable to show a good performance.

Of course, there will be many difficulties in providing satisfactory conditions under the present circumstances. But we should not begrudge anything if it is for the younger generation. They should

have preference in everything so that they can study without the least difficulty.

Textbooks should be compiled with all possible speed. The shortage of textbooks is now a great handicap both to teachers and students. Textbooks provide a guarantee of uniformity in the education of students, successful implementation of the education programme and excellent study results.

It is important in compiling textbooks to have them reflect correctly the requirements for building a new, democratic Korea and our country's actual conditions. If textbooks fail to contain what is needed for our nation building and do not conform to our specific conditions or if they are mechanical translations of foreign textbooks, they will be useless. They must be compiled in such a way as to accord with our reality and give a correct interpretation of everything in our country. Such textbooks will give students a working knowledge needed for the building of a new country and a correct understanding of our country.

Besides, we should provide the students with adequate supplies of pencils, notebooks and other school supplies. Shortage of school supplies is a big obstacle to the study of students at present. We should take prompt steps to produce school supplies in sufficient quantities.

Desks, chairs, different kinds of teaching aids and furnishings should also be supplied satisfactorily.

Fourth, the educational institutions should see to it that the students of graduating classes this year are quickly placed in jobs.

Lack of cadres is greatly hindering the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and culture and the building of a new, democratic Korea. The situation in our country today urgently requires the schools to send out graduates as soon as possible. So the schools at all levels must quickly send out the students of this year's graduating classes.

Schools at all levels should pay close attention to the education of the graduating classes and teach them the essentials well. Thus, they

will quickly finish the curricula for the graduating classes and produce graduates earlier than scheduled.

Fifth, we should strengthen guidance for the educational establishments.

Improving guidance for school work is important in the development of education. Correct guidance for educational institutions is a guarantee for the solid establishment of a new, democratic educational system and correct implementation of the educational policy of the people's power.

The people's government organs must clearly understand that their prime task is to develop education, and must always keep in touch with the schools and give regular guidance to them. By doing so, they will ensure that our educational system is cleansed of the survivals of Japanese imperialist colonial enslavement education, that a solid material foundation for the schools is laid and that the teachers enhance their role and educate the students with success.

In order to advance education, the central authorities in particular must strengthen their guidance of educational institutions. They must always guide and control the work of education, instead of leaving it wholly to the local government organs.

Intensifying guidance from the centre does not mean that the central authorities take in hand all the schools and supervise them directly. That is impossible. The centre should guide the educational work as a whole and, at the same time, directly control and guide some of the schools. In the future, some of the major schools should be brought under the direct guidance and care of the central authorities. Then, cadres will be trained efficiently and in a planned way, and good experience in education will be gained and generalized throughout the country.

Sixth, we should set up a people-oriented educational system thoroughly so that all the sons and daughters of the working people can be educated.

The new, democratic Korea we are now building is for the people and our government is a true people's power. Our education,

therefore, ought to serve the people; it should be an undertaking for the children of the working people.

During the period of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the sons and daughters of our workers and peasants could not study even though they wanted to and they had to live in ignorance and darkness. We must educate all those children who were deprived of the right to learn in the past.

To this end, we must firmly establish the people-oriented educational system in conformity with the country's democratic development, build many schools at all levels and provide the children of poor families with practical conditions for study. We must prepare ourselves well from now on so that universal compulsory education can be introduced at some time in the future. Of course it is a difficult task. But, if we strive, we shall be quite capable of achieving it.

The people's government organs must strive to improve education for the younger generation so that all the youth and children go to schools of different levels and learn advanced science and technology to the best of their ability.

Next, I will touch on the other problems discussed at this meeting.

Here we have adopted the regulations pertaining to the structure of the PPCNK. They stipulate the organizational structure, functions, role and immediate tasks of the PPCNK, the central organ of power. All members of the PPCNK and heads of its departments should strictly observe the regulations and implement their provisions and in particular strive to carry out its immediate tasks correctly.

Today's session has discussed the basic principles of structure and functions of the Judiciary Bureau, Court of Justice and Public Prosecutors Office. This is of great significance. The establishment of the basic principles is an important step towards wiping out the survivals of the old judicial system set up by the Japanese imperialists in the past for their colonial rule in Korea and harsh oppression and exploitation of our people and introducing a democratic judicial system for the building of a new, democratic Korea and our people's interests.

We should strengthen the judicial organs by assigning true workers of the people to them and help them to serve the people faithfully. At the same time, we should quickly draw up new, democratic laws and regulations suitable to the specific conditions of our country.

In order to improve the work of people's government, we should set up new departments in the PPCNK for general affairs, planning and information work. The General Affairs Department will ensure the work of the PPCNK in general, look after officials' living conditions, and handle personnel affairs. The planning department will undertake the planning of all state activities and compile national statistics. The information department should widely explain and disseminate the policies of the state among the masses and educate them in the ideas of democracy.

Good officials should be assigned to the new departments so that they can quickly establish their work systems and carry out their functions properly.

DEFINITION OF THE PRO-JAPANESE ELEMENTS AND TRAITORS TO THE NATION

**Adopted at a Meeting of the Provisional People's
Committee of North Korea**

March 7, 1946

1. The quislings and their associates who sold out the Korean nation to the Japanese imperialists during their aggression against Korea.

2. Those who were granted peerages by the Japanese imperialist authorities, vice-presidents, advisers and councillors of the Privy Council of the Government-General of Korea, and members of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet.

3. Evil high officials in the days of Japanese imperialist rule in Korea (bureau directors and secretaries of the Government-General of Korea, and the governors, secretaries and consultants of the provinces).

4. Officers of the Japanese police and gendarmerie (over and above police superintendents and noncommissioned officers of the gendarmerie) and judges and public prosecutors who handled the cases of political offenders.

5. Evil elements of the military high political police (those who earned the people's resentment).

6. Heads of the secret agents of the military high political police and zealous secret agents.

7. Those who directly murdered or persecuted nationalists and revolutionary fighters taking part in the national or class liberation movement at home or abroad, and their helpers.

8. Members of the provincial assemblies and cadres of the pro-Japanese and fascist organizations (the Iljin Association, the Ilsim Association, the Green Flag Federation, the Taeui Party, the anti-communist organizations, and so on) appointed by the Japanese imperialist authorities, and the evil elements connected with such organizations.

9. Evil elements who were executives of war industries and chief purveyors of war supplies.

10. Vicious civilians who earned the people's resentment by perpetrating cruelties against them in conjunction with the Japanese imperialists' administrative, judicial and police organs.

11. Evil officials of the Japanese imperialists' administrative, judicial and police agencies who roused the people's resentment.

12. Evil elements who worked consciously as theoretical and political leaders in developing the "movement for turning the Koreans into subjects of the Japanese Empire" and in introducing the systems of "volunteers," "student soldiers," labour drafting and conscription.

13. Those who after the August 15 liberation plotted to wreck democratic organizations and assassinate their leaders, or who formed terrorist organizations and personally directed them and who manipulated such organizations from behind the scenes or who directly perpetrated terrorism.

14. Those who voluntarily joined the reactionary organizations formed by traitors to the nation after the August 15 liberation.

15. Those who consciously engaged in spying or carried on false propaganda distorting facts as spies or propagandists of reactionary organizations obstructing the creation of a national united front after the August 15 liberation.

Additional clause: As for those who fall under the above provisions but no longer commit evil acts and cooperate actively in nation building, their punishment may be reduced or dismissed.

PUBLICATION OF THE LAW ON AGRARIAN REFORM TO IMPROVE WELL-BEING OF THE NATION

Statement Published in the Newspaper *Jongno*

March 9, 1946

The agrarian reform to be carried out now is the first step towards abolishing the feudal system of land ownership maintained in our country for thousands of years and fulfilling the democratic aims of building a genuinely democratic republic in Korea.

The agrarian reform is a great and correct undertaking. The aim of this reform is national independence, freedom and equality for the Korean people; it is a democratic reform to improve the people's standard of living and well-being.

The historic agrarian reform we are carrying out is of immense political and economic importance.

First, the great significance of the agrarian reform lies in freeing the peasants from the landlords' feudal exploitation.

Although liberated from the Japanese imperialist colonial yoke, the Korean people have not been freed from feudal land ownership system. So, the people's government has issued the Law on Agrarian Reform in order to free the peasants constituting the overwhelming majority of our population from the landlords' feudal exploitation. True patriots who love their nation and genuine democrats who have due regard for the people's interests will give unstinting support to this law and endeavour to put it into effect.

Second, the great significance of the agrarian reform lies in making a clean sweep of the landlord class that constitutes the foothold of the reactionaries including the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who are trying to hamper the establishment of a democratic unified government in Korea and wreck the national united front.

Third, this reform which will turn over to the tillers the land owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and landlords, will advance agriculture and, furthermore, will become a driving force for industrial growth so as to give a big stimulus to the national economy as a whole. Herein lies another important aspect of the agrarian reform.

Fourth, the agrarian reform provides excellent conditions for improving the living standards of the peasants who make up 80 per cent of our population and who languished in a dismal state of slavery for thousands of years, thus enabling them to live in plenty; it affords a fundamental condition for the peasants to give their children an education and to shake off the life of ignorance and enjoy a cultured life.

Fifth, the agrarian reform furnishes one of the fundamental conditions for enlisting the active participation of the peasant masses, one of the main forces of the democratic nation-building movement, in the building of democracy, for promoting their political enthusiasm and for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Therefore, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea has recently formulated and promulgated the Law on Agrarian Reform for the building of democracy, its basic task.

All the people, democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea should make every effort to enforce this law in every respect.

Those who have no brotherly love and patriotism will oppose the Law on Agrarian Reform. Those who resist this law, no matter who, are opponents of democracy, reactionaries seeking to divert Korea from its path of progress to return to the outdated feudal society, and

traitors selling out the interests of the whole nation. Only when Korea develops into a progressive democratic society, will it be able to achieve full independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, I believe that all the people will unite ever more firmly and sweep away the hordes of reactionaries who do not love their country and nation, and will rise up in full force to carry out the Law on Agrarian Reform that will defend the interests of the peasants forming the overwhelming majority of our nation, improve their livelihood, develop the national economy as a whole and promote the democratic progress of the country, thus making the agrarian reform a complete triumph.

REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND TASKS OF WORKERS IN THE ELECTRIC POWER INDUSTRY

**Speech Delivered to Officials in the Electric
Power Industry**
March 22, 1946

Dear comrades,

Since liberation our people have set up people's committees by themselves in all parts of the country and established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea which gives unified leadership to the provinces and administrative bureaus. The PPCNK is genuine people's power representing the interests of all the people and striving to accelerate the building of a democratic country.

Recently the PPCNK introduced the Law on Agrarian Reform, one of the 11-point immediate task. This law enjoys the absolute support of the masses of the people, and the agrarian reform is being successfully carried into effect with the active participation of the workers and peasants.

The agrarian reform aims to abolish the feudal exploiting system once for all and make the peasants the owners of land in north Korea. It is a great event of historic significance in the democratic progress of our country. We intend to carry out the agrarian reform swiftly and then proceed to the other democratic reforms—the nationalization of the key industries, introduction of an eight-hour workday, sex equality, etc.

In the name of the PPCNK we will soon publish the political programme of the all-Korea provisional government to be established in the future. On the basis of this political programme, the PPCNK will successfully fulfil its tasks in the political, economic and cultural spheres and thereby lay the firm foundations of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

One of the most important tasks facing us now is to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the nation's industries.

At present our industries are not worth mentioning. With a view to plundering our country of its wealth and provoking an aggressive war on the continent, the vicious Japanese imperialists built some few factories in Korea. Even these were overworked during the "Greater East Asia War" and most of them destroyed when they fled after their defeat.

Only when we rebuild and develop the devastated industries shall we be able to wipe out unemployment, stabilize and improve the people's standard of living and speed up the building of a new Korea. We should quickly rehabilitate factories and enterprises and put them into operation by overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

Our efforts to rehabilitate and develop the industries are now meeting with many difficulties.

We have no materials with which to repair machines and equipment at factories nor are we in a position to make even a screw properly.

We are also suffering from a shortage of food. Under the ostentatious signboard of "simultaneous development of agriculture and industry" and "rural promotion movement" designed to turn Korea into a "logistical base" for the "Greater East Asia War," the Japanese imperialists ruthlessly plundered our countryside in the past. Owing to the war of aggression and the plunder of food grain by Japanese imperialism, the peasants were destitute, scarcely able to keep body and soul together, and our countryside was impoverished to the extreme. For this reason we are now short of rice for the workers and office employees.

Another great obstacle to industrial construction is the shortage of technicians. We need technicians in large numbers to rehabilitate and develop the devastated industries, overcome the nation's centuries-old backwardness and build a new, prosperous country. But, because of the rigid policy of national discrimination pursued by the Japanese imperialists, the Koreans were unable to learn technology. The Japanese imperialists refused to teach Korean workers technical skills, relegating them to unskilled labour only. Even the simplest technique was kept a secret and Koreans were never allowed access to intricate machines and equipment. As a consequence, technical personnel are now a very serious question indeed.

The same is true of funds. Industry, transport, banking and all other key branches of the economy in our country were in the hands of the Japanese imperialists in the past; they frittered away all our materials and property in the war of aggression. Japanese imperialism left us empty safes. Consequently, we have no funds for the rehabilitation and construction of industries.

We cannot allow ourselves, however, to sit idle overwhelmed by the difficulties, just blaming Japanese imperialism or turning to someone else for help. If we bow to the hardships and difficulties and fail to reconstruct the ravaged industries speedily, we shall be unable to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign country, and our people will be reduced to statelessness once again. We must devote all our energies, talents and techniques to the reconstruction and development of industries for the sake of the country and the people.

The workers in the electric power industry have heavy responsibilities for the rehabilitation and development of industries.

Electricity is the main source of energy for industries. Only when we have electric power can we rebuild and develop the factories, mines and other industrial establishments and produce the goods needed by the people. Electric power is also indispensable for the development of agriculture.

We have the Suphung Power Station, Jangjingang Power Station and many other hydropower stations. These are valuable assets for the

building of a new country. If they are quickly rebuilt and properly run, they will contribute greatly to the development of all industries and the rural economy and to improving the people's standard of living.

All the electrical workers and technicians should clearly understand the importance of the power industry and work hard to accelerate the reconstruction of the destroyed power plants and substations and produce electric power in large quantities.

Not all the power stations and substations are as yet operating. Since liberation many of these plants have been rehabilitated by the electrical workers and technicians, but they are far from satisfactory.

While properly managing and operating the power plants and substations that have been rebuilt, workers in the power industry should make strenuous efforts to reconstruct the rest and put them into operation. As a matter of fact, it is no easy task in the present situation to rebuild and get all electric power plants running. But, by our united efforts and talents we can cope with this task.

You are skilled and experienced in running the power industry. You must devote all your skills and experience to the rehabilitation and development of the electric power industry.

It is important in rebuilding and improving the power plants to obtain materials and funds. Under the present circumstances the state is not in a position to provide sufficient materials and funds for the repairs and rehabilitation of these plants. You should procure these materials for yourselves rather than wait in the hope that the state will supply them. You must find out all the electrical materials buried or discarded by the Japanese imperialists when they fled after defeat and collect the unused ones kept by people and utilize them for rehabilitating and building up the electrical power plants. If, after this, you still have insufficient supplies, we must import some from abroad.

If we are to develop the electric power industry, we must solve the technical problems, along with the question of materials and funds. We must pay special attention to this problem because we have very

few electrical technicians now in our country.

We should encourage skilled electricians to pass on their skills to other workers and take steps to organize short technical courses for the training of electricians. Thus, we will rapidly raise the technical level and skills of workers in this field and increase the number of electricians.

To develop the power industry, officials in this field must improve the efficiency of industrial management.

Since you are managing enterprises for the first time, you will encounter many difficulties. But the situation does not allow us to take you from your work right away and send you to study. So you must study on your own. School is not the only place to study; it is quite possible to learn on the job. Fully aware of the prevailing situation in our country, you must study hard while on the job, striving to improve your knowledge of the management and operation of enterprises.

We must not regard anything as mysterious or difficult but boldly push ahead with it. Nothing will be impossible if we study and work tirelessly with a firm determination and high degree of patriotic enthusiasm to solve all problems by ourselves. If all of you work with the awareness that you are the masters of the country and the electric power industry, you will be fully able to solve material, technical and all other questions.

The more difficult our situation, the firmer we must believe in our own strength and bravely rise to the occasion on the strength and talent of the masses and resolve intricate problems.

It is also important to heighten our vigilance against reactionary manoeuvres.

The present situation demands that we be more alert. The American reactionaries, former collaborators with the Japanese, and traitors to the nation are doing all in their power to wipe out the democratic forces in south Korea, while at the same time constantly smuggling spies, subversive elements and saboteurs into north Korea to undermine our democratic construction. The reactionaries lurking

in north Korea, too, are bent on all sorts of crimes—murder, arson and the like—to frustrate our effort to build a new Korea. Under these conditions we must never be slack and easy-going even for a moment.

The workers in the power industry must be highly vigilant in their work. The enemy's subversive activities and sabotage in this field would entail serious consequences in all branches of the national economy. You must be more vigilant than anybody else and crush the enemy's subversion and sabotage in good time.

You must sweep away the survivals of Japanese imperialism, establish discipline and order and intensify the struggle against indolence and slackness in the power industry, and thus prevent the enemy from gaining a foothold.

In conclusion, I hope you will rebuild and reinforce the power stations and substations as early as possible by devoting all your efforts and talents and manage and operate them well and thus produce and supply enough electric power for the development of the national economy and people's living.

TWENTY-POINT PLATFORM

Radio Address

March 23, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Allow me to speak on behalf of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea about the platform of the provisional government that will be set up.

The USSR-US Joint Commission established in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers started its work in Seoul on the 20th of this month.

The meeting of the USSR-US Joint Commission is being followed with great hopes by all the people of Korea. It must work in the interests of the Korean people and find a solution to the problem of establishing a unified provisional government which is earnestly demanded by them.

The provisional government should be a genuinely democratic government capable of fulfilling the desires of all the Korean people.

We hold that the democratic government to be set up by us must without fail put into effect the following political programme:

(1) To completely liquidate all remnants of Japanese imperialist rule in the political and economic life of Korea;

(2) To wage an implacable struggle against domestic reactionaries and anti-democratic elements and strictly ban the activities of fascist, anti-democratic political parties, organizations and individuals;

(3) To grant all the people freedom of speech, the press, assembly

and religion. To provide democratic political parties, labour unions, peasants associations and other democratic social organizations with conditions for free activities;

(4) To see to it that all the Korean people have the right and duty to form people's committees—administrative organs responsible for all local affairs—through universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot;

(5) To grant equal rights in political and economic life to all citizens, irrespective of sex, religion or property status;

(6) To assert the inviolability of persons and their residence and protect by law the property of citizens and their private possessions;

(7) To abolish all laws and judicial organs which were in operation during the rule of Japanese imperialism and those which still retain its influence, elect people's judicial organs on democratic principles and grant all citizens equal legal rights;

(8) To develop industry, agriculture, transport and trade for the enhancement of the people's welfare;

(9) To nationalize big enterprises, transport services, banks, mines and forests;

(10) To allow and encourage free activity in private handicrafts and trade;

(11) To confiscate the land held by Japanese nationals, the Japanese state and the traitors, and the land which landlords have continually rented out; abolish the tenant system and distribute all the confiscated land free of charge among the peasants, making it their property; to confiscate all irrigation facilities without compensation and place them under state control;

(12) To fix market prices for daily necessities to combat speculators and usurers;

(13) To institute a system of uniform, equitable taxation and introduce a progressive income tax;

(14) To introduce an eight-hour workday for factory and office workers and fix minimum wages for them; to prohibit the employment of children under 13 years of age and institute a six-hour

workday for young persons of 13 to 16;

(15) To institute life insurance for factory and office workers and set up an insurance system for workers and enterprises;

(16) To introduce a system of universal compulsory education and greatly increase the number of primary and secondary schools, specialized schools, and colleges run by the state; to reform the educational system for the people in line with the democratic state system;

(17) To develop national culture, science and the arts energetically, and increase the number of theatres, libraries, radio stations and cinemas;

(18) To set up special schools on a wide scale for training the personnel required in state organs and in all fields of the national economy;

(19) To encourage scientists and artists in their work and give them assistance; and

(20) To increase the number of state-run hospitals, stamp out epidemics and provide the poor with free medical care.

Only when the above-mentioned fundamental requirements are fulfilled will the Korean people enjoy genuine freedom and political rights, their welfare be promoted and our country achieve complete independence.

Only a government capable of meeting these requirements will become a genuinely democratic government and enjoy the support of all the people.

The USSR-US Joint Commission should contribute to the founding of a Korean democratic provisional government capable of meeting these demands of the Korean people.

I call upon all the Korean people and the fighters for the freedom and independence of our country to devote all their energy to the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Long live democratic independence and sovereignty!

Long live the liberated people of Korea!

ON MANAGING THE STATE FINANCES PROPERLY AND ESTABLISHING A PEASANT BANK

**Speech Delivered at the Fifth Session of the Provisional
People's Committee of North Korea**

April 1, 1946

It is indeed important that we have discussed the 1946 budget of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea at today's session.

I think that the 1946 budget which has just been approved unanimously has, on the whole, been drawn up correctly though it has certain shortcomings. It can be said that as the first state budget of the new Korea, it is a popular and democratic one which will render good service to the implementation of the democratic policies of the PPCNK.

The state budgets of the capitalist countries including the United States and Britain are, in fact, anti-popular in character, designed to oppress the masses of the people and invade other countries. This is well illustrated by the fact that these countries allocate most of their budget expenditure for the upkeep of the army, police and other bureaucratic and repressive apparatuses. The Japanese imperialist "budget of the Government-General of Korea" in the past was just the same.

The state budget we have now drawn up is fundamentally different. The bulk of the expenditure in the 1946 budget of the

PPCNK is earmarked for economic and cultural construction and improvements in the people's living standards, while spending on administrative work is insignificant. In short, ours is a budget for solving all financial questions thoroughly in accord with the interests of the masses and the requirements of the cause of nation building.

We should strive for the correct execution of the state budget approved at this session. However good the state budget may be, it is useless when not carried out exactly. We should manage our finances carefully so that no deviations appear in the execution of the budget.

Most important in managing the state finances is to strictly observe the principle of solving all financial problems by our own efforts.

Though we have drawn up the state budget, it is nothing but a financial plan. Therefore, we are liable to encounter many difficulties when we come to execute it. In particular, various bottlenecks may crop up in securing the budget revenue. The only way to break these bottlenecks and successfully execute the state budget for this year is to rely on our own efforts. If we do not solve financial problems for ourselves, the cause of building up the country cannot make good progress.

We should exert every effort to fire the enthusiasm of the masses of the people in building the country and thus fully explore the source of funds, mobilize all latent reserves and increase the state revenue. Many of the goods formerly owned by Japanese imperialist institutions and the Japanese are now getting into the hands of profiteers. This enemy property should all be taken over and used effectively for nation building. When our officials organize work well and actively enlist the efforts of the broad masses of the people, financial problems arising in building a new country will be solved with credit.

To ensure the revenue of the state budget and good financial management, taxes should be levied exactly. Needless to say, the situation will change when the economic foundation of the country is stabilized and our society develops in the future. But under the

present conditions taxation cannot but be an important item in state finances. Close attention should therefore be paid to tax-levying.

In our society taxes are fundamentally different from those imposed by Japanese imperialism. In the past taxes served to prop up Japanese imperialism, but at present they serve the prosperity of the country and the well-being of our people. The officials of organs of people's power should explain this in detail to the masses of the people. In this way they will be able to understand clearly what purpose taxes serve under the people's government and pay them voluntarily.

A decision on tax-levying has been adopted at this session; it reflects the questions to be solved at present when the new taxation system is not yet fully established. As is pointed out in the decision, taxes should be collected exactly. The Finance Bureau and people's committees at all levels should take concrete steps to carry out the decision and levy taxes with a sense of responsibility. Taxes should be fair and the collection of them organized well so that the people have no complaints and pay them on time.

You should carry out the decision on taxes without fail and, at the same time, establish a new, democratic taxation system at the earliest date to suit our reality on the principles of the 20-Point Platform.

When collecting taxes attention should be paid to prohibiting any extra taxes that could be a burden to the people. We should refrain from imposing a burden over and above taxes on any pretext and strongly combat such practices. The government organs, security bodies and prosecutors offices should strictly control the illegal practice of imposing a burden over and above taxes and collecting money and other articles.

One of the important questions arising in managing the state finances is to curtail expenditures to the minimum in all fields.

Our people who have embarked on the road of building a new country are now faced with many difficult and complex tasks. We should restore the devastated industries, consolidate the economic foundation of the country, build large numbers of schools and

hospitals, and revive and develop the culture of the new Korea. This requires a great deal of money, of which we are scarce. Under these circumstances the drive to economize should be stepped up in order to succeed in the colossal task of nation building. Even when the economic life of the country is enriched, the drive to economize will have to continue. In the present difficult economic situation, you should do efficient financial work by displaying a greater spirit of economy.

All state and economic bodies and the officials should make a close study of how to do their work better with less expenditure, and make detailed calculations when spending money and economize on state finances. In all spheres you should thoroughly introduce the habit of economizing and saving on every penny.

For good management of the state finances financial discipline should also be tightened.

When financial discipline is loose, irregularities will creep in. The practices of misappropriating and wasting or embezzling state money frequently occur now because financial discipline is lax.

Detailed standards in financial operations should be established and every worker should work according to them. A checkup and examination of state finances should be organized at regular intervals and any breach of financial discipline controlled in good time.

To intensify financial discipline an energetic struggle should be launched against all dishonest practices. The organs of people's power should expose in good time the misappropriation and waste or embezzlement of state finances and apply strong sanctions against those engaged in such misdeeds.

An important task in the sphere of finance at the present time is to thoroughly establish a unified system of financial operations based on the principle of democratic centralism.

Since at present there is no correct system of financial operations, the local people's committees conduct their financial affairs haphazardly and fail to apply and use the funds effectively for nation building.

We should establish thoroughly a unified financial system as soon as possible. Only then can we develop financial work to meet the demands of building a new Korea and ensure success in nation building through the positive mobilization of latent reserves.

By establishing a thorough financial system in the future based on the principle of democratic centralism, you should compile an all-inclusive state budget covering the central and local budgets in detail and conduct all financial affairs under the unified leadership of the central authorities. The staff of the Finance Bureau should steadily improve financial work by getting a better grasp of the country's economic potentialities and the economic situation in all localities, by acquiring a deep knowledge of financial management and by studying the experience of advanced countries in financial operations.

Another question related to financial operations I would like to emphasize is that we should cope with the economic confusion in the country and stabilize the people's livelihood through effective state investment and financial control.

Our present economic situation is very difficult. As a result of the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists and their savage destruction of industries during their flight, we cannot produce the necessary goods adequately as yet. Accordingly, daily necessities and all other things are quite insufficient. Since speculators availing themselves of this opportunity are raking in undue profits, the prices of commodities are unstable. This seriously interferes with the people's living.

While developing the state-run industry and trade through effective investment, we should organize producers' and consumers' cooperatives and encourage individual handicrafts and trade, thereby increasing the production of goods and ensuring smooth distribution of commodities. The financial agencies should intensify control over profiteers to prevent them from making illicit gains.

Next, I would like to speak about a peasant bank.

It is very timely, I think, that at this session we have discussed the question of founding a peasant bank.

Today when the agrarian reform has been successfully concluded,

we are confronted with the task of correctly settling rural financial affairs for the peasants who are now the masters of the land. The allocation of farming funds to the peasants by the state is not only important for assuring their farming but also of great significance in consolidating the results of the agrarian reform and continuously developing agriculture. By setting up the peasant bank we should provide the peasants with farming funds and further consolidate and develop the achievements of the agrarian reform.

It should be ensured that the funds of the peasant bank exceed 200 million *won* as a result of pooling the property obtained through the seizure of the financial associations, the Japanese imperialists' agencies of rural exploitation, and the money invested voluntarily by broad sections of the peasantry.

The peasant bank should conduct all its activities as a cooperative credit organization embracing broad sections of the peasantry.

In order to function properly as a peasants' cooperative credit organization, the peasant bank should set up a wide network of branch offices throughout the rural areas and have its roots deep in the countryside. It should provide the peasants with adequate funds for farming and, further, handle the financing of agricultural development.

The peasant bank should raise enough funds to be able to make loans by encouraging more savings and recruiting shareholders on a wide scale. And, for the moment, in order to ensure success in the first spring ploughing following the agrarian reform, sufficient farming funds should be allowed to the peasants who have become the masters of the land, and by so doing, the infiltration of usury funds into the countryside should be thoroughly prevented. Since it is literally a cooperative credit organization of the peasants, the peasant bank should organize its business activities in detail to suit the realities of the rural areas.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about the convocation of the First Enlarged Meeting of the PPCNK.

In March, we carried out the historic agrarian reform with success.

To sum up in detail the fulfilment of the reform and take proper steps to follow up this success is of great significance in guaranteeing the overall victory of the democratic revolution. So on the 13th of this month we are going to convene the First Enlarged Meeting of the PPCNK to review the agrarian reform.

Good preparations for the meeting should be made by chairmen of all provincial people's committees and heads of their agriculture and forestry departments, not to speak of members of the PPCNK, and other workers who will participate in it. The meeting will have to sum up the achievements scored in the agrarian reform and, at the same time, examine and analyse in depth the experience that will be a lesson in our work and the shortcomings revealed.

The relevant departments of the PPCNK should conduct the organizational work for the meeting thoroughly. To ensure its success we should all make adequate preparations for this First Enlarged Meeting of the PPCNK.

**CONGRATULATORY SPEECH DELIVERED
AT THE MEETING TO FORM THE UNION
OF PEOPLE'S TEACHERS
OF NORTH KOREA**

April 5, 1946

Dear teachers,

To begin with, I warmly congratulate this meeting of the representatives of teachers who have come from all provinces of north Korea to form the Union of People's Teachers.

For the past 36 years the vicious Japanese imperialists not only politically repressed and economically exploited the Korean people but maltreated them culturally too. As regards education, in particular, the Japanese imperialists drove the Korean people into the mire of illiteracy, a people with a 5 000-year history and a brilliant culture, and forced on them a colonial enslavement education merely to serve Japanese imperialism. They even tried to erase the national traits of our people by depriving them of the spoken and written language they were using in everyday life. This was precisely an education policy for "turning Koreans into subjects of the Japanese Empire" which the Japanese imperialists had been making such a noise about.

Some progressive teachers fought bravely against this policy of the Japanese imperialists, only to be jailed. Most teachers, however, tamely followed their enslavement education policy and some reactionary teachers carried it out to the letter as their stooges.

Those teachers who once followed the Japanese imperialists' policy of colonial enslavement education should criticize themselves for it, even though they did so against their will to earn a living under the heinous tyranny. This is absolutely essential for you to play the vanguard role in the progressive, democratic educational work of the future.

The August 15 liberation is liberation for education, too. We should do away with the Japanese imperialists' system of colonial enslavement education as soon as possible and establish a new system of educating the younger generation based on the principles of progressive democracy.

Our society is not yet completely rid of the survivals of feudalism nor has it eliminated the remnants of Japanese imperialism implanted over the past 36 years. The sphere of education, in particular, still retains a great deal of Japanese imperialist remnants, and at present the reactionary moves of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are pronounced in this domain.

Unless the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism are eliminated from all fields of society, we cannot promote the democratic development of the country nor build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a genuine people's government, is now steadily carrying out democratic tasks. In north Korea the feudal system of land ownership has already been transformed in the most democratic way, with the result that the peasants making up 80 per cent of the population have been freed from feudal exploitation and oppression once and for all. However, the building of a progressive, democratic Korea is not complete with the agrarian reform alone. In order to build a new Korea we should further consolidate the successes of the agrarian reform and, on this basis, introduce democratic reforms in all fields of political, economic and cultural life.

In education we should make a clean sweep of the remnants of feudalism and Japanese imperialism according to the 20-Point

Platform made public by the PPCNK, and introduce a truly democratic education for the broad masses of the people, instead of an education for a privileged class alone.

The members of the Union of People's Teachers of North Korea should become educationalists for the people and, moreover, become the core elements of teachers advancing bravely for the building of a progressive, democratic state.

In conclusion, I wish the Union of People's Teachers of North Korea great success in its work.

ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the Sixth Session
of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea**

April 8, 1946

Today I would like to speak on some problems for the improvement of the posts and telecommunications service.

The Posts and Telecommunications Bureau is entrusted with very important work. It can be said that posts and telecommunications are the nerve of a country. Just as a man cannot move properly if his nervous system is benumbed, so the state cannot function correctly if its posts and telecommunications system is paralysed.

An efficient posts and telecommunications service is of very great significance in building a new, democratic Korea. Only when the posts and telecommunications service is satisfactory can all policies of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea be swiftly transmitted to its lowest units and everything taking place at lower levels be promptly reported to the higher levels. Then, the work of nation building will go successfully under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

The posts and telecommunications service is closely related to the daily life of the people. Only when the posts and telecommunications organs operate normally can the people live conveniently, keeping in touch with one another. Right after the country's liberation, therefore, while rebuilding the industrial enterprises and transport facilities

severely damaged by the Japanese imperialists, we concentrated our efforts on rehabilitating and reinforcing posts and telecommunications facilities.

Because of the inefficient work of the officials in the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau, however, the posts and telecommunications service is not working smoothly now. Telegraph and telephone services between the capital and all provincial seats are not working satisfactorily and the mail delivery system has not been established properly. So far the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau has done virtually nothing except to design a few stamps and raise the telegram charges needlessly.

These facts show that bureau officials are inefficient in their leadership, or that they deliberately neglect the work of nation building.

We must see to it that the shortcomings in the bureau's work are quickly rectified and that the posts and telecommunications service is radically improved.

To improve the posts and telecommunications service, it is necessary, first of all, to build up well the staff in this field.

This is a decisive guarantee for success in the posts and telecommunications service. No matter how correct the measures we adopt to improve the service, it is impossible to carry them out unless the staff in this field are built up well. So we should give priority to building up the posts and telecommunications staff.

We must reorganize the ranks of posts and telecommunications officials. We cannot expect progress in the posts and telecommunications service if undesirable elements and loafers employed in it remain undisturbed. We should examine and know more about the staff of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau and post offices and all the rest of the communications workers, and then completely remove the reactionaries, loafers and idlers. The deputy director of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau and other officials who have failed to work properly should be replaced. And it is advisable to transfer to other jobs the 60-odd redundant persons employed by the savings management department under the

Posts and Telecommunications Bureau.

The reorganizing of the ranks of posts and telecommunications workers should be accompanied by the appointment to this service of good people who are enthusiastic in nation building. In the future we should also take measures to train posts and telecommunications workers systematically.

Further, the posts and telecommunications workers should have a greater sense of responsibility.

We have very limited posts and telecommunications equipment and few technicians at present. Under these conditions all posts and telecommunications workers should strive to fulfil their duties with a high degree of enthusiasm in nation building. This is the way to ensure a satisfactory posts and telecommunications service.

Ensuring efficient telegraph and telephone communications is one of the principal tasks for the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau. The bureau must give the workers employed in these branches a clear understanding of the importance of telegraph and telephone services so that they work responsibly. In particular, they should work hard to raise their technical skills and master their apparatuses and equipment. Thus, they will guarantee prompt and accurate telegraph and telephone communications.

It is also important to make sure that the postal workers do their job conscientiously.

At present mail deliveries are not prompt. Accordingly, letters get to their destination very slowly, which inconveniences people. This shows that the postal workers are not working like masters.

If we are to improve the postal service, we should see to it that the mail delivery system is properly established and, at the same time, that mistakes in handling the mail are dealt with resolutely. Those who neglect their work by handling the mail roughly and delaying deliveries should be punished severely.

A major task in ensuring a better posts and telecommunications service is to put the posts and telecommunications equipment in order.

The posts and telecommunications facilities have not yet been fully rehabilitated and put in order. Telegraph and telephone facilities in particular are far from perfect and this causes a considerable hindrance to nation building. All posts and telecommunications facilities should be quickly rebuilt and put in order.

The Posts and Telecommunications Bureau must concentrate efforts on providing telegraph and telephone equipment on a nationwide scale. We should quickly establish direct telephone lines between the capital and provinces. Meanwhile, the telephone lines between provinces and those linking provinces and counties should be completely restored, and telephone communications should also be made available between counties and sub-counties. The postal service facilities should be put in order and also measures taken to provide transport for quick mail deliveries.

We should pay close attention to broadcasting facilities. The Posts and Telecommunications Bureau must strive to improve and provide more broadcasting facilities and increase the strength of transmitters, so that the correct policies of the people's power and our people's successes in the building of a new country can become widely known at home and abroad.

Apparatuses and equipment used in the field of posts and telecommunications should be taken good care of. Communications and broadcasting facilities, however good, cannot work efficiently, unless handled carefully. So the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau must ensure that a proper system of handling apparatuses and equipment is established and that they are checked, repaired and maintained at the right moment. And posts and telecommunications workers should take good care of them and carefully protect them from the enemy's subversive activities.

The Posts and Telecommunications Bureau should investigate the radios owned both by individuals and organizations and get all short-wave transmitters and receivers registered for strict control.

In order to improve the work of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau, its director and other leading officials

must elevate their role. Whether its shortcomings are rectified quickly or not depends largely on the role of the leading officials in this field. They should not work haphazardly, but do their jobs according to a concrete plan. And they should always study their work and frequently consult their subordinates when working out difficult problems. They had no experience in politics and it is only a short time since they started working for nation building. So they will probably make many mistakes in their work. But, if they learn earnestly, deeply study their work and consult each other to get the right opinion, they will be able to correct mistakes before it is too late and ensure success in the posts and telecommunications service.

In order to set the posts and telecommunications service to rights, it is necessary to strengthen guidance and inspection, and financial inspection in particular. The Finance Bureau should form an inspection group and investigate the financial affairs of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau by April 20. At the same time, every provincial people's committee should examine and acquaint itself with the work of the posts and telecommunications organizations in the province and report the results to the PPCNK before April 15. The PPCNK should make an overall analysis of the work of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau by May 1 and take appropriate steps to develop the posts and telecommunications service.

I firmly believe that the officials of the Posts and Telecommunications Bureau will deeply understand the heavy responsibility entrusted to them, strive to carry it out correctly, and thus quickly improve the posts and telecommunications service.

THE RESULTS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM AND FUTURE TASKS

**Report to the Sixth Enlarged Executive
Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing
Committee of the Communist Party
of North Korea**

April 10, 1946

Comrades,

In view of the urgent demands of our social development and the internal and external situation, the Party decided to introduce an agrarian reform in north Korea and directed all its forces to this work.

All Party organizations and members have waged an active struggle to put the Party's decision into effect. As a result, we have carried out the agrarian reform, a great democratic reform, smoothly and victoriously within the appointed time.

Through the agrarian reform, the Party proved the correctness of its policy and the masses of the people came to understand clearly that only our Party genuinely represents their interests. All the people, calling for the independence and democratic development of the country, warmly supported our Party's policy.

Relying on the support of the broad masses, the Party carried out this democratic task with daring, overcoming all the desperate manoeuvres and obstructions of reactionary elements and traitors to the people.

1. HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

First, the agrarian reform is the initial step in implementing the task of the democratization of Korea.

It was the feudal relations that held back social development in Korea for a long time. Japanese imperialism maintained and strengthened the feudal relations of land ownership in the countryside in order to prevent the democratic development of Korea. Owing to the harsh feudal exploitation and oppression of the landlords, the masses of the peasants groaned in hunger and poverty.

As a result of the agrarian reform, the feudal system of land ownership, the socio-economic basis of the anti-democratic reactionary forces, has been abolished in our countryside once and for all. The peasants in north Korea have been freed from the shackles of feudalism and broad vistas have been opened up before them for the rapid development of agriculture and the improvement of their life.

Second, the agrarian reform has turned the north Korean countryside from a base of reaction into a base of democracy.

The peasants, formerly kept in bondage to the landlords, have become free peasants and masters of the land. Along with the working class, the advanced class in our country, they have become the main force for establishing a prosperous, unified, democratic and independent state.

With the agrarian reform, our Party embarked upon the great historic task of converting north Korea into a firm democratic base for the reunification of the country. To build a unified democratic Korea it is imperative to turn north Korea into a mighty democratic

base, politically, economically and culturally. This task cannot be accomplished unless the peasants, who comprise the overwhelming majority of our country's population, are emancipated from the yoke of the landlords and our backward agriculture is developed rapidly.

Our recent agrarian reform will greatly increase the political enthusiasm of the peasants in the struggle to build a prosperous, democratic and independent state and will accelerate the democratization of north Korea. It will also increase the productivity in agriculture, improve the livelihood of the peasants and facilitate the rehabilitation of industry. This will prove a tremendous encouragement to the people in south Korea in their struggle to build a unified democratic Korea and will strengthen the democratic forces in south Korea.

All the Korean people demand a provisional government of the type of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, capable of carrying out such democratic reforms as the agrarian reform. They consider that the PPCNK which implemented this reform with determination should form the nucleus of a unified provisional government of Korea and serve as the model for it.

Third, the agrarian reform has a tremendous international significance.

Since the end of the Second World War, the liberation struggle of the Asian peoples has been surging forward with tremendous force. The Korean people have carried out a thoroughgoing agrarian reform, the first of its kind in Asia.

Our agrarian reform is therefore not only a great landmark in Korean history but also an event of great significance in the liberation struggle of the peoples of the East. It will greatly inspire the oppressed peoples of the East in their liberation struggle against imperialism and domestic feudal forces.

2. PROGRESS AND SUCCESS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Following the announcement of the Law on Agrarian Reform by the PPCNK, our Party concentrated all its efforts on successfully carrying out this work. The entire Party, from the centre down to the organs at the lowest level, came to the assistance of the people's committees, and our Party members played the role of nucleus among the masses.

The Party strengthened the united front with the democratic political parties and social organizations and roused them to take an active part in this work. At the same time, it helped the poor peasants and farmhands to organize the rural committees so that they could play the leading role in the agrarian reform and become its executors. This policy of our Party proved correct.

In South Phyongan Province, 2 255 rural committees were formed with a membership of 15 785, and nearly 800 000 peasants gave them assistance. The number of rural committees in the six provinces totalled over 11 500, with a combined membership of 90 697.

Thus, the broad masses of the peasants were mobilized and the peasants themselves were made the executors of the agrarian reform, with the result that their political zeal and class consciousness increased greatly in their actual struggle against the landlords. The formation of the rural committees made up of poor peasants and farmhands was the basic factor contributing to the thorough implementation of the agrarian reform. The broad peasant masses actively participated in the carrying out of the agrarian reform, displaying a high degree of enthusiasm. In the course of the agrarian reform, many activists emerged from among the peasants.

The officials and information workers of all political parties and social organizations explained and publicized the Law on Agrarian Reform to the peasant masses, and all the peasants were mobilized to investigate the landlords and their lands and other means of production. After the investigation, the distribution of land started, which on the whole was conducted smoothly.

The peasants know rural conditions better than those who study rural affairs at their desks and, therefore, could correctly survey and distribute the land without their help.

Our Party scrupulously followed its mass line in carrying out the agrarian reform, with the result that it was able to win over the vast majority of the people and rally them closely around itself. Through this undertaking, the masses came to regard our Party as the genuine defender of their interests and place boundless trust in it. This is fully proved by the tens of thousands of letters, some actually written in blood, addressed by peasants to the Party Central Organizing Committee and the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, describing how greatly moved and happy they were to receive land. Since the agrarian reform, the peasants have rallied more firmly around our Party and given warm support to its policies.

In the course of the agrarian reform, our Party recruited the best elements from among the poor peasants and farmhands and thus firmly built up its position in the countryside, improved its composition and expanded and strengthened its ranks.

Party organizations in North Phyongan Province absorbed 3 272 new recruits into membership and those in North and South Hamgyong provinces, South Phyongan, Hwanghae and Kangwon provinces admitted a total of 9 058 new members (one-third of whom are poor peasants) during the recent agrarian reform. All this shows that, through the agrarian reform, the prestige of our Party rose in the eyes of the broad peasant masses and the Party established a firm footing in the rural areas.

Since the agrarian reform, the appearance of our countryside has

changed radically. The toiling peasants are now masters there. In every ri and sub-county the landlords and rich farmers have been expelled from the organs of the people's power and the peasants, with the poor peasants and farmhands as the core, have taken power firmly into their own hands.

Thus, the agrarian reform was completed victoriously because our Party members and the broad peasant masses, particularly the poor peasants and farmhands, took an active part in it under the leadership of our Party.

As a result of the agrarian reform, 1 000 325 hectares of land owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and landlords were confiscated, and 981 390 hectares of it distributed to 724 522 landless and land-short peasant households.

How was it possible to achieve such a victorious enforcement of the agrarian reform?

First, the reform was an urgent task for meeting the vital demands and centuries-old desire of the peasantry. The Korean peasants had long suffered from feudal exploitation and were subjected to double or treble exploitation and oppression under Japanese imperialist rule. They led a life as miserable as that of serfs, eking out a bare subsistence in the grip of poverty and hunger.

The most cherished desire of the peasants was to own land and farm it for themselves. But this desire could not be realized during the rule of the Japanese imperialists, when power was in the hands of the foreign aggressors.

After liberation, the Party, with a view to meeting the age-old desire of the peasants for land, inspired them first to struggle for a 3:7 tenancy system, thereby preparing them ideologically for carrying out the agrarian reform to come. The political awareness and enthusiasm of the peasants were enhanced in this struggle for the 3:7 system. The peasants realized that they had acquired the right to speak up and fight for their own interests and that they must free themselves from landlord exploitation.

Gradually, the demand of the peasants for land began to rise.

Immediately before the agrarian reform, the Party centre alone received more than 30 000 letters from them demanding land. A great many similar letters are now piled up at the PPCNK. Towards the end of February this year, over 300 representatives of the peasants from all parts of north Korea came to the PPCNK to convey the demand of all the peasants for land. On the anniversary of the March First Movement this year, over two million peasants, carrying sickles and hoes, held demonstrations in various parts of north Korea, demanding land. The Party considered it a high time to carry out the task of satisfying this urgent demand.

The Party knew that the historic task of the agrarian reform could be carried out successfully only with the active support and participation of the peasants. It therefore saw to it that the Law on Agrarian Reform was discussed at the peasants' meetings. The peasants warmly welcomed the law and fought vigorously for its enforcement because they fully realized that it was a precise reflection of their long-cherished desire for land.

Second, our peasants were politically awakened and prepared to carry out the agrarian reform. After liberation, they participated in the people's power as genuine masters of the state and actively joined in the work of eliminating the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who stood in the way of the democratic development of Korea. They also safeguarded their class interests by organizing peasants associations and, through these organizations, grew into a powerful force fully capable of fighting the landlord class. Social organizations such as the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union also played a great part in enhancing the political awareness of the peasantry.

Third, the agrarian reform was carried out on the basis of a solid democratic united front. Political parties and social organizations in north Korea are not disunited as their counterparts are in south Korea but maintain firm unity of action. All the parties and social organizations in north Korea took part in the agrarian reform as a united, organized force.

In carrying out the agrarian reform, our Party endeavoured to cement the united front with all parties and groupings and all sections and classes and to mobilize their forces to the full. Thus, not only were our Party members mobilized to give assistance to the rural committees but also the organized masses of more than three million people—the Federation of the Peasants Associations of North Korea with a membership of 700 000, the labour unions with 350 000, the Democratic Party of Korea, the New Democratic Party of Korea, the Women's Union with 300 000, the Democratic Youth League with 500 000 as well as the Pyongyang Institute, cultural organizations, the General Federation of Art Unions, the Teachers Union, the People's Theatrical Company, etc. This represents a victory for the united front policy which our Party has consistently pursued.

Fourth, the victory of the agrarian reform was assured by a solid alliance between the workers and the peasants. Supported by the working class, the peasants grew more confident in their battle against the landlords and showed greater initiative.

The General Federation of Labour Unions of North Korea selected 1 150 of the finest workers from such labour unions as the miners', railway workers', metal workers' and chemical workers' unions in Pyongyang and sent them out to all counties in South Phyongan Province to help the peasants. In all other places, too, the workers gave active help to the peasants in the struggle to carry out the agrarian reform. The worker-peasant alliance was thus strengthened through the enforcement of the agrarian reform. This alliance will prove to be the decisive guarantee of victory in the struggle to build a democratic and independent state in the future.

Fifth, the victory of the agrarian reform is a consequence of the positive activities of the rural committees. These committees, being the basis of power organs in the rural areas, stood in the vanguard of the struggle against the landlords, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

All these factors enabled us to win a great victory in the historic agrarian reform.

3. DEFECTS REVEALED AND EXPERIENCE GAINED IN THE COURSE OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Our Party played its leadership role very well in the struggle to carry out the agrarian reform. It crushed the resistance of the reactionary forces and won a great victory by enlisting the revolutionary zeal and activity of the peasant masses to the fullest extent on the basis of its mass line and by ensuring the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Through the agrarian reform, the strength of the Party increased and its influence and prestige rose greatly among the broad masses.

However, we must admit that some defects and errors were revealed in the course of the work. We must draw lessons from them.

First, certain organs and Party organizations committed Rightist and “Leftist” errors in the agrarian reform.

There were cases in some places where those with less than five hectares of land were classified as landlords, which led to needlessly making more enemies. There were quite a few instances where people were haphazardly listed as pro-Japanese in an unprincipled way causing unwelcome confusion, and where regulations were violated out of personal revenge. Of course, these errors were corrected in good time.

Certain organizations of the Party committed these errors because their members failed to grasp the essence of its political line and policies and lacked experience and training in executing the line.

Our Party must, therefore, continue to improve its composition, intensify the inner-Party struggle against petty-bourgeois ideas and strengthen the education of its members in the Party’s policies and Marxism-Leninism.

There were also cases where some backward peasants sympathized with the landlords and even shielded them by falsely declaring that they were the owners of land which, in fact, belonged to the landlords. All of this took place because class education in the Party had been insufficient and because information work to inspire the masses with hatred for the landlords had been inadequate.

Hence, the Party should always oppose “Leftist” as well as Rightist deviations and consistently educate its members in the ideology of the working class.

Second, the growth of Party membership was not satisfactory. The South Phyongan and South Hamgyong provincial Party committees failed to take measures to draw the finest and most progressive elements of the working masses into the Party during the agrarian reform.

Party organizations should draw in the finest elements during such an acute class struggle and organize rural Party cells. But some failed to do this properly. We must correct this error, expand the ranks of the Party and strengthen its organizations both organizationally and ideologically in order to reinforce its position in the countryside.

One of the main tasks confronting our Party is to unite under its influence the masses of the peasants liberated from landlord exploitation and admit to membership those poor peasants and farmhands who were active in the struggle for the agrarian reform.

Third, the Party’s information work was weak. In particular, information work by the provincial Party committees was unsatisfactory and in general the organization and role of information squads were below the mark. This defect found its most glaring expression in South Phyongan Province. Neither slogans nor posters were put up in some areas of the province. I went to Taedong County a week after the promulgation of the law, but there was not a poster or slogan to be seen.

The situation was the same in Hwanghae Province. Newspapers carrying the text of the Law on Agrarian Reform were not distributed to the peasants and they did not even know the name of the Party

paper. Newspapers lay in piles in the provincial and county Party headquarters. This is indeed a serious matter. It made it impossible for the peasant masses to have a thorough knowledge of the agrarian reform.

Because they lacked understanding of the Law on Agrarian Reform, cadres in North Phyongan Province interpreted it arbitrarily and implemented it in a distorted manner. The Party Committee of Uiju County in North Phyongan Province failed not only to make a profound study of the Law on Agrarian Reform but to study the directive from the Party centre on its implementation. As a result, it gave no guidance to the people's committees or the rural committees but, instead, formed an absurd "Commission for the Enforcement of Agrarian Reform" within itself and even hung up a doorplate bearing this name. This is a concrete example of improper Party organizational leadership and information work.

Because of such inadequate information work on the part of the Party, the peasants failed to have a full understanding of the political significance of the agrarian reform and became engrossed exclusively in the distribution of land. Hence, although land had been distributed to the peasants, some of them did not even know where the land had come from.

This was because the work of preparing and mobilizing the Party members ideologically was unsatisfactory and Party officials themselves lacked a correct understanding of the Party's policy for agrarian reform. Party bodies and organizations at all levels should promptly correct the serious defects in their information activities and intensify their political and information work among the broad masses of the people.

Fourth, we still lack vigilance. The class struggle has become more acute since the agrarian reform. The landlords are frantically engaged in last-minute manoeuvres and the reactionaries keep up their terrorist activities.

Various plots by the reactionaries and pro-Japanese elements were exposed during the agrarian reform. A landlord held the post of

chairman of the Peasants Union branch in Jasong County, North Phyongan Province, and attempted to frustrate the enforcement of the Law on Agrarian Reform. Landlords and pro-Japanese elements in Anak County, Hwanghae Province buried rifles and machine guns. Six terrorists were arrested in Phyonggang, Kangwon Province. A Japanese and two Korean traitors were caught sneaking into Yongphyong with poison.

A counter-revolutionary demonstration against the agrarian reform was held by students from specialized and secondary schools in Hamhung, at the instigation of pro-Japanese elements and landlords. This shows that the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee and the Party organizations in Hamhung lacked vigilance.

We must be aware that enemy plots and sinister machinations to wreck our Party and people's power and to weaken the democratic forces of the people are still going on. Our Party organizations, however, are not yet vigilant enough. We must rectify this defect without delay.

Fifth, the work of uniting the broad masses in the social organizations was not done well. During the agrarian reform, the prestige of our Party rose greatly among the masses and, accordingly, the social organizations such as the peasants associations, the Women's Union and the Democratic Youth League which worked in the rural areas under the leadership of the Party, gained the deep confidence of the masses. Nevertheless, these organizations failed to enlarge their ranks to the full.

Numerous peasant activists who had displayed enthusiasm and initiative in the struggle for the agrarian reform were not recruited into the social organizations. The peasants associations put off the expansion of their organizations until after the agrarian reform and the Democratic Youth League, in many cases, merely tailed behind the peasants associations and were not active in trying to draw the rural youth into its ranks. In the future, therefore, Party organizations at all levels should direct deep attention to strengthening the social organizations in the rural districts.

4. OUR TASKS

Comrades, now that the agrarian reform has been completed victoriously, our Party is confronted with the important task of consolidating and following up this victory. This can only be done by strengthening the forces of the Party and correctly implementing its policy in the countryside.

What then are the immediate tasks of our Party?

First, we should see to it that the peasants, who have become the masters of the land, devote themselves to increasing production for their own well-being and for the benefit of the country. If the land is left to lie idle or the harvest decreases after the agrarian reform, it will create conditions favourable for the reactionaries' pernicious propaganda.

Therefore, our slogan is: "Greet the first spring of liberated Korea with increased production, don't let even an inch of land lie idle!" The Party should make sure that this slogan is thoroughly put into practice. It should lead the peasants in doing the spring ploughing well and see to it that they are supplied with seeds, farm tools, fertilizers, etc., which are sorely needed. In order to ensure success in the spring ploughing, we should rouse the peasants associations and other social organizations to action and give full play to the spirit of mutual aid among the peasants.

Party bodies and organizations at all levels must remember that only by successfully carrying out the first sowing following the agrarian reform will it be possible to consolidate the victory of the reform and triumphantly solve all the difficult political and economic problems that lie ahead. Our Party organizations and members in the countryside, therefore, should wage a devoted struggle in the forefront of the spring ploughing and sowing campaign under the

slogans: “Increase production with might and main!” and “Don’t leave your land lying idle!”

Second, the agrarian reform was carried out in a democratic, revolutionary way through the rural committees formed with the poor peasants and farmhands as their core. The Party has already sown the seeds of revolution in the countryside. We should preserve and nurture these seeds.

To this end, the Party should amalgamate the rural committees with the peasants associations and thus reinforce the latter and elevate their role. In some areas, there were cases in which landlords and rich farmers wormed their way into the peasants associations and grabbed the leadership, weakening their role. We should, from now on, select tested activists from among those poor peasants and farmhands who have been on the rural committees, place them in leading positions in the peasants associations and expel all the reactionaries and thus strengthen the associations organizationally.

The foothold of our Party in the countryside should, in this way, be consolidated, the composition of the rural Party organizations improved and the forces of the Party enlarged and fortified with the poor peasants and farmhands as their base.

Third, we should intensify the political education of Party members. The agrarian reform revealed the very low political level of Party officials, not to speak of the rank-and-file members. Some Party officials do not have a good understanding of the tasks of the Korean revolution at the present stage. Many Party members did their work in a bureaucratic manner, instead of thoroughly explaining and bringing the policies and line of the Party home to the masses. In particular, they did not carry out the agrarian reform in close combination with the immediate political tasks—the establishment of a provisional government, the liquidation of traitors to the nation and reactionaries, and other political work—but busied themselves only with the practical work of land distribution.

It is true that the political level of Party members rose markedly during the agrarian reform. But, considering the revolutionary tasks

confronting us and the increasing political consciousness of the masses, the ideological and political level of our Party members is still very low. The Party, therefore, should do all it can to intensify the political education of its cadres and of its rank-and-file membership.

In particular, we should fight against Rightist and “Leftist” deviations among the cadres and Party members in a correct manner. Our Party members are not yet firmly armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology. We should, therefore, be careful in dealing with those Party members who have committed errors and sincerely educate them. We should not lash out at them, branding them at random as “Leftists,” “Rightists” or “factionalists.” Of course, we cannot overlook Rightist or “Leftist” deviations. At present, the Rightist deviations are particularly dangerous because not a few people who were under the influence of the landlords and rich farmers have joined our Party.

We should always maintain a resolute attitude and wage a principled struggle against all types of deviations from the Party’s line and thus nip them in the bud. It is not a correct method of work to leave a Party member to himself without helping him to rectify his mistakes in good time, and then to drive him out at one blow after his defects have become irreparable. People should be educated with all sincerity to prevent them from committing errors or to make them commit as few errors as possible. Those who have committed errors should clearly realize their faults and correct them.

Fourth, we have to strengthen the work of the organs of people’s power.

Party organs still fail to give satisfactory leadership to the organs of power. In the localities, they do not lead and assist the people’s committees in their work, but ignore them and do the work in their stead, thereby rendering them ineffectual. In South Hamgyong and South Phyongan provinces, the Party organs pushed aside the people’s committees and went ahead with everything themselves, reducing the committees to a secondary role.

This method of work has resulted in paralysing the creative

initiative of the people's power, weakening the leadership role of the Party at the same time.

Since our organs of power are set up on the basis of the united front of democratic political parties and social organizations, our Party should collaborate well with friendly parties in the power organs, while playing the central and leadership role, and should always carry out all its policies through the people's committees.

In order to strengthen Party leadership of the people's power organs, the Party groups within the people's committees should be reinforced and the political education of the Party members intensified so that they may have a correct understanding of the Party's leadership role in the power organs.

At the same time, we should reinforce the apparatuses of people's committees and assign the best workers to them.

In quite a number of districts the people's committees are still very weak and reactionary elements are entrenched in them. In Kapsan County, South Hamgyong Province, the chairman of the people's committee proposed distributing the land by lottery in an attempt to frustrate the enforcement of the Law on Agrarian Reform. The chairman of the Huchang County People's Committee, North Phyongan Province, was an officially appointed member of the North Phyongan Provincial Council under Japanese imperialist rule and its vice-chairman was a notorious sub-county head. In the early days of liberation, both these men came out against the 3:7 tenancy system and the voluntary grain delivery. It goes without saying that they obstructed the agrarian reform. In no small number of places, landlords and corrupt officials are still to be found entrenched in the people's committees.

However, the power organs are not meant to protect the interests of the landlords and reactionaries. They belong to our people. The thing to do is to drive the reactionaries out of them.

We should rid the people's committees of alien elements and reinforce their staff with the best members of the rural committees. Party bodies and organizations at all levels should immediately take

up the work of reshuffling the people's committees.

Fifth, the activities of the mass organizations should be stepped up. During the agrarian reform the activities and role of the mass organizations were very great, but these organizations were not sufficiently strengthened and developed organizationally. Particularly unsatisfactory was the work of developing such mass organizations as the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union. There are not a few counties where Women's Union organizations have not yet been formed. We can no longer tolerate such a state of affairs.

Party organs at all levels and their senior officials should work actively to enrol the masses of rural women and youth in the mass organizations and to rally them around the Party and the people's power in order to mobilize them as soon as possible for the construction of the country.

In connection with the work of social organizations, I want to emphasize that it is important to strengthen the work of the DYL in the schools and to work well among the students.

Everywhere the reactionaries use the students for their sinister aims. But we would be gravely mistaken if we were to regard all students as reactionary elements. Not all of them are the children of landlords or are reactionaries.

We should not forget that students can play a progressive role in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Our Party bodies and organizations did not realize this and paid no attention to education of and work with students, with the result that not a few students were used by the reactionaries.

We should, therefore, begin by examining and re-educating the teachers in order to improve educational work radically. The best DYL workers should be assigned to all schools as instructors in charge of discipline to get rid of reactionary students and, at the same time, strengthen the work of the DYL in the schools. To aid students from poor families, a state stipend system should be introduced in colleges and specialized schools. The composition of the student body should be improved.

Sixth, our Party should strengthen its foothold in the countryside while consolidating and developing the successes achieved in the agrarian reform. It should not only organize cells in factories and enterprises, but also go deep into the midst of the poor peasants and farmhands in the rural areas and extensively organize Party cells among them. The chief duty facing our Party is to broaden and reinforce its positions in order to prepare for the forthcoming battle.

Our Party has not yet taken deep root among the workers and peasants, the main masses. The rural positions of the Party were broadened and strengthened considerably during the agrarian reform, but that was only the first step.

Therefore, Party organizations and officials at all levels should devote their entire efforts to strengthening the Party organizationally and expanding its ranks.

Party organizations should eradicate such tendencies as keeping the door of the Party wide open in an unprincipled way on the pretext of expanding the Party ranks and as leaving new members without education and training. They should prevent alien elements such as pro-Japanese elements and landlords from worming their way into the Party and, at the same time, continue to wage an energetic struggle for purging the factionalists and alien elements in order to assure ideological unanimity and unity of will in the Party.

Last, the evil propaganda of the landlords and the subversive activities of the south Korean reactionaries should be completely smashed.

The vile propaganda of the landlords can in general be put into two categories. One is falsehood concerning a political question, i.e., the question of the establishment of a provisional government. The reactionary landlords are threatening the peasants by saying that Syngman Rhee will come to power and that the peasants will then be deprived of the land again. The other is related to the question of voluntary grain delivery. The landlords say that the peasants have received land but their burden will grow heavier than before.

What should be our attitude to such slanders?

We have to carry on vigorous information work to shatter the calumnies of the landlords in the countryside by mobilizing best information forces of all the social organizations. We have to publicize in the most convincing way the fact that Syngman Rhee cannot enjoy the support of the people because he is opposed to democracy, which all the Korean people unanimously demand, the fact that the peasants, from this year on, need not pay any farm rent or the miscellaneous levies exacted from them in the past by the Japanese imperialists and the landlords, but will pay a very reasonable progressive tax according to their harvests, and the fact that the organs of people's power will endeavour in every way to improve the livelihood of the peasants.

We should not only conduct our information work in an effective way, but we should help the peasants to do the spring ploughing well and launch a campaign of volunteer labour service among the broad masses for the building of the country.

At the same time, a resolute struggle has to be waged against the slanders and the subversive activities of the south Korean reactionaries.

At present the rural situation north of the 38th Parallel is in striking contrast with that to the south of it. The land problem has already been completely solved in the area above the 38th Parallel. But in the area below the 38th Parallel the 3:7 tenancy system has not even been introduced, let alone an agrarian reform, nor has any direction ever been indicated for the solution of the land problem. The reactionaries south of the 38th Parallel are madly slandering the agrarian reform in north Korea, raving, "Just wait and see. You cannot farm without landlords." We must smash their reactionary propaganda by doing the spring ploughing and sowing properly, raising agricultural production and improving the livelihood of the peasants.

The south Korean reactionaries once clamoured for the abolition of the 38th Parallel, shifting the responsibility for its existence onto the Communist Party, but now they dare not utter a single word about this. It seems that, far from sending the south wind towards us, they

are now very much afraid of the north wind and are terrified at the democratic reform we have introduced in north Korea and the 20-Point Platform we have announced.

Following the agrarian reform, we announced and are already carrying out in north Korea the 20-Point Platform which will be the foundation of the future political programme of a unified Korean government. Consequently, in north Korea the democratic forces are developing rapidly and the living standards of the people are gradually rising. Scared at this, the south Korean reactionaries engage in all sorts of machinations and send terrorists into north Korea in an attempt to wreck what we have achieved.

Hence, we should not slacken our vigilance against reaction even for a moment. The Party's political and organizational work should be strengthened in the countryside, particularly in Hwanghae and Kangwon provinces, so that the broad masses sharpen their hatred for and their vigilance against the enemy and detect and wipe out spies, wreckers and saboteurs.

Comrades, our Party has victoriously accomplished the agrarian reform, the centuries-old dream of the Korean peasantry, and thereby laid a solid foundation for the democratic development of the country. This great socio-economic reform will be a tremendous force in accelerating the building of a democratic and independent state.

Party organizations at all levels and the entire membership of the Party must devote all their energy to the struggle to consolidate the achievements of the agrarian reform and to accomplish the immediate democratic tasks successfully.

BE LABOUR HEROES IN BUILDING A NEW COUNTRY

Speech before the Workers of the Hungnam

Fertilizer Factory

April 17, 1946

Dear workers,

I dare say Hungnam, the industrial centre of our country, is a stronghold of the working class, a base for building a new, democratic Korea and a lifeline of Korea. The Hungnam District People's Factory which is situated here has already started operating thanks to the workers' strenuous labour efforts. This is the pride not only of Hungnam but of Korea as well.

I pay my heartfelt respects to the workers of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory who are striving solely for nation building, despite the shortage of food and clothes.

The Korean people regained their lost country with the liberation. At present, our land of three thousand *ri* is filled with the joy of liberation. This, however, did not come of itself. You should realize and remember at all times how much blood was shed by Korea's fine sons and daughters for the freedom and liberation of the country. Our working class should make every effort to firmly defend and develop the country regained at the cost of the precious blood of our revolutionary forerunners.

Many hardships and difficulties now lie ahead of us in building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. The pro-

Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries are resorting to every crafty and despicable manoeuvre to prevent us building a democratic Korea. Moreover, due to the savage destruction of factories and enterprises by the Japanese imperialists, they are still not working properly and we are short of personnel, materials and funds needed for building a new country.

One of our great difficulties is the shortage of food. With a tense food situation, we are finding it a trying ordeal to build a new country.

But however enormous the difficulties lying ahead of us may be, if all the Korean people are united and pool their efforts, they will be fully capable of overcoming them.

The building of a new country can only be successful through the united strength of all the Korean people, not by the efforts of a few persons. All of you should never fail to surmount all hardships and difficulties, rallied closely under the banner of democracy.

Dear workers,

Our 30 million fellow countrymen place great hopes on the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory. You should be well aware of the mission entrusted to your factory in building a democratic country, and participate as one in the labour effort to increase production. Thus you should all become labour heroes in building a new country.

An important task facing the workers of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory at present is to produce fertilizer in large quantities.

As you all know, the agrarian reform has already been enforced in north Korea, with the result that the once oppressed and maltreated peasants are now freed from feudal exploitation and subordination and have become the masters of the land. This has created the social and economic conditions for advancing agriculture. However, without producing and dispatching fertilizer to the countryside, we can neither rouse the enthusiasm of the peasants who have received land nor develop agricultural production.

Resolved to farm to their heart's content on their newly distributed land, our peasants are now calling for a plentiful supply of fertilizer.

As a matter of fact, agricultural production is out of the question without fertilizer; the more fertilizer, the more rice we can produce. It can be said, therefore, that fertilizer is rice. The struggle for increased production of fertilizer is a struggle for an increase in rice production; it is precisely a struggle for consolidating the victory in the agrarian reform.

Rapid development of agriculture through increased production of fertilizer is essential for solving the food problem and the successful frustration of reactionary manoeuvres. Needless to say, shortage of food greatly hinders the work of nation building and gives the reactionaries a chance to engage in evil-doing. The student riot in Hamhung, too, was engineered by reactionary elements taking advantage of the food shortage. The first harvest after the country's liberation has not yet been brought in but they used the food difficulties to set innocent students against the democratic policies of our people's government. This clearly shows how important it is to solve the food problem in combating the reactionary forces.

That our working class produce a large amount of fertilizer and supply it for the countryside is of great importance not only in developing agricultural production but also in strengthening the unity of the workers and peasants. Only by doing so, can the peasants have firmer faith in the working class, increase their enthusiasm for production to develop agriculture, and supply the towns with more food and industrial raw materials. In this way the unity between the working class and the peasantry will be further cemented.

Whether or not we rehabilitate the fertilizer factory and turn out large quantities of fertilizer is important in that our people will be demonstrating to the whole world that they are capable of laying the economic foundation for building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state by their own efforts. When they fled the Japanese imperialists destroyed this factory, claiming that the Koreans would never be able to rebuild it by themselves. Come what may, we should completely restore the factory to produce a great deal of fertilizer, and thus administer a heavy blow at the enemy and

demonstrate clearly to the world that we are fully capable of establishing an independent and sovereign state.

The workers of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory restored a saturator and other important machines and equipment in a short space of time after liberation and are already producing 350 tons of fertilizer a day. This is a notable success. If we continue to produce at this rate, the figure for one year will exceed 120 000 tons which is no small amount. The fertilizer produced by the rebuilt factory is the result of the heroic labour of our liberated working class. The workers here are determined to complete the reconstruction of their factory as soon as possible and turn out fertilizer in large quantities. This is very good, and to do so is the duty of our working class.

You should produce more fertilizer in the future. The workers of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory should devote all their efforts and talents to achieving an increase in production.

The fertilizer should be delivered to the peasants in good time. Only then can they sow their seed at the right moment and do good farming. Since this spring sowing is the first after the agrarian reform, its timely and successful fulfilment is also of political importance.

At present it is said the factory keeps some 15 000 tons of fertilizer in stock. It is of no use producing fertilizer to pile it up. Previously the Japanese imperialists used to stock fertilizer in order to sell it later at a high price, regardless of whether the peasants would do farming or not. However, we should never do so today. Our production of fertilizer aims not at making profit like the Japanese imperialists but at helping the peasants to farm well. We should therefore organize work well so as to provide the countryside with fertilizer in good time.

For the efficient production of fertilizer work methods should be improved to increase labour productivity with less outlay of labour.

At present you carry fertilizer with difficulty in hand-propelled trucks from the packing shop to the wagons. This should be remedied. The Japanese imperialists did not make the simplest devices which could be easily manufactured, and drove our workers like beasts. But

why should our liberated workers be made to labour with difficulty now? It is advisable to lay rails leading to the packing shop and load the fertilizer directly on to the wagons. If you do this you will be able to raise labour productivity without transporting the fertilizer with so much difficulty as now, and prevent accidents, too.

It is important to run machines and equipment properly at the factory. This factory has many valuable machines and equipment. They were used by the Japanese imperialists in the past to harshly exploit our workers, but now they serve to increase agricultural production and create a happy life for our people. They belong to our people and it is you who are the owners. You should value and manage them properly with the attitude of master. And you should always keep your workplaces clean and tidy.

A rigid system and order should be established at the factory. Only then will it be possible to avoid labour accidents and other mishaps and normalize production.

In order to restore the factory quickly and normalize production, technicians and skilled workers should play a greater role. Those who left for their native places after liberation should be brought back to the factory. Technicians and skilled workers should actively display creative initiative; they should elaborate new methods of work and equipment.

Everybody should study hard for the efficient operation of the factory.

Building a new country needs technical personnel in large numbers. Nevertheless, there are very few indeed. The Japanese imperialists did not pass on technical skills to the Korean workers, nor did they employ them in technical work. As a result, Koreans were not able to learn a skill even if they wanted to.

But now the road is open to everyone to learn technology. Youths and workers should be sent to school and provided with the conditions so that they can study as much as they please. The Japanese imperialists left illiteracy to the Koreans, but we should bring civilization to our people.

Various technical schools and short courses, and even colleges should be set up in Hungnam in the future so that all workers may study.

You should constantly be learning not only at school but on the job. This factory has many veteran workers. They are the pillars in building a new Korea and the treasure of the country. Elderly workers should pass on their technical skill to newcomers so as to train many skilled workers as quickly as possible. Workers and the management should make a diligent study of politics and techniques and run their factory skilfully, thus actively contributing to the construction of a new Korea.

Close attention should be paid to labour safety. Under our system where the working class are now the masters of the country, the protection of the workers' health and lives should be regarded as a most important matter.

This factory should take thoroughgoing measures to eliminate the danger of harmful gas and excessive heat leaking from some of the workshops. In the past the gas shortened the life of workers and took a heavy toll of precious lives. We should intensify efforts to remove the danger to the health and lives of workers from harmful gas. This is an important problem directly related to the health not only of the workers of this factory but of the people living in the Hungnam area. From now on, workers' houses should be built far away from the factory to avoid noxious gas.

There should be a factory hospital to protect the health of the workers. It should be well equipped and keep a check on their health regularly.

The factory cadres should pay close attention to the workers' living conditions to enable them to work without anxiety. We regarded it as a primary task in the past to look after the guerrillas' daily life even under the difficult conditions of the armed struggle against the Japanese. The factory cadres should always heed the voice of the workers and satisfy their vital requirements in good time so that they can settle down and work hard.

Dear workers,

We should arm every worker closely with a spirit of nation building in order to ensure the earliest reconstruction of the factory and the successful building of a new country.

The most important thing in equipping oneself with the spirit of nation building is to acquire the attitude of master towards the task assigned to one. All workers should be well aware of the fact that they work not for the predatory Japanese imperialists as in the past but for the country and people and their own happy life. You should discharge your heavy tasks with responsibility, bearing in mind that the Hungnam District People's Factory will become an important base for mechanizing all fields of our national economy and materializing the country's industrialization.

Every worker should have a high sense of national pride and dignity. Although in their flight the Japanese imperialists demolished the machinery and equipment of this factory, our working class, braving all hardships, have restored them by themselves and are producing fertilizer. The Japanese imperialists could work havoc with the factory's machinery but failed to break the revolutionary spirit of our working class. With a high sense of pride and dignity in being the working class of liberated Korea, you should make vigorous endeavours to restore and develop your factory.

More than ever before our working class are now faced with the task of strengthening the unity and cohesion of their ranks and of ensuring their purity. Alien elements are among the ranks of the workers at present. In other words, the vicious waverers crept into their ranks in an attempt to form a yellow trade union, provoke hostility among workers and destroy the factory.

The reactionary elements are now aided and abetted by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique. The pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are making every move to oppose genuine democracy and deprive our people of their happy life.

You should sharpen your vigilance all the time and safeguard your factory against the subversive activities of the reactionaries. If such

elements are found in the factory, they should be discharged as soon as possible and their ill-effects removed. This is the only way to further consolidate the unity of the working class and develop the factory on a sound basis.

In conclusion, we should strengthen unity with the south Korean democratic forces. Only then can a democratic, unified, independent and sovereign state be built with success. The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea will strive for closer relations with the democratic national front in south Korea. Our working class should, in firm unity with the south Korean democratic forces, come out in the struggle to found a democratic, unified, independent and sovereign state.

I hope the workers in Hungnam make a great contribution to building a new country by devoting all their efforts to fulfilling their heavy tasks.

Long live the democratic national united front!

Long live the complete independence of Korea!

ON THE ROAD FOLLOWED BY OUR PARTY AND SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS FACING IT

**Speech Delivered at the Enlarged Meeting
of the South Hamgyong Provincial Committee
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

April 20, 1946

I would like first to touch briefly on the road followed by our Party.

Regarding the political and organizational lines of our Party, we have explained them more than once, and they have already been made clear in resolutions of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea. However, some of our comrades still do not correctly understand our Party's political and organizational lines at the present stage.

The establishment of a democratic people's republic, the liquidation of Japanese imperialist survivals, the formation of a democratic national united front and the building up of the Communist Party—these are our basic requirements for the present.

Therefore, the most important task facing our Party is to expand and strengthen its force and build a solid democratic base in north Korea. The spirit of the report made by the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee is also based on this task and aimed at fulfilling it.

The fact that our country is divided into north and south by the 38th Parallel greatly hinders its democratic development. We shall

have to take this into serious consideration when meeting the Party's basic requirements.

If we fail to turn to full account the advantages north Korea possesses, it will be very difficult to democratize south Korea. However, if we build up the Party and lay a solid democratic base in north Korea which occupies one half of the territory and population, we will be able to democratize the whole of Korea.

Since forming the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK, we have worked in a planned manner, stage by stage, and have achieved considerable successes.

What, then, have we accomplished so far?

We organized people's committees in all localities and formed the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a central administrative body. In north Korea a people's government was set up by the Koreans themselves. This is quite different from what is going on in south Korea.

The successes achieved in north Korea in a short period of time after liberation clearly show that the Koreans are fully capable of governing their country and building a democratic and independent state.

Next, we endeavoured to form large mass organizations. We formed labour unions, peasants associations, the Women's Union and youth organizations, so that by now we have rallied nearly three million people around our Party. This is a dependable force enough to lay a democratic base.

We not only set up organs of people's power and social organizations in all localities, but also assisted in the formation of the Democratic Party and the New Democratic Party, thereby laying a firm foundation for a democratic national united front. We did all this by February this year.

Then the opportunity arose to test how solid and how well prepared was our democratic base. Let us see how it withstood those trials.

First, we organized the PPCNK, and made public the 11-point

immediate democratic task. In order to fulfil this task we launched a struggle to eliminate pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other forces of reaction and abolish the feudal exploiting system.

As a result, on the 27th anniversary of the March First Movement, widespread mass demonstrations were held throughout the country; the broad masses of the people took part in them and strongly supported the administrative policies of the PPCNK.

Second, we can cite the historic victory of agrarian reform.

The Law on Agrarian Reform promulgated on March 5 set the task of doing away with feudal land ownership in the countryside which served as the foothold of the landlords, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other forces of reaction. The Party won a great victory in the struggle to carry out this task.

These struggles enabled us to accumulate experience, learn lessons and test the strength of the Party. We have realized that our democratic foundations are firmly laid in north Korea and that our Party leading the Korean revolution is not weak. It is clear that our Party has grown in strength, though we must not overestimate it. In north Korea the foundations of democracy are being consolidated and the reactionaries' political and economic footholds are crumbling; this indicates that our Party work is progressing soundly, stage by stage.

Immediately after the August 15 liberation the internal situation of our Party was very complicated because it was still young, had little work experience, and had defects in its composition. It had no coordinated leadership over its local organizations, and its ties with international revolutionary movements were weak.

Prior to August 15, the Korean communists had had no unified Marxist-Leninist party, most of them operating sporadically in different areas. That is why factions had appeared around one or several persons, each working in a liberalistic or arbitrary manner.

Immediately after liberation when our Party was founded, it was joined by sectarian-minded people, factionalists and speculators. Consequently, it failed to secure its ideological unity and take deep

root among the masses. This confronted it with the task of purging impure elements from among its ranks.

In accordance with the decision of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK, the Party issued membership cards and screened its members, which resulted in a considerable strengthening of its ranks. In the course of screening members the Party expelled more than 1 400 impure elements from among its ranks. As can be seen, our Party has not only strengthened qualitatively but has also grown quantitatively, by admitting many hard-core elements from among the workers and peasants. Today our Party has a membership of more than 26 000 whereas just before the checkup the figure was only 4 530.

The Party's composition has been greatly improved, too. The Party has taken solid root among the workers and peasants.

While improving its composition, it actively endeavoured to tighten discipline within its ranks. We have resolutely opposed liberalistic activities on the part of Party members, and have persistently emphasized that there are no senior or junior members in the Party, that all members have equal rights and duties and that the Party must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism. The result is that we have achieved initial successes in our efforts for the Party's organizational and ideological unity.

The movement to support the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers and the publication of the 20-Point Platform gave a considerable boost to our Party's ideological unity. The 20-Point Platform not only indicated the right path to our people who had not been sure about the orientation of their struggle, but also enabled our Party members to understand the Party's political line more specifically.

So, the task of strengthening our Party and creating a democratic base in north Korea is being carried out with success.

Through the recent agrarian reform we clearly realized that the Party's influence had penetrated deep into the countryside. Meanwhile, we discovered that the people's committees were not yet

firm because of certain defects in Party leadership over them. We must correct these defects promptly.

Now I would like to dwell on some of the immediate tasks confronting our Party at the present time.

We must first exert every effort to consolidate the victory of the agrarian reform.

How did we succeed in the agrarian reform? This reform was in accord with the vital demands and centuries-old desire of the peasants. And we had a prepared political force capable of effecting the reform. Because we carried it out precisely when the worker-peasant alliance and the democratic national united front had been formed solidly, the reactionary forces were overwhelmed by the united democratic forces and dared not resist openly.

Intensive information work for an agrarian reform had been conducted over a long period. In particular, the best workers were sent to farm villages to work there and, through their day-to-day struggle, the worker-peasant alliance was consolidated.

The vigorous activities of the rural committees were another main factor contributing to the victory of the agrarian reform.

These factors enabled us to win a great victory in the reform.

The most important task now is to consolidate this victory. The economic basis of the landlords, the enemies of our revolution in the countryside, has been liquidated. We must remember, however, that if we do not take timely measures and leave the landlords alone, they will attack us to regain their lost land. Therefore, we should be on the alert and maintain a vigorous struggle, never drunk with victory.

In order to advance still farther, we should, first of all, clearly know the defects in our Party work. The greatest defect is that Party members do not have enough political training, its leadership of social organizations is insufficient and it is not skilful enough in weeding out pro-Japanese elements from the people's committees. We stressed this point at the Sixth Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK.

In order to strengthen the Party's forces, we should admit into it

many activists who worked devotedly during the agrarian reform. We must thus form Party cells in every village in order to defend the successes of the agrarian reform.

At present the reactionaries are carrying on a demagogic campaign, prattling “Don’t be glad that you have got land, and don’t be sad that you have lost your land.” We must direct every Party effort to spring ploughing and sowing to crush this reactionary demagoguery. After the sowing, the peasants will feel still more assured. Sowing, weeding and harvesting will convince them firmly that they have become the owners of land.

The people’s committees must continue to fight resolutely to purge pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who are obstructing the building of democracy and indulging in reactionary activities. At the same time, we must always take care that our Party does not monopolize all work in government bodies. We must not only cooperate with democratic political parties but draw in independents, so as to further reinforce the democratic national united front.

Next, we must strengthen Party work.

First of all, the vigilance of Party members must be heightened. They must not be allowed to get lax, carried away by success. It is necessary to tighten Party discipline, work diligently with the masses and sharpen their vigilance.

If our Party members fail to guide the masses well, the consequences will be very grave. Just as the victory of an army in battle depends largely on its commander, so the success of a mass movement depends on whether the Party members who play the leadership role conduct the work with the masses well or not.

Our Party members should study tirelessly Marxism-Leninism in order to raise their ideological and theoretical level as well as their work ability. Cadres in particular should study harder than anyone else. In order to intensify Party education it is necessary to set up Party member training centres, Party schools and Party night schools, and have regular discussions and reading sessions. If its organizations

treat educational work lightly and its members do not study Marxism-Leninism, the Party will be unable to lead the masses correctly.

In strengthening Party work, it is of particular importance to do away with all ideological remnants of factionalism. A stubborn fight should be made to root up factionalist ideas which have long been an ulcer in the Korean communist movement. Factionalism is harmful. It undermines the Party's unity and cohesion and disorganizes the working-class movement. It is a bourgeois idea entirely alien to Marxism-Leninism.

There is a strong factionalist tendency in South Hamgyong Province due to the fact that there were many kinds of small-group movements before liberation and there still remains the factionalist habit of working arbitrarily. Careerists who put their individual interests before those of the Party are liable to fall into factionalism. The Party members must in all circumstances subordinate their personal interests to those of the Party. Only then will it be possible to secure its rock-firm unity.

It is a liberalistic tendency to keep silent at meetings and make criticisms behind the scenes, in disregard of the Party's organizational discipline. If liberalism is left to grow, it may develop into a factionalist tendency. Therefore, the Party must not tolerate liberalism, must be ever watchful for factionalist tendencies and uproot this non-Party idea through a thoroughgoing ideological struggle.

I am confident that the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province will make marked progress in their future work, if they correct their defects and carry out Party line.

ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT ORGANS IN NORTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

**Speech Delivered at the Joint Conference of Party and
Government Officials in North Hamgyong Province**

April 21, 1946

Comrades,

Our people seized power after liberation and have struggled vigorously for the democratic development of the country. In the fierce struggle against reactionaries we triumphantly carried out the agrarian reform and have made preparations for democratic reforms in all other fields. But all this is only the first step in the struggle to build a new, democratic Korea.

We are now confronted with the historic task of building a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state. If we are to carry out this task successfully, we should build a solid democratic base in north Korea. The people's government organs should make the utmost efforts to lay the foundations of a new, democratic Korea.

What, then, are the tasks of the people's government organs in North Hamgyong Province in the immediate future?

First of all, the people's committees at all levels should be firmly built up.

At present, the people's government organs in North Hamgyong Province are not formed properly to cope with their duties. Among their officials are those who collaborated with the Japanese, who

betrayed the country, and who are loafing about. Lurking in the government organs, they are hampering the work of nation building. Without eliminating them from the government organs, we shall be unable to push ahead dynamically with the work of building democracy. We should quickly remove these reactionaries and loafers and ensure that fine people dedicated to the cause of nation building serve with the people's government bodies.

It is important for the officials of the people's committees to acquire a popular work style.

Quite a few people's government officials are now following bureaucratic practices, imposing burdens on the people over and above taxes and indulging in misappropriation and squandering. It seems there are many such officials in North Hamgyong Province in particular. How can the people's government organs win the unreserved confidence of the people, if the people's committee officials act like that?

The people's committee officials should possess a correct work style; they should not behave like bureaucrats but work zealously as servants of the people with a sense of responsibility and for the interests of the country and the people. In this way, the people's committees will fulfil their mission as genuine organs of people's government.

Next, we should direct our efforts to quickly rebuilding the devastated factories and other enterprises and consolidating the nation's economic basis.

If we are to build a new society with fine living conditions on this land where the people have become masters of the country, we should lay solid economic foundations. This is the way to strengthen the people's government and enrich and develop the country. Our people's government, though established, will not be able to exercise power properly and display its might nor will it be able to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state, unless it has firm economic foundations.

In order to consolidate the economic foundations of the country,

we should give priority to the rehabilitation and development of iron works and steel plants and produce iron in large quantities. Without iron, we can develop neither industry nor agriculture.

North Hamgyong Province should direct great efforts to rehabilitating and developing the Chongjin Iron Works and the Chongjin Steel Plant. At present, the reconstruction of these plants is very sluggish. The Chongjin Iron Works, for instance, has not yet been restored to good shape even though it is eight months since the Japanese imperialists were driven out. Moreover, quite a few machines and equipment of the iron works and steel plant have been lost because of mismanagement. Materials, too, are handled carelessly. The grounds of the Chongjin Steel Plant are now strewn with piles of iron produced by the sweat of our workers' brow.

In the past the Korean communists and patriots fought at the cost of their lives to win back their country from Japanese imperialism and make the Korean people the owners of the factories and enterprises built with their sweat and blood. But you now handle carelessly the valuable property of the people, the gains of bloody struggle of our revolutionary forerunners, and even leave them to be lost.

Revolutionaries should learn to push ahead with their task. The officials of North Hamgyong Province should pay close attention to rehabilitating the iron works and steel plant and boldly propel forward this work.

In order to rebuild these factories quickly, you should see to it that the workers and technicians now on the job stay there, that those who left their jobs come back and that fresh workers and technicians are taken on. Here in Chongjin I feel that there are many idle young men. They should be employed at the iron works and steel plant.

The people's government officials should take good care of the living conditions of the workers and technicians at the iron works and steel plant so that they can work without worry and devote all their efforts and energies to the reconstruction of the factories.

While quickly rebuilding and operating the Chongjin Iron Works and the Chongjin Steel Plant, you should gradually expand them. If

you are to increase iron production in the future, you should develop the Musan Mine on a larger scale.

Much coal is needed for the smooth operation of factories and enterprises. We could say that coal is the food of industry and transport. North Hamgyong Province with its inexhaustible deposits of brown coal must produce it in large quantities for factories and enterprises.

The rail transport and posts and telecommunications facilities should be quickly rehabilitated.

The fleeing Japanese imperialists destroyed these facilities in our country, and left none of them intact. The depot in the Chongjin Railway Corps is no exception.

The rail transport is now in a chaotic and difficult situation. The rolling stock is short and coal is not supplied well. Food also is not regularly provided to its workers. Besides, some railway technicians, lacking enthusiasm, neglect their duties and reactionary elements taking advantage of the confusion commit subversive acts. As a result, the railways are in a terrible condition. We should quickly set this state of affairs to rights.

The rail transport and posts and telecommunications facilities play a very important part in nation building. You should have a correct understanding of their role and make every effort to rehabilitate these devastated facilities and normalize their operation as soon as possible. At the same time, you should thoroughly safeguard them against the subversive activities of the reactionaries.

Now, we must solve the food problem.

Our people are now suffering from a shortage of food. In order to ease the strain on food supplies, we should, first of all, complete this year's farming in an exemplary fashion. This is important. The people's government organs in North Hamgyong Province should give effective guidance to the peasants with detailed plans so that they can finish their spring sowing in season. In particular, they should actively help them to prepare enough draught cattle, farm implements and fertilizer and ensure a successful spring sowing. This

will also help towards consolidating the victory in the agrarian reform.

As an immediate step to solve the food question in North Hamgyong Province, you should organize the work of gathering edible herbs and other natural foods and take other active measures.

Now we are short of food. In the near future, however, we must attain self-sufficiency in food by quickly developing agriculture and increasing grain production.

Further, we should increase the output of seafoods.

The East Sea abounds in fish and various other marine resources. We must catch at least several hundred thousand tons of fish every year and North Hamgyong Province should undertake the larger share of it.

For a big catch of fish good preparations are needed. We have great difficulties now in fishing because the Japanese imperialists laid land mines on the seashore and scuttled a lot of ships when they fled. In North Hamgyong Province you should quickly push forward the clearing of mines and the salvage of sunken vessels. Fishing boats should be repaired without delay and fishing ports kept in good order. The wharf of the fishing port in Chongjin, for example, is very dirty because it is left unattended. Prompt measures should be taken to improve fishing ports.

North Hamgyong Province has many good fishing ports. The province should use them effectively for the production of lots of different fish, seaweed, shellfish and so on to make up for the shortage of food and improve the people's living standards.

Next, trade should be developed.

In the past the Japanese imperialists not only neglected the production of goods needed in the lives of our people but also checked in every way the development of trade in our country.

We should develop trade to improve the living conditions of our impoverished people. We should quickly rebuild factories and produce large quantities of goods indispensable to the people in their lives. Under the present conditions, however, production at factories

is not high enough to satisfy the demands of the people for daily necessities. In North Hamgyong Province you should see to it that large quantities of daily necessities are produced even by hand, using different kinds of locally available raw materials, and offered for sale, instead of turning only to the factories for goods.

Now, you should strive to develop school education.

The people's government organs should struggle to build schools of different levels, normalize education and, in particular, thoroughly establish a democratic educational system.

Compiling good textbooks is important for the proper education of the younger generation. The textbooks of the Japanese imperialists who forced enslavement education on our people should not be used as they are. Foreign textbooks on natural sciences can be translated and used for the time being, but on other subjects new ones should be written to suit our specific conditions.

What is important in democratizing education is to have good teachers. The ranks of teachers should be sifted in such a way as to eliminate those with anti-democratic ideas from our educational institutions. But this does not mean that you should dismiss all those who were teachers in the period of Japanese imperialism. You should re-educate all teachers to be well qualified for the education of students except the stooges of Japanese imperialists and other undesirable elements.

Next, the public health service should be improved.

The long-drawn-out, harsh exploitation and heavy burden of aggressive war imposed by the Japanese imperialists in the past damaged the health of our people in the extreme and inflicted on them all sorts of diseases. But the Japanese imperialists did nothing to promote public health for the Korean people.

The people's government organs should pay special attention to the public health service. The public health workers should provide good medical treatment for the people and also strengthen the work of preventive medicine to protect their health.

The training of cadres should be properly undertaken.

Today cadre training is the most important task in our country which is very short of its own cadres. If we are to succeed in the building of a new, democratic Korea, we need many cadres. So we should direct great efforts to cadre training.

We should train cadres at work and, at the same time, produce large numbers of necessary cadres by organizing and running well the cadre-training institutions of different types.

The struggle against reactionaries should be strengthened.

The expropriated landlords and other reactionaries pretend to accept the policy of the people's government in public but behind the scenes they are working in every way to frustrate the building of a new country. With the progress of our democratic construction, the reactionary forces will make more desperate attempts.

For the nation building to be successful we must smash all enemy schemes in time. The security organs, judicial and prosecutorial organs should resolutely struggle against the reactionaries.

I think these are the important tasks of the people's government organs in North Hamgyong Province for the immediate period ahead. They should do their best to carry out these tasks satisfactorily.

A NEWSPAPER IS A PIONEER OF THE TIMES AND A TRUE ORGANIZER OF PUBLIC OPINION

**Congratulatory Message on the Occasion of the Opening
of the General Branch Office of the Newspaper
Phyongbuk Sinbo in South Phyongan Province**

April 25, 1946

Following the August 15 liberation the mass media are very active everywhere in north Korea. In the past they did their share in carrying out the colonial policy of Japanese imperialism to blot out our national culture and make our people its permanent slaves. But they have overcome prolonged chaos to establish a true line, and now conduct their activities with fresh vigour after putting an end to their inert, depressed and old image.

Our media organs should be rid of the servile position of flattery and submission. And for the sake of progress and justice, they should present correct arguments without hesitation to rouse good public opinion, and should awake people and lead them along the right way through their worthwhile activities. In other words, through vigorous work for the enlightenment of the masses, they should help to sweep away all undemocratic and unscientific elements of ideology and culture, and induce the masses to take an active part in fulfilling the historic task of creating a new world.

Today, on the eve of the establishment of a democratic provisional government of Korea, when the plots and manoeuvres of all

reactionary forces are getting desperate, the mission of newspapers, the backbone of the mass media which are enlighteners and informers for the masses of the people, is very great indeed. A newspaper must become a pioneer of the times and a true organizer of public opinion. It should regard it as its important mission to rise before others and ring an alarm bell when the masses are sleeping and herald the dawn before daybreak. Therefore, it must have sensitive tentacles to grasp quickly the requirements of the times and serve as the real eyes and ears of society.

That I attach great importance to newspapers and expect vigorous activities from them is precisely due to their progressiveness deriving from such a mission.

I extend my heartfelt congratulations to *Phyongbuk Sinbo* on the opening of its general branch office in South Phyongan Province in order to discharge its mission as a pioneer of the times and as a true organizer of public opinion by quickly and accurately informing the masses of the democratic policies of our people's government and of the actual conditions of vigorous nation building in Pyongyang, the centre of north Korea, at a time when the building of a progressive democratic state urgently demands that newspapers play a greater role.

I hope that the general branch will contribute greatly to nation building by fulfilling its heavy responsibility through energetic and resolute activities.

BE EXCELLENT MILITARY AND POLITICAL CADRES

**Speech Delivered at the First Passing-out Ceremony
of the Pyongyang Institute**
April 29, 1946

Comrades,

Attending the first and memorable passing-out ceremony of the Pyongyang Institute today, I warmly congratulate all graduates who have completed their courses.

And I extend my gratitude to the teaching staff for their education and strenuous guidance of the graduates.

You who are graduating from the Pyongyang Institute today are the first to have received political and military education in our country after liberation. Therefore, in the future you will play a great role in the construction of a new, democratic Korea and of the revolutionary people's armed forces.

I would like to dwell on some problems that face you, the graduating students.

Our army is a people's army composed of the sons and daughters of liberated workers and peasants, inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, and its mission is to defend the homeland and the people from foreign imperialist aggression and to strive for national reunification and the construction of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

If ours is to become a true people's army, it should always maintain close ties with the people, love them and faithfully serve their interests as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did. As fish cannot live without water, so the people's army cannot live without the people. Out in the units you should never isolate yourselves from the people but always make friends with them, and conduct effective political work among them to unite them firmly around the Party.

Our officers and men are all revolutionary comrades-in-arms fighting together for the same purpose. Therefore, the officers should value and love their men, and the latter should respect the former and thus superiors and subordinates should be united closely.

Even after you leave the institute for the units, you should continue to study hard.

Your knowledge gained at the institute is only elementary. You should never rest content and put on airs just because you have learned military science and politics at the institute earlier than others. You should learn more in the course of practical work drawing on the knowledge acquired at the institute. If in your work in the units you come across something you do not understand, you should visit the institute to ask or learn modestly from your revolutionary forerunners and other comrades.

First of all, you should make a patient study of our Party's line and policies and Marxism-Leninism. Only then can you clearly know the road to advance ahead and struggle with confidence in victory. Knowledge is power. Without revolutionary theory there cannot be revolutionary practice, and theory divorced from revolutionary practice is of no use to us. Revolutionary theory should always be combined with revolutionary practice.

And you should wage a resolute struggle against the reactionaries with a strong revolutionary will and bitter hatred for the class enemy. One enemy within is more dangerous than a hundred enemies without. No matter when and where you may

work, you should sharpen revolutionary vigilance to prevent any alien element from ever joining your ranks. Since traitors to the nation and shady elements may still be hiding in some local Party organizations, government organs and public organizations, you should fight bravely, taking the lead in detecting and purging them.

Victory in the revolutionary struggle depends on winning over many people. If we win over even just one man, our force grows that much. You should go deep among the masses to help them with their work, and untiringly explain and propagate the Party's line and policies to them. At the same time, you should rely on the masses and unite your strength with theirs to smash the reactionary elements who are obstructing the building of our new Korea.

Military discipline should be further strengthened. Discipline is the life and soul of an army. An army without discipline is powerless like a mob and cannot gain the victory in war. Our revolutionary army's discipline is a voluntary one. In strengthening discipline in the army, it is most important for the officers to observe it in an exemplary way. The officers should set an example in their life to establish an iron discipline in the army.

The soldiers should care about state property and the equipment of the army and be familiar with their weapons. Their weapons are as precious to them as their life. Therefore, they should always take good care of their weapons. Especially, they should be good and accurate marksmen.

They should take part conscientiously in their organizational life and strengthen criticism and self-criticism. You should always combat uncompromisingly all negative practices arising in work and life and learn to criticize frankly your own errors. If all comrades lead this kind of life, our work will advance further.

The role of teachers should be further increased. Teachers should make constant efforts to raise the quality of instruction before anything else. Good teaching at the institute is essential for training excellent military and political cadres. The teachers should

thoroughly arm themselves with our Party's policies and the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism, master their subjects and study continuously advanced methods of teaching. Then the quality of instruction will be further improved.

I firmly believe that you who are graduating from the institute today will live up to the expectations of the country and the people, and wish you greater successes in your work in the future.

APPEAL TO FELLOW COUNTRYMEN ON THE OCCASION OF MAY DAY

**Speech Delivered at the Pyongyang Mass Rally
to Greet May Day**

May 1, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen,

May Day is the holiday of the working class all over the world. May Day is the anniversary of the day when they fought in unity to free themselves from oppression, maltreatment and hunger.

May Day began to be celebrated internationally from 1890. On May 1, 1890, the workers in many capitalist countries staged a demonstration struggle. The capitalists suppressed such a struggle harshly. Particularly in Vienna, Berlin, Paris and Rome, the armies and police were mobilized to suppress the workers' demonstrations, and in many countries large numbers of workers were arrested and imprisoned. But no moves on the part of the capitalists could check the workers' May Day demonstrations. Since then the first day of May every year has been celebrated grandly, as a holiday to demonstrate the revolutionary forces of the working class throughout the world.

What about Korea? The labour movement of Korea which rapidly gained momentum after the March First Movement in 1919 demonstrated its might to the world through the general strike of Pusan dockers in 1921. In 1923, the working class of our country rose up to celebrate May Day as a red-letter day, but were repressed

ruthlessly by the Japanese imperialists, and in 1924, too, the celebration meetings of May Day were broken up by the repression of the Japanese imperialist police and the demonstrations banned. Henceforth, the working class of Korea strove to celebrate May Day every year but, due to the Japanese imperialist policy of cruel suppression and barbaric tyranny, no mass rallies or demonstrations to mark May Day were held here in Korea up to now. With Korea liberated from the Japanese imperialist colonial rule on August 15, 1945, we are able to celebrate it freely for the first time.

We must know that the significance of May Day celebrations before and after August 15 is different. May Day celebrations before August 15 had their strategic significance in fighting not only for the liberation of the working class but also for overthrowing Japanese imperialism and liberating the whole nation in firm unity with the peasants, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, youths, students and even patriotic national capitalists, under working-class leadership. But today when Japanese imperialism has been defeated, their significance lies in the fact that all the Korean people including workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and patriotic national capitalists are concentrating their efforts on liquidating all pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and fascists who obstruct the building of a democratic provisional government of Korea, and advancing towards the establishment of a genuine democratic provisional government.

We must also understand that the significance of May Day celebrations in north Korea is different from that in south Korea.

In north Korea our people's power, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, has already been set up on the basis of the democratic national united front embracing the democratic political parties and social organizations, and under its leadership the centuries-old task of agrarian reform was victoriously fulfilled. For the north Korean people the significance of May Day lies in the fact that they fight to liquidate the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and to further consolidate the democratic national united

front and that they, in unity with the democratic national front of south Korea, strive to sweep away the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation including Syngman Rhee and to establish a genuine democratic provisional government of Korea according to the already announced 20-Point Platform.

How, then, shall we celebrate the first May Day after liberation?

First, all the people should wage a vigorous struggle to establish a democratic provisional government of Korea.

The future democratic provisional government of Korea should exclude national fascists and traitors including Syngman Rhee who disturb the formation of the democratic united front of the Korean nation and oppose the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, distorting it as “trusteeship;” who confuse the people’s minds through vile propaganda against the USSR-US Joint Commission in the hope of rupturing it; who plot to undermine the democratic camp and assassinate leading cadres; and who instigate reactionaries to destroy production establishments and burn factories. All the people should concentrate all efforts on establishing a democratic provisional government based on the 20-Point Platform announced by the PPCNK.

Second, our working class should rapidly reconstruct the productive facilities destroyed by the Japanese imperialists when they were defeated and fled.

The working class of Korea have played a vanguard role in the national liberation struggle since the March First Movement and are also playing a role as such in building a new country after liberation. During the recent agrarian reform, too, the workers took the initiative to go to the countryside and accomplished its historic cause triumphantly in close cooperation with the peasants. The agrarian reform is in the interests of not only the peasants but the working class as well, and it is the first step towards the complete liberation of our working class.

The workers should exert themselves two or three times stronger than they did before August 15 and overcome all difficulties, and all

of them should become model workers in nation building in order to rebuild the destroyed productive facilities and develop our economy, which is at a standstill.

Third, the peasants should, in the future too, as in the past, fight together in firm alliance with the working class and strive for increased production of agriculture.

You should be aware that the recent agrarian reform was carried out not by the efforts of the peasants alone but by the energetic cooperation of the working class. The victorious conclusion of the agrarian reform is the pride of not only the Korean peasants but of the Korean nation as a whole, and it holds the promise of rapid progress for our country.

But we must not rest content with the fulfilment of the agrarian reform. If we are to increase its significance and add lustre to its victory, we should do farm work well. The peasants should not leave even an inch of land idle, but sow good seed in season, thereby boosting agricultural production quickly. From now on, the peasants who are greeting May Day should not allow even one loafer to appear in the countryside and should not leave even an inch of land uncultivated in the fields. This, I think, is a way of marking the red-letter day significantly.

Fourth, all the people should be mobilized for the work of nation building.

A new, democratic Korea cannot be built by the efforts of workers and peasants alone. Only when all the people unite and do their best can a new, democratic Korea be built. So the workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, patriotic national capitalists, all without exception, should unite more firmly; those with strength should give strength; those with knowledge give knowledge; those with technical skills give technical skills; and those with money give money to the work of building the state.

Fifth, greeting May Day, we should unite with the working class of the whole world, build a fully independent and sovereign state as soon as possible and endeavour to play the role of a member of the

international democratic front for world peace and security.

Dear fellow countrymen,

The building of a new, democratic Korea depends on whether a democratic provisional government of Korea is established or not. We should eliminate the evil aftereffects of 36 years of Japanese imperialist rule, get rid of the remaining vestiges of feudalism, and establish a provisional government drawing on the genuine democratic national united front. We must scathingly reject the Syngman Rhee clique who want to set up a bureaucratic, feudal dictatorship in violation of a democratic spirit, captivated by their personal interests and desire for power instead of the country's complete independence and the interests of the Korean people.

The PPCNK has already published the 20-Point Platform which will serve as the foundation for establishing a Korean provisional government. On the occasion of May Day, we swear before our fellow countrymen we will advance in this direction to the end, and appeal to all the people to strive to carry out the 20-Point Platform.

Long live the future unified democratic government of Korea!

Long live the democratic national united front of the Korean people!

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea!

Long live the unity of the democratic working masses all over the world!

TO THE BELOVED CHILDREN OF THE NEW KOREA

Message to All Children on Children's Day

May 5, 1946

All children of the new Korea,

Today for the first time after liberation we celebrate Children's Day with great joy and splendour.

For a long period of nearly 40 years, the Japanese imperialists overran our country and robbed us of everything—our houses, our grain crops and our clothes. Thus, we Koreans lived a sad life of hunger and poverty. We shall never forget those bitter days of the past.

Children,

Our country has been liberated and the Japanese imperialists destroyed. Our rivers and mountains, our schools, mines, factories, railways, fields—everything has become the property of our country and our people. Our people are now striving to build a free, happy and powerful country where all of them can work, study and live happily together.

In north Korea, under the leadership of our people's government the workers, peasants, intellectuals and schoolchildren are all making endeavours day and night to build a great new country, a new motherland.

Children are the country's valuable asset. Korea of the future belongs to our children. The children who are the pillar of our

country's future should study and work hard and play happily, growing up fit and well as the new children of the new country.

Beloved children of the new Korea,

I would like you to be the strong budding children of the new country.

All of you should come out actively in the struggle to sweep away the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

Oppose the evil consequences of the enslavement education given by the Japanese imperialists in the past and be active in receiving the education of the new Korea.

The children of the new Korea should study hard, work well, harden their bodies, be sound in spirit, and grow up to be vigorous, brave and exemplary people who love their country boundlessly.

All of you should respect the faithful workers of the country and learn from them.

Be good friends of children the world over and strive to build a fine world.

Let us loudly shout "long live" for our great and wonderful country, new Korea.

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea!

ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION

**Speech Delivered to the Communist Workers
of the Women's Union Scheduled to Attend
the First Conference of the Democratic
Women's Union of North Korea**

May 9, 1946

For ages in the past women in Korea were despised socially and in home life, owing to the old feudal idea of respecting man and despising woman. They could not even dream of participating in social activities. Restrictions on their person were really harsh; they had no freedom of marriage nor were they allowed to leave their homes at will. They were even sold like chattels.

Especially during the 36 years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the Korean women's position was wretched and pitiable. Being stateless, Korean women workers were paid less than half as much as their Japanese counterparts for equal work. During their "Greater East Asia War" the Japanese imperialists drafted the little girls and young women of Korea by force and held them like prisoners in caves or compounds fenced off with barbed wire, working them like animals to produce munitions. Furthermore, the Japanese imperialists drove them out onto the battlefields and committed all sorts of barbarities against them. Countless numbers of Korean women lost their blossoming youth and their lives owing to the inhuman oppression, exploitation and unbearable insults to

their person by the Japanese imperialist fascists.

In order to achieve complete social emancipation for women and provide them with equal rights with men, we must eradicate the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudal conventions and build a truly democratic society. Bringing about women's social emancipation and sex equality is part of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Moreover, it has a great bearing on the fulfilment of the tasks at higher stages of the revolution.

The Korean communists, particularly the female members of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, fought, arms in hand, for the freedom and independence of their country, the emancipation of Korean women and sex equality. In this struggle they set an excellent example of the women's emancipation movement. In the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army women were completely on an equal footing with men; they all received revolutionary assignments suited to their abilities and aptitudes and carried them out.

The women of north Korea freed from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule are now exercising completely equal rights with men in social and political life. At the time of the agrarian reform women in the countryside received their share of land on a par with men and became the owners of land like all the rest of the peasants. Furthermore, many of them are working in people's government bodies at all levels including the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Take for example the Women's Union cadres here at present. How could you come hundreds of *ri* or even more than a thousand *ri* to attend a conference like this in the old days? Your parents or parents-in-law would not have permitted you to come to this kind of meeting in the old days and your husbands would also have objected. These days, however, not only women themselves consider it a shame to be house-bound as in the past, but also their parents-in-law as well as their husbands do not want to see them lag behind in social life. This shows that an amazing change is taking

place in the people's ideological life in the course of the democratic revolution.

The First Conference of the Women's Union is about to be held under circumstances in which the position of our women has changed radically.

Concrete matters should be placed on the agenda of the conference, which should devote extended discussions to questions calling for the attention of the Women's Union in its future work and adopt resolutions conducive to the building of a democratic country. In particular, many delegates should contribute to the discussion at the conference on the democratic principle. The success of the conference depends largely on the women Party members who are present here. You must try to make the First Conference a success.

I would like to dwell on a few questions which claim attention in the future work of the Women's Union.

1. ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL WORK OF THE WOMEN'S UNION

If we are to build a new, democratic Korea, we must closely unite broad sections of women in the Women's Union organizations. This is of great importance especially in the present situation in which the US army has set up a military government in south Korea, scheming for Korea's division by putting up Syngman Rhee and other traitors to the nation and working in every way to undermine the people's government and the results of the agrarian reform carried out in north Korea. The Women's Union organizations should admit all women to their membership, rallying them around our Party and the people's government, regardless of their religious beliefs and property status, except a handful of pro-

Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries.

We must build up the existing Women's Union organizations into strong centralist organizations and, at the same time, strengthen the organizational life of the members and develop the union into a more powerful democratic mass organization. Although the Women's Union has scored many successes in its work so far, many shortcomings have also been manifested because it is still young and its workers lack experience.

In order to develop the Women's Union into a strong mass organization, the main emphasis should be placed above all on work with the working women. There is a tendency at present for the union to concentrate its organizational work, in many cases, on towns and neighbourhoods such as the seats of the provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties. Needless to say, all housewives should be united in the Women's Union organizations and educated in an organized manner. That is not enough, however. You must clearly understand that it is very important to strengthen its organizational work among the working women. Since they were oppressed and exploited to the greatest extent in the years of Japanese imperialist occupation, the working women in our country have a strong hatred for the old social system and great enthusiasm for the building of a new, democratic Korea. So, only when it is rooted firmly among the working women can the Women's Union be consolidated and developed into a more powerful mass organization.

The Women's Union cadres who are Party members must personally go to factories and farm villages and take up the work with the working women. At present, the women peasants and workers want you to come to teach and guide them personally. The objects of your work are precisely in the factories and countryside. You Party members should not only teach and guide the women workers in factories and farm villages but also learn from them.

The First Conference of the Women's Union should take up the work with the working women this time as the most important item on the agenda and map out concrete measures to carry it out.

2. ON THE INFORMATION WORK AND EDUCATION FOR WOMEN'S UNION MEMBERS

Age-old feudal conventions and the Japanese imperialist colonial policy of obscurantism did immeasurable harm to our women. As a result, even now when Japanese imperialism has been destroyed and the feudal exploiting system liquidated through the agrarian reform, the political awareness of women is very low compared with men and their social activities also are extremely uninspiring. In the everyday life of women, too, the backward customs and habits handed down from the old society are much in evidence. We cannot remain indifferent to this state of affairs, and should put an end to it as soon as possible. To do so, we must intensify the education of women to steadily increase their political awareness and temper them in practical activities.

Who, then, should undertake this work? Precisely you who are Party members should undertake and carry it out exemplarily. Because you are the most awakened, advanced elements of women and because women who are well aware of their conditions and requirements are better suited than men to work with women.

In conducting information and educational work among women stress should be laid above all on teaching them to have a correct understanding of our people's government, to actively support all its decrees and decisions and to try to carry them out of their own accord in the best possible manner.

As all of you know, the ruling machinery under Japanese imperialist occupation such as the Government-General and the administration offices of provinces, counties and sub-counties were the colonial ruling organs of Japan oppressing and exploiting the

Korean people and representing the interests of the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese stooges, landlords and capitalists. But the people's committees at all levels, among them the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, are genuine people's government bodies protecting the people's lives and property. The mission of our people's government is to sweep away everything outdated and all the abuses left over from Japanese imperialism and feudalism, to grant women equal rights with men and to thoroughly carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution. That is why we must step up the education of women so as to enable them to actively support the people's government and fully implement its decrees and decisions.

Of special importance is their education to make all of them take an active part in the struggle to smash the enemy's schemes of sabotage against the people's government. Under the patronage of US imperialism, Syngman Rhee and other pro-American and pro-Japanese stooges and traitors to the nation are now openly conducting subversive activities against north Korea. They are most afraid of the agrarian reform in north Korea and the close unity of all the people around our people's government; they are trying frantically to wreck this government in a most vicious and crafty manner. In this situation you should widen the women's political vision and heighten their consciousness so that they may detect in time and crush the enemy's sabotaging manoeuvres.

In particular, the Women's Union organizations should strengthen information work and education among the working women. In fact, this work has so far been on a low level. From now on, the Women's Union cadres who are Party members should personally go to factories and perseveringly educate the working women, explaining events and giving them political lessons. As you saw during the recent May Day demonstrations, the working women are now in soaring spirits. If the Women's Union organizations pay close attention to information work and education among the working women, their enthusiasm for nation building will be heightened

noticeably. Since they usually work together in a production unit, their education can be planned for breaks or after work.

The Women's Union organizations should also efficiently conduct enlightenment work to wipe out superstition and uproot obsolete habits among women.

Some women still believe in God. When their children or husbands fall ill, they go to witches or fortune-tellers instead of sending for doctors. This practice is more widespread among women in the countryside. The Women's Union organizations should carry on intense enlightenment work among the womenfolk to do away with such a backward practice at an early date.

Some women engaged in community work still suffer considerably from the aftermaths of the Japanese imperialists' colonial enslavement education and retain a good deal of survivals of the Japanese imperialist way of life. They speak in Japanese in the presence of their sons and daughters and continue to follow the way of life imposed upon them by the Japanese imperialists. This practice is seen more often than not among urban women engaged in community work, and exerts a most debasing influence on the rising generation.

Our country had many famous patriotic generals and scholars in olden times, and all of them had excellent mothers for educators. Mothers play a very important part in the education of their children.

Some day our children will be the mainstay, the masters of the new Korea. Only when we bring them up excellently to be patriotic, knowledgeable and well-mannered can our country prosper. We must intensify the education of women so that they throw off their backward habits and customs, and all mothers raise their children in a proper manner.

We must also educate women well so as to further develop the beautiful moral qualities inherent in Korean women.

Next, the Women's Union should launch an extensive movement to wipe out illiteracy among women.

Previously, under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, even men had

little opportunity for education, and so it goes without saying that an education was beyond the reach of women. As long as they remain ignorant, they cannot contribute much to building the nation nor can they fully achieve their own social emancipation. Now, unlike in the past, they are provided with all the conditions for working and studying to the best of their abilities. The Women's Union should push ahead energetically with the anti-illiteracy campaign to enable women to work more and better.

3. ON ACTIVELY ENLISTING WOMEN IN THE WORK OF BUILDING THE NATION

The Japanese imperialists have been routed, but the evil consequences they have left in our country are serious. Before taking flight, they destroyed all the factories, mines, railway transport and other industrial facilities which they had been operating for colonial plunder in Korea, and they had also devastated our agriculture. As a consequence of their policy of colonial enslavement and plunder, we are now short of technicians, and raw and other materials are also not available. Under these circumstances it is essential for all the people to unite closely around the people's government, and for all of them, men and women, old and young, to turn out and participate wholeheartedly in the building of the country. In particular, it is of tremendous significance to mobilize actively women for the work of nation building since they make up half the population.

An important question arising in building up the country at present is consolidation of the success achieved in the agrarian reform. First of all, we should boost agricultural production and in this way demonstrate the superiority of the new system of land ownership which is free from landlords and under which the tillers are the owners of land. For this purpose, the women in the countryside who

account for half the rural population must participate in farming more zealously than anyone else. This is an important step not only to put women on a par with men economically but also to improve their position politically.

Today the rural women's participation in farming is not a hired job for the benefit of the Japanese imperialists and landlords as in the past but a struggle for the prosperity and development of the country and the improvement of their own living standards. By explaining this to the rural women kindly and in plain language, the Women's Union should ensure that they, unlike in the past, participate zealously in farming with a new attitude. Fields should be sown without even an inch of land being left idle, crops grown with the utmost care and bumper harvests reaped.

To continue. It is important to encourage women workers to actively participate in nation building.

As I have briefly mentioned, under Japanese imperialist rule Korean women workers were more miserable than working women in any other country. Therefore, they fought bravely against colonial oppression and exploitation by the Japanese imperialists. The strike struggles of women workers in the Pyongyang Rubber Factory and other plants hold a prominent place in the annals of our country's labour movement.

After the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, their factories and enterprises became the property of our people. At present a number of factories are in the hands of private manufacturers, but many factories and enterprises belong to all the people. Thus, the character of labour has changed and the position of women workers has also undergone a radical change.

Formerly labour was frowned upon as the meanest thing whereas living idly on the labour of others was considered something to be admired. This is a bad idea implanted by the exploiting classes. Under the people's government, labour is sacred and honourable in the true sense of the word. The more our workers work, the richer our country will become and, accordingly, the better off they will be. There are

some private manufacturers in our country, but under the people's government they are not allowed to exploit the workers at will as in the years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

Although our women workers continue to work in the same factories where they slaved under Japanese imperialist rule, they are not wage earners oppressed and exploited by Japanese imperialism as in the past but are dependable workers engaged in labour for nation building as masters of the country.

By fully explaining this to the women workers, the Women's Union should encourage them to work hard for nation building with a new approach to labour. More than anyone else, the Women's Union cadres here who are Party members should go among women workers and encourage them to work with heart and soul to build a prosperous country. You should see to it that they learn technical skills diligently and work harder, and that many of them become labour heroes.

The Women's Union should also give close attention to the women's working conditions and their daily life at all times and meet their requirements in time.

I suppose some of you engaged in manual labour in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. What was your position in those days? Then our working women were afraid of marriage, and even more so of having babies. The Japanese capitalists used to sweat girl workers to the utmost but sack them as soon as they got married. Their excuse was that married women with children could not work properly. How heartless those scoundrels were!

We must not only provide women with equal rights with men politically and economically, but take the utmost care of them because they are physically weaker than men and also because they bear heavy burdens as mothers. Women workers ought to be granted maternity leave and get paid 100 per cent of their standard wages during the leave.

In the future our people's government will promulgate a law for the women to enjoy sex equality in labour and in all aspects of social life. But no one will grant them such rights as a gift; they can have

them only when they themselves actively strive and fight for them.

Further. Women intellectuals should be mobilized properly for the work of nation building.

You should not regard with suspicion those women who received some education under Japanese imperialist rule. Although they received education under Japanese imperialist rule, the women intellectuals of our country were neglected owing to the Japanese imperialists' national discrimination policy; they did only menial jobs in minor posts far below their intellectual level. So they, too, hated Japanese imperialism and longed for the liberation of the country.

Our women intellectuals can do a good deal to help eliminate illiteracy among urban and rural women and promote their cultural enlightenment. They can work in many fields including education, culture, and public health. Some progressive women intellectuals have already entered into social life and taken up work. Many of the women intellectuals, however, are still hesitant and fail to join the national effort boldly. The Women's Union organizations must intensify political work among them and encourage them to turn out for social work with enthusiasm.

Another important aspect concerns the contribution of housewives and women engaged in community work to nation building. Today when all the people are the masters of the country, housewives and women engaged in community work should not be kept away from state affairs; the enhancement of their role is no less important than improving the role the working women in urban and rural areas.

Formerly the Korean women were barred from state affairs or political activity. Consequently, many housewives still tend to hold the erroneous view that state affairs are for men and that all that is required of women is to do the cooking and washing and raise children at home. True, they should attend to household work. But if they are occupied only with housekeeping and excluded from state affairs, they cannot be truly equal with men.

The Women's Union must properly enlist the housewives and women engaged in community work in the national effort. We must

step up the struggle to wipe out the feudal conventions of binding women to the home and other remnants of the old habits so that all of them will not only help their husbands who are participating in nation building endeavours, bring up their children well and run their homes thriftily, but also directly contribute to the nation building work by their own labour efforts.

If we are to encourage many women to take part in social life, we must take steps to bring up the children under public care. When women are going to join society, the children at school age offer no big problem because they go to school, but the preschool children present a problem. We shall be able to accommodate the children in nurseries and kindergartens some day when the national situation permits it. As a matter of fact, I should like to have nice buildings erected right now to raise children under public care, but the present circumstances do not allow us to build all the nurseries and kindergartens we need at once. Apart from the difficult economic situation of the country, we have not enough cadres to manage them, either.

Nevertheless, we cannot just sit idle till all conditions are provided. Of course, the state will take measures to solve this problem, but the Women's Union, too, must examine ways of solving it by the efforts of women. If the Women's Union obtains spare rooms in dwelling houses in the urban residential quarters and farm villages and enlists mothers experienced in childcare, you will be able to set up small-scale nurseries. I think if you rouse those housewives who are rather cultured, you can even open kindergartens.

The Women's Union would do well to organize and run many small-scale nurseries and kindergartens. In doing so, you will gain experience and in the meantime the state will take measures to build nurseries and kindergartens in factories and farm villages.

The forthcoming conference should discuss these problems in detail and find good solutions.

The Women's Union organizations must conduct this kind of work efficiently and encourage the north Korean women to set

practical examples in the women's emancipation movement for the south Korean women who are suffering from harsh oppression and exploitation under the US military government.

You must constantly strive to raise your political and cultural levels through the struggle to build a new Korea and abolish the 38th Parallel demarcation line so that the south Korean women, too, will enjoy the same liberties and rights as the north Korean women.

Now, the attention of all the Korean women is focused on the First Conference of the Women's Union. This conference must show that the Korean women, once forsaken socially, have grown into an organizationally united force and are politically awakened, thereby working for the building of the country together with men.

Bearing in mind that you have a very great part to play in the conference, you should strive to make the meeting proceed smoothly and be a great success.

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF OUR COUNTRY

Speech Delivered at the Pyongyang Mass Rally

May 19, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

After 36 years of oppression under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the Korean nation cast off the life of a stateless people and won back their freedom and happiness. Our people have set up people's committees all over north Korea and carried on successfully the work of laying the foundation for the country's democratic development in the political, economic and cultural realms.

The north Korean people are enjoying perfect freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, and are developing their national culture. As a result of the agrarian reform, the peasants making up 80 per cent of the population have extricated themselves from the bondage of landlords once and for all. The workers are scoring greater successes as the days go by in their efforts to develop the country's economy and improve the livelihood of the people. All this constitutes not only the welfare of the north Korean people but the foundation for the complete independence of all Korea.

We should unite as one in the fight to free the south Korean people who are still suffering from exploitation and oppression by the Japanese imperialists' survivors and feudal forces, and to prevent our

country from being reduced again to a colony of imperialist plunderers.

The patriotic Korean people have fully supported the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers stipulating our country's democratic development and complete independence and sovereignty. We firmly believe that all the provisions of the decision of the Moscow conference on the Korean question are designed to establish a democratic provisional government on the fundamental principle of quickly eliminating the evil consequences of the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in our country, of restoring and developing our national economy and culture and of making ours a completely democratic, independent and sovereign state. So we have tirelessly striven for the realization of the decision.

With the USSR-US Joint Commission having met on March 20 at Toksu Palace in Seoul, all the Korean people expected its smooth progress to establish a provisional government that can represent and work for the interests of the Korean people, as is stipulated in the decision of the Moscow conference.

Ever since the first session of the USSR-US Joint Commission, the Soviet delegation has made constant efforts to set up a democratic provisional government of Korea on the basis of the above-mentioned decision. But, owing to the insincerity of the US delegation that does not want Korea's democratic development and to the reactionary manoeuvres of the bull-headed, foolish Syngman Rheeites, finally the joint commission adjourned indefinitely.

Dear fellow countrymen,

Who broke up the meeting of the commission? Who is to blame for it? Needless to say, it is the US reactionaries and the Syngman Rhee clique. The reactionary Syngman Rheeites take no heed of the people and the country. They lust only for political power and look to their own personal interests. The action of Syngman Rhee, the boss of cutthroats, is the action of a quisling to hamper our country's democratic development and sell out all the interests of the Korean nation to the imperialists; it is a thrice-cursed deed of a traitor to

subject our nation to foreign imperialists forever.

The US “gentlemen” who fight for “justice” under the cloak of “peace” have now cast off their masks to flagrantly violate international agreements concluded with their allied nations, and openly embarked upon the road of aggression against our country.

Americans profess themselves to be “defenders of democracy” in Korea but have in fact established the ruling system of the US governor-general under the name of a military government in place of the Japanese governor-general system. They banded together the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—the lackeys of the Japanese imperialists who slaughtered the Korean people and oppressed and exploited them like slaves—and promoted these stooges to advisers to Lieutenant General Hodge, the American governor-general, or to servants of the local military government bodies. Now they are exercising a more cruel tyranny than that of the days of Japanese imperialism. They are committing ferocious atrocities, killing our compatriots at random in broad daylight by mobilizing terrorists.

At the recent session of the USSR-US Joint Commission the US delegation insisted on consulting the reactionary elements headed by the traitor Syngman Rhee about the establishment of a provisional government, and declined to do so with the delegates of trade unions, peasants associations, Women’s Union and Youth League which embrace various sections of the Korean people. Their aim is to form not a democratic government in Korea but, actually, a dependent, anti-popular reactionary puppet government, a mere extension of the US military government.

The Soviet delegation, the true champion of the Korean people’s interests, could not forgive the US side for this.

The traitor Syngman Rhee clique sold out Korea’s economic interests long ago to American capitalists. In order to put into practice the treacherous “treaty” concluded at that time, the American capitalists and their henchman Syngman Rhee are dead set against the creation of a democratic government that all the Korean people now

want, and try to set up an anti-popular, treacherous despotic regime of a handful of traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese elements. In the guise of “democracy” they seek to introduce the outdated system of provincial governors which prevailed in all localities for the 500 years of the Ri dynasty. This is a foolish act, similar to forcing the civilized Korean youth of the 20th century to put on a feudalistic horsehair hat.

The Korean people of today are neither a people of the days of feudalism nor colonial slaves of imperialism. They are a liberated people, an advancing and developing people. They have established the people’s committee, their own government, by themselves and are fighting for genuine democratic freedom and rights. Those against the people’s committee are precisely the opponents of the Korean people. Rallied closely around the people’s committee, the patriotic Korean people are waging a struggle to consolidate their own political power.

In order to hasten the establishment of a democratic provisional government of Korea in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea, I appeal to all the Korean people as follows:

First, they should fully support the decision and strengthen the unity and solidarity of their democratic political parties and social organizations for the earliest establishment of a unified democratic government based on the democratic national united front.

Second, they should scathingly condemn and eliminate, as the enemies of the nation, the Syngman Rhee clique, their follower Jo Man Sik and other reactionary elements who hinder our country’s democratic development and national independence and sell out Korea again to the imperialists. It is impossible to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state without overthrowing the traitors to the nation, pro-Japanese and all the other reactionary elements.

Third, they should defend actively the people’s committee and wage a resolute struggle to carry out its policies. The people’s committee is a most progressive and democratic people’s organ of power representing the interests of the Korean people and striving to

accelerate the construction of a democratic Korea. It has fought and is fighting to give land to peasants, rehabilitate industry, develop national culture, stabilize the people's living conditions and achieve the complete independence of the nation.

Let all the Korean people rally more closely around the people's committee. Under its guidance let them all march forward towards democracy.

Fourth, they should further strengthen friendship and unity with the Soviet people and solidarity with the international democratic camp struggling to eliminate the remnants of fascism and champion world peace.

Fifth, they should give wide publicity to the 20-Point Platform proclaimed by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea. The platform elucidates the most fundamental policies to develop our country along democratic lines. Therefore, the platform should be explained extensively among the masses of the people so that they may understand that our nation can attain genuine freedom and independence only when a democratic government is set up to carry it out.

Sixth, they should rapidly rehabilitate and develop industry and agriculture.

The enforcement of the agrarian reform, the centuries-old desire of the peasants, constitutes the greatest event in the struggle of the Korean people for national prosperity and democratic development.

In order to consolidate the victory of the agrarian reform and develop agriculture we should direct every effort to the spring ploughing, sowing and the campaign for increased agricultural produce. Only when we boost agricultural production substantially can we follow up the victory of the agrarian reform. Therefore, the masses of the peasants should make a devoted endeavour to ensure success in spring sowing this year and increase the yields further still.

To develop our industry is a most important task for building a democratic and independent state. We should brave all hardships and quickly restore factories and enterprises to get them operating, and

safeguard our industrial establishments against the encroachment of the Syngman Rhee clique.

Seventh, all intellectuals in the realms of education, culture, art and science should put an end to ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism, and devote all their intellect and talents to restoring and developing the national culture of Korea and to building a democratic and independent state.

Dear fellow countrymen,

Two roads lie ahead of us Korean people. One is the road to progress, democracy and a fully independent state, and the other to retrogression, anti-democracy and a colony.

The Korean people call for progress and democracy, freedom and independence. Upholding the banner of the democratic national united front, all the patriotic Korean people, under the leadership of the people's committee, should redouble their efforts to set up a democratic provisional government of Korea.

All the Korean people should fight against the traitor Syngman Rhee and his cat's paws seeking to reduce our nation again to slaves of the imperialists.

Down with the traitors to the nation and reactionary elements hampering the building of a democratic Korea!

Long live the democratic national united front!

Let us fully support the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers which ensures Korea's democratic progress and freedom!

Long live the people's committee, a genuine people's government organ!

Long live a free, democratic Korea!

**ENCOURAGING SPEECH DELIVERED
AT THE CEREMONY FOR STARTING
THE POTHONG RIVER
IMPROVEMENT PROJECT**

May 21, 1946

Dear compatriots,

Today when all the people are making vigorous efforts to carry out democratic tasks, we start the improvement work on the Pothong River, a worthwhile nature-remaking project.

In the past our people were forced to lead a slave life under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism but, as a liberated people, they are now carrying out democratic construction under the guidance of the people's power. They have turned out after liberation in the struggle to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and Japanese imperialism and to build a new, democratic Korea. At present, the people in north Korea who have seized power in their own hands are creating a new, happy life and striving for democratization in all fields of politics, the economy and culture.

We are now confronted with the task of establishing a unified provisional government and building a democratic, independent and sovereign state as early as possible. In order to accomplish this historic task with credit we held a mass rally on 19th, and hundreds of thousands of demonstrators enthusiastically called for firm unity around the democratic national united front. Following the mass rally, today we have turned out for this construction to protect

Pyongyang from flood damage.

The Pothong River improvement project is the first project the Pyongyang citizens contribute to the building of a new, democratic Korea with their patriotic labour, and it is a great nature-remaking work our liberated people undertake for the first time. By finishing this project successfully we should make it the first beacon to the transformation of nature for the construction of a democratic, independent and sovereign state that is rich and strong.

In the past the Japanese imperialists were interested only in oppressing and exploiting our people, and did not, and could not, have any interest in protecting the lives and property of the people from floods.

Today our people have become masters of the country. We have the duty of building our country better, protecting our people, the masters of the country, better and giving them a higher standard of living. If we are to free ourselves from backwardness and poverty at the earliest date possible, we should create our own happiness. No one presents us happiness and prosperity as a gift. They have to be carved out with our own hands and won through struggle.

We should start the magnificent nature-remaking projects. We should, first of all, finish the Pothong River improvement project as soon as possible. We will thus protect the democratic capital from floods, defend the lives and property of the Pyongyang citizens and turn the area around the Pothong River into a scenic and beautiful recreation ground.

True, it is not easy to complete the Pothong River improvement project in a short time. We are short of technical personnel, food and materials needed for the project. Therefore, many difficulties and bottlenecks will crop up in the way of the work. But we cannot stand with our arms folded till favourable conditions are created. We should carry out the project come what may. If all the people strive with might and main, we shall be able to overcome easily the difficulties arising in the project.

Success in the building of a new, democratic Korea depends

entirely on the efforts and enthusiasm of our people themselves. Under no circumstances will other people come and build our country. Only when all the Korean people unite as one and exert every effort for nation building, is it possible to break through all hardships and difficulties and achieve the cause of constructing a new country victoriously.

We should accomplish such projects as the Pothong River improvement project one by one by our own efforts, even though we have to tighten our belts. We should not want somebody else to do this work in place of us, but do it by ourselves, and overcome all hardships arising in the project by our own efforts. Herein lies precisely the significance of the project.

If the Pothong River improvement project is finished successfully, Pyongyang will be protected from floods, the citizens will lead a secure life, and the output of grain will increase to improve the people's living accordingly. And the fulfilment of the project by our own efforts will demonstrate to the whole world the strength of our people united around the people's government and will deliver a heavy blow at Syngman Rhee and other reactionaries.

That is why we should step up the Pothong River improvement project. Now some people suggest that the project be completed in three years, but we must not allow it to take so long. It should be done before the rainy season of this year at the latest. If the Pyongyang citizens rise up as one, the project, though difficult, will be fully completed by that time.

The Pyongyang citizens should, through universal mobilization, make vigorous labour efforts for hastening the completion of the Pothong River improvement project. Working hard for the project is worthwhile and honourable for the country and the people. Citizens should carry an extra spadeful of earth, and actively endeavour to bring the patriotic embankment project to an earlier conclusion.

Citizens,

Pyongyang is the democratic capital of our country. Beautiful Pyongyang, with its long history, is the centre of politics, the

economy and culture of democratic Korea, and it is the source of inexhaustible democratic forces. Pyongyang citizens should give full rein to their patriotic devotion and creative initiative to hasten the Pothong River improvement project and to build magnificently the democratic capital of the new Korea, thereby actively contributing to the building of a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

I firmly believe that the citizens of Pyongyang will overcome all the difficulties and show their great strength in this patriotic nature-remaking project in order to build Pyongyang, our democratic capital city, in an exemplary way.

CULTURAL WORKERS SHOULD BECOME COMBATANTS ON THE CULTURAL FRONT

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Information Workers
of the Provincial People's Committees, Political Parties
and Social Organizations, and Cultural
Workers and Artists in North Korea**

May 24, 1946

Comrades,

The motive force behind the development of our society consists chiefly of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. You are fighting courageously to transform our old colonial, semi-feudal society into a progressive, democratic one and to build a new, democratic Korea.

The Korean people expect a great deal from you and, therefore, you have an extremely important duty to perform in the building of a democratic Korea.

You are combatants on the front of culture. You have the responsibility to attack, verbally or with the pen, the reactionary forces that try to retard the development of Korean society; you have the obligation to develop our national culture and educate our masses in the spirit of patriotism and democracy. Whether we can crush the reactionary forces and build a new, democratic Korea depends largely on how you fight on the cultural front.

At one time cruelly repressed and humiliated by the Japanese imperialists, our intellectuals have been liberated and are now working energetically to construct the nation.

Since the liberation on August 15, 1945, the Korean intellectuals have contributed greatly to the work of building the nation. Today in north Korea we broadcast programmes and publish many different textbooks in our own language. The broad masses of the people are receiving strong information and education about democracy. Our drama, music and cinema are progressing rapidly, and Korean history is taught everywhere. Factories, mines, power plants and railways are all run by Koreans. In each one of these activities our intellectuals have played a very important role.

The services of our intellectuals are not confined to these areas alone. You have actively participated or are participating in the establishment of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, in the struggle for the agrarian reform, in the campaign to rally support for the 20-Point Platform and in the fight against the manoeuvres of the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique and the imperialists who are trying to colonize our country once again. This proves to us that the cultural workers of Korea are reliable champions of democracy.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of the cultural workers in north Korea are now solidly united around our Party and the people's committee and are devoted to the struggle to build a democratic Korea.

However, the work of our cultural institutions and information agencies still has many shortcomings.

To begin with, our information workers, cultural workers and artists never go among the masses. Thus divorced from the people, our men and women of culture do not properly understand what the people think and what they want. Therefore, today I am asking you to go to the masses, mix with them, talk to them in plain language and write what they want. Only those who work for the masses, who fully understand their mentality, speak their language, write what they want to read and learn from them as well as teach them deserve to be called genuine cultural workers, cultural workers of the people, democratic cultural workers.

Second, we should learn tactics of information and culture. The struggle in Korea now is not armed struggle; it is political struggle and information and cultural warfare. We must win this battle. Since the enemy are spreading fraudulent propaganda, they have to resort to sophistry. But we do not have to use sophistry because we speak the truth. To explain the concepts of truth and justice to the masses, we have to speak and write only in a language they can understand. You must yourselves have strong faith in the sure victory of justice and truth and do your best to both increase the political awareness and raise the cultural level of the working masses in our country.

Third, some of the cultural workers are not yet deeply convinced of the truth of democracy. I want to emphasize the importance of cultural workers grasping this truth and strengthening the ideological unity and cohesion in their ranks. Cultural workers themselves must win over their colleagues. Our artists and cultural workers should unite firmly under the banner of democracy and fight more resolutely to fulfil their honourable duty in the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Let me suggest a few concrete tasks for you:

1. An information network should be organized in every village, district and work centre. In the towns and the countryside, in all parts of our country, our information workers should educate broad sections of the masses in democratic ideas using simple spoken and written language both in what they say and what they write.

Itinerant theatre groups and lecture tours should be organized to propagandize what the state is doing now and what our people have to do.

2. We should organize a system for external information work for the intensification of the work for other countries. Geographically and politically Korea occupies a strategic position in the East. We neighbour such large countries as the Soviet Union and China, and many Eastern nations watch us with great interest. We should inform the Soviets, the Chinese, peoples of other countries and the oppressed nations throughout the world about past and present Korean life, our

goals today and our plans for the future. We should try to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries in the democratic camp and win sympathy and support from progressive mankind all over the world.

Because of deficiencies in our information work abroad, even the people in Northeast China just across the river do not have adequate information about the situation in north Korea. We must eliminate this lag immediately.

3. We should completely eliminate the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas in literature, art and science, the remnants of which are still glaringly evident. They can be eradicated only through a persistent struggle.

Our cultural workers should first of all remove all traces of Japanese imperialism in their speech and behaviour and liquidate the residues of such ideas in their work.

4. In order to develop the national culture of Korea, we should carry forward our fine cultural heritage and assimilate the best in the culture of the socialist countries. We can point to two incorrect tendencies among our cultural workers: either they praise only what is ours and declare everything foreign to be bad, or they vilify everything in our culture and extol only what is Western. Both are wrong. The former is a chauvinistic tendency to preserve intact even the backward examples of our own culture and reject the good in others. The latter is a nihilistic tendency to deny the merits of national culture and blindly Westernize.

Our cultural workers should develop positive aspects of Korean culture and correct what is backward, as well as adopt progressive elements from the cultures of advanced countries that suit our character. By so doing they will develop our national culture and art. These, then, are the most correct ways to build our national culture.

5. We should facilitate the establishment of a provisional government of Korea capable of putting into practice the 20-Point Platform promulgated by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea. In addition to this we should wage an energetic struggle

against the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique.

In an attempt to recolonize Korea, the imperialists are now protecting and encouraging the remaining forces of Japanese imperialism in south Korea and suppressing the struggle of the people for national independence and democracy. We must exert every effort to firmly unite the democratic forces all over the country and make the democratic base in north Korea impregnable. If we are to frustrate all the imperialists' plots and manoeuvres and win complete independence and sovereignty for our country, this must be our tactic. We must struggle on valiantly, in even stronger unity, certain that victory will be ours.

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH IN THE BUILDING OF A DEMOCRATIC KOREA

**Speech Delivered at the Joint Meeting of Directors
of Youth Affairs Departments of Provincial Party
Committees and Chairmen of Provincial
Committees of the Democratic Youth League**

May 30, 1946

In north Korea the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a genuine people's power, has been established and the historic agrarian reform enforced.

Today the Korean people are confronted with the task of building a completely independent, democratic state free from any imperialist rule and of eliminating completely the remnants of Japanese imperialism. This is the cardinal task facing them at the present moment.

In order to carry out this task, we must first of all consolidate our victory won in the agrarian reform and continue to expand and strengthen the democratic forces. A very heavy responsibility in this undertaking rests with our youth. The youth are the shock brigade in the building of a democratic Korea and the future masters of Korea. Whether or not we can cope with the immense task of building a democratic and independent state depends largely on how consciously our youth strive to this end.

Since the August 15 liberation our youth movement has made considerable progress. The Democratic Youth League has rallied more than 800 000 members under the banner of democracy, and

contributed greatly to the effort to build a new country.

However, there are serious shortcomings too in the work of the DYL. We must remember this clearly and correct the shortcomings in time. Lenin said that one should not be complacent with one's victory but should make a continuous, steady advance rectifying one's shortcomings and faults. We must keep his words in mind.

Many ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism remain in the minds of the Korean youth as a result of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and the enslavement education imposed upon them. Therefore, the DYL must make it a priority task to eradicate the remnants of anti-democratic ideology remaining in the minds of the youth and educate them in the spirit of democracy.

Though the DYL has united more than 800 000 members in its ranks, it still fails to give them proper training and education. This is a big drawback in its work. In order to strengthen its ranks qualitatively, the DYL must give priority to intensifying the political education of its cadres and members.

I would like to refer to specific objects of youth work.

First, the ranks of DYL cadres must be expanded and strengthened. Strengthening the ranks of cadres in DYL organizations at all levels does not mean on any account removing cadres who are not competent enough. You must know that the cadre ranks can be strengthened only when the existing cadres are first of all educated well. To strengthen cadre ranks the young talent also has to be promoted boldly.

Second, DYL organizations at all levels must intensify the political education of their members. In so doing, they must see to it that their members are united ideologically, strengthen their solidarity and actively participate in various political and economic campaigns. DYL members must be made to participate actively in mass motivational work, anti-espionage struggle, sowing and weeding on the farms, and in the drive for increased production, so that their political awareness becomes all the keener through practical struggle.

Third, the DYL members must actively participate in the drive to take care of state property and protect state and public organizations.

Recently, the saboteurs sent in by the Syngman Rhee clique set fire to a large sawmill in Manpho, reducing it to ashes; they also set fire to the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory on a number of occasions. Besides, we not infrequently incur great losses due to the failure to manage state property well.

Young people who have not completely shaken off the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism, are neglectful of the property of the state and the people. We must implant in the DYL members the spirit of valuing and cherishing state property and state and public organizations, through the medium of films, plays, wall newspapers and slogans. We must set up state property conservation corps to protect the railways, bridges, roads and factories from the subversive activities of the reactionaries.

Fourth, it is necessary to expand the DYL information network and institute the post of DYL information worker. All the rural ri, factories and schools must have DYL information workers.

The information workers must regularly explain current events to the masses and arrange talks with them. It is very important in this connection that they acquire a popular style of work. In information work they must always use language, written and spoken, that is easy for the masses to understand. They must not use words that are above the heads of the masses. There are information workers who fill their notebooks with difficult words and use them in their speeches, with the result that the audience do not understand them. This shows a lack of respect for the masses.

When visiting the rural areas, it would be a good idea if the information workers worked together with the peasants in the fields in the daytime, conducting their information work during breaks in work. Only then will the peasants believe in them and welcome them. But an information worker who, instead of doing this, merely strolls about the village in the daytime while the peasants are all out in the fields and then calls them together to make a speech in the evening when they are tired, will not be welcomed by them.

Every word uttered by our DYL information workers must be to

the point; they must not be “orators” who make empty speeches. Therefore, they must raise their theoretical level through tireless study and learn to analyse the real situation of Korea correctly in a scientific way.

Fifth, the DYL organizations must help the public security stations and people’s committees and take actions to thoroughly expose and smash rings of spies, murderers and incendiaries sent in by the south Korean reactionaries. The anti-espionage struggle is not only the task of the public security stations and the administrative organs but also the duty of all the people, the young people in particular. Therefore, the DYL members must always be watchful and on the lookout.

Sixth, work with students must be conducted vigorously. Some students, though small in number, once took part in reactionary activities against the political line of the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea and the agrarian reform. This is a good illustration that our democratic education has not yet penetrated deep enough and that the evil consequence of the enslavement education of Japanese imperialism remains in the minds of some students.

In the past the DYL revealed many shortcomings in its work with students. Its officials would often suspend lessons in order to deliver speeches before an assembly of students for two or three hours. This must be discontinued. The DYL should stop empty talk and devote all its efforts to practical work.

If you imagine all students are bad, you are grossly mistaken. Almost all of them are progressive and support our line. Only a handful are reactionaries. Therefore, it will not do to deal with all students indiscriminately. It is necessary to observe them individually and give them guidance and education in various ways according to their class origin. The student youth should be guided to make a deep study of the Law on Agrarian Reform and the 20-Point Platform, to help actively in the establishment of a democratic government, and to become able workers in the political, economic and cultural fields in the future.

Seventh, work with young women should be conducted extensively. Women DYL members should help the Women’s Union

in its work and participate in the campaign to abolish illiteracy among women. The DYL should take the lead in putting the equality of the sexes into practice. The DYL must exert special efforts to train women cadres. Even when they lack somewhat the ability to work, women should be boldly promoted to leading posts in DYL organizations at all levels, so that they can display creative initiative.

Eighth, one of the most important tasks facing the DYL is to give our children proper mental education and physical training, so that they become good workers in the future.

The DYL should be responsible for the organizational work of the Children's Union and give it proper day-to-day guidance. The DYL organizations should assign competent workers to organize studies, sports, games and talks which the children are fond of.

Ninth, the DYL must strengthen its unity with other mass organizations.

At present the officials of the DYL, the Women's Union, the trade unions and the peasants associations in some areas have differences of opinion. The DYL and other public organizations, though differing in character, are all mass organizations; all of them are public organizations fighting for our country's independence and the victory of democracy. Unless these public organizations closely unite and help one another, the struggle for our country's independence and democracy can hardly proceed smoothly. That is why the DYL cadres and members should do their best to improve relations between the DYL and other public organizations and unite firmly with them.

You will encounter many difficulties in your work. Officials in charge of youth work must be revolutionary fighters who always bravely pull through whatever difficulties they may encounter with firm faith in victory. Good officials who serve the people can be trained and tempered only in the struggle to overcome difficulties.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize once more that you should be true friends of the masses who always go among them and breathe the same air with them, work with them, help them, learn from them and solve knotty problems for them.

THE CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL IS A COMMUNIST COLLEGE TO TRAIN PARTY CADRES

**Speech Delivered at the Inaugural Ceremony
of the Central Party School**

June 3, 1946

Comrades,

We have set up our own Party school, the first of its kind in the history of our country, and are holding its inaugural ceremony today. This is a very proud event.

Through the protracted struggle against Japanese imperialism the Korean communists laid a solid basis for building a party. That is why immediately after liberation, we could found the Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the Korean revolution correctly, and are now able to open a Party school of our own.

The Central Party School is a communist college to train Party cadres who ought to become the mainstay in building the democratic, independent and sovereign state our people have longed for and in carrying out our revolution. The founding of this school is of very great importance for our Party's development and the building of a democratic Korea.

You are granted the honour of studying at the CPS as its first students. It is gratifying indeed that those ill-treated and oppressed under Japanese imperialist colonial rule are now able to study here at the Party school.

We have accomplished a good deal in less than a year after the liberation from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism. In north Korea the people set up the people's committees, genuine organs of people's power, and formed public organizations embracing the broad masses. We victoriously carried out the historic agrarian reform and waged a vigorous struggle for democracy in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture. As a result, north Korea has now embarked steadfastly upon the road of democratic development.

We have achieved many successes also in expanding and strengthening the Party ranks. We corrected one by one the Rightist and "Leftist" errors manifested in the work of Party organizations at all levels, admitted to the Party large numbers of fine hard-core elements from among broad sections of the workers and peasants, and organized Party cells in many factories and farm villages.

All this is a reliable guarantee for building a solid democratic base in north Korea and establishing a democratic, independent and sovereign state in our country.

Our successes after liberation were not achieved easily. The factionalists came out against our Party's political and organizational lines and, accordingly, it had to expend much effort in smashing their manoeuvres. Our successes in the work of building a state and expanding and strengthening the Party have been achieved through a struggle to shatter the factionalist anti-Party activities.

We cannot rest on our laurels, however. We must build a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state as soon as possible. The American reactionaries and Syngman Rhee clique are now manoeuvring in every way to frustrate the building of a unified democratic Korea. The factionalists and local separatists, too, are obstructing the implementation of our Party's political line for building a democratic, independent and sovereign state. If we are to build a new, democratic Korea successfully in these circumstances, we should do more work from now on than we have done so far, and wage a harder struggle.

While consolidating the successes of the agrarian reform already

introduced in north Korea, we should from now on carry out different democratic reforms—the nationalization of key industries, the democratization of education, the ensuring of the interests of the working class and the protection of women’s rights. We should also rapidly rehabilitate and develop the nation’s economy destroyed by the wicked Japanese imperialists. In order to succeed in carrying out these democratic tasks, we should expand and strengthen our Party and closely rally workers, peasants and other broad masses of the people around it, and correctly organize and mobilize the masses of working people to the fulfilment of democratic tasks by raising their enthusiasm to build the country.

For this purpose, we need plenty of cadres before all else. At present we have a very few cadres, competent Party cadres in particular. If only we had 500 qualified Party cadres, we could send nearly 100 to each province, which would enable us to solve the pressing cadre problem. But we do not have even that many. Almost all cadres now active in provincial, city, county and sub-county Party committees have received no systematic education and training. Therefore, they do not have a firm revolutionary world outlook and cannot fulfil their assignments correctly. So we should take appropriate measures to train Party cadres systematically.

Only when many competent Party cadres are trained, will it be possible to equip our Party members who are to play the vanguard role in the building of a new, democratic Korea with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, unite them firmly on the discipline of democratic centralism, and strengthen the Party. Only when the Party is reinforced can we consolidate the organs of people’s power and economic bodies, induce them to act as it wishes, and build a new, democratic Korea with credit.

With a view to training Party cadres quickly, it is imperative to set up Party-cadre training institutions. We should train cadres in practice as well as through permanent educational establishments.

That is why we have stepped up the preparatory work for opening the CPS. Although the situation at home and abroad is complicated

and, moreover, the country is hard pressed economically and the preparations for opening the school have been insufficient, we are going to inaugurate the CPS because the cadre problem is a pressing one at present.

In setting up its school, our Party expects much of it. The CPS will have to contribute greatly to resolving the problem of cadres our Party needs so badly.

Since you could not study before, you must have had many difficulties while working in the localities. And I think you have probably made quite a few mistakes because you were ignorant. The factionalists and local separatists did not work properly because their ideas were wrong but, in your case, you were ignorant, and you could not work correctly however eagerly you tried. In order to carry out a revolution, you must study. Without revolutionary theory there will be no revolutionary practice. So you should study hard at the Party school.

It is essential for you first to study hard revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, above all, the theory of the Party.

A Marxist-Leninist party plays a very important role in a revolutionary struggle. It is the organized vanguard of the working class and the General Staff of the revolution that organizes and mobilizes the masses to revolutionary struggle. Unless there exists a revolutionary working-class party, it will be impossible to rally the broad masses of the people firmly on the side of the revolution and win the revolutionary struggle.

Many anti-Japanese struggles our people waged previously in different parts of the homeland ended in failure because they were not led by a Marxist-Leninist party. Until liberation our working class had no Marxist-Leninist party because of the manoeuvres of the factionalists who had indulged in factional strife; only after liberation we could found the Communist Party. You must realize this clearly.

It is particularly important to closely study our policy of building up the Party.

An important task before us now is that of expanding and

developing our Party into a mass-based party of the working people. Unless our Party is built up into a mass-based party, we cannot lead the Korean revolution triumphantly.

At present Party organizations are not successful in conducting the work of expanding the Party ranks. Some are trying to admit into the Party only communists who are prepared in theory and practice. This is wrong. In the past our workers and peasants were not able to receive proper political and ideological training for lack of a Marxist-Leninist party in our country. On top of this, because the Japanese imperialists spread demagoguery against communism for years in the past, many of our working people still do not understand communism correctly. In this situation, if we intend to accept into the Party only communists who are theoretically and practically prepared, we cannot expand and strengthen it.

We should establish the principle of admitting into the Party and training to be excellent members the progressives from among the workers and peasants, even though they are somewhat inadequately prepared in theory. This is an important policy in building up our Party today. In accordance with this principle, we should accept many people into the Party and form its organizations everywhere—in factories, mines, farming and fishing villages—and in this way turn it as soon as possible into a mass-based party rooted deeply among the masses. Only when you are well acquainted with this policy of building up our Party can you work in the future as required by the Party.

In order to strengthen our Party, we must root up all tendencies to factionalism and local separatism which obstruct its unity and cohesion. At present serious practices are manifested at some local Party organizations; impure and alien elements have sneaked into them and are manoeuvring to besmirch the Party's prestige and disorganize it. Unless these practices are eradicated completely, our Party will not strengthen and develop into a powerful and authoritative party. The students of the CPS should prepare themselves well enough to become workers who are willing to love our Party above all else, to fight sharp against all tendencies to

weaken its organizational discipline, and to treasure its unity and cohesion as they would their own lives.

If you are to struggle well against factionalism and local separatism and for the Party's consolidation and development, you should realize keenly the correctness of its lines and policies.

Since liberation we have implemented the Party's lines and policies, while combating every kind of Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies. After liberation there were some Party members who made the "Leftist" claim that we must go over to socialism right away, whereas there were others, Rightist capitulationists, who called for the establishment of a bourgeois republic with Syngman Rhee as its "president." Our Party firmly opposed these Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies and advanced a most correct political line suited to the character of our revolution. Even when the Young Communist League was dissolved into the Democratic Youth League, we carried out the Party's line by resisting all sorts of Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies. If we had preserved the YCL and had not founded the DYL, as insisted by the factionalists, we could not have united the broad sections of youth under the banner of democracy.

These facts show that our Party's lines and policies have been correct. You should study their correctness profoundly while at school.

Next in importance is to study hard our Party's policy on the united front.

If our Party wants to play a worthy part as the General Staff of the revolution, it should have closer ties with the masses of the people and firmly rally broad sections of them around it. A prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state cannot be built by the efforts of our Party members alone; it can only be done when we win over the broad masses. The victory of our revolution depends, in the final analysis, on whether or not we win over large numbers of the masses. Since the reactionaries are now engaged in every conceivable manoeuvre, winning over the masses has become more important than ever before.

In order to rally broad sections of the masses around our Party, we should strengthen the national united front embracing the intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, and even non-comprador capitalists, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

Of late, some local Party organizations have failed to work well with friendly parties, and have caused many problems. It is quite possible for us to form a united front with the Democratic Party and the Chondoist Chongu Party. The political views and ideologies of friendly parties can be different from ours, but since their members want the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state, we must work together with them. It is true that some of our Party members may dislike the small and medium manufacturers affiliated to friendly parties. But, since they are opposed to imperialist aggression and the feudal system because of their own interests, we should not leave them out in the cold. And we should not commit a Rightist deviation of only seeing their anti-imperialist, anti-feudal aspect while overlooking their exploitative aspect. Yet we should not commit a “Leftist” deviation of only seeing the latter and ignoring the former. While cooperating with members of friendly parties, we should lead them along the right path, criticizing them when they go astray.

The strengthening of the national united front aims, on all accounts, at leading the masses along the right path as indicated by our Party’s line, and not at us following the wrong path as others propose. In united front work we should always adhere to the principle of unity, while combating the inconsistency and negative aspects of friendly parties’ members emanating from their class limitations. You should strive to understand deeply this policy of our Party on the united front.

If we are to win over broad sections of the masses, it is important to intensify the activity of public organizations, while properly conducting the work of the national united front.

Like transmission belts linking the Party with the masses, public organizations play a great role in uniting the broad masses around our

Party. That is why our Party has paid deep attention to boosting the work of public organizations ever since liberation. We dissolved the YCL and formed the DYL, rallying nearly one million young people, and also formed trade unions, peasants associations and the Women's Union, uniting large numbers of people. Today public organizations admirably discharge their mission as our Party's peripheral organizations by propagating Party policies to their members and the masses and endeavouring to carry them out correctly. You should deeply study the position and role of public organizations.

You should closely study the trade unions in particular. Trade unions embrace not only the workers in factories and enterprises belonging to the people but also those working in private enterprises. So their work is complex and, if you are not careful, you may commit Rightist or "Leftist" errors.

All the factories and enterprises formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation have now become the people's property, and the cadres in charge of their management and operation are those who work for the benefit of the people. So they are the people's representatives; they are by no means capitalists. If the workers start disputes with management in factories and enterprises now converted into the people's property, it is tantamount to fighting against themselves and is an act running counter to the interests of the working class. The trade unions under people's government are fundamentally different from the trade unions under capitalism. Trade union organizations should educate the workers to strive to rehabilitate and develop the devastated national economy and build a prosperous country as early as possible. Whether you are to work for trade unions or the Party in the future, all of you comrades should earnestly study how trade unions should work under the people's power and prepare yourselves well to lead the working class in line with the Party's intentions.

Next, it is important to clearly realize the bestial atrocities perpetrated by the Japanese imperialists before in Korea and the reactionary nature of the US military government now installed in

south Korea. Occupying Korea for 36-long years, the Japanese imperialists perpetrated savage repressions and plunder unprecedented in human history and massacred Koreans. They worked frantically to wipe out even our people's long history and national customs. Today the US imperialists are implementing a colonial enslavement policy in south Korea and hampering in every way the establishment of a unified, democratic government in Korea. The Japanese and US imperialists are the sworn enemies of the Korean people. Only when you understand this fully, will you be able to awaken the masses and actively arouse them to struggle against the enemies.

Meanwhile, you should learn painstakingly from the Korean people's long history of struggle and the revolutionary spirit of our forerunners in making revolution. The Korean people have a long, proud history of courageous struggle against foreign invaders. We communists, especially, fought valiantly for the country's freedom and the people's liberation, unafraid of sacrifice in the teeth of savage suppression by Japanese imperialism. You should study our people's history of struggle and the revolutionary spirit of our forerunners so as to thoroughly prepare yourselves politically and ideologically.

In addition, students of the CPS should master popular methods and style of work; they should work for the people and serve them faithfully.

If we are to rally the masses closely around the Party and organize and mobilize them actively for the building of a new country, we must have popular methods and style of work. If our officials do not go among the masses and become bureaucratic, shouting commands at people, they will alienate themselves from the masses and be unable to lead them. Students of the Party school should always bear in mind that ours is a country for the people and that we endeavour to build a state which will provide a prosperous life for the workers and peasants so badly off in the past. And they should make an effort to master the truly popular methods and style of work that will enable them to respect the opinions of the masses and learn from them and

organize and mobilize them to nation building in a proper manner.

If after graduation you are to propagate our Party's lines and policies to the people in simple terms and encourage them to follow our Party of their own accord, you should study hard and fully prepare yourselves. Though our people have a high degree of political consciousness and enthusiasm now, they are not well aware of what to do and how. You should study diligently and learn a lot at school, and then teach the people well.

As for the school term we had better make it two months or so. Since we have a vast amount to do now, you will not be allowed to study at school for long. Short as the term is, you should make efforts to accumulate as much knowledge as possible. Needless to say, you cannot become theoreticians in such a short period. But, while at school, you should be able to clearly grasp the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, our Party's political and organizational lines and the principles of Party work, cultivate the ability of distinguishing right from wrong in work, and acquire a practical knowledge that will be conducive to nation building. For this purpose, you should have plenty of study discussions and strive to digest all what you learn at classes.

Our study is aimed not at showing off but at working better for the revolution. In the past ostentatious Marxists liked to be smart, using words unintelligible to others; they had long hair, carried walking sticks and large books under their arms. You must never copy them. You must study to good effect and clearly understand everything you learn.

Because the country is still hard pressed and we have not had enough time to prepare for the opening of the school, conditions are not fully provided for the students to study and the welfare supply service for them may not be satisfactory. The school building will certainly be better equipped and supplies will be improved later on, but in the present circumstances students may find many inconveniences in their studies and daily lives. In spite of the difficulties, however, you must study hard.

In order to train the students to be good Party workers, the teachers should give them careful instruction and education. The Party school should make a great effort to have the students clearly understand our Party's lines, policies and intentions and arm themselves thoroughly with its ideology.

The students who have just entered the school were denied the opportunity of learning before. So, if lectures are delivered in difficult words from the start, they will not be understood well. Lectures at the Party school should not be so difficult as to be beyond the students' comprehension but, on all accounts, be given in simple words to suit their level and from the working-class standpoint. It is essential to get the students in this way to have a firm grasp of at least the elementary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The teachers should not only deliver well-prepared lectures but also be frank in dealing with students' questions and give clear-cut answers that will fully satisfy them.

While giving the students the right instruction and education, it is necessary to ensure them adequate conditions for studying. First of all, they should be provided with textbooks. Since our printing capacity is still insufficient, the textbooks for the Party school should be mimeographed for the time being. If you make proper arrangements and make the most of existing conditions, you will be quite able to solve the problem of textbooks with mimeographs. The school should set up a library and furnish it with necessary textbooks and bookcases, as well as desks, chairs and teaching aids.

The school should be deeply concerned about the students' living conditions so that they may settle down to their studies. For us who are engaged in revolutionary work nothing is more precious than man. Moreover, the students of the CPS are precious people who will contribute greatly to the work of building a nation in the future. Therefore, we should love and prize them as the most precious treasure and take good care of their daily lives. The school should make their beds comfortable to sleep in and serve them good meals.

At the same time, it is essential to pay much attention to their health. If they are not healthy, they cannot study properly, however

earnestly the teachers teach them, and after school, they will not be able to work well. If even one student should fall ill and cannot study now when we lack cadres, it will mean so much loss to the Party. Therefore, it is necessary to provide the CPS with first-aid medicines and a full-time doctor from the next school term.

The students must be made to live in a hygienic and cultured way. If they do not take care of their bodies and live in unclean surroundings, they will not only be liable to illness but will also be unable to study with a clear mind. Only when they are encouraged to lead hygienic and cultured lives, will they be able to live orderly lives and work correctly after graduation.

The CPS should make every effort to train many Party cadres. If it enrolls about 80 students for each term like this, it will not help solve the problem of badly-needed cadres quickly. The number of students should be increased from the next term on. And the CPS had better establish three-month and six-month courses in the future.

In order to train excellent Party cadres at the CPS, it should enrol good people who show signs of development. It is no good to enrol and educate any people at random. You should enrol and train under a far-reaching programme those who had a hard time before, exploited and oppressed by the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists, and those who fought courageously in spite of the Japanese imperialists' brutal repression. Those who were engaged in the communist movement in different places could not receive systematic education, so they should also be enrolled to study at the Party school. Only by doing this, will they be able to conduct revolutionary work in the right way with a firm Party stand in any adversity and defend our Party's revolutionary ideas to the last.

It is especially necessary to admit many women to the CPS for education.

The women account for one half of our population, so work with women is very important. If this work is to be conducted well, many women cadres should be trained. The lack of women cadres is one of the main reasons why at present work with women is not going

satisfactorily. Even if we promulgate a law on sex equality, we cannot enforce it effectively without women cadres.

Some people say it is difficult to train women cadres, claiming that the social origin of urban women is not good or that rural women are ignoramuses who only know farming. This attitude is absolutely wrong.

Korean women have a proud history of valiant struggle to free themselves from cruel Japanese imperialist suppression and feudal oppression. In the workers' strike at the Pyongyang Rubber Factory, the Kwangju Student Incident and many other anti-Japanese struggles waged at home, women faced up to the Japanese imperialists courageously. Korean women also defended the revolutionary army well at the revolutionary guerrilla bases. Particular mention should be made of the fact that quite a few Korean women took up arms and fought a heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism for a long time.

Why cannot we find future cadres among our women who have such a brilliant history of anti-Japanese struggle? There are countless numbers of women qualified to be cadres. True, their intellectual level may be poor, because they received no education in the past. But this is no big problem. The point is, our officials do not know how to choose women to be trained as cadres. From now on many eligible women should be enrolled in the Party school and trained to be excellent cadres. This will make it possible to advance work among the women and quickly wipe out the ideological legacy of Japanese imperialism and the feudal customs still remaining among them.

The CPS should train cadres from south Korea under a perspective programme.

Now that north and south Korea are following different roads, it is very important indeed to train with foresight cadres who will work in south Korea. Many leading officials of the Communist Party of South Korea know little of the stages of revolutionary development in our country and do not skilfully unite broad sections of democratic forces around the Party.

This situation demands that we train many Party cadres capable of correctly carrying out the complicated revolutionary tasks in south Korea. We should enrol in the Party school good people from among those who came from south Korea and give them an education.

The CPS should strive to train as many cadres as our Party requires, thus living up to its expectations.

In conclusion, I hope that you students will always bear in mind that this is our Party's school, although its material foundations are weak and you might feel inconveniences in your studying, and will become good workers, as required by the Party, studying hard and bravely overcoming all hardships.

THE NEWSPAPER *MINJU JOSON* SHOULD SERVE AS A CORRECT GUIDE FOR THE BUILDING OF A NEW KOREA

**Congratulatory Message on the Occasion
of the Inauguration of the Newspaper *Minju Joson***

June 4, 1946

The Korean nation liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism is now on the way to implementing, with a high degree of political preparedness and self-confidence, the great historic task of building a new, democratic Korea—a unified free, prosperous, independent and democratic state—as a new member in the ranks of the world’s democracies.

Since liberation the democratic forces have grown rapidly in north Korea. Broad sections of the masses have rallied behind the democratic political parties and public organizations, while the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea, the people’s power, has been established on the basis of the solid democratic national united front. At present our people are triumphantly carrying out the historic task of building new government, a new economy and culture.

As a result of the victorious enforcement of the great agrarian reform, our peasants’ centuries-old desire has been realized and a new, broad avenue opened up for Korean society to advance. The industrial establishments wrecked by the Japanese imperialists have vigorously started operating, transport is being restored to normal and

great success is being achieved in the building of a democratic national culture.

The great democratic progress in north Korea shows that north Korea as the base for building a new Korea has already laid a solid foundation and has fully prepared its own forces.

Today the north Korean people are concentrating all their efforts on establishing a democratic provisional government of Korea on the basis of the 20-Point Platform.

The great democratic progress in north Korea has been achieved through a fierce struggle against all the anti-national and anti-popular reactionaries.

Now no reactionaries can ever touch north Korea as the base for building a democratic Korea, and the democratic forces that have grown in north Korea will fulfil their duty of building a democratic Korea hand in hand with the democratic forces in south Korea.

The newspaper *Minju Joson*, the organ of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, has come into being with an important mission as a genuine informer, motivator and organizer that will serve the Korean people endeavouring to build a new Korea and will educate them in democratic ideas and inspire them in the work of nation building.

Therefore, *Minju Joson* must go deep among the broad masses of the people in factories, mines, fishing grounds, towns and villages and in all other places and become their genuine friend and teacher; strive to correctly reflect the lives and demands of the masses and fairly meet their demands; and faithfully discharge the mission of leading the people's thinking and sentiments along the democratic course. At the same time, *Minju Joson* must be a powerful weapon in crushing all the anti-democratic and anti-national reactionary forces and their propaganda. Only by so doing can it serve as a correct guide for the building of a new Korea and ensure our victory in the information warfare against the reactionaries.

Congratulating *Minju Joson* upon its inauguration, I hope that it will fulfil its duty with credit.

ON THE DRAFT LABOUR LAW

**Speech Delivered at the Eighth Session of the Provisional
People's Committee of North Korea**

June 20, 1946

Comrades,

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea has done a great deal of work for the democratization of Korea and has already achieved considerable success in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture under the favourable conditions created by the stationing of the Soviet army. We have triumphantly completed the agrarian reform, a great revolutionary event in the history of our country, which provides a model for democratic social reform in the East.

The PPCNK now makes public the draft of a democratic labour law which, like the agrarian reform, is of great significance for the life of the Korean people and will greatly inspire the oppressed peoples of the East.

This is a genuinely democratic law aimed at emancipating the factory and office workers of our country from the crushing colonial labour forced upon them in the past, ensuring the improvement of their working conditions and material life, and opening up an avenue for them to freely build a new, happy life. It is an important law which expresses the vital interests of the working class, the main force for founding a new, democratic state in our country. Its enforcement is an essential condition for the democratic development of Korea.

As an exclusive colony of the Japanese imperialists, Korea suffered from the complete lack of political rights, extreme economic bankruptcy and cultural blindness because of a brutal tyranny and plunder the like of which would be hard to find elsewhere in the world.

The Korean workers in particular suffered the most distressing plight. They were long forced to do indescribable inhuman toil and to live on the verge of starvation as a result of the Japanese imperialists' rapacious policy of high colonial profits. The Japanese imperialists raked in fabulous profits by bleeding the Korean workers white. They sought prosperity for capitalist Japan by working the labouring people of Korea like slaves.

Every day Korean workers were forced to toil long hours without respite and were mercilessly exploited. According to watered-down data published by the research bureau of Japan's Manchuria Railway Company, for instance, in 1937 factories with a nine-hour workday accounted for only 6 per cent of the total, while those with a workday of over 12 hours made up 41 per cent of the total. The workday was longer and working conditions were worse for workers in cottage industries which accounted for 20 per cent of the industrial output value. Particularly in the munitions factories which grew rapidly during the war of aggression against China and the Pacific war, the workday usually ranged from 14 to 16 hours. This unrestrained extension of working time brought much higher profits to the Japanese imperialists, but more disease, hunger and poverty to the Korean workers.

The Japanese imperialists doubly exploited the Korean workers by enforcing extreme national discrimination. The Korean workers were insulted and humiliated as an "inferior nation" and were paid far less than the Japanese workers doing the same work.

The workday of the Korean workers was, as a rule, from more than one or two hours longer than the Japanese workers'. According to the statistics for 1937, the average workday for Korean workers was 13 per cent longer. As for Korean workers over 16 years of age,

the workday was 16 per cent longer and for juvenile labour below 16 years of age, was 25 per cent longer.

As for the wage level, while the Japanese male worker averaged 2.03 *won* a day in 1937, the Korean worker was paid 1.03 *won*, only half the pay of the Japanese worker. At the Pusan Rubber Factory, for instance, Korean workers, men and women, were paid starvation wages—an average of 46 *jon* a day, the minimum being 10 *jon*. There were cases where women workers, in particular, received as little as 6 *jon*.

At the government-run railway works, where treatment was said to be somewhat better, the maximum monthly wage for Koreans was 78.30 *won*, the minimum 15 *won* and the average 48.28 *won*. For the Japanese the maximum was 111 *won*, the minimum 17.70 *won* and the average 72.57 *won*. The average wages of the Koreans were only a little more than half those of the Japanese. This big gap indicates that the majority of Koreans received low wages.

In the schools, too, a Korean teacher with the same qualifications was paid only half the salary of his Japanese counterpart and, besides, the Japanese enjoyed a variety of privileges and preferential treatment in material conditions.

As these facts show, under the colonial discrimination of Japanese imperialism Korean factory and office workers and people in the field of culture were forced to do slave labour to amass huge profits for the Japanese monopoly capitalists, suffering as they did from an unusually long working day, murderous labour intensity and appalling starvation wages. This was common to all the factories, mines and other enterprises governed by the Japanese imperialists' Factory Law in Korea, and it explains the wretched conditions of life of the working class in colonial Korea.

All factories, without exception, lacked any labour protection arrangement. For instance, when a worker was caught in a machine and lost his arm, the Tongyang Silk Mill in Pyongyang immediately sacked him without even paying a dismissal allowance. Only after liberation when the mill came under the people's ownership, were measures taken to assure his livelihood. In the railways and certain

government-owned plants, such as tobacco factories, there were mutual-aid associations and medical facilities, but they all served as instruments for double or triple exploitation of the workers.

Our country was a labour market for Japanese imperialism and the workers suffered all manner of discriminative oppression and barbaric exploitation. Not only that, a great many workers were taken to Japan under various pretexts such as “voluntary enlistment,” “recommendation for jobs” and “labour drafting.” Their number came to more than 1 500 000. The Japanese imperialists, far from taking any measures for the protection of the young and middle-aged Koreans whom they dragged off to their country, used the lash on them and exploited them without limit.

Thus, the Japanese imperialists bled the Korean workers white, crippling many of them and causing them to suffer from disease. Their Factory Law had no aim other than to shackle the Korean workers with the fetters of colonial slavery and impose poverty and hunger on them.

In such conditions, the Korean workers resolutely waged a persistent struggle to defend their class interests and to smash the yoke of Japanese imperialism’s cruel colonial exploitation in Korea. For instance, in the period from January to August of 1940 alone, a year of intensified suppression by Japanese imperialism, there were 623 labour disputes, involving 49 000 workers. But because of repression by Japanese imperialism, the workers’ struggle was extremely difficult and finally became a clandestine movement. The working conditions of our workers worsened and their material conditions grew more wretched in the last years of Japanese imperialist rule.

With Japanese imperialism’s defeat and our country’s liberation the road to a new life was opened up before the Korean people and the Korean working class.

In north Korea today, complete political freedom is assured for the people and the tasks of the democratic revolution are being carried out, one after another.

The PPCNK carried out, first of all, the historic agrarian reform, uprooting the remnants of feudalism which had checked the socio-economic progress of our country for centuries, liquidating the landlord class in the countryside and enabling the peasants to become the masters of land and builders of democracy.

Agrarian reform laid the foundations for the speedy rehabilitation and development of the productive forces in agriculture and was the first step towards an organic relationship between industry and agriculture and towards their balanced development. The enforcement of this great and historic reform contributed to the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and to the consolidation of the basis of the democratic united front.

The PPCNK is making tremendous efforts for the rapid reconstruction of industry, the leading branch of the economy. We are reorganizing Korea's industry, once a tool of the Japanese imperialists in their policy of colonial pillage and aggression, to turn it into an independent and peaceful industry for developing our national economy and improving the people's livelihood, and we are rehabilitating and readjusting the factories and enterprises left demolished by the Japanese imperialists.

In this connection, an important task confronting our organs of people's power is to emancipate the workers from the extremely cruel oppression and exploitation which they were subjected to in the past, guarantee them a free working life and democratic rights, get them to take part voluntarily in the building of a democratic state as the leading force of the new society, and bring their enthusiasm and initiative into full play.

Today, freed from the yoke of colonial slavery, the workers take an active part in the reconstruction of our industry, accomplishing great feats of labour. They are striving to accelerate the building of a democratic country and achieve the democratic emancipation of the working class.

But the building of a democratic state has only just begun. Only some of our factories, mines and other enterprises have resumed

operation, and industrial production and construction as a whole have not yet got into their stride.

In the industrial field, it is now possible for us to liquidate the survivals of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, establish a democratic system of labour, improve the working conditions of the workers and raise their standard of living. But the democratic emancipation of the workers has not yet been fully effected. An eight-hour workday has not yet been enacted, the employment of juvenile labour is still widespread, social insurance and labour protection for the workers have yet to be introduced, and the survivals of Japanese imperialism in industrial management have not been eradicated.

For this reason, the Labour Law to be promulgated now in the name of the PPCNK aims at radically improving the working conditions of factory and office workers, enhancing their material well-being, eliminating the vestiges of imperialist exploitation in industry and achieving the democratic emancipation of the working class.

Conditions are already ripe for the democratic emancipation of factory and office workers. Major factories, mines and other enterprises and banks are in the hands of the people. The PPCNK, which represents genuinely democratic power, has gained considerably in strength. The worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class has been consolidated.

It is vitally important to grant the workers full democratic rights in labour and life, as they are the very core of the democratic forces in Korea and in charge of the leading branch of the national economy. If the democratic emancipation of factory and office workers and reform of their working life are not effected, if their enthusiasm and creative activity are not enlisted, the building of our new life will undoubtedly be impeded and delayed.

It is, therefore, an important revolutionary task and a prerequisite for Korea's democratic development to enforce a labour law that provides for an eight-hour workday, a proper wage system and social insurance.

As all of you know, the 20-Point Platform of the PPCNK clearly defines the task of liquidating the vestiges of Japanese imperialist colonial exploitation and of introducing a democratic labour system in Korea. The Labour Law about to be promulgated will put into practice the labour policy of our people's power as specified precisely in the platform, and will promote the building of our democratic state by introducing an eight-hour workday, equal pay for equal work irrespective of age or sex, and social insurance for factory and office workers.

This Labour Law is a democratic law which fully conforms to the concrete historical conditions in our country.

Our country is now in the stage of the democratic revolution. We are liquidating the remnants of the systems of colonial and feudal exploitation and are encouraging private enterprises to a certain degree.

Economic construction in our country at present is not socialist, and yet it is not, of course, going in the direction of capitalism. We are in the stage of building a democratic state by abolishing the foundations of colonial and feudal exploitation and uniting the patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life.

For this reason, our Labour Law is not identical with that in a socialist society, but it is also fundamentally different from the labour law of a bourgeois country which defends capitalist exploitation. This law is a democratic labour law conforming to the actual conditions in Korea. We have to guarantee by law the rights of wage and salary earners in private enterprises, not to mention the rights of the factory and office workers who work as the masters in our state organs and state-owned enterprises. Our people's power allows and encourages the business activities of the national capitalists. But it will not tolerate the unrestrained sweating of the workers by entrepreneurs. The characteristic of the Labour Law is that it defends the interests of all factory and office workers and ensures their democratic rights.

There may be people who think our Labour Law defends only the interests of the working class and therefore it undermines the

democratic national united front. This is wrong.

The Labour Law, which defends the interests of factory and office workers, meets and coincides fully with the interests of democratic construction in Korea. It would contravene the underlying spirit of enacting a democratic labour law to lay excessive emphasis on the interests of the factory and office workers in disregard of the realities of our country and to ignore the general interests of democratic construction. However, the Labour Law which we are going to promulgate is aimed at facilitating the democratic development of Korea in an all-round way, and based entirely on the principle of strengthening the democratic national united front. It is our belief that the enactment and enforcement of the democratic Labour Law will not only bring democratic emancipation to the workers, but will make it possible for them to take an active part in political, economic and cultural life. At the same time, it will cement the unity and solidarity of all democratic forces, with the working class as the core.

During the agrarian reform the working class fought more valiantly than any other class against the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and the feudal forces. Only by strengthening the central role of the working class can our democratic united front be consolidated.

Ours is the first democratic labour law not only in the history of Korea but also in the history of the world's colonial and semi-colonial nations.

Agrarian and other reforms have also been carried out in the democratic countries of East and Southeast Europe since their liberation, but none of these countries have so far enacted a democratic labour law.

In south Korea where a US military government has been set up with the support of the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, the workers, far from having a labour law of this type, are forced to do backbreaking slave labour just as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, and they languish in a living hell suffering from hunger and lack of rights. Hundreds of thousands of jobless workers roam the streets and suffer all manner of persecution and abuse, without even

elementary democratic liberties and rights and any security of livelihood.

Moreover, even in the United States, a self-styled democratic country, there is still no democratic labour law and the working class has no democratic rights in the true sense of the word. After the Second World War the United States did not reorganize its munitions industry promptly into a peacetime industry but only greatly reduced the number of workers. In consequence, the streets swarm with the unemployed and labour disputes occur one after another.

The Labour Law we want to enact at this time is another striking demonstration of the democratic character of the PPCNK and a graphic illustration of the nature of genuine democracy. It is a fully democratic law inconceivable in capitalist countries, a progressive labour law fully conforming to the interests of the labouring masses and all the people. Enforcement of this law will hasten the victory of the democratic revolution in north Korea and, at the same time, provide a guarantee for the accelerated democratization of the whole of Korea. It will encourage the working class in many countries of the world and the oppressed peoples in the East who are struggling for democratic rights and for their very existence.

We should fully explain and bring home to the masses of the people the progressive content and great significance of our Labour Law, and inspire them to come out as one in the struggle to put it into effect in a thoroughgoing way.

The lofty feeling of love for the country and the nation is embodied in our Labour Law.

In the past the Japanese imperialists worked the children and young people of Korea day and night like beasts of burden, paying them the lowest possible wages, leaving them ragged, hungry, ignorant and ill, and causing them to fall dead or become disabled and wander aimlessly in despair. Furthermore, they cruelly sweated and persecuted our Korean women and went so far as to deny them their elementary rights as mothers.

Nevertheless, in our liberated country the Syngman Rhee clique is

bent on keeping the same system of exploitation as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. They are quislings who, far from loving their nation, betray it. They are trying to shackle the liberated people of Korea again with the fetters of slavery and subject them to humiliation and oppression by retaining the old system under which Koreans exploited Koreans and foreign imperialists oppressed and exploited the Korean people. These are out-and-out traitorous, criminal actions.

In complete contrast to this, in promulgating the Labour Law now, the PPCNK aims at liquidating the survivals of heavy forced labour of the colonial type and establishing a new and popular system of labour and, on this basis, speedily making our country a prosperous and powerful, democratic state, so that all our men and women workers and the entire nation will soon be able to live in plenty.

Who is against such a labour law and seeks to obstruct its enforcement? It is the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique which is trying to turn Korea into a colony of the US imperialists and enslave our nation again. In his ambition to set up a dictatorship, the traitor Syngman Rhee is working hard to preserve the feudal system and build a foothold for the reactionary forces in Korea, and is frantically trying to become a colonial puppet president whose mission is to sell out the territory and natural resources of Korea to foreign countries.

The US military government, in defiance of the American people's objections, supports and encourages the Syngman Rhee gang in its reactionary activities, and persecutes and exploits the workers and other labouring people of Korea. This is the customary practice of imperialists who invade and plunder other nations.

All the Korean people must clearly realize that those who are opposed to our Labour Law are, as seen above, the US imperialists anxious to make a colony of Korea and the traitorous, reactionary elements led by their stooge, Syngman Rhee.

All Koreans who love their country and aspire to its democratic independence and sovereignty will, as a matter of course, unanimously support and approve the enforcement of this Labour

Law, and will thoroughly expose and smash the traitorous schemes of the Syngman Rhee clique which opposes this law.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that it is thanks to the favourable conditions for democratic development created by the Soviet army in north Korea that the PPCNK can guarantee, through the enactment and enforcement of the Labour Law, genuine democratic emancipation and a free working life for the workers.

With the defeat of Japanese imperialism and the liberation of our country, our people are now able to build a new, democratic life according to their own will, and freely form democratic organizations such as the trade unions, the Peasants Union, the Democratic Youth League and the Democratic Women's Union, thus rallying all the patriotic forces. This growth in the patriotic, democratic forces has provided the foundations for strengthening the PPCNK and successfully carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution.

I am confident that all political parties and social organizations and the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all other sections of the people will consolidate the victory of democracy in north Korea by participating as one in perfecting the Labour Law through earnest discussion of this draft about to be published and by guaranteeing its early and thoroughgoing enforcement.

LABOUR LAW FOR THE FACTORY AND OFFICE WORKERS IN NORTH KOREA

June 24, 1946

Under Japanese imperialist slave rule over Korea, for 36 years the factory and office workers of Korea were harshly exploited and their workday reached 12 to 14 hours.

Particularly because the labour of children and women was widely used and they were ruthlessly exploited, they could not escape being crippled for life. There were no labour safety arrangements and social insurance for the factory and office workers.

The great democratic reforms carried out in north Korea after liberation have made it possible to radically improve the working conditions of factory and office workers, use manpower rationally and improve their material standard.

With a view to eliminating the vestiges of colonial exploitation and radically improving the material conditions of living of factory and office workers, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea decides:

Article 1. To introduce an eight-hour workday for factory and office workers in all the enterprises and offices owned by the state, social organizations, consumers' cooperatives and individuals.

Article 2. To institute a seven-hour workday for workers employed underground and in the production branches with harmful conditions.

Note: The definition of trades with respect to underground labour and production branches with harmful conditions shall be given by

the Industry Bureau and the General Federation of Trade Unions, subject to the approval of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Article 3. To introduce a six-hour workday for children aged 14 to 16 who work in production enterprises and offices.

Child labour is forbidden in production branches that have harmful working conditions and in underground labour.

Note: As for child labour in harmful working conditions, the Industry Bureau and the General Federation of Trade Unions shall define its denominations, subject to the approval of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Article 4. To prohibit the labour of those under the age of 14 in all production branches.

Article 5. To forbid labour outside the defined working hours in principle.

Note: Overtime in enterprises and offices is allowed only in special cases, and must always have the consent of the trade union organizations. The overtime of each factory and office worker shall not exceed 250 hours a year.

Article 6. To define the limits of remuneration to the personnel according to their occupation, post and technical qualifications

a. The wages of factory and office workers serving with state enterprises and offices shall be stipulated by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea;

b. The wages of those who work in privately-owned enterprises and offices shall be stipulated through collective bargaining or labour contract.

Article 7. To pay an equal wage to the workers who do equal work with equal techniques, irrespective of their age and sex.

Article 8. To decide the rates of payment for piecework according to the quantity of standardized goods produced.

The production norms of these standardized goods shall be determined through the consultation between employers and trade union organizations.

Article 9. The remuneration for labour after working hours, on days off and public holidays shall not be less than 1.5 times the basic fixed wage rates.

Article 10. To have the enterprises and offices pay wages to the factory and office workers twice a month within the time limits specified by contract.

Article 11. To set every January 1, March 1, May Day, August 15 and December 31 as public holidays, and Sundays as days off.

Besides the above-mentioned holidays and days off the local people's committees shall have the right to decide on special holidays not more than six times a year in accordance with local, national and religious traditions.

Note: Salary-earners' wages shall not be cut for holidays and days off.

Article 12. To grant all employees on the staff at least a fortnight's holiday a year.

To give workers under the age of 16 at least one month's annual holiday.

To give at least an extra fortnight's holiday besides the regular one to people employed at enterprises where work is especially harmful or dangerous. Employers shall pay wages for the regular and extra holidays, the wage rate being decided in accordance with the average wages for the last 12 months.

Note: The General Federation of Trade Unions shall stipulate the production branches and the kinds of jobs to which the extra holiday shall be applied, subject to the approval of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Article 13. An employee has the right to receive non-paid short-term leave for personal reasons after consultation with the employer.

Article 14. To provide women workers and office employees in all enterprises and offices with maternity leave, 35 days before and 42 days after childbirth.

Article 15. To allow a pregnant woman who needs to do lighter work for reasons of health to be transferred to easier work from the

sixth month of pregnancy until she takes the maternity leave, and to pay her on the basis of the average wage for the last six months.

Article 16. A working woman with a baby under one year of age shall be allowed to have a 30-minute feeding break twice a day, during which she shall be paid her average wage.

Article 17. It is prohibited to put pregnant or nursing women on overtime or night work.

Article 18. To introduce a compulsory social insurance scheme for the workers and office employees of all enterprises, offices and economic branches as follows:

- a. To grant allowances to those who are temporarily disabled;
- b. To grant allowances to women on maternity leave;
- c. To grant allowances for funeral expenses;
- d. To allow pensions to those who have been disabled by labour accidents or occupational diseases;
- e. To allow pensions to those families that have been deprived of their breadwinners.

Social insurance contributions shall be paid as follows:

- a. State and public-owned enterprises, consumers' cooperatives, offices and organizations shall pay five to eight per cent respectively of the amount of their total wage bill;
- b. Private enterprises and employers shall pay 10 to 12 per cent of their total wage bill;
- c. The insured factory and office workers shall pay one per cent of their wages. Only the workers and office employees who have paid the stipulated social insurance contributions for more than seven consecutive months shall be entitled to receive allowances from social insurance.

Article 19. The Industry Bureau, with the General Federation of Trade Unions, shall formulate the rules on social insurance for workers and office employees, and these rules shall set out the details concerning the collection of the stipulated social insurance contributions, the regulations on and limits of allowances, pensions and medical treatment.

Article 20. The Industry Bureau, with the General Federation of Trade Unions, shall take steps to supervise and check safety devices at wherever the work process is hazardous as well as labour safety techniques in all production branches.

Article 21. To authorize the Public Health Bureau to take measures for checking hygiene and cleaning in production branches.

Article 22. To authorize the General Federation of Trade Unions, Finance Bureau, Industry Bureau and Transport Bureau to work out the tables of wage rates and standard wages for the workers, and the tables of fixed salaries according to position for engineers, technicians and office employees of state enterprises, transport establishments and all other industrial institutions, and the office employees of all administrative organs.

Article 23. Labour disputes between employers and workers shall be settled by the employers and the trade unions. Failing agreement between them, the people's court shall make the final decision on the disputes.

Article 24. All workers and office employees are duty-bound to observe high labour discipline in every respect. Directors of enterprises, private entrepreneurs and heads of all institutions have the right to dismiss at any time those who fail to report for work without permission or violate labour discipline, after consultation with representatives of the local trade unions.

Article 25. To form a special committee with the participation of the General Federation of Trade Unions to study and formulate the regulations on insurance for factory and office workers and on unemployment benefit and pensions to be granted to elderly workers and office employees. Its term of office shall be six months.

Article 26. This law shall come into effect upon promulgation.

LET US MAKE ALL EFFORTS TO EXPAND THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

**Congratulatory Speech Delivered at the First
Congress of the New Democratic Party of Korea**

June 26, 1946

Dear representatives,

I feel honoured to offer my congratulations today on the First Congress of the New Democratic Party of Korea where its representatives are gathered to discuss important questions arising in the building of democracy in Korea.

After liberation the democratic political parties and social organizations have developed smoothly and rapidly in north Korea. All the political parties and social organizations have done their utmost to form the democratic national united front and build a new, democratic Korea. In particular, when the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers published its decision on guaranteeing the democratic development of Korea, the democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea gave wholehearted support to this decision and have worked energetically to carry it into effect.

In the process of the struggle for building a new country, the road Korea should follow became clearer, and all the political parties and social organizations took deep roots among the masses and the democratic forces grew further in scope and strength.

In February the democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea founded the Provisional People's

Committee of North Korea, the genuine people's government, in firm unity on the basis of a solid united front.

All the political parties and social organizations have positively supported and defended the PPCNK and made strong and sincere efforts to carry out its policies. Particularly, they fought vigorously to eliminate anti-democratic reactionary elements in the course of carrying out the democratic tasks, including the agrarian reform, a great historic task, and gave active help in spring sowing.

Expressing my thanks for this, I would like to speak to you, the representatives of the New Democratic Party, about a few problems.

First, you should strive to unite the democratic forces firmly.

We cannot say as yet that the democratic forces of Korea have firmly united as one. If we are to build a new country successfully, we should by all means possible unite all the patriotic, democratic forces firmly. To achieve the unity of the broad democratic forces is the main guarantee for building a new, democratic Korea.

The more the democratic forces grow in scope and strength, the more viciously the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, including Syngman Rhee, commit arson, murder and other barbarities, in a desperate attempt to split our nation and hinder the democratic building of Korea. These scoundrels, fostered for a long time by the international fascists, are now revealing their true colours and are trying to set up a reactionary fascist government in Korea and turn it into a colony of imperialism again.

In order to build the country successfully by uniting the democratic forces firmly, we should eliminate the reactionary elements, including the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. Nobody could assert now that reactionary elements will not try to get a grip on the New Democratic Party. Your party should further sharpen its vigilance against the reactionaries and thoroughly liquidate the anti-democratic elements in your midst.

We should build a genuine democratic provisional government of Korea by eliminating from the democratic ranks the reactionary elements, including the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the

nation, to the last man and expanding the democratic forces.

Second, you should make every effort to accomplish the democratic tasks.

In north Korea the historic agrarian reform has already been completed successfully. Thus, the feudal production relations which held back the development of society for a long time have been abolished and the main foundation for the country's democratic development has been laid.

On June 24, following the agrarian reform, the PPCNK issued the Labour Law for workers and office employees. I hope that you, members of the New Democratic Party, will give positive support and aid to the enforcement of this law.

Third, the New Democratic Party will have to form a firm united front with other democratic political parties and, in particular, cooperate more closely with the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a revolutionary political party which has deep historical roots in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Korean nation. Now the Communist Party has put forward the only correct line and is fighting courageously for the democratic development of Korea. Therefore, the New Democratic Party fighting for the democratic building of Korea will have to cooperate closely with the Communist Party.

To conclude my brief congratulatory speech, I wish the New Democratic Party a healthy development.

CADRES ARE PILLARS IN BUILDING A NEW KOREA

**Speech at the Opening Ceremony
of the Central Higher Cadres Training School**

July 1, 1946

Comrades,

The opening ceremony of the Central Higher Cadres Training School takes place at a time when all the people are working hard to build a new, democratic Korea.

The Central Higher Cadres Training School is a cadre-training institution where officials are to be systematically reared to administer and manage such administrative and economic establishments as the people's government bodies, factories and enterprises.

Its establishment is of great significance in the struggle for accelerating the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state and for attaining the country's prosperity and development. So far we have had no school that trains personnel in the administrative and economic fields at state expense. But with the formation of the Central Higher Cadres Training School directly under the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea today, we have come to have the first school in our history training our own cadres who will manage and run the state and economic organizations. This means the realization of our people's long-cherished desire. We are very proud that our people are able to train their own cadres.

You students have the honour of being the first to study at the

Central Higher Cadres Training School, the first of its kind in our history. Bearing deep in mind this honour and pride, you should strive to become pillars in building a new, democratic Korea and servants of the people.

In this country freed from Japanese imperialist colonial rule we are now struggling to build an independent and sovereign democratic state according to the people's desire and will. But our struggle for building a new country is by no means plain sailing, and we are confronted with many obstacles and difficulties.

The US imperialists who sneaked into south Korea have imposed military government and cruelly suppress the patriotic, democratic forces, while they put the Syngman Rhee clique in the forefront to oppose the establishment of a unified, democratic provisional government and attempt to make our country their colony. At the instigation of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, the liquidated landlords, pro-Japanese collaborators, traitors to the nation and other reactionary elements in north Korea also make vicious attempts to destroy our people's government and to mislead the masses by abusing and slandering the successes of the democratic reforms and spreading reactionary false rumours. Such machinations of the US imperialists and reactionaries are a great obstacle to the building of a democratic Korea.

And the factionalists, too, are obstructing our nation building. The factionalists, who did much harm to the revolutionary movement in our country by indulging in factional strife for leadership in the past, have not cast off their factional habits even now when the country is liberated. Continuing their factional acts, they hinder the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people and constitute an obstacle to the building of a democratic Korea.

We should carry out successfully the vast and difficult tasks of consolidating the democratic base of north Korea and building a rich and powerful, independent and sovereign state, by doing everything to frustrate the machinations of the reactionaries and factionalists at home and abroad.

To this end the ranks of our cadres should be built up solidly by all means possible.

Cadres are the mainstay in building a new Korea. In order to build a new, democratic Korea and achieve the flourishing and development of the country and prosperity of the nation, we must have a large number of our own cadres. Without cadres we can neither solve successfully the difficult and complex problems arising in the building of a new country, nor build the country well.

And our country has a great shortage of cadres. This is one of the greatest difficulties in our nation-building work today.

The shortage of cadres in our country is entirely the fault of the vicious Japanese imperialist colonial rule. Our people were kept out of state administration and denied the opportunity to study science and technology. As a result, we are short of cadres to administer the government bodies and manage the economy of the country. Even the cadres now working in the administrative and economic establishments have no experience of such work and their level is very low.

In these circumstances, in order to train cadres quickly we should have cadre-training centres. True, we have founded the Pyongyang Institute and the Central Party School, but this alone is not enough. There must also be a school for training administrative and economic cadres. That is why this time we have founded the Central Higher Cadres Training School.

As the school opens today, it is important to settle correctly the questions of how to manage the school, what and how to teach the students and how to temper their ideologies. Only when these questions are properly solved can the students be brought up as fine cadres.

Cadres on active service in the administrative and economic organizations and good persons from among the workers, poor peasants and farm hands who experienced much oppression and exploitation at the hands of the Japanese imperialist aggressors, landlords and capitalists in the past, should be admitted and educated

at the Central Higher Cadres Training School. The school should educate the students well and make them competent and useful administrative and economic officials capable of settling all questions arising in nation building correctly in keeping with the realities of our country.

To bring up the students into fine cadres, it is necessary, first of all, to prepare them well ideologically.

The school should cultivate the students in ardent patriotism, a high degree of national dignity, burning hatred for the enemy and confidence in victory of the revolutionary cause.

Our people are a sagacious nation with a long history and brilliant culture. In the past they fought unyieldingly for the freedom and independence of the country in defiance of all sorts of manoeuvres and barbarities of foreign invaders. In particular, the Korean communists waged the heroic armed struggle to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressors and achieve national liberation. The school should systematically teach the students the history of the Korean people's brave struggle against the Japanese imperialists and other foreign invaders, and instruct them well in all the excellent aspects of our people. It should thus cultivate the students in ardent patriotism and high national self-respect.

At the same time, it is important that the students be well informed on the aggressive nature of the Japanese and US imperialists and the atrocities they committed in Korea. After the occupation of Korea the Japanese imperialists oppressed and exploited its people by various cunning and vicious methods and committed brutal acts of arresting, imprisoning and slaughtering innocent people at random. The US imperialists have also for a long time ceaselessly perpetrated barbaric acts of aggression and plunder against Korea, beginning by sending their aggressor ship *General Sherman* to intrude into the Taedong River. We should make sure the students clearly know about such crimes of the US and Japanese aggressors. In particular, the US imperialists' crafty policy of aggression should be made well known to the students. In the past the US imperialists under the guise of

religion spread the idea of worship of the United States in Korea, so a large number of people cherish an illusion about US imperialism. The school should instruct the students with concrete information on the wickedness and craftiness of the US imperialists. It should also give them a good idea of the crimes of the pro-Japanese and pro-US collaborators and traitors to the nation. Thus, all the students should be made to hate the imperialists and their stooges and fight resolutely against them.

The school should inform the students without delay of the enemy's plots and schemes and teach them well the ways of struggle against him. The enemy is now bent on frustrating our building of a new, democratic Korea. The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are sending large numbers of spies and subversive elements and saboteurs into north Korea and making every conceivable attempt to hold back our people's struggle for building a new, democratic Korea. Therefore, we must see to it that the students know how to tell clearly friend from foe with a high revolutionary vigilance at all times and to organize the struggle against the enemy properly by positively mobilizing the masses of the people without hesitation in any circumstances.

The students should be brought to realize deeply the truth that imperialism will fall and that democracy and justice will undoubtedly triumph. We should teach them to know clearly the justness of our revolutionary cause and have a firm faith that the US imperialists and their lackeys will surely fail while the Korean people's struggle will bring victory, so that they become ardent revolutionary fighters who struggle selflessly for the sake of the country and people and for the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state, adhering to the revolutionary stand in any storm and stress.

It is also important to inculcate in the students the idea that a new country should be built by the efforts of our people themselves. The school should encourage the students to strive hard through all the difficulties in nation building, always holding fast to the position of master. To do so, it should give them a clear idea that the national

economy and culture can be rehabilitated and developed and a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state can be built not by the strength of others but only by the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

Further, the students should be properly educated to struggle resolutely against factionalism, local separatism, individual heroism and careerism. Now the tendencies of factionalism and local separatism are much in evidence in many local areas, and some people show the tendency of individual heroism and careerism, too. The school should clearly teach the students the essence and baneful effect of factionalism and local separatism and make them understand well also the harmfulness of individual heroism and careerism. Thus, it should ensure that the students are not infected with factionalism, local separatism, individual heroism and careerism but are prepared for an uncompromising struggle against such wrong ideological tendencies.

One of the important tasks in the education of students is to make them acquire a popular style of work.

Under Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past, our people only saw bureaucratic acts of Japanese imperialist officials and heard only the barking of Japanese imperialists. Consequently, many officials who now serve with the people's government organs, factories and enterprises, work in a bureaucratic manner after their style. At present many officials make a practice of abusing and shouting at people. Cadres of a certain province regard it as a matter of course to behave like bureaucrats. Such a bureaucratic attitude of officials creates a serious hindrance to building a new country. If the officials resort to bureaucratism under the people's government, then what difference is there between them and the bureaucrats of bygone days under Japanese imperialist rule? No difference at all. Many of our officials are fond of showing off. All this is alien to the work style that must be acquired by those who are working on behalf of the people.

The school should acquaint the students clearly with the

harmfulness of bureaucratism and make them realize well that those who indulge in bureaucracy and like to show off cannot work efficiently and become servants of the people. We should educate the students to become deeply conscious that they are servants of the people, so that they acquire the genuinely popular traits of always breathing the same air as the people and living with them, trusting and relying on the strength of the masses of the people in work and sacrificing themselves for the sake of the country and people.

While equipping the students well politically and ideologically and teaching them to acquire a correct style of work, the school should get them adequately prepared in business practice. At school a good education should be given to the students so that they obtain the knowledge needed to run the people's government and to manage the economy of the country.

In order to train the students to be competent cadres, the role of teachers should be enhanced. Teachers should make every effort to educate students properly.

Teachers should, first of all, give substantial lectures. They should teach the students every single subject correctly and make it full of substance and impart to them living knowledge applicable to practical work. Even when a lecture is delivered on foreign experience, this experience should always be taught in relation to our specific realities. And because the students have been engaged in different jobs in different localities, the teachers should make sure they have the same correct views on all matters arising in the building of a new country.

In particular, lectures should measure up to the students' level. Because the students' level is low, complex and involved subjects should be avoided as much as possible in the early lectures, and students should first be taught such simple subjects as what is the organ of power. Further, difficult words of Chinese ideograph origin and words borrowed from foreign languages such as "proletariat" and "hegemony" which are above the heads of the students should not be used. If the teachers give lectures that are incomprehensible to their

audience, the students will remain ignorant even if they study not for three months but for three years, and will not be able to become competent cadres. Therefore, difficult words should not be used but easy words to make the lecture intelligible and have a lasting impression.

Teachers should become models for the students in everything. If teachers fail to conduct themselves properly and to exert a good influence upon the students, the latter will not be able to do good practical work after graduation. Teachers should always endeavour to exert a good influence on students in word and in deed and to acquire the right style of work. They should know how to accept the opinions of students with an open mind and how to learn from them.

While at school, the students should prepare themselves well politically and ideologically and apply themselves in study.

In the first place, effective ideological tempering is important. The present situation in our country is very complex, and we are building a new, democratic Korea in the thick of a fierce struggle against enemies at home and abroad. Therefore, if the students do not have nation building closely in mind and are poorly prepared politically and ideologically, they may waver when confronted with difficulties and will be unable to build the country properly. So the students should strive for strong ideological self-discipline.

In the meantime, students should try hard to master practical knowledge. To this end, they should learn from the experience of other countries and study Marxist-Leninist theories, with the main stress on the study of our own country. They should know everything about our country including history, geography, the economy and culture better than anybody else and study in such a way as to be able to introduce foreign experience to suit our conditions. Only when all scientific theories and experiences are studied in a way applicable to our nation-building work can they become working knowledge.

If students in their schooldays firmly arm themselves politically and ideologically by strengthening their ideological training and study hard to master practical knowledge of nation building and

economic management, they will be able to carry out their revolutionary tasks with credit in the face of any difficulty.

The students of the Central Higher Cadres Training School will be valuable cadres for the people's power organs and for various fields of the national economy in the future. Therefore, the school should look after their everyday life well so that they can study in comfort. Every hostel room should be furnished with desks and beds for the students to study and rest well, and they should also be supplied with sports equipment. Enough subsidiary foodstuffs should be supplied to the students and various daily necessities provided. The school should also have medical supplies for emergency use. And measures should be taken for the students to regularly attend films and to have their hair cut and take a bath.

The school should pay attention to the teachers' lives, too. Particularly, we must ensure that the teachers live as near the school as possible. Only then can they have sufficient time to make a deep study of the education programme and teaching subjects.

All the teaching staff of the Central Higher Cadres Training School should make every effort to train a great many cadres capable of skilfully managing the people's government bodies and the economy and thus greatly contribute to solving the question of cadres.

In conclusion I hope that all of you students will become good cadres needed by the country and the people through proper ideological tempering and acquisition of a great deal of working knowledge.

AN OPEN LETTER TO RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

July 7, 1946

Dear shop-floor and office workers and technicians in the railway sector,

Dear railway guards,

Dear brothers who are working with devotion to defend the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea (PPCNK) and build democracy,

The Japanese imperialists have been driven out of our country. During 36 years, they not only brutally suppressed and exploited the Korean nation but also destroyed our country's economy. During their brigandish war of aggression, they issued too much paper money and overworked the machinery at factories and other enterprises, and when they were fleeing after their defeat, they destroyed Korea's industrial facilities and railways and set fire to the food grain.

Worse still, since liberation we have been unable to get access to Northeast China's high-caloric coal and to conduct the exchange of goods with the south of our country. All these constitute disadvantageous conditions for us.

However, our workers and technicians, under the correct leadership of the PPCNK, have, by working with devotion in a race against time and by giving play to their creativity and patriotic enthusiasm, rehabilitated a large part of our industry. Thanks to your heroic efforts, the railways are being gradually rebuilt and put into operation, as our people wish.

Dear railway employees,

Should you feel content with this success? Never. The operation of the railways can be likened to the circulation of blood in the human body. Only when rail transport is put on a normal basis can industrial and agricultural production be guaranteed, the building of democratic economy promoted and the people's standard of living improved.

The PPCNK, a truly people's government, by enforcing the agrarian reform, satisfied a centuries-old desire of the peasants. On June 24 this year, it published the historic democratic labour law, making it possible to eliminate the vestiges of the imperialist exploitation of shop-floor and office workers and radically improve their material and cultural living standards. In addition, it issued the decision on agricultural tax in kind, by which the peasants are freed from the burden of various colonial taxes and the livelihoods of the shop-floor and office workers are provided for and stabilized.

These facts show that adequate conditions have been created for developing all the sectors of politics, the economy and culture along democratic lines in north Korea. The current rapid promotion of democracy building in north Korea urgently demands that rail transport be improved further.

Dear railway employees,

Let us look at the current situation of rail transport. Some of you are failing to operate your locomotives on the plea that the coal for the engines is low in quality. Worse still, some of you are transporting freight on behalf of speculators and profiteers, not of the state.

As a consequence, rail transport has not been put on a normal track, and this is a great hindrance to democracy building. People in North and South Hamgyong provinces are at a crossroads of life or death because of the shortage of food grain. At this moment rail transport is so inefficient that the beans destined for the provinces have become "bean sprouts" and rice from Pyongyang is being lost sack by sack along the way. The chemical fertilizers produced in Hungnam are failing to reach the western coastal areas on time; although South Hamgyong and Kangwon provinces have landed a

huge haul of mackerel, the fish is going rotten because of the failure to transport salt from the western coastal areas on time.

These phenomena prove that in spite of our great successes in building democracy, we are partly committing crimes against the people. This will be a source of pleasure for the reactionaries in the long run.

The Syngman Rhee clique, glad about these phenomena, is clamouring that the democracy building in north Korea is a pipe dream; moreover, they are making the most of the opportunity to resort to every manner of schemes to hamper the democratic construction of our economy.

Dear railway employees,

The workers at the Hungnam District People's Factory, a treasure of Korea, are advancing vigorously by bravely overcoming all manner of difficult conditions and giving full play to their creativity and patriotic enthusiasm so as to produce large quantities of the chemical fertilizers which have an important bearing on increasing the production of cereals.

Your failure to operate rail transport properly at this time is quite shameful, in view of the huge strides being taken in democracy building.

What are the fundamental reasons for rail transport not operating properly?

First is the lingering effects of the ideas from the days of Japanese imperialism, which are leading some railway employees to neglect their duties and hampering the building of a democratic country.

Second is that some railway employees have failed to launch a drive for increased labour efficiency, as they thought that it was all right to idle away their time even though they were violating the labour discipline, and that they still entertain self-centred and bureaucratic ideas.

Third is the lack among you of the true patriotism of loving your fellow people sincerely and championing their and the country's interests.

Dear railway employees, who love and support the people's government,

In order to rectify as soon as possible the mistakes revealed in rail transport in the past and put it on a normal track, I present you, railway employees, with the following tasks.

First, you must observe labour discipline to the letter, arrange rail transport properly, including the dispatch of freight cars, and keep to the railway timetable. You must remember that if a train is late even by a minute, then the great undertaking of democracy building may be derailed and face major difficulties.

Second, you must value and take good care of state property. You must look after everything, be it a nail or a handful of coal, with care so that it is not lost. In particular, you must prevent accidental fires. Accidental fires in the railway sector will cause damage to state property and this will, in the long run, impede the building of a new country.

Third, you must study and acquire the skills of driving locomotives and other railway vehicles so as to make maximum efforts for the normal operation of rail transport.

The Japanese imperialists, as in other sectors, did not teach Koreans in the railway sector the skills they needed. You must learn these skills by your own efforts.

Fourth, you must perform your duties properly by encouraging and cooperating with one another, and wage a relentless struggle against those who do not work sincerely, who neglect their duties, who are planning to desert their workshops in search of other jobs and who are embezzling or misappropriating state property.

The PPCNK appeals to you, dear railway employees, to perform these tasks with credit.

I extend fraternal congratulations to you, courageous workers, who are in charge of the artery of the country.

I CONGRATULATE THE FIRST RESULT IN BUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC CAPITAL

**Speech at the Celebration of the Completion
of the Pothong River Improvement Project**

July 21, 1946

Dear citizens of Pyongyang,

Today we are celebrating the triumphant completion of the Pothong River improvement project for protecting Pyongyang, the capital of the new, democratic Korea, against floods.

The citizens of Pyongyang who have joined enthusiastically in the building of democracy since liberation have displayed lofty patriotism and ardour for nation building once again in the Pothong River project, thus triumphantly completing the difficult work 15 days ahead of schedule. I would like to extend my sincere congratulations on this.

Pyongyang is the metropolis not only in the building of democracy in north Korea but in the democratization of the whole of Korea as well. Every undertaking for the building of democracy in Korea is planned in Pyongyang. Pyongyang is the democratic capital of Korea which is leading many countries in the East in building democratic states.

By completing the Pothong River project through your devoted labour, you, Pyongyang citizens, have made it possible to protect Pyongyang, the centre of building the democratic Korea, against floods.

Under Japanese imperialist rule Pyongyang often suffered serious damage from floods. The big flood disasters of 1923 and 1942 made a page of history that conjures up bitter memories among our Pyongyang citizens. In the flood disaster of 1942 large numbers of people were victims, more than 2 000 hectares of cultivated land and over 1 000 houses were washed away, and enormous damage was done to roads and crops. The Japanese imperialist aggressors were only interested in harshly oppressing and exploiting the Korean people, not caring at all about the pain and disaster they suffered.

But now that they have been liberated, our people are in a position to shape their destiny for themselves. United firmly under the banner of the democratic national united front, various political parties and public organizations and Pyongyang citizens of all social strata, young and old, men and women, turned out in the Pothong River improvement work to protect Pyongyang against natural calamities and have carried it out with success by devoting all their energies, zeal and talents.

Displaying conscious enthusiasm and unflagging perseverance, Pyongyang citizens have overcome all difficulties and completed well ahead of schedule the great work of building an embankment five kilometres long with its 420 000-odd cubic metres of earthwork, by using some 579 000 man-days, half the estimated number. In a very short space of time the liberated citizens of Pyongyang triumphantly finished, by their voluntary and enthusiastic labour, the work which the Japanese imperialists had failed to accomplish in ten years even though they forcibly mobilized as many as three million people.

The completion of the Pothong River improvement project has made it possible not only to ensure the safety of the lives and property of 400 000 Pyongyang citizens but also for them to engage in the building of a democratic state and production work free from anxiety. In particular, the area of Taetharyong-ri in Pothong Plain has become safe for the construction of factories, while the villages in the basin of the Pothong River can raise crops safely every year free from floods to further consolidate the victory of the agrarian reform.

The triumphant completion of the Pothong River project is evidence that the foundation for building democracy has been laid in north Korea.

In the favourable situation created after liberation the north Korean people established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the genuine people's government, and have steadily carried out democratic tasks, a great historic work, for the country's complete independence and sovereignty and democratic progress.

The agrarian reform emancipated the peasants who groaned under feudal exploitation for thousands of years and under the Japanese imperialists' oppression and plunder for 36 years, and paved the way for the development of the countryside along democratic lines. We finished this year's spring sowing successfully and thus further consolidated the successes of the agrarian reform. And the promulgation of the Labour Law freed the workers and office employees for ever from the Japanese imperialists' colonial forced labour and exploitation and made it possible to improve their working conditions and standard of material life. And the introduction of the agricultural tax in kind opened up the possibility of creating favourable conditions for raising the living standards of the peasants, developing agriculture and reconstructing industries.

At the same time, through the democratic movement of the masses, we exposed and frustrated every reactionary plot and terrorist act of Syngman Rhee, Jo Man Sik and other traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese elements seeking to turn Korea into a colony of imperialism again, which made possible the successful fulfilment of democratic tasks.

You, citizens of Pyongyang, the democratic capital, participated more enthusiastically than anyone else in the struggle to carry out all these great democratic tasks. Indeed, you are models of the great Korean people who ardently desire Korea's independence and sovereignty and devote themselves self-sacrificingly to the building of democracy. You carried out the Pothong River project by working in muddy water, disregarding the downpour of the rainy season.

As in the past, so in the recent river improvement project, the communists, in particular, clearly demonstrated that they are in the vanguard in the building of democracy and patriots who love the country and people more than anyone else. One of them, after volunteering to join the night shock brigade, worked day and night to carry out his responsibilities until he was drowned in the surging flood water.

All this shows how ardently and exemplarily you, citizens of Pyongyang, are working for the country's independence and sovereignty and the building of democracy.

Dear citizens,

You have won the honour of victor and the title of patriot in the building of democracy and added a beautiful and worthy page to the history of building democracy in our country.

The successful progress of the great democracy-building work in north Korea demonstrates once again to the whole world that the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea based on the democratic national united front is being strengthened on the basis of democracy and that it is a genuine people's government striving for the improvement of the people's well-being. Indeed, the successful democracy-building work is a great historic victory to be rejoiced over and celebrated by the citizens of Pyongyang and all the Korean people alike, and this will hasten the glorious day of establishing a unified, democratic government in our country.

Today, when under the guidance of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the north Korean people are carrying out democratic reforms including the agrarian reform, and conducting a drive for increasing production and building a free and happy life, the Korean people south of the 38th Parallel are leading as miserable a life as in the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

The Syngman Rhee clique in collusion with the US reactionaries are openly attempting to sell out Korea again to the imperialists and turn the Korean people into colonial slaves of the US imperialists.

All the political parties and public organizations affiliated with the

democratic national front and patriotic people that struggle for democracy and the people's interests in south Korea have been suppressed, and their activities today are completely banned. Democratic establishments and organizations have been closed down and their leaders are arrested and imprisoned, and reactionary terrorism is rife in broad daylight. Such inhumane, reactionary measures are perpetrated in south Korea because the US imperialists put the national betrayer Syngman Rhee and his ilk in the forefront and carry on a governor-general type administration through the medium of the US military government.

The US military government has categorically rejected and is making a frenzied attempt to nullify the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on giving help to Korea's independence and sovereignty and democratic progress.

Just as in the days when the Japanese imperialists maintained colonial rule, the US imperialists have robbed the south Korean people of their political power and taken it into their own hands; they have whipped together the reactionaries including the pro-Japanese and pro-US elements and national betrayers who are enemies of the people, to make servants of them and incite them to reactionary acts of oppressing and plundering the people.

While suppressing and dissolving the people's committees which the people had set up independently in all areas of south Korea and arresting and imprisoning their leading officials, the US imperialists seized hold of the factories, mines, railways, communications and banks formerly owned by the Japanese state and Japanese capitalists, which ought duly to have come into possession of the Korean people, and they are using them for the implementation of their policy of plunder. In this way, they have deprived the south Korean people of their political rights and freedoms and expropriated all the wealth produced by our people's sweat and blood and needed for the improvement of our people's well-being. What is this if not a concrete expression of the American-style governor-general administration?

In order to further intensify imperialist oppression and plunder against the Korean people, the US reactionaries plan to rig up a puppet government by setting up the Syngman Rhee clique as their stooges. It is common knowledge that their heinous machinations are responsible for the unsuccessful work of the USSR-US Joint Commission.

The US imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique have in collusion recently put up a signboard of what they call General Headquarters for National Unification to fool the people. The US imperialists are using all sorts of tricks to deprive the Korean people of democratic government and all their wealth and to reduce them to colonial slaves.

Our people will never tolerate such moves of the US imperialists. The Korean people do not want to become colonial slaves of the imperialists again; they are afire with a firm determination to struggle to the last man for the country's independence and sovereignty.

Citizens of Pyongyang,

People of north Korea,

Let us help the south Korean people who are fighting against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, their stooges, suffering under their suppression. All the north Korean people must pool their strength to thoroughly oppose the governor-general style administration of the US military government that oppresses the people in south Korea, and must wage a vigorous struggle to make political power and all property pass into the hands of the Korean people.

In order to strive energetically for the country's independence, sovereignty and democratization, the entire people should unite ever more firmly around the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea and further strengthen the people's committees.

We should continue to push ahead vigorously with economic construction. All the factories and other enterprises should be put into operation at an early date and the railways and roads restored and kept in good order. The Anju irrigation project should be started quickly.

Anti-epidemic work must be stepped up so that cholera will not infiltrate into Pyongyang, and help must be given to the flood victims in some areas as soon as possible. In particular, urgent measures must be taken to help our compatriots in south Korea without a people's government who are suffering from floods.

Our people should triumphantly fulfil all these tasks by making considerably greater efforts than during the recent Pothong River improvement project. The entire people should display a high degree of patriotic ardour and devotion and wage a vigorous struggle for the building of democracy, thus facilitating the establishment of a unified, democratic government.

Victory will be ours.

Let us all unite closely around the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea and work vigorously for the establishment of a unified, democratic government and the complete independence and sovereignty of the country.

Long live the citizens of Pyongyang who have performed heroic feats in the Pothong River improvement project!

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, our people's government!

Long live the democratic national united front!

Let us oppose the US imperialists' policy of colonization towards Korea!

Let us throw out the Syngman Rhee reactionaries obstructing the complete independence of Korea!

Long live the democratic independence and sovereignty of Korea!

ON FORMING THE COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

**Report to a Meeting of Representatives
of the Democratic Political Parties and Public
Organizations in North Korea**

July 22, 1946

Esteemed representatives,
Comrades,

Since liberation our people in north Korea have successfully carried out democratic reforms of great historical significance. The joint efforts of many democratic political parties and public organizations have enabled north Korea to lay a solid foundation for building a reunified, democratic Korea in the future.

In particular, since the publication of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on the Korean question, the north Korean democratic forces have quickly become stronger, with millions of people uniting in the democratic political parties and public organizations. Following are the names of the principal public organizations and their membership:

Trade unions.....	350 000
Peasants Union.....	over 1 800 000
Democratic Youth League.....	almost 1 000 000
Women's Union.....	over 600 000

Arts Federation.....over 10 000

We have established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a true people's power, on the basis of a broad united front of the democratic political parties and public organizations.

As its first great task, the PPCNK abolished the feudal relations of land ownership and exploitation, which paralyzed and hampered the social development of our country for many centuries, and carried out the agrarian reform to distribute land among peasants on the principle of "Only those who cultivate land are entitled to have it." The reform carried out resolutely with the mobilization of all the people and all political parties and public organizations opened up a broad avenue for the democratization of Korea and the development of the national economy, while overthrowing the socio-economic foothold of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

All industrial and transport facilities which had been at a standstill due to the protracted Japanese imperialists' colonial plunder and destruction are returning to normal and the peasants, now the owners of the land, are making strenuous efforts to increase food production.

Besides, the PPCNK promulgated a democratic labour law, with a view to sweeping away the remnants of the colonial exploitation and radically improving the working and material conditions of the factory and office workers, and is putting it into effect with success. The enforcement of the Labour Law has eradicated the colonial and feudal oppression and exploitation of labour for ever, and brought democratic freedom to our working class. As a result, conditions have been created to improve the working conditions and living of the factory and office workers, and to rehabilitate and develop industry.

The system of agricultural tax in kind, which was enacted soon after, abolished all miscellaneous levies imposed on the peasants in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, thus rapidly improving their material and cultural standards and following up the victory of the agrarian reform in the countryside. The introduction of this system encouraged the peasants to take part more actively in the increased

production of agriculture and nation building, and vitalized the countryside. Thus, our peasants came to realize more keenly that the PPCNK is a government thoroughly defending their interests and those of the rest of the people.

Our national culture in north Korea is making rapid progress keeping step with other fields. The educational and cultural institutions which served Japanese imperialism in the past are now being reorganized into people-oriented ones working entirely in the interests of our nation, and a new national culture, democratic in content, has begun to develop.

So far we have set up public educational establishments and various schools and training centres to rear cadres, and many adult schools in the centre and all local areas. Now more than four or five schools including the Central Political Cadres School, the Security Officers School and others have already been functioning in the centre. And we are preparing to establish a new university and 16 secondary specialized schools. Before long we will be able every year to send thousands of our own competent cadres who have received new education to the nation-building front.

In addition, many such cultural establishments as libraries, clubhouses, theatres, newspaper offices and publishing houses are being set up, and scientists, artists and many other intellectuals are exerting every effort to build a democratic national culture of the new Korea, upholding the policy of the PPCNK.

These facts show clearly that in north Korea democratic reforms and economic and cultural construction are being successfully carried out and the cradle of a new, democratic Korea is becoming solid.

We cannot, however, rest on our laurels. We have more work ahead of us, and we will have to overcome bigger obstacles and hardships to build a prosperous and unified, democratic and independent state without fail. For this we should unite more firmly and strive more bravely and tenaciously.

The USSR-US Joint Commission which met in Seoul some time ago was called off. This warns all patriots and political figures of

Korea to sharpen their political vigilance. The adjournment of the USSR-US Joint Commission's work and the ensuing events in south Korea fully revealed to the world the traditional US imperialist policy of colonizing small and weak nations and their sinister designs on Korea. The band of Syngman Rhee, head of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, have, in collusion with US imperialism, the ringleader of world reactionaries, employed all sorts of vile methods to oppose the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea guaranteeing its national independence and democratic development, and are putting every obstacle in the way of establishing a democratic provisional government of Korea.

However, today the world is heading for democracy. The peoples of many countries in Europe, freed from the bondage of fascist Germany, have established a democratic people's power by frustrating the plots of all external and internal reactionaries, and are pushing ahead vigorously with their national reconstruction. Not only that. In the East, too, the people of a big country like China are fighting valiantly for the freedom and liberation of their country, crushing the imperialist and domestic reactionary forces. In a word, the world is advancing and developing under the banner of freedom, national independence and democracy.

Our Korean question, too, will and should be solved under this banner in keeping with the world trend. The Korean people will never tolerate any aggressive moves of the imperialists and, at the same time, will smash any treacherous acts of traitors like Syngman Rhee.

The road Korea should take at present is not an anti-national, anti-popular and anti-democratic road aimed at turning back the wheels of history, but a road to our nation's complete independence, to a new, democratic development and to advancing history forward. This is a road to building a new, democratic Korea which our people have embarked upon in north Korea since liberation and a road to establishing a unified, democratic provisional government.

Leaders of all political parties and public organizations,

We should, following this right course, realize the historical desire

of our nation and win full democratic independence and sovereignty for Korea.

What is most important in fulfilling this great task is the strong unity and cohesion of all democratic political parties and public organizations and their closer cooperation.

Of course, so far we have succeeded in fulfilling many tasks by relying on the democratic united front of all political parties and public organizations. But we cannot rest content with this. In order to build a new, democratic Korea, we should cooperate more closely, unite as one family and rally all the Korean people under the banner of the democratic national united front. This is the only way to establish a unified, democratic provisional government of Korea as soon as possible and a most important guarantee for Korea's complete independence and sovereignty and its democratic progress.

Herein lies the basic reason why we meet here today to form the Committee of the Democratic National United Front.

Only when we organize the Committee of the DNUF will we be able to lead all the people in a united and more vigorous struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. This struggle is essential for setting up a unified, democratic provisional government and achieving full democratic independence and sovereignty of new Korea.

Through the activities of the Committee of the DNUF we will be able to organize and mobilize all sections of patriotic, democratic forces on a broader scale, and ensure closer cooperation and united action of all political parties and public organizations, thus further strengthening the democratic base of north Korea.

The present task of building a new, democratic Korea cannot possibly be achieved by any one political party alone; it can only be carried out by the joint efforts and united struggle of all democratic political parties and public organizations. Only when we assume collective responsibility and pool our efforts can we emerge victorious in either political struggle or economic and cultural construction.

The Twenty-Point Platform we announced in anticipation of the establishment of a democratic provisional government should naturally be the common programme of the Committee of the DNUF and a guide to all our activities.

The correctness of the Twenty-Point Platform has been proved more clearly in actual life: the tasks advanced in the platform are gradually being carried out in north Korea. In order to build a new Korea successfully and develop it in a truly democratic way, we must follow the line indicated by the platform under all circumstances. A unified, democratic provisional government, too, should duly be established on the basis of the platform. This, too, can only be realized by the joint efforts of all political parties, public organizations and all the people.

A joint consultative organ of all political parties and public organizations is vital for further consolidating the people's committee as well. We should always bear responsibility in common, help one another and strive as one to further strengthen the people's power.

Today we are confronted with the important task of further developing the work of the people's committee based on the DNUF. The DNUF Committee must help the people's committee in its work with the utmost concern and sincerity.

We need a body to organically link all our activities so that we representatives of all political parties and public organizations can help one another and maintain closer relations in discussing and dealing with questions at all times; and the present situation as a whole urgently requires the formation of such an organization. This organization will play a big role in influencing and encouraging the people in south Korea to enforce the democratic reforms there as in north Korea as soon as possible.

The representatives of all political parties and public organizations have so far only gathered for discussion occasionally whenever the need arose, but had no permanent consultative body as an organization. True, the people's committee was established on the basis of the DNUF. But it is simply an organ of power and cannot be

a consultative body of all political parties and public organizations.

Out of the necessity mentioned above, I now propose to form the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front at this meeting attended by the leading personnel of all political parties and public organizations. And I deem it necessary to organize DNUF committees at different levels in provinces, cities and counties.

The Committee of the DNUF should not be dominated by any one political party, but should become an organ of consultation for all political parties with equal rights on an equal footing. Therefore, I propose that the leaders of all political parties become chairman in turn.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND OUR NEW TASKS

**Report to an Enlarged Joint Meeting of the Central
Committees of the Communist Party of North Korea
and the New Democratic Party of Korea**

July 29, 1946

Comrades,

Today's meeting is of great historic importance.

The present complex and acute situation presents us with a number of important tasks. In particular, it urgently demands the merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea. That is why we have called this joint meeting to discuss the question of merging the two parties.

Our liberated Korea is moving on along the road of building a new society in a very complex and tense situation at home and abroad.

What, then, is the present international situation? The victory of the international anti-fascist democratic camp in the Second World War opened up a new era in history. The peoples of the world who defeated the fascists and won their anti-fascist liberation war are building a new life of peace, freedom and democracy, and the democratic movement of the working masses throughout the world is now growing in scope and strength.

The democratic movement of the peoples of many East European countries freed from the fascist yoke is spreading all over Europe like surging waves. These countries have set up democratic governments

in accordance with the wishes and will of their liberated masses of the people and are carrying out various democratic reforms including the land reform and nationalization of the key industries, railway transport and banks.

Europe of today is not the Europe of the past at the mercy of the imperialist reactionary forces and which, within the imperialist sphere of influence, groaned under the reactionary domination of the imperialists and their stooges.

Further, the peoples of those countries still in a colonial or semi-colonial status are conducting a widespread national liberation movement under the slogan, "For national independence and freedom!" The Egyptian and many other peoples in the Middle East under the sway of Britain are shedding blood fighting to drive out the foreign ruling forces and achieve national independence. In Asia, too, the peoples of such countries as China, Viet Nam and Indonesia are fighting for the complete independence and democratic development of their nations.

In short, the history of mankind is now advancing along the road dictated by the masses of the people.

However, the world's democratic forces are not by any means growing and developing smoothly without a hitch. Everywhere the democratic forces encounter the resistance of the international reactionary forces and are waging a fierce struggle against them. The international reactionary forces consist of the moribund imperialist forces and the international fascist forces that have survived and are making a last-ditch effort. They are employing every despicable means and method to prolong their days that are numbered even a little more. They are trying to start a third world war even before the bloodshed by the people in the Second World War has dried. Eloquent testimony is the fact that the former British Prime Minister Churchill and reactionary bosses of the United States are openly clamouring about the "inevitability of a third world war."

Not only externally but also internally, the growth and development of the democratic forces are taking place under complex

circumstances, attended with fierce struggle. In our country the democratic forces of the masses are growing rapidly with north Korea as the base. In north Korea the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a genuine people's government, has been set up and the work of building democracy is making rapid headway. All industries, railway transport and banking establishments are being restored fast, and the agrarian reform has triumphed doing away with the feudal tenant system and opening up the road of free development for agriculture. In addition, north Korea has proclaimed a democratic labour law, instituted the agricultural tax in kind and introduced other democratic reforms. This has eliminated the feudal and colonial leftovers gradually in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, opened up a wide avenue of social development and laid the material foundations for building a democratic Korea.

The struggle for these basic democratic reforms in north Korea has been promoted through the united efforts of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all other working masses. The Communist Party of North Korea, the New Democratic Party of Korea and many other democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea have formed a solid Democratic National United Front; already it has organized the masses five million strong rallied around it.

The democratic reforms in north Korea enjoyed the approval and support of broad sections of the masses in south Korea. The working masses of south Korea would like to see the same democratic reforms introduced in south Korea too, and are campaigning for them.

This nationwide democratic movement is coming up against the stubborn resistance of the reactionaries, internal and external. Traitors to the nation such as Syngman Rhee have set up a den of reactionaries, called the "Democratic Assembly," according to the scheme of the US reactionaries for a governor-general type administration and with their "aid," and are suppressing all democratic forces in south Korea. They are dissolving the people's committees established in accordance with the initiative and wishes of the south Korean people after liberation, arresting and imprisoning

their leaders for no reason whatsoever. They are also arresting without warrant the cadres and members of the Communist Party, the New Democratic Party and other democratic political parties everywhere. At the instigation of the US imperialists, the terrorist groups of the Syngman Rhee clique are openly raiding democratic organs of the press and the headquarters of political parties and public organizations in broad daylight and murdering their leaders. Indeed, in south Korea under the US military government even the people's elementary democratic rights—freedoms of speech, the press, assembly and association—are trampled upon completely, and imperialist colonial policies are pursued as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule—oppressing and exploiting the masses, working them like slaves and killing them barbarously.

The US imperialists are trying to wipe out all the democratic forces of Korea and in this way realize their ambition for invading Korea. The south Korean reactionaries are also resorting to fraud, slander and other nasty tricks in an effort to undermine our nation's unity, disrupt the democratic forces, isolate and, further, liquidate progressive political parties. The reactionaries are trying by all means to put down every just demand and activity of the Korean working masses, turn them into slaves of the imperialists again and thus suck them dry.

What should we do and how in such a situation?

We should form a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state as early as possible. To this end, we should quickly sweep away all pro-Japanese and fascist reactionary forces and carry out democratic reforms throughout the country. This is an urgent demand of the Korean people at present and an important historic task devolving on us. We should strive to meet this basic requirement of the people without fail.

North Korea is the base and the main force for the fulfilment of democratic tasks on a national scale. The present complex internal and external situation demands a broader alliance and concerted actions on the part of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other

working masses in north Korea. In order to carry out this demand a mass political party must be formed to rally the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a party can be formed through a merger of political parties representing the interests of the working masses.

The central committees of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea have already reached a general agreement on founding a workers' party, a mass political party, by amalgamating the two parties. The amalgamation is a necessary step and the only correct one.

The amalgamation of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea into a mass political party is not a step to eliminate conflicts between their lower organizations. Even if there were some friction between the two parties, the question of eliminating it would be solved by expelling the ultra-“Leftist” sectarians from the Communist Party and the ultra-Rightist die-hards from the New Democratic Party, rather than merging them into one.

The amalgamation of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is aimed at building a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state in our country.

In their programmes both the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party set the goal of building a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state and, accordingly, they can easily merge into one to achieve this common goal.

The New Democratic Party is a progressive political party fighting for the interests of the working people and the democratization of the country. As for its composition, it is made up mostly of people who are capable of fighting to the end to build a democratic state in our country. Therefore, the Communist Party can join efforts with the New Democratic Party not only at the present stage but in the future as well.

We must win our struggle against the reactionaries at home and abroad, and for this purpose, firmly unite the broad masses of the people around us. The strength of the broad masses is inexhaustible. We are the fighters who believe only in this strength and know how

to win final victory with this strength.

The very key to the Korean question now is to rally the broad masses of the people. The most vital problem in our revolution today is who will win over more people. Whoever brings the broad masses over to his side will emerge as the victor.

The Communist Party should not remain a party that expands its forces among the workers only, but should develop into a mass political party admitting large numbers of progressive peasants and working intellectuals who strive to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state. This alone will enable the Party to defeat the anti-democratic forces and bring our revolution to victory. So we should emerge from narrow class bounds and do everything in our power to unite all the working masses. This is necessary not only for victory today but also for freeing the working masses once and for all from all sorts of exploitation and oppression.

The amalgamation of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party does not mean the former winning over the latter or vice versa. The merger of the two parties is designed solely to embrace the broad masses and build a powerful mass political party comprising millions of members, a party capable of fighting for the victory of our revolution not only today but in the future as well, in accordance with the line of building a mass party dictated by the objective demands of the development of our revolution. Therefore, the founding of the Workers' Party, a mass party of the working people, is by no means a "retrogression" or "degeneration"; it is the most positive, revolutionary strategy.

Our stratagem is not a dead formula. Our revolutionary stratagem is a live weapon which can display great flexibility and a high degree of creativeness according to the change in the subjective conditions and in all objective conditions including the environments.

In this sense, the merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea is a vital problem now that must be solved by all means.

The task facing all cadres and members of both parties is that, in

the first place, they should have an adequate ideological and political understanding of the merger of the two parties into the Workers' Party, a mass political party, and make good preparations for carrying it out. We should see to it that all cadres and members of both parties strive to make the amalgamation a success.

Of course, in merging the parties we may encounter numerous difficulties. In the New Democratic Party there may appear people who complain, "Why should the New Democratic Party be absorbed into the Communist Party?" while some of the communists may say, "The Communist Party is becoming opportunistic." All sorts of Rightist and Leftist opportunists opposed to the merger may possibly emerge. And there may appear people who plot to form some "groupings" by taking advantage of the amalgamation, and the reactionaries may attempt to frustrate our merger work.

But justice will always triumph. If we explain and propagandize the work of merging the two parties properly to all their members and organize a mass struggle correctly to smash every attempt to obstruct the work, the amalgamation will proceed successfully.

You comrades who are present at this meeting should clearly understand the prevailing internal and external situation and the aim and significance of the merger of the two parties, and bring them home to all Party members. You will thus wind up the merger quickly and launch a struggle to win over millions of people.

Next, we should encourage the members of the two parties, after their merger into the Workers' Party, to wage an energetic struggle to expand and strengthen this Party and implement its Programme, trusting, understanding and firmly uniting with one another.

To do this, Party members should be well-educated. In particular, we should intensify the education of the members of both parties so that they acquire the reliable style of helping and teaching one another in order to bring about a firm unity of thought and purpose.

It can be said that the two parties each have a work style of their own. In other words, the Communist Party has a proletarian style of work while the New Democratic Party has an intellectual style. The

members of both parties should learn from one another. The communists should learn from the knowledge and technology of the intellectuals, while the members of the New Democratic Party should learn the revolutionary spirit, organization and iron discipline from the working class. If every Party member is thus equipped firmly with the revolutionary work style of the working class and advanced scientific knowledge, he can become an excellent political worker capable of functioning skilfully among all sections of the masses including the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students. True, this is not a simple matter. But if all Party members learn tirelessly from one another and make strenuous efforts, they will be able to solve this matter quite easily.

At the same time, all Party members should make conscious efforts to observe uniform Party discipline.

If the two parties are blended into one, there may be different views on the question of Party discipline inside the Party. Some of the New Democratic Party members may complain that Party discipline is too rigorous. But we cannot slacken Party discipline. If it is weakened the Party's militancy will be paralyzed.

True, we may have many difficulties in strengthening Party discipline, but we must overcome them. We must carry out any task if it is a just one, overcoming all difficulties. We should launch a struggle to strengthen Party discipline among members so that they abide by it strictly.

One of our most important slogans today is, "Let us drop factional strife!"

Our country was ruined due to factional strife in the past, and later the revolutionary movement, too, underwent many ordeals because of factional strife. If this is repeated in the future too, our Party's very existence will be jeopardized and the revolution brought to naught.

In the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party there are people at present who outwardly pretend to be staunchest of Marxists endeavouring to build democracy, but who, in reality, have not given up their factional habits, which benefits the US imperialists and the

Syngman Rhee clique. If we tolerate their factional activities, this will undermine the Party's unity and solidarity, hinder the strengthening of the democratic forces and do serious harm to the country and the people. We should keep a sharp lookout for factionalist tendencies and wage an uncompromising struggle against them. Then, we will be able to unite all the members of the two parties in a mass party, fully equip them with one and the same ideology and vigorously enlist them in carrying out the revolutionary tasks set before the Party.

Further, we should watch out for any tendency of weakening the Democratic National United Front that might appear in the wake of the merger of the two parties.

On no account should we ignore our united front with many other political parties and public organizations after the merger, acting arrogantly or wielding authority on the assumption that we are the leading force, just because our Party has developed into a big, mass political party. The more numerous the Party forces grow, the more modest should we be and work for closer cooperation with various other political parties and public organizations.

As I have said already, the US imperialists are now making every attempt to disrupt the democratic forces by using the reactionaries. While plotting to undermine the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party from within in south Korea, they are going all-out to isolate the Communist Party and to disperse and sap the democratic forces even by framing the so-called "Right-Left collaboration" plot; they are also sending subversive elements and saboteurs into north Korea in an attempt to break up our ranks. The US imperialists are thus trying to establish a puppet regime and turn our country into their colony by disrupting and weakening the democratic forces.

We should heighten our vigilance against the enemy's moves and endeavour to unite the democratic forces closely. Our entire Party membership should not merely support the DNUF but strive to consolidate it still further.

We should not only carry out the amalgamation of the two parties in north Korea, but also give active help in the merger of the

Communist Party, the New Democratic Party and the People's Party in south Korea for the purpose of rallying the broad patriotic, democratic forces.

We should set about practical work to merge the two parties immediately after this meeting. We should conduct well the education of the members of the two parties and thus ensure success in their amalgamation from the lowest organizations up to the central committees in a short span of time.

Comrades,

The merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea is a very important task, but we should not on that account suspend the work of strengthening our democratic base. While carrying out the merger, we should fulfil by all means the important tasks before us now.

I am going to stress some immediate tasks.

First, the city and county committees of the DNUF should be formed as early as possible.

If we are to unite all strata of the masses more closely and enlist them actively in building up the nation, we should strengthen the work of the united front. To this end, we should set up DNUF committees at all levels. The formation of these committees will make for further cementing our democratic base.

Second, efforts should be made to establish a university at an early date, and open specialized technical schools and cadre-training schools.

In order to train quickly the cadres needed for building a democratic Korea, we have already set forth the task of establishing a university and many other schools. But so far this task has not been carried out satisfactorily.

The opening of various schools requires large numbers of cadres. Therefore, we should train cadres for educational work quickly and encourage all political parties to contribute to this work.

Third, all efforts should be exerted to solve the immediate food problem.

Today the food problem is one of the most important problems

decisive of success in democratic construction. If we fail to solve this problem correctly, all our achievements in democratic construction may be nullified.

At present Party organizations and people's government bodies in the provinces and counties pay no attention whatsoever to the food problem. As a result, wheat and barley payable as tax in kind are not yet collected. This is a very serious drawback. A party or a government which is not concerned about and incapable of solving the food problem, exists in name only. Our officials should get rid of their present wrong attitude towards work, and tackle this problem in earnest.

In all matters a good beginning is what counts. We should see to it that the peasants pay their taxes in kind in good time, beginning with early crops such as wheat, barley and potatoes, and that from the first, they strictly observe state discipline in paying the agricultural tax in kind.

We should arouse all the political parties and public organizations to intensify explanation and information work among the peasants and actively help in their farm work so that they never fail to pay the agricultural tax in kind ahead of the set time. If the peasants pay all their quotas of tax in kind, we can fully settle the food problem for factory and office workers this year.

Fourth, the key industries should be nationalized without delay.

At the meetings of the USSR-US Joint Commission the US imperialists insisted on the factories and enterprises formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists being divided between the Soviet Union and the United States. However, the Soviet Union turned down this US proposal and quite rightly asserted that all of them should be turned over to the Korean people. In the final analysis, the US imperialists' claim is aimed at directly taking hold of the key industries of our country in place of the Japanese imperialists.

If the US imperialists should seize the factories and enterprises built with the sweat and blood of the Korean people, Korea would be prevented from attaining complete independence, and even if it achieved independence, it would be useless without an economic

foundation. However, the traitor Syngman Rhee is now accepting the piratic demands of the US imperialists to seize hold of all the major industrial establishments in our country.

We should repulse the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their henchmen, and take prompt steps to nationalize industrial establishments that once belonged to the Japanese imperialists and the Korean traitors to the nation.

At the same time, steps should be taken to run the factories and enterprises well. The main reason why production at the factories and enterprises is not going as well as it should at present is the shortage of personnel well qualified for industrial management and technicians. So we should quickly find and enlist able managers and technicians and, on the other hand, strive to train large numbers of management and technical cadres.

We should struggle to have democratic reforms carried out in south Korea the same as in north Korea. In south Korea the US military government should be abolished, state power transferred to the people's committee, the agrarian reform law, labour law and law on sex equality introduced, and the factories and enterprises formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation handed over to the Korean people. To do this, we in north Korea should build up the democratic forces and further step up democratic construction and thus set examples to the south Korean people.

To conclude. I firmly believe that, through the successful amalgamation of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, millions of working people will unite in the Workers' Party in the near future, with still more millions rallying closely around it.

Long live the building of the Workers' Party, a powerful mass political party representing the interests of the Korean working masses!

Long live the firm alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Korea!

Long live the Democratic National United Front!

For the establishment of a democratic state, fully independent and sovereign!

LAW ON SEX EQUALITY IN NORTH KOREA

July 30, 1946

For 36 years Korean women were subjected to ceaseless humiliation and cruel exploitation by Japanese imperialism. They had no political or economic rights and were excluded from cultural, social and political life.

The mediaeval, feudal relations of the family added to their political and economic oppression. It was the lot of the Korean working women to suffer contempt and humiliation, and remain illiterate.

With the liberation of Korea from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the social position of women changed. The democratic reforms being carried out in north Korea have provided conditions for liberating women from the former inequalities in the political, economic, cultural and family life.

With the aim of sweeping away the remnants of the Japanese imperialist colonial policy, transforming the old feudal relations of the sexes and encouraging women to participate fully in cultural, social and political life, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea decides as follows:

Article 1. Women have equal rights with men in all spheres of state, economic, cultural, social and political life.

Article 2. Women have equal rights with men to elect and be elected to the local or the supreme organ of power.

Article 3. Women have equal rights with men to work and to

receive equal wages and social insurance and education.

Article 4. Women, like men, have the right to a free marriage. Unfree, forced marriages without the consent of the couple concerned are forbidden.

Article 5. Women have equal rights with men to a free divorce when circumstances arise in which the conjugal relations become too difficult and cannot be continued any longer. The mother's right to a lawsuit against the former husband for the expense of bringing up the children is recognized. And it is provided that lawsuits for divorce and for the expense of bringing up the children shall be dealt with in the people's courts.

Article 6. The marriageable ages are defined as 17 and over for women and 18 and over for men.

Article 7. The evil practices of polygamy and violation of women's human rights by selling and buying them as wives or concubines, which are remnants of the mediaeval and feudal abuses, shall be prohibited hereafter.

The systems of licensed and unlicensed prostitution and the professional entertainer system (entertainers' associations and schools) are prohibited. Those who violate this provision shall be punished by law.

Article 8. Women have equal rights with men to inherit personal and landed property and, in case of divorce, to share the said property.

Article 9. Upon the promulgation of this law, Japanese imperialism's ordinances and regulations on the "rights" of Korean woman shall become null and void.

This law shall come into force from the day of its promulgation.

MAKE YOURSELVES REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS WHO ADHERE TO THE PARTY'S STAND AND IDEAS

**Speech at the First Graduation Ceremony
of the Central Party School**

August 5, 1946

Dear graduates,

Today you are going out to workplaces again after finishing your studies at the Party school.

The Party expects a great deal from you when sending you to different local areas, branches and workplaces.

The work of building democracy in our country is being carried on in a very complex and tense situation.

Breaking down the reactionaries' every desperate move of resistance, our Party has so far done a lot of work. It has laid the foundation for the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state.

However, we cannot rest content with this. In future we should do more work and wage a more arduous struggle than ever.

The international reactionaries are now making attempts to undermine world peace and provoke a third world war to drive mankind into another shambles of massacre and darkness. They are making desperate attempts to turn the liberated weak and small nation-states into their colonies once more.

However, no matter what desperate efforts the rotten and

moribund world imperialism may make while giving out its violent poison, it will be unable to enslave again the people who have become masters of their own destiny and to turn back the wheels of history. If the imperialists start another world war, they will surely be destroyed in the flames of resistance offered by the people of the world who love peace and democracy.

With liberation, the Korean people who had been oppressed by the Japanese imperialists for a long time came out as one in the struggle to build a fully independent and sovereign state in accordance with their wishes. Our people have achieved a great victory in the fight for the country's freedom and independence and democracy, and continue to win victory. However, the plots and subversive activities of the US imperialists and the traitor Syngman Rhee and company against the righteous cause of the Korean people are getting more vicious every day.

Syngman Rhee is openly prattling about launching a fratricidal war. The enemies of the Korean people are raving like mad dogs in fear of our people's daily-increasing strength.

Dear comrades, you have been equipped with revolutionary theory and are being sent to various fronts of building a democratic country now at a time of acute and tense struggle. Therefore, you should remember that the Party expects very much of you.

At present our Party finds itself in a very important period of great political change. The Party is going to develop into a mass-based workers' party embracing the progressive elements of the entire working masses.

Since the political situation is rapidly changing in this way, the duties of our Party members become heavier. This is why we expect much of you, the first graduates of the Central Party School, as we send you out.

Above everything else, you should be revolutionary fighters who always stoutly defend our Party's stand and ideas however complex and difficult the circumstances may be.

In the past many of our forerunners fought bravely, adhering to the

Party's stand and ideas even on the enemy's gallows where they met their end. Only when you, too, adhering strictly to our Party's stand, defend the interests of the Korean revolution and people to the end, will you enjoy the deserved love and support of the people as our Party's true sons and daughters who have inherited the aims of our revolutionary forerunners. If you fail to do so, and hesitate even slightly in the face of difficulties, you will certainly be left behind in the progress of history.

You should become officials who always act up to their word and know how to combine theory correctly with practice.

So far you have studied a great deal of excellent theory at the school. It is the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist theory and a weapon indispensable for our revolutionary activities today. The question is how to use the theory as a guide to action and apply it to the practical struggle, instead of being content with knowing it. If theory is not used as a practical weapon in the revolutionary struggle, nor combined with practice, it is no more than useless wordplay. Only when revolutionary theory is combined with our specific revolutionary practice can its vitality be brought into action, and only when our practice is guided by revolutionary theory can it emerge victorious without fail.

You should by all means possible show examples of properly combining theory with practice and strive to establish such a style of work in our Party.

You should not only become leaders of the masses of the people but also their pupils and their servants.

We should always be at the head of the masses, enlightening and leading them forward. But you should not forget even for a moment to learn from their unfailing wisdom and experience. Moreover, we should always bear in mind that we are workers serving the masses of the people and precisely their servants.

Because we have faith in the talent and strength of the masses, know how to mobilize them and fight in their interests, we are ever-victorious. Nothing is more valuable to us than the interests of the

masses and more worthwhile than struggling selflessly for the liberty and happiness of the people.

We should not try to domineer over the people but, while learning from them with an open mind and always sharing joys and sorrows, life and death with them, should work with all our energy and enthusiasm for the benefit of all the people.

At the same time, you should become broad-minded politicians who know how to consult and join the masses and embrace them. If we do not know how to establish close relations with the masses, embrace them and unite with them, we will not be able to succeed, no matter how well we cope with other work. In particular, this becomes a more pressing problem today when our Party is about to develop into the Workers' Party, an advanced detachment of the broad working masses. We should unite not only with the workers but also with greater numbers of peasants and intellectuals and rally more of the masses of the people around us. To do this, you should have political magnanimity and know how to work more proficiently with the masses.

Today, more than ever, our Party needs cadres and members who are close to the masses, well acquainted with their feelings and popular among them. I hope that you will pay special attention to this and become a good example of how to work with the masses.

We should also learn to cooperate and unite with other democratic political parties. While endeavouring to expand and consolidate our Party, we need to have regard for friendly parties and actively help them in their work. Such acts as rejecting and ignoring others, as can be seen in the work of some local comrades, will not only result in undermining our Democratic National United Front but, in fact, check the development of our Party work. Only when we manage to maintain a close united front with friendly parties and advance in firm unity with people from all social strata, will we be able to win the revolutionary struggle.

Last, you should wage a principled struggle for the Party's unity and cohesion and be an example in observing Party discipline.

In order to defeat the enemy, it is most important to turn our Party into a steel-like unit closely united with one idea and purpose. We must not tolerate the slightest factional tendency of weakening the Party's unity but wage an implacable struggle against it. The factionalists spelt ruin for our revolutionary cause in the past, and today, too, are trying desperately to paralyze our Party's fighting efficiency and cause it to disintegrate from within. In fact, they are as good as helping the enemies of the revolution.

Let us guard most carefully against the factional tendency. Thus, let us strive staunchly to build a powerful Marxist-Leninist party perfectly united ideologically and organizationally. This precisely is the primary task for the victory of the Korean revolution.

I would like to pay my heartfelt respects to the staff of the school who have worked hard day and night on behalf of the school, and wish the graduates, who attained good results in studies and ideological training, greater successes in their future work.

MUSICIANS SHOULD MAKE AN ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO BUILDING A NEW, DEMOCRATIC KOREA

**Speech before Artists after a Performance in Honour
of Founding the Central Symphony Orchestra**

August 8, 1946

Dear artists,

Today's musical performance was excellent. It has pleased me very much. I am indeed deeply stirred at this performance by our artists in the liberated country.

You are a priceless treasure for our country.

For nearly half a century the vicious Japanese imperialists were intent on all manner of cruel and despicable moves to stamp out our national culture. As a result, our brilliant national culture with its long-standing traditions was downtrodden miserably and our national music remained stifled.

But they could not pluck the beautiful flower of national art cherished deep down in the hearts of the Korean people. The patriotic artists of Korea stoutly resisted Japanese imperialist oppression, and defended our precious national music despite all manner of persecution by the enemy. Thus, in less than a year after liberation, we formed the Central Symphony Orchestra, which gave its first performance today.

The establishment of the Central Symphony Orchestra and its first performance are the precious fruition of energetic efforts by our

musicians, and a significant event in the development of our national culture. There is no doubt that your success will make a great contribution to the construction of a new, democratic Korea.

In any country or nation, the standards of art are an important yardstick of its development in the political, economic and all other spheres. The construction of national culture is an important factor in building a new, democratic country. For this reason the rapid development of national culture and art is a primary aim of our people in their struggle to create a new life.

Your responsibility for our musical development is indeed great and the Party and the people have very high expectations of you.

You must not forget, above all, that you are warriors in building a new, democratic Korea. Not only those who fight with bayonets in hand but all those who strive to build a new, democratic Korea are warriors, too. While army men are warriors fighting with arms in hand against the enemy, you are soldiers fighting with art as a weapon for the building of a new, democratic Korea. Through all ages and in all countries, fine musicians have been ardent patriots. Likewise, our musicians should actively contribute to the building of a new country with all their energies and talents.

Music should be developed in keeping with the requirements of the revolution, preserving the national characteristics. Our music should accord with the sentiments and emotions of our people and with their revolutionary aspirations for building a new country; it should be a really people-oriented and revolutionary music that reflects the joy, pleasure, pride, self-confidence and revolutionary enthusiasm of our people who have achieved national liberation and risen up to create a new life.

From olden times our people have loved music very much, and had outstanding ability in this field. At present, our people and youths are longing for nice music. As musicians of the new, democratic Korea, you must create many fine works of music which will propel our people forward along the road to a new life.

In order to develop music the ranks of our musicians should be

firmly built up. They are few in number at present. You should train a large number of musicians to increase their ranks quickly and cause our music to flourish to the full.

You should make efforts to uproot the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism and foster the democratic idea of nation building in art and literature. Only then can writers and artists produce truly democratic, patriotic and people-oriented works.

In conclusion, I hope you will put forth strenuous efforts.

LAW ON NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES, TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS, BANKS AND SO ON

August 10, 1946

With the aim of making the Korean people their slaves and building a military base and an economic foundation for seizing other countries' territories on the Asian Continent and turning their peoples into slaves, the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea and enforced colonial rule for 36 years. From the very first day of their colonial rule in Korea the Japanese occupationists subordinated the Korean economy to their imperialist interests and built many enterprises, power stations, railways and so on at the expense of the Korean people's sweat and blood.

The liberation of Korea from Japanese imperialist colonial rule opened up the possibility for the Korean people of achieving democratic freedom, protecting their public and private property and rehabilitating the country economically and culturally in a short space of time.

All the enterprises, mines, power stations, railways and so on which Japanese imperialism built in Korea with the aim of exploiting its people and carrying off its resources to Japan, must become its people's possessions and be used for developing this country and improving its people's livelihood.

Therefore, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea promulgates the law on nationalization of industries, transport,

communications, banks and so on as follows:

All enterprises, mines, power stations, railways, communications, banks, trade, cultural establishments and so on owned by the Japanese state, corporate bodies and individuals or Korean traitors to the nation, shall be confiscated without compensation and nationalized, that is, made the property of the Korean people.

This law comes into force from the day of its promulgation.

NATIONALIZATION OF MAJOR INDUSTRIES—THE FOUNDATION FOR BUILDING AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE

**Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Rally in Support
of the Law on Nationalization of Industries**

August 10, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen,

I would like to convey to you some good news, news of great significance to the life of the Korean people.

Today the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea has passed and promulgated the law on the confiscation and nationalization of all factories, mines, power stations, railways, communications, banks, trade, cultural establishments, etc., which were held by the Japanese state, by Japanese corporations and individuals or by Korean traitors to the nation.

This law is of tremendous historic significance. Under it, all these establishments which the Japanese imperialists built in north Korea with the sweat and blood of the Korean people have become the property of the Korean people, who are their sole legal owner. In addition, all factories and enterprises which belonged to those who fled with the Japanese, to pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation have also been confiscated and placed in the possession of the Korean people.

During their rule over our country the Japanese imperialist robbers

did not develop Korea's industries in the interests of the Korean people; they built industrial establishments in order to plunder our country of its rich resources and rake in huge colonial profits by exploiting the labour of our people. Japanese imperialism also made use of quite a number of factories and enterprises in Korea to supply munitions for its aggressive war. Up to the eve of the liberation, the backbreaking labour of the Korean people enriched only the Japanese imperialist colonial marauders, while the people themselves suffered from acute hunger and poverty.

This unfair and humiliating system has now been ended for good. Today, the factories, mines, power stations, railways, banks, etc., have all passed into the hands of the Korean people to be used exclusively for the prosperity and progress of our country and the betterment of our people's well-being.

There is no doubt that the Korean people throughout north and south Korea will be overjoyed and inspired and warmly approve and support this law enacted by the PPCNK.

The law is a new, important step towards the democratization of Korea and the building of an independent, sovereign and democratic country.

In the year since Korea was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialism, we have accomplished several democratic tasks in north Korea. The people's committee, an organ of genuine people's power, was set up and strengthened; the agrarian reform, whereby the land of the Japanese imperialists and the landlords was confiscated and distributed free to the peasants, was carried out; the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality were enforced; and measures were taken to establish a system of public education. We have thus laid the foundations for building an independent democratic state of Korea in the future.

One year ago, the heroic Soviet army helped our people to rout the aggressive army of Japanese imperialism and liberate their country. After Korea's liberation the Soviet army assisted our people in establishing genuine people's power and creating a new, democratic

life according to their will. It has all along given us selfless assistance in the speedy rehabilitation and development of the national economy and culture in north Korea.

Life has brought the Korean people to the keen realization that the Soviet people are their closest and truest friends. Our people will forever remember the sincere aid given by the fraternal Soviet people.

The unbreakable bond of friendship between the Korean and Soviet peoples is sealed with the blood shed by the sons and daughters of the great Soviet people in the struggle to vanquish the brutal Japanese imperialist occupationists. The Korean people value this friendship more than anything else. In firm unity with the Soviet people, they will win full democratic independence and sovereignty for Korea and achieve happiness for all the people and prosperity for all generations to come.

In contrast, the realities in south Korea under the occupation of the US army are entirely different.

In south Korea today, the people are denied every political freedom and right. The people's committees representing the will of the people have been dissolved by force, and power is entirely in the hands of the US command. In words the US command seeks "friendship" with the Korean people and wishes Korea early "independence" but, in fact, it pursues a policy of colonial enslavement in south Korea.

The US military government openly employs as advisers traitors to the Korean people and reactionary elements who served as officials of Japanese imperialism before August 15. To this day no measures have been taken to purge south Korea of the pro-Japanese elements, the traitors to the nation and the reactionary terrorists, and to put an end to the persecution of democratic political parties and public organizations.

With the active support of the US command, American capitalists and domestic reactionaries are concocting every conceivable scheme to seize the production facilities and materials formerly held by the Japanese state or Japanese individuals in south Korea. In particular,

the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique is selling out Korea's industries and natural resources to the US monopoly capitalists. It is no secret that a number of American mining corporations have long cast covetous eyes on the rich mineral resources of Korea. These corporations have bribed the Syngman Rhee clique with dollars and concluded an "agreement" on the operation of the mining industry in Korea. This shows that, using its lackeys—the Syngman Rhee clique—as its ushers, US monopoly capital is trying hard to monopolize Korea's major industries, convert our country into a US colony and enslave our people once again.

The Korean people will not tolerate this, and will fight more staunchly to foil the plots of US imperialism and its running dogs, traitors to the nation, and to achieve the political and economic independence of their country.

The law of the PPCNK on the nationalization of major industries formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and the Korean traitors constitutes a stern answer and a powerful blow on the part of the Korean people to all the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, and reactionaries who are obstructing the building of an independent and democratic state, and to the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who are attempting to reimpose the yoke of colonial slavery upon the Korean people. The factories, mines, power stations, railways, communications, banks, etc., which have passed completely into the hands of the PPCNK under this law, shall never again become the property of any foreign capitalist or private businesspeople. They will remain for ever under ownership of the state whose masters are the people, as the property of the Korean people.

The industrial establishments now nationalized are those important enterprises which can be considered the backbone of Korea's economy. They will no longer be run by the imperialists as a means of making profits as they were before liberation, but will be operated exclusively for the purpose of making our country prosperous and enhancing the well-being of the Korean people. The fact that the key

branches of the national economy have now passed into the hands of the Korean people and are geared to the interests of the people is indeed of tremendous significance for the rapid, planned rehabilitation and development of our country's economy and for the acceleration of the building of an independent, sovereign and democratic state in the future.

The new law sets new tasks before our people.

We must learn how to manage and run industry better and ensure that enterprises still closed down are promptly put back into production and that the necessary materials and manpower are secured. A struggle should be waged everywhere to strengthen labour discipline and increase labour productivity.

We are no longer working for the imperialists or other exploiters, we are working for our own good, for the welfare of all the people. The better we work, the more goods our factories and enterprises will produce for the people at cheaper prices. Therefore, all factory and office workers should adopt a new attitude towards labour, consciously cherish and thriftily use the property of the state and the people and endeavour to turn out more and better products.

All workers and technicians, and particularly the youth, should make tireless efforts to improve their skills and qualifications and assiduously study science and technology. Only by mastering advanced science and technology can we manage our industry and national economy better and develop them rapidly.

Our peasants should strive to increase crop yields, deliver the exact agricultural tax in kind to the state punctually, and thereby provide factory and office workers and other urban dwellers with sufficient food.

The pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and reactionaries will undoubtedly manoeuvre to prevent this historic law from being put into effect. These despicable and vicious enemies may destroy our factories and enterprises and even carry out terrorist and subversive activities.

However, no force can check the onward march of our awakened

and united people, no one can reverse the fast-moving wheel of history.

Every political party and public organization, the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all other sections of the people should give unqualified support to this just measure taken by the PPCNK. They should firmly protect the industrial establishments which have become the property of the people against the enemy's plots to destroy them and, at the same time, devote all their energy and enthusiasm to ensuring their normal operation and the speedy rehabilitation and development of the national economy. Needless to say, this will improve the livelihood of our people and contribute to the great work of building a rich, strong and democratic country.

Of course, this is an arduous and complex task, but we must accomplish it at any cost. The united might of the people, who are working consciously in their own behalf and for the sake of their country, is fully able to surmount any difficulty and obstacle and will make victory certain.

Let the liberated people of Korea demonstrate to the whole world that they are fully capable of building a free, independent and democratic state and of running it efficiently!

Long live free, democratic Korea!

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, our people's government!

Long live the Soviet people, the closest friend and the helper of the Korean people!

Long live Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the Soviet people and a close friend of the Korean people!

REPORT AT THE PYONGYANG CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST 15 LIBERATION

August 15, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen,

Today is a historic occasion—the first anniversary of the liberation of the Korean nation from Japanese imperialist oppression.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of liberation I extend warm congratulations to my beloved fellow countrymen. And I pay honour to our revolutionary forerunners who gave their lives to liberate Korea.

August 15 is the great day of liberation when our nation started creating a new history. On that very day we Koreans saw the dawn after long years in darkness. It was not until that day that our people won freedom of speech, and also freedom of the press, assembly, association and religious belief, which they had craved for so long. Now we Koreans are free to build our own lives, set up our own state and develop our own national culture.

We are well aware that the Korean people's freedom was gained at the expense of the blood shed by many a revolutionary forerunner who displayed peerless valour and heroism in the long-drawn-out battles against the enemy, and as a result of the untold sufferings and unwavering struggle of the people.

One year after liberation is a short time, but it has been a period of

epoch-making change in our nation's history.

In a matter of just one year our people have successfully carried out far-reaching democratic reforms in north Korea which could not have been achieved in centuries.

1

During the past 36 years the Korean nation suffered brutal political oppression, economic exploitation and cultural outrage by Japanese imperialism.

After their occupation of Korea, the Japanese imperialists seized all its resources. In an attempt to completely turn Korea into their commodity market, they obstructed in every way the development of its heavy industry, the basis of modern industries, and held in check even the progress of its light industry, with the exception of those branches which mainly extracted raw materials and small industries which manufactured only semi-finished goods. The sole idea behind Japanese imperialist investment in Korea was to plunder its resources without end and bleed its people white. As a result, Korea was reduced to Japan's raw-material hinterland, commodity market and an area of investment for its military financial complex. The Japanese imperialists blocked the independent development of Korea's economy, reduced its people to economic bankruptcy, starvation and poverty and raked in immense profits by exploiting Korea's cheap labour.

They isolated Korea's economy from the world market by monopolizing its foreign trade and completely subordinated its economy to Japan. To expand their monopoly capital, they arrested the growth of Korea's national capital in every way.

In preparation for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, they occupied Manchuria in September 1931, started laying the

foundations of metallurgical, chemical and other military industries in Korea and expanded railways, ports and other means of transport for strategic purposes and the shipment of raw materials. In order to carry out all these projects they clamped down harder still on the Korean people.

As a result of their predatory policy, Korea's economy fell totally in the grip of Japanese monopoly capital. This was fully illustrated even by Japanese statistics—of the total amount of capital in Korea, 93 per cent was held by Japanese, two per cent by other foreigners, and only five per cent by Koreans.

The Japanese imperialists raked in unprecedentedly huge profits from this colony by paying low wages to the Korean workers and office employees and especially to women and juveniles, who earned only 30 to 50 *jon* a day; they were forced to slave 12 to 16 hours a day. The Japanese imperialists treated the Korean workers like prisoners, exploiting them in factories, mines and other enterprises where the conditions were no better than in prison. They treated the Korean people inhumanly and imposed the lot of slavery upon them.

The Japanese imperialists did everything to hold back the development of Korea's agriculture as well. From the first days of their Korean occupation, they pursued a policy of mass appropriation of its land, ruined the peasants' economy by methods of feudalistic exploitation, destroyed even handicrafts in the countryside, and compelled the peasants to hover on the brink of starvation by imposing upon them high farm rents, miscellaneous levies, usury, compulsory labour draft and so on. Every year they took away to their country over ten million *sok* of rice, the fruits of the labour of Korean peasants. Consequently, in order to keep body and soul together, many Koreans had to eat grass roots and tree bark and millet shipped in from Manchuria, and a large number of farmers were deprived of land and driven to the towns and roamed the streets.

Moreover, the Japanese imperialists resorted to a mediaevally brutal rule of terror, the like of which had never been seen in world history. They deprived the Korean nation of all rights and liberties,

leaving not a trace of freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief. In order to maintain their colonial rule, they set up more than 2 500 police and gendarme posts and stationed over three army divisions in Korea on a permanent basis, for military repression and massacre.

The Japanese imperialists followed an evil policy also in the field of culture. Their cultural policy towards Korea aimed at obliterating the fighting spirit and patriotism of the Korean people who opposed imperialist and feudalistic oppression and at keeping the Koreans enslaved for ever. They had a monopoly over scientific, educational and cultural establishments, through which they tried to destroy our national traditions, language, consciousness and pride. Instead of disseminating science and technology, they kept people illiterate, spread superstition, repressed the idea of independence, and forced people to live in a servile spirit with a view to wiping out the valuable cultural heritage of the Korean people and keeping them in ignorance and backwardness, a people with cultural traditions that had flourished for 5 000 years. Besides, the Japanese imperialists imprisoned and killed outstanding scientists, writers and artists of our nation for no reason whatsoever.

The colonial policy of Japanese imperialists was at its fiercest after the September 18 incident in 1931, especially after the outbreak of the war in the Pacific in 1941. In this period they harshly oppressed and exploited the Korean people by means of forced conscription, forced labour and compulsory grain deliveries.

The Korean people, however, survived their political, economic and cultural repression and fought determinedly for the liberation and glory of their country.

Each day witnessed the growing desire and revolutionary stamina of our people struggling to destroy their oppressor and exploiter, Japanese imperialism, and its social foothold, the feudal force, to overthrow the colonial, semi-feudal system and to establish an independent, democratic state of Korea. Neither the bayonets and prison bars of Japanese imperialism nor its torture and massacre

could ever check the heroic struggle of the broad masses of Korean workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and other patriots for national liberation and independence.

The Anti-Japanese Righteous Volunteers' Movement which lasted almost a decade before and after the loss of national independence in 1910 was a heavy blow to the Japanese robbers. Although this movement failed under the enemy's brutal repression, the Korean people's anti-Japanese struggle continued and further developed into the Independence Army Movement in Manchuria. In the decade following the national ruin the national liberation movement thrived despite the repressive rule of Japanese imperialism. At home the movement was developed through the formation of underground organizations and in the form of patriotic cultural campaigns, and beyond our borders it was advanced by the formation of revolutionary organizations and struggles against the Japanese.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era of awakening, an era of revolutionary upsurge, for the oppressed nations in the East.

In Korea the March First Movement, the anti-Japanese uprising involving the whole nation, swept across the land. On that day the Korean people rose up in a heroic struggle for Korea's independence and freedom. The March First Uprising which is of great significance in the national liberation struggle of the Korean people, ended in failure because of the barbarous suppression inflicted by the Japanese imperialists and because our internal forces were insufficient. Nevertheless, the uprising dealt a blow at their colonial rule and raised to a new high level the national awareness of the Koreans.

After the March First Movement, most of the nationalist leaders from the propertied classes swayed by their own political indecision and bribed by the Japanese imperialists, and especially alarmed by the revolutionary advance of the working masses betrayed the cause by surrendering to the enemy. These "patriots" became faithful stooges of the enemy who reigned over the Korean nation.

After that, the national liberation struggle of the Korean people

was carried forward mainly by the sons and daughters of the working class and other working masses.

One after another instances of heroic resistance to the Japanese swept the country; among them were the June Tenth Independence Movement in 1926, a series of peasant riots which broke out ceaselessly in different parts of Hamgyong Province in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the general strike of Wonsan workers in 1929, and the students' anti-Japanese struggle triggered by the Kwangju Student incident in the same year. Repression by Japanese imperialism grew fiercer after the Manchurian incident, so the national liberation struggle in our homeland had to gradually go underground. But the anti-Japanese struggle never ceased.

Korean communists and patriots in particular took up arms to wage guerrilla warfare against the Japanese imperialists in Manchuria and their homeland. With the firm belief that Korea could be liberated, they waged a prolonged bloody struggle against the Japanese taking on their shoulders responsibility for the destiny of their nation.

The liberation of the country for which the Korean patriots and the rest of the people had craved and heroically fought, came at long last.

2

The Korean people greeted the August 15 liberation with a great burst of excitement and enthusiasm and embarked upon the road of building a new, democratic Korea.

In all parts of the country they formed people's committees as the organs of self-government so as to seize administrative power, maintain public peace and protect and operate public institutions and industrial and transport facilities. The people's committees at all levels set up by the people on their own initiative had been

completely organized in the six provinces of north Korea by the end of November last year and started building a new, democratic life.

The people's committees active in different parts of the country thoroughly protected the interests of the people and enlisted the broad masses in carrying out the elementary tasks for the cause of democracy. As a result, the workers, peasants and women who had been completely denied the right to socio-political life in the days of Japanese imperialism, actively participated in the affairs of the people's committees and elected their representatives to the leadership of these committees.

The people's committees have made every effort to consolidate their foothold among the masses by purging themselves of pro-Japanese elements, national betrayers and reactionaries. Meantime, they have applied themselves to the rehabilitation and operation of the industrial, transport and communications facilities destroyed by the Japanese imperialists when they were defeated, and to the reconstruction of educational and cultural institutions for the normalization of our people's democratic life.

The masses of the Korean people who for long years had been completely downtrodden by the Japanese imperialist oppressors, deprived of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, emerged on the political arena with claims for the solution of burning problems of all sections of the population and formed democratic political parties, and social and cultural organizations in the free atmosphere quickly created after liberation. With the formation of the Communist Party of North Korea, New Democratic Party of Korea, Korean Democratic Party and Chondoist Chongu Party, and with the affiliation of workers and office employees to the trade unions, the peasants to the Peasants Union, young people to the Democratic Youth League, women to the Women's Union and men of culture and artists to the Arts Federation, the broad sections of patriotic and democratic forces were rallied around the people's committee.

The workers, peasants, intellectuals, handicraftsmen, entrepreneurs, merchants and the rest of the masses of the people

except the pro-Japanese elements, traitors and reactionaries, supported the people's government and participated actively in its work.

As a result, public peace and order have been properly maintained throughout the country since liberation, and all aspects of the people's political, economic and cultural life were stimulated.

The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers held in this situation adopted a correct decision on liberated Korea developing along democratic lines. The US side initially proposed military government for Korea over a period of at least ten years, with a view to turning our country into their colony, instead of giving the Korean people freedom to build an independent state. But, confronted with strong opposition on the part of the Soviet Union, the proposal was turned down, and a decision was passed on handing over political power to our people, establishing a democratic provisional government, liquidating the survivals of Japanese imperialist rule and guaranteeing the democratic development of Korea. This was a just and fair resolution that truly accorded with the interests of the Korean people, correctly reflected their cherished desires and aspirations and permitted no imperialist aggression on Korea.

On being published, therefore, the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea was heartily greeted by all the people of north and south Korea who aspire to freedom and democracy. The attitude towards this decision was a touchstone by which to judge the stand of every political force in Korea. The political situation in Korea is such that the line of demarcation became distinct between the patriotic, democratic force representing all the people who desire the democratic independence and sovereignty of their country as stipulated by the decision and the reactionary force of a handful of traitors who seek to sell out the country to the US imperialists in opposition to the decision.

On February 8 this year, in the northern half of Korea, our people formed the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a central organ of power truly representing the will and interests of all the

people. The PPCNK was formed to lay the foundations of a new, democratic Korea and facilitate the establishment of Korea's unified, democratic government in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea and, at the same time, to give coordinated leadership to administrative activities in north Korea for the immediate period ahead.

In March this year the PPCNK carried out the agrarian reform, the initial task of the great democratic reforms. The agrarian reform resulted in the expropriation of more than one million hectares of land owned by the Japanese state and individuals, pro-Japanese elements and Korean landlords and its distribution to 720 000-odd peasant families with little or no land. With the transfer of land ownership to those who till the land, the age-old desire of the Korean peasants came true, and the agricultural productive forces, freed from its long-standing feudal fetters, started developing quickly.

This great reform of historic significance in our people's life was actively participated in by all political parties, public organizations and the masses of the people, rallied around the people's committees at all levels.

In order to directly carry out the agrarian reform under the leadership of the people's committee, over 11 500 rural committees were formed with more than 90 000 elected members, the overwhelming majority of whom came from poor-peasant and hired-farmhand families. Helped by the working class, the peasant masses frustrated any and all schemes and moves of the reactionaries opposing the agrarian reform and carried it out in a short span of time.

The triumphant agrarian reform encouraged the people to unite closer around the people's committee which served the people and safeguarded their interests, and helped towards the expansion and consolidation of the political parties and public organizations and furthered the growth of democratic forces.

The joy of the peasants on becoming the owners of land thanks to the agrarian reform knew no bounds and their enthusiasm for

production ran high. Under the slogan, "Let not a square inch of land lie idle!" they finished the spring sowing over 1 750 000 hectares of land, and did rice transplanting and weeding without a hitch. The total grain output this year is estimated at 14 500 000 *sok*, or 3 400 000 *sok* greater than in 1945.

The PPCNK has adopted a system of agricultural tax in kind, whereby the peasants are to deliver 25 per cent of their crops to feed the factory and office workers, and the rest is to remain at their disposal. Now the tillers' share of 75 per cent will provide very favourable conditions for improving the living standards of the peasants who formerly had to give up the bulk of their farm products as rent, forced grain deliveries and other levies. This will greatly facilitate the consolidation of the successful agrarian reform, the development of agricultural production, commodity exchange between town and the countryside and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.

The abolition by the PPCNK of the old feudal relations deep-rooted in the countryside was followed by its enactment of the Labour Law designed to eliminate the survivals of imperialist forced labour and to better the working and living conditions of factory and office workers. This is a genuinely democratic legislation which provides an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, prohibits employment of children under the age of 14, and stipulates the special protection of working mothers and underage workers, social insurance and so on.

In order to show their appreciation of the benefits introduced by the people's government, the factory and office workers are conducting a vigorous shock campaign for increased production, tightening labour discipline, raising labour productivity, and quickly rehabilitating industries.

The PPCNK also promulgated the Law on Sex Equality. Under this law Korean women who were condemned to inhuman, shameful treatment and double, treble oppression owing to the long-practised feudal customs and Japanese imperialist colonial policies, have been

given equal rights with men in participating in political, economic and cultural activities.

On August 10 last the law on nationalization of industries was made public. This law has made all the Korean people the owner of the industries, means of transport and communications, banks and cultural establishments built in Korea by the Japanese imperialists to exploit the Korean people as colonial slaves and to invade many Asian countries with Korea as a stepping-stone, as well as the industrial facilities of the traitors to the nation.

The nationalization of industries is an important reform destroying the economic basis of colonial domination and laying the foundation of an independent national economy. Unless industries are nationalized, neither genuine economic independence nor the building of a prosperous democratic Korea will become a reality. With the enforcement of this law, the democratic reforms have reached the stage of decisive victory, and firm foundations for building an independent state have been laid.

In the past the Japanese imperialists banned even the Korean language and tried to obliterate our national culture and assimilate all Koreans by giving them colonial enslavement education. Nevertheless, our national culture with its fine traditions survived and, after liberation, took a new course of development.

In just one year the system of Japanese enslavement education in north Korea has been abolished and replaced by a genuinely democratic people-oriented education system. With the aim of wiping out illiteracy, we have set up as many as 8 061 adult schools at which more than 413 000 illiterate people are receiving tuition. We are now preparing to increase the number of such schools to 17 200 by the end of this year to educate at least 535 000 adult people. In September a university and medical and teacher training colleges will be opened and 19 secondary specialized technical schools set up for the extensive training of technicians.

As for other cultural establishments, there are now 83 theatres and cinemas, 35 libraries, eight broadcasting stations, 83 theatrical

companies, 91 cultural clubs, as well as 64 kindergartens which are twice as many as in the years of Japanese imperialism. These cultural establishments are all at the service of the people in developing a new, democratic national culture.

Jubilant over their liberation and democratic reforms, the people are enthusiastically participating in land and river improvement, road repairing and other projects. The citizens of Pyongyang, who undertook the Pothong River improvement project to protect the democratic capital from floods, speeded up the work and brought it to successful completion in 55 days—a colossal task involving the construction of dikes five kilometres long and the removal of more than 420 000 cubic metres of earth. In this undertaking our liberated people accomplished in barely two months what the Japanese imperialists had failed to do in a whole decade. Besides, great successes are being registered by people who have volunteered for such projects as the Amnok River embankment, Ryonghung River improvement, Haeju harbour construction, Tanchon port reconstruction, Pyongyang- Kyonghung railway track reinforcement, etc.

In carrying out the great democratic reforms and construction projects the democratic political parties and public organizations have united firmer under the banner of the Democratic National United Front and expanded and consolidated their organizations through practical work. The number of people affiliated to the united front totals more than six million, of which 360 000 belong to the trade unions, over 1 800 000 to the Peasants Union, over a million to the Democratic Youth League, 600 000 to the Women's Union, over 10 000 to the Arts Federation, and the rest to other organizations.

The rapid growth of the democratic forces has allowed the democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea to form Democratic National United Front's committees at all levels. Close cooperation between these political parties and public organizations and the strengthened solidarity among people of all walks of life in north Korea will give a great impetus to consolidating

the Democratic National Front in south Korea, frustrating the underhand moves of the reactionaries and winning complete independence for Korea on democratic lines.

3

Dear fellow countrymen,

In contrast to north Korea's sound democratic progress, south Korea is in grave danger of being reduced again to the status of an imperialist colony.

Even now when the first anniversary of the August 15 liberation is being celebrated, the south Korean people, far from attaining their aspirations, are still denied elementary democratic rights—freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association.

In south Korea the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism have not been wiped out and its stooges who have now donned American clothes are making their public appearance in the political, economic and cultural spheres to whip together the reactionary forces. Under these circumstances, the solution of the land problem for the peasants is out of the question, and in the past year not one democratic reform has been introduced and the system remains just as it was in the days of Japanese imperialism.

After liberation the Korean people, who for nearly half a century had been totally deprived of liberty and subjected to slavery under the brutal rule of Japanese imperialism, organized people's committees in all parts of south Korea, too. On landing in the southern half of our country, however, the US army of occupation established a military government, disbanded all the people's committees, the organs of people's power, and started to brutally suppress the growing democratic forces of the people there.

The attitude of the US military government reveals its imperialist

ambition to trample underfoot the Korean people's desire for an independent, democratic state, reduce Korea once again to the position of a colony and enslave its people. In an effort to attain this crazy ambition, the US imperialists raked together on their payroll those pro-Japanese elements, national betrayers and reactionaries who are just as hated by the liberated Korean people as the Japanese imperialists. They have employed these stooges in their ruling machinery, which is a reproduction of the Japanese government-general. Even former members of the Japanese secret police and special agents who had arrested, imprisoned and killed our patriotic revolutionary fighters dedicated to national liberation, are promoted to leading positions in the police of US military government and given the mission of watching, arresting and jailing leaders of democratic political parties and public organizations and progressive intellectuals in south Korea.

The US imperialists encouraged the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, feudal landlords and comprador capitalists to form reactionary political parties and public organizations, and brought Syngman Rhee by air to make him lead the pro-American reactionary forces. As you all know, he lived in luxury by speculating for scores of years in the United States and was long ago bribed by American financial groups into selling out Korea's mining concessions and natural resources to them. Back home, he dreams of becoming a despot under the patronage of the US military government, frenziedly agitating against the Soviet Union and democracy in broadcasts and in his lectures. Dancing to the tune of the US imperialists and basing themselves on the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and feudal forces, the Syngman Rhee clique are employing every scheme and trick to execute their fascist designs, and obstruct Korea's complete independence and sovereignty and its democratic development.

South Korea has thus literally been turned into a land of darkness where terror and murder of patriotic democrats are perpetrated in broad daylight.

Today, the masters of south Korea are not the people but the US military government. Having seized all power, the military government not only prohibits any democratic reform whatsoever, but holds direct monopoly control of the industrial establishments formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and national betrayers or turns them over as private businesses to its faithful lackeys—the pro-Japanese elements and reactionaries—although they ought to have been made the property of the Korean people.

Take the Oriental Development Company as an example. It was a vicious Japanese imperialist agency of exploitation which can never be forgotten by the Korean people. Vast farm lands, forests, major factories, mines and irrigation facilities in Korea were in the grip of this company. Instead of returning these lands and other property to the Korean people, the US imperialists grabbed them for themselves by simply renaming the company New Korea Company. Moreover, the enterprises, land and dwelling houses formerly owned by other Japanese have been brought under the management of this company, adding greatly to its rights and interests. This has provoked growing protest among the south Korean people.

The south Korean peasants are still being exploited in a feudalistic manner; even their struggle for the three-to-seven farm rent system as their initial objective was frustrated on the threshold of its introduction because of the obstacles raised by the US military government. As a result, the feudal land ownership which holds back democratic progress is taking stronger roots.

The south Korean workers still slave at the enterprises run by the pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and reactionaries just as they did in the past under Japanese imperialist rule. The workers' struggle for democratic rights and a living is being mercilessly suppressed and many workers are being arrested and jailed by the US military government and reactionaries.

The humiliating position of Korean women with its long, historical background is worsening, rather than improving. The

practice of having concubines, traffic in human beings, licensed and unlicensed prostitution and the professional entertainer system are thriving, encouraged by the US military government.

In spite of these abuses and darkness, the masses of the people in south Korea have never given up their ardent aspirations for a unified, democratic government and complete independence and sovereignty; they are fighting staunchly against the manoeuvres of the reactionary US military government and its henchmen, the Syngman Rhee clique, and making every effort to cement the unity of the democratic forces and increase their strength. They are eagerly yearning for the new, free and happy life we are creating in north Korea and deriving great strength and courage from the victorious democratic reforms.

The masses of the people in north Korea must unite solidly with the democratic forces in south Korea and struggle to the last to foil the reactionary plots of the US imperialists and their stooges, restore political power to the people's committee and help the people to become genuine masters in the political, economic and cultural fields in the southern half of the country, too. In addition, we must make strong demands that in the south, too, the land should be distributed among those who till it and that the industrial establishments, means of transport and communications and banks formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and national betrayers be made the property of the people. We must advance along the road of establishing a unified, democratic government and achieving the country's complete independence and sovereignty, on the basis of the democratic construction in north Korea.

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Fellow countrymen,

By crushing the moves of the enemy and reactionaries the forces of the people, the forces of progress and democracy, will surely

emerge victorious. No intrigues or stratagems of the US imperialists and their stooges can check Korea's democratic progress propelled forward by all its people.

Victory, however, will not come of itself. It must be won. The complete democratic independence and sovereignty of our country can only be won through a stubborn struggle against the US imperialists entrenched in south Korea and their agents, the traitor Syngman Rhee and his ilk.

In north Korea we have carried out the democratic reforms essential for the building of a completely independent state. So the foundations of a new, democratic Korea laid in the north are the most valuable gains of our people.

The Korean question, however, cannot be considered while two parts of the country are separated from each other. Only when radical democratic reforms are carried out by the people as the masters of south Korea as in the north, can the fundamental demand of the Korean people for the establishment of an independent, sovereign democratic state be realized.

No matter how hard the reactionary forces try to revive the imperialist ruling machinery in south Korea and turn our country into a colony, they will never succeed in their criminal attempt. Closely united behind the banner of democracy and firmly determined to fight to the end against a repetition of the colonial enslavement, our people will thwart the enemy's scheme and win the democratic independence of the country at any cost.

Our people are now faced with a serious and urgent task of further consolidating the democratic base built in north Korea and of speeding up the democratization of Korea as a whole.

We must strive, above all, to further strengthen the people's committee, that is, the people's government, restore all power to the people's committee across the country, and found a democratic people's republic.

We should endeavour to follow up the success of the agrarian reform in north Korea and enforce it all over the country. The

peasants should devote themselves to increase crop yields and pay the tax in kind in time.

Besides, we should further develop the success in introducing the Labour Law and settle labour problems all over Korea on progressive lines, and put into effect the Law on Sex Equality throughout the country so that women can be guaranteed their due rights in all fields of politics, the economy and culture. Nationalization of major industries recently effected in north Korea should be carried out on a nationwide scale so as to liquidate the basis of imperialist exploitation and lay the groundwork for the country's economic independence. We should quickly rehabilitate and develop the nationalized industrial enterprises, enlist all workers in production and increase labour productivity.

We should exert greater efforts to develop national culture, science and the arts and endeavour to raise the cultural standard of the people. We should wipe out the survivals of Japanese imperialism in public education and step up the training of our cadres.

We must further strengthen unity and cooperation among democratic political parties and public organizations and continue to reinforce the Democratic National United Front so as to isolate the band of traitor Syngman Rhee, the henchmen of US imperialism, and win the just cause of our nation.

We should consolidate friendship with the people of the Soviet Union who are helping the liberated Korean people in building a democratic state and go forward confidently towards peace, freedom and a bright future, relying firmly on the daily strengthening world democratic forces.

Long live the future Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the people's government!

Long live the liberation of the Korean nation!

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED PARTY OF THE WORKING MASSES

**Report to the Inaugural Congress
of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

August 29, 1946

Dear comrade delegates,

The present congress, called to inaugurate the Workers' Party of North Korea through the merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea, will go down in the annals of the Korean independence movement and is of great significance in carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution today.

You comrade delegates have assembled here, not only as delegates of the Workers' Party but also as representatives of all the north Korean people, to discuss state affairs and the momentous problems determining the destiny of the country.

We, who have been engaged in a great struggle and work of construction for the country and the people, have convened this congress to found a united party of the Korean working masses for the purpose of accomplishing still greater work in future.

The Korean people who find themselves at present in a complex and acute political situation are following the Inaugural Congress of our Party with the greatest interest and hope today. We should conduct the congress successfully so that we may live up to the

great expectations of the Korean people and meet the urgent demands of the masses of the people.

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA

The situation in our country underwent a radical change after liberation. When the anti-fascist world war was brought to a victorious conclusion thanks to the decisive role played by the Soviet army, the system of barbarous Japanese imperialist rule in Korea also collapsed. The way was opened up for building a Korea for the Koreans, for building a new country and a new life in conformity with our people's will and demands.

As the Korean people were liberated from long years of oppression, their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power burst forth like a volcano, and this great force has radically changed Korean society in the past year.

The democratic reforms carried out in north Korea during this period have put an end to all colonial and feudal relations which so long retarded the development of our country's economy and culture, and paved the way to unhindered development. The past year was indeed a year of great progress and change the like of which would ordinarily take scores or hundreds of years to achieve.

The political consciousness of the Korean people has heightened to an unprecedented degree in the course of the bitter struggle with the enemy. Korea today is precisely the people's Korea, a Korea governed and built by the people themselves.

North Korea's democratic reforms are also of great significance internationally. Democratic social reforms as thoroughly carried out as those in our north Korea are rarely to be seen in other countries which have taken the road of creating a new life after the Second

World War. North Korea's democratic reforms are a heartening example to the peoples of many Eastern countries who hope for freedom and democracy. Today north Korea is not only the strategic base for democratic advance in the whole of Korea, but it also plays the role as the cradle of democracy in the East.

The agrarian reform put an end to feudal relations in land ownership, which were the main cause of the backwardness and stagnation of Korean society, and laid the basis for democratic advance in Korea. In north Korea the tillers have become the owners of land, and landlords and the tenant system have been eliminated once and for all.

The peasants now work their own land and are able to use their crops to improve their own life and to expand production after delivering 25 per cent as agricultural tax in kind to the state. The agricultural tax is used not for the enjoyment and enrichment of the exploiters as in the past, but for the development of the national economy as a whole, including agriculture, and the improvement of the people's living conditions.

The democratic Labour Law has freed factory and office workers from heavy, forced, colonial-type labour and has ensured them fundamental rights in work and life, thus making it possible for them to bring their enthusiasm and creativity into full play.

The nationalization of industries has turned the industrial establishments, the mainstay of Korea's economy, which were owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation, into the property of the people, thereby destroying the basis of imperialist exploitation and laying the economic foundations for the building of an independent, sovereign state. Thus the factories, mines, railways, communications, banks, etc., formerly used by the imperialists and comprador capitalists to bleed the Korean people white, have now been turned into the people's property dedicated to the prosperity and development of our country and improvement of the welfare of the working masses. This measure taken by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea clearly expresses the thoroughgoing and

progressive nature of the democratic reforms carried out in our country.

In addition, the Law on Sex Equality has emancipated the women of north Korea from thousands of years of humiliation and ill treatment and from a twofold and threefold oppression, enabling them to enjoy equal rights with men and be active in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture.

As all these facts expressly prove, democratic north Korea today clearly points out the road for all the Korean people to follow, and the democratization of Korea and its full independence can be achieved only by relying firmly on the democratic base in north Korea.

However, many difficulties lie on the road of building democracy in the country, and our struggle is extremely arduous and complex. This is because the aggressive army of US imperialism is stationed in south Korea, seeking to turn our country into a colony once again, and because a gang of quislings who have become its lackeys and are trying to sell out Korea to imperialism as a colony again are running wild. Today, the US military government monopolizes all power in south Korea and is doing everything it can in its desperate effort to suppress the democratic forces and gain a foothold for reaction.

As under Japanese imperialist rule in the past, the people of south Korea are groaning under the savage oppression and tyranny of domestic and foreign forces of reaction and are stranded in the misery of poverty, deprived of all rights.

The masses of the people are completely denied even the elementary freedoms—freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, religious belief, and so on. So thousands of patriots are being cruelly tortured in police dungeons and prisons for the “crime” of loving their country and of calling for democracy and the independence of the country. Leaders of the people are shot down in broad daylight by reactionary terrorists, and democratic political parties and public organizations are being wrecked by the terrorism of

the traitorous Syngman Rhee gang openly protected by the US army. Right in front of a courthouse, the reactionaries shot and killed one of the middle-school boys who were demanding that the trial in the so-called “forged-note case” be opened to the public.

Patriotic scholars and teachers are dismissed from the schools, and schools are closed down one after another. Patriotic workers in the field of culture are placed under surveillance, beaten up and thrown into jail without justification.

Far from carrying out agrarian reform, Americans and reactionary profiteers are concentrating the land formerly held by the Japanese in their own hands. The south Korean peasants are still groaning under the yoke of the feudal system of high-rent tenancy.

Far from instituting a labour law, they are slaughtering workers with planes, tanks and machine guns merely because they have taken part in demonstrations. The situation is such that one is sentenced to eight years in prison for making a speech urging the promotion of the labour movement. The workers of south Korea are being driven hard like beasts of burden, subjected to the same cruel colonial oppression and exploitation as in the past.

Far from nationalizing the key industries, the US military government authorities declare the industrial establishments formerly owned by Japanese imperialism to be their property. They pay lip service to industrial rehabilitation, but actually they are wrecking even those few factories which are in operation and converting south Korea into a market for US commodities. The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique is guilty of treacherous act of selling the country. It has already sold mining and trading concessions to American capitalists and is now openly selling the country’s valuable resources to American big businesses.

Far from granting women equal rights with men, they have increased concubinage, licensed and unlicensed prostitution and the professional entertainer system. Many women suffer unbearable humiliation as playthings of the rich and powerful.

The true worth of a political party or a policy must be assessed not

by its words or statements but by the practical activities of that party, or by the concrete facts showing whose interests that policy represents and defends. In the past year the reactionary politicians in south Korea made innumerable speeches and promises and pledges over the microphone and from public platforms. What, however, have they actually brought the Korean people? Even the brazen-faced Syngman Rhee clique can no longer conceal its true colours which have now been exposed by the stark facts in all their nakedness before all the Korean people. Far from introducing democracy, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique has done nothing but tyrannize south Korea and sell the country to the United States as a colony, on orders of its US masters.

Swarms of jobless people roam the streets. Hungry people, begging bowl in hand, crowd the government offices, raising a hue and cry. Youths and students fall under rifle fire, schools are closed down. Newspapers, magazines and other press organs are closed one after another. Patriots are constantly arrested, jailed and murdered. Meanwhile, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation resort to despotism and abuse power, as if the days of their glory had returned. This is the true picture of south Korea, a lawless land which the US army rules like a lord.

In striking contrast to north Korea, which is advancing in the direction of genuine democracy and national independence, south Korea is moving backward along the path of reaction and colonial enslavement under the fascist reign of terror of the US imperialists and their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. Thus, the southern half of our country is occupied and converted into a colony by the US imperialists, and this very fact presents difficulties to the solution of the Korean question.

The most important task facing the Korean people today is to overcome the anti-popular and reactionary line pursued in south Korea at an early date, carry out thoroughgoing democratic reforms in south Korea, as was done in north Korea, and thereby build a new, unified, democratic independent and sovereign Korea.

2. STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNITED FRONT—AN IMPORTANT GUARANTEE OF VICTORY FOR THE REVOLUTION

All-round consolidation of the Democratic National United Front, which rallies around itself all the patriotic, democratic forces of Korea, is an important guarantee of victory for our revolution.

Democratic reforms in north Korea have been carried out from the beginning through the efforts of all the people, by the joint endeavours of all democratic political parties and public organizations.

The Communist Party of North Korea, the New Democratic Party of Korea, the Korean Democratic Party, the Chondoist Chongu Party and all the public organizations, acting in concert at all times under the banner of democracy, have liquidated the pro-Japanese elements of all shades, smashed the intrigues and manoeuvres of the reactionaries and energetically promoted the cause of building a democratic state. The Democratic National United Front of North Korea, which unites all the patriotic, democratic forces, was formed and grew in the course of the actual struggle to carry out the democratic tasks. It is closely linked with the broad masses and has already rallied around itself more than six million of the organized masses. This constitutes a truly great force, and here lies the basic factor contributing to our victory.

By relying on the united strength of all the political parties, public organizations and people in all walks of life, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was able to successfully put great democratic reforms into effect in the short period of no more than six months after its establishment. Every time a task of the democratic

revolution was proposed, all political parties and public organizations gave it unqualified support by issuing joint statements, sending their workers to different districts and sparing neither effort nor zeal in carrying it out successfully.

Since the various democratic political parties unanimously support the people's committee and strive jointly to put its policy into effect, our organs of people's power can implement democratic tasks successfully on a broad mass basis. In north Korea, all political parties, public organizations and the masses of the people in all walks of life are closely rallied around the people's committee and give unanimous and active support to the policies of the organs of people's power. Thus, democratic reforms in north Korea are being and will be accomplished by the united strength of the broad masses rallied around the DNUF.

All our experience clearly shows that today the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea can be achieved and democratic advances made only through the strength of the DNUF embracing all sections of the masses without exception—workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, tradesmen and entrepreneurs.

In contrast, all the disorder and misery in south Korea under the domination of the US military government can be ascribed mainly to the disunity within our nation. In south Korea, I am told, there were once more than 200 political parties. Such splitting into parties of three and groups of five and mutual wrangling play right into the hands of the reactionary forces. The enemies of democracy and of our nation want more than anything else to see our working people—workers, peasants, working intellectuals, etc.—torn apart and fighting and snapping at one another. For the reactionary forces can exist and achieve their anti-popular ends only by seizing upon this and taking advantage of splits among the democratic forces. Such a divisive policy is an old trick common to reactionaries all over the world. We must not be fooled by it. In south Korea, however, people have been taken in. The democratic political parties and public organizations there are disrupted and engage in factional strife and scramble for

“hegemony,” exactly as the enemy wants. Here lies the principal danger in south Korea today.

Developments in south Korea over the past year give us a striking lesson on how precious the unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces is and, particularly, on how urgent and important it is to strengthen the solidarity of the masses of the working people.

We must defeat the traitorous reactionary forces and bring the democratic revolution to a victorious conclusion by cementing the united front of all the patriotic political parties and public organizations that aspire to the freedom and independence of the country and to democracy, and by relying on the united strength of all the working people and of the people as a whole.

3. THE MERGER OF THE TWO PARTIES IS INEVITABLE AND MOST APPROPRIATE

Comrade delegates,

The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is indeed of epochal significance for cementing the unity of the democratic forces in our country. In particular, the merger of the two parties marks great progress in closely uniting the broad masses—workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

In the course of the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, diverse opinions were expressed as to what sort of a party the Workers’ Party should be and what it should do.

The Programme of our Workers’ Party explicitly declares its aims, character and tasks. As is clearly stated at the beginning of the Programme, our Party is a party that represents and defends the interests of the Korean working masses, its aims being to build a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state. The Workers’ Party is the vanguard of the labouring masses of Korea and it

is rooted in the broad masses—workers, peasants and working intellectuals. That is why it ought to become the leading force in the struggle for the independence, sovereignty and democratization of Korea and to play the central role in the DNUF. Our Party fights to overthrow the pro-Japanese, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists, to achieve the complete liberation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialism, and to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state. This is the aim which both the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party have been pursuing.

What, then, is the task of the Workers' Party? The basic task of our Party at the present stage is to carry out anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic reforms thoroughly on a nationwide scale, and to establish a democratic people's republic by mobilizing the broad masses of the people. Today the programmatic tasks of our Party are: to confiscate the land of the Japanese imperialists and the landlords and distribute it among the peasants; to nationalize the industries, transport, communications, banks, etc., belonging to Japanese imperialism and the comprador capitalists and transform them into the property of the people; to introduce an eight-hour working day and a social insurance system for factory and office workers; to grant women equal rights with men; to ensure the people freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief; to institute a democratic system of public education and establish compulsory education; and to develop science, national culture and the arts.

These democratic tasks represent the earnest demands of all sections of the working people throughout Korea. Without introducing democratic reforms, it is impossible to build a fully independent and democratic country, to rescue the working masses from poverty and the lack of rights, and to develop the economy and culture of our country.

The Communist Party and the New Democratic Party have striven and are striving to meet the earnest demands of the labouring masses of Korea. Therefore, it is inevitable that the two parties, which have

similar aims and tasks, should merge into one.

Today our struggle is not for the old parliamentary democracy of capitalist countries but for genuine democracy for the new Korea, democracy for the broad masses, progressive democracy. The struggle confronting us for the rights of the masses in the political, economic and cultural spheres is arduous, complicated and protracted. The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is urgently needed for the fulfilment of this task.

Disunity of the working masses constitutes the greatest danger in their life-and-death struggle with the enemy. In order to bring our fighting tasks to victory, the working masses must stand together more firmly and forge closer unity. Most decisive of all for fulfilling the great democratic tasks facing the Korean people is the formation of a unified general staff of the working masses, the sole militant vanguard of the working people. This problem could only be solved by founding the Workers' Party.

Therefore, the Central Committee of the New Democratic Party proposed the merger of the two parties, and this met with the full agreement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Then, at a joint session of the central committees of the two parties, it was formally decided to merge the two and build them into a party of the masses—the Workers' Party.

All the people, not to speak of the members of the two parties, warmly welcomed this historic decision. This was because they were convinced that the merger of the two parties would greatly contribute to strengthening the democratic forces and speeding up the building of democracy.

Thus, the merger proceeded smoothly in all provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties in an atmosphere of very high political enthusiasm created by the entire membership of the two parties and the entire working masses who supported the merger. So we have today convened the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party. This is graphic evidence that the merger of the two parties was inevitable and most appropriate.

In the course of the merger, however, we discovered wrong tendencies in some Communist Party members. Here are a few examples.

I would like to point out, in the first place, the self-righteous, arrogant attitude of some Communist Party members. They said, "How can we merge with the New Democratic Party?" We should ask them, "When did you become Boyi and Shuqi like that?" This is, above all, an expression of self-important attitude of looking down upon others, an exclusionist tendency of thinking oneself the only one engaged in revolutionary work. It is an error resulting not only from ignorance of our Party's line and policies but from a lack of understanding of even the simple truth that revolutionary work will be victorious only when all revolutionary comrades are united and all the masses of the people stand together. To put it more strongly, it is a factional tendency, and a dangerous one, against which we must be most vigilant in establishing a mass-based political party. If a tendency of this sort is allowed to grow, it may totally ruin our work.

Another grave tendency finds expression in the talk that our Party would be "diluted in the New Democratic Party" or become a "party of the petty bourgeoisie." This is, on the one hand, an expression of "Leftism" that does not like the merger but, on the other hand, it contains Rightist venom, and it is this, I think, that we especially need to sharpen vigilance against.

We should resolutely combat any tendency that impairs the organizational discipline and ideological unity of the Party, any tendency that seeks to reduce the Party either to a club of the labouring masses or a kind of fraternity of the petty bourgeoisie. The creation of the mass-based Workers' Party, which champions the interests of all the working masses and can embrace all progressive elements among the working masses, in no way means that it is permissible to lower the Party's political prestige or weaken the unity and iron discipline of its ranks. The Workers' Party is an organized combat unit and a vanguard of the working masses. We should at all times firmly defend its unity, purity and strict discipline. If our ranks

are lacking in monolithic ideology, will and discipline, we will be unable to prevail in the fight against the enemy.

Another thing I would like to bring to your attention is the speculation that there will be a “large-scale purge” in the Party. This, too, is a manifestation of a passive dislike of the merger and a tendency to distrust the Party.

It is natural for the Party to purge itself of alien elements in order to maintain the purity of its ranks. We should always heighten our vigilance against alien elements, prevent all of their machinations and expel them from Party ranks as soon as they are discovered. Such elements, however, are very few in number, and therefore there will be no “large-scale purge” in our Workers’ Party. Any talk about such a “purge” is quite wrong.

4. IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY

The basic task of our Party at the present stage is to build a democratic country, reunified and fully independent, at the earliest possible date. To this end, we must sweep away all the reactionary pro-Japanese and feudal forces standing in the way of the democratic independence of our country.

We should struggle to strengthen the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea, an organ of genuine people’s power, and transfer all power in Korea to the people’s committee.

A struggle should be launched to consolidate the gains of the democratic reforms already carried out in north Korea—the agrarian reform, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, nationalization of the key industries, the institution of a public education system, etc.—and to enforce them throughout the country. For the victorious accomplishment of these fighting tasks, it is important above all to turn our Party into a powerful combat unit.

The broader the united front of the masses of the people, the more complex the tasks confronting us and the sharper the fight with the enemy, the more urgent will be the need to strengthen our Party, the vanguard of the Korean working masses, both organizationally and ideologically.

We must strengthen unity of ideology and will in every way and establish iron discipline within Party ranks, and wage an implacable fight against every tendency incompatible with them.

Many divergent tendencies may appear within our ranks, because the two parties have just been merged. Therefore, we must arm all members with one and the same ideology based on our Party's Programme, strengthen comradesly and principled unity among them and raise their political consciousness.

To fight against all and every factional tendency is of special importance in our Party life today. We must do away completely with the remnants of the accursed factionalism which historically has done great harm to the Korean revolutionary movement, and thereby build up our Party into a united, powerful, iron detachment.

Also, our Party should take deep root among the masses and at all times maintain the bonds of kinship with them. We should in every circumstance defend the interests of the working masses, listen to their views, learn from them and teach them. We should lead and supervise all the working people's organizations, knit all the labouring masses closely around our Party and correctly lead them in building a new, democratic Korea. Whether our Party members deal with this correctly or not determines the victory or defeat of our Party.

Further, the utmost attention should be devoted to the problem of cadres. If there were no cadres competent to put the Programme and decisions of our Party into effect successfully, the Programme and decisions, no matter how excellent, would only turn out to be empty words. Cadres decide everything. Yet there are shortcomings in our work of getting to know, training and promoting cadres. We quite often hear the expression, "We're hard up for cadres," but we seldom

hear any talk about where and how cadres have been trained and how new personnel have been promoted. We should do our best to get to know, train and promote cadres.

Last, the Programme of our Party and its policies and decisions should be made known to the masses of the people. They can be realized in actual life only if the people grasp them and make them their own. We should see to it that our Party's slogans become the slogans of the masses themselves, and that the people themselves are voluntarily mobilized to put them into effect.

Let us march vigorously ahead for the freedom and democratic independence of our country, closely rallying all the democratic forces around the Workers' Party we are now founding!

Long live the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea which represents the interests of the working masses!

Long live the Democratic National United Front!

For the establishment of a democratic people's republic!

ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY

**Concluding Speech at the Inaugural Congress
of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

August 29, 1946

Comrades,

At this congress, delegates of all provinces made enthusiastic speeches in support of the merger of the two parties. This is evidence that the line adopted for the merger is correct and that all the Party members fully support the fusion of the two parties.

The formation of the Workers' Party is what all the Korean people have desired and is urgently needed in the present domestic and international situation. Only by its establishment can we rally the broad masses of the working people around it, completely smash the manoeuvres of the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionary elements and carry out the Korean revolution with flying colours. The formation of the Workers' Party will be of epoch-making significance in the advancement of our revolution and add an important page to Korean history.

The immediate central task of the Workers' Party is to achieve as soon as possible the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea along democratic lines. We must actively strive for its implementation and subordinate everything to this.

In order to attain the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea along democratic lines, it is necessary, first, to further

consolidate the democratic base of north Korea and, secondly, to help the democratic political parties and public organizations in south Korea to carry out all the democratic tasks throughout Korea.

First of all, we should strengthen the democratic base of north Korea by consolidating the results of the democratic reforms already carried out in north Korea and by more vigorously speeding up democratic construction. Only then can we successfully frustrate every manoeuvre of the reactionaries and push ahead energetically with our revolution.

While building up our democratic base, we must wage an energetic struggle to democratize south Korea. The south Korean people who account for more than half of the Korean population are now suffering from all manner of intrigues and harsh suppression of the US imperialists and reactionaries just as they did in the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. The complete independence of Korea can be attained only when they are freed from their present life of darkness and south Korea is completely liberated. Therefore, we must see to it that in south Korea, as in north Korea, all power is handed over to the people's committees, the agrarian reform carried out, the industrial establishments belonging to the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation nationalized, and a labour law, a law on sex equality and a democratic education system introduced.

For our Workers' Party to carry out these historic tasks properly it is of the utmost importance to expand and strengthen the Party. Without its consolidation and development, it is impossible to carry out successfully the work of strengthening the democratic base of north Korea and lead the struggle for democracy in south Korea and, further, to set up a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state. Therefore, we must do our best to expand and consolidate the Workers' Party.

We must be active in expanding Party ranks. We should continue to expand its forces by absorbing many progressive elements from among the workers and other working people. At the same time, we

should endeavour to firmly build up the Party in terms of quality. We must prevent spies, saboteurs and subversive elements from slipping into its ranks, sweep away all those who seek to disrupt it, and strive to thoroughly eliminate factions and guarantee its unity of thought and purpose.

However, we should not, on the plea of strengthening the Party, suspect people and try to expel them from its ranks indiscriminately. A certain comrade said in his speech that a mixed company had entered the Workers' Party. This is a wrong view. Worse still, some comrades claim that there must be an immediate purge in the Workers' Party. They are seriously mistaken. Of course, it is possible that spies, saboteurs and subversive elements may sneak in and try to destroy the Party. But it is mistaken to insist, as soon as the Workers' Party is formed, that there must be a purge. We must not suspect people without grounds and try to purge the Party of them without cause, but we must be always on the alert in case alien elements worm their way into the Party, and strive to thwart their schemes.

The Workers' Party is a revolutionary party uniting the progressive workers, peasants and working intellectuals who struggle for the building of an independent, sovereign and democratic state in our country and for the victory of the Korean revolution. This will be so not only today but in the future as well.

In the light of the present internal and external situation we should transcend narrow class bounds and build up a mass-based party capable of rallying the broad working masses around it. Yet, there are people now who, pretending to be genuine communists, are against the formation of the Workers' Party. These people, as a matter of fact, have no deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma; it is a guide to action. We must learn to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the realities of Korea today. Only through the formation of a mass-based party can we win the victory of democracy. This victory is essential for the complete independence of Korea. The complete independence of Korea means precisely the victory of Marxism-Leninism in Korea.

The Workers' Party will always take Marxism-Leninism as its guiding theory. Even when a communist joins the Workers' Party, this does not mean he deserts Marxism-Leninism, nor can he do so. On the contrary, only when he becomes a member of the Workers' Party, a mass-based party required by the Korean revolution at the present stage, can he become an even stauncher Marxist-Leninist.

The fact that Marxism-Leninism is the guiding theory of our Party, does not mean that only those who are versed in it can join the Party. Even those who have not yet gained a full understanding of Marxism-Leninism can join the Workers' Party if they are active and take a lead in fighting for democracy and the Korean revolution. Because even people who lack a complete understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, can play a vanguard role in practice and contribute to the victory of Marxism-Leninism through their devoted struggle for democracy and the Korean revolution. We must open the door of the Workers' Party to all progressive democrats from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals who work actively for the building of a new, democratic Korea.

At present some people fail to clearly understand this and, while claiming that the formation of the Workers' Party is the Communist Party's capitulation to the New Democratic Party, come out against the merger of the parties. This is precisely a "Leftist" deviation. The people who put up such a "Leftist" slogan today are not true revolutionaries but pseudo Marxist-Leninists.

In connection with the formation of the Workers' Party, not only "Leftist" but also Rightist tendencies are manifested among some people. They try to desert Marxism-Leninism, weaken inner-Party discipline and, regarding the Workers' Party as a national united front, draw the riffraff into it. This is a Rightist deviation impermissible in the Workers' Party and a very wicked step to demolish the Party.

We must fight against such Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies mercilessly. And by constantly expanding and consolidating the Workers' Party, we must turn our Party into an invincible

revolutionary party capable of coping with any difficulties.

While fighting for the expansion and reinforcement of the Workers' Party, we should strive to heighten the function and role of the people's government bodies.

Some of our Party members still try to undertake and monopolize the work of the people's committee. The people's committee is not only for the Communist Party but for all the people including the members of all the democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea. At present, however, some comrades dislike members of other parties serving on the people's committee. At the present stage of our revolution, this is a wrong attitude and a very dangerous tendency. If only members of our Party are allowed to sit on the people's committee, the members of other political parties will take no interest in the work of the people's government nor will they support the people's committee. If the people's committee relies only on the support of the Workers' Party, our people's government will, in the end, be crippled and fail to carry out its revolutionary tasks satisfactorily.

Under no circumstances should the Workers' Party try to monopolize the work of the people's committee. Representatives of all political parties and public organizations can work in the people's committee and are in duty-bound to do so. The people's committee must have as its foothold all democratic political parties and public organizations. Only then will our people's government have a firm basis on which to strengthen and develop.

In order to heighten the function and role of the people's government bodies, the ranks of officials in the people's committee should be built up firmly. On the ground of allowing representatives of all political parties and public organizations to work in the people's committee, we must not leave incompetent, corrupt and bureaucratic elements who care for high positions in the people's government bodies. We must not forget that the people's committee is a government body for the people, and must strive to strengthen the ranks of its officials. We should make sure that those who can work

devotedly for the people serve in the people's committee. We must send progressive elements into the government bodies so that the work of the people's committee is properly conducted. The Workers' Party must give great prominence to the people's committee and help it in every way to carry out its tasks thoroughly. It must thus be seen to that the people's government bodies implement all the democratic laws in concrete terms and carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution successfully.

It is important to do the work of the united front well.

As for the work of the united front, frequent mention has already been made at meetings, many articles in newspapers, and Party decisions have referred to it. Nevertheless, some people still have an insufficient understanding of this work, and behave contrary to the strengthening of the Democratic National United Front.

As you all know, every political party in north Korea has set forth a democratic programme and is endeavouring to carry it out. Therefore, we can strengthen our united front with other political parties, and must do so without fail.

We must not behave haughtily just because we are strong. If we are self-assertive and behave arrogantly, the united front will make a poor showing and, accordingly, our great nation-building work will not make good progress. Our Party members must work positively to make the united front a success.

In order to strengthen the work of the united front, our Party members should, first of all, acquire the right style of work. They must become Workers' Party members who are modest in behaviour, willing to join hands with friendly parties, who kindly explain our Party's policies to their members, tirelessly educate them, and keep in step with them.

Our united front with the friendly parties is aimed, after all, at building a new, democratic Korea successfully. So, they must not be left alone to take a wrong step. While working to strengthen the Democratic National United Front, we should criticize them for their faults frankly and in good time and lead them along the right path.

Our Party should pay close attention to the work of public organizations.

Failing to take into account the fact that members of the friendly parties are enrolled in public organizations, some comrades are now nursing an incorrect idea about the question of guaranteeing the Party's leadership of these organizations. Our Party members should work most exemplarily within the public organizations, thus leading them along the right path and inducing them to thoroughly carry out our Party's line and policies. Working in firm cooperation with members of the friendly parties in these organizations, the Workers' Party members should make sure that they carry out all policies of our Party faithfully and should play the vanguard role in rallying and educating the masses.

In north Korea today the masses of the people are united in the public organizations. But their education is as yet in a poor way. Our Party members, and the cadres working in the public organizations in particular, should feel a great deal of responsibility for this.

We should direct great efforts to the guidance and education of the members of the Democratic Youth League and other public organizations. In particular, the youth should be educated properly.

At present the Democratic Youth League of North Korea has a membership of 1.3 million; yet, they are not well educated. Only by giving a proper, democratic education to the youth can the Workers' Party have a reliable reserve and carry on the building of a new, democratic Korea successfully. Our Party members, therefore, should pay close attention to the work of the DYL and make strenuous efforts to educate the DYL members well.

Furthermore, we should lay great stress on economic work. One of the important questions calling for our Party's special attention today is the collection of the agricultural tax in kind.

Our information work concerning the system of agricultural tax in kind is not progressing very well among the peasants. Our Party members should conduct information work on a large scale in favour of the agricultural tax in kind, thereby driving its essence and

significance home to all peasants.

The introduction of the agricultural tax in kind is of importance not only for improving the living standards of the peasants and developing the agricultural productive forces but for successfully building a new Korea. In view of the economic conditions in north Korea, the state cannot solve the food problem for the present nor can it build democracy successfully if it does not collect the agricultural tax in kind. The correct introduction of the agricultural tax in kind is vital for the consolidation of the results of the democratic reforms and reconstruction and development of industries. We should skilfully lead the peasants to come forward willingly and pay the agricultural tax in kind in time, and thus provide food for the workers and office employees and contribute positively to the building of democracy and industrial reconstruction.

Now I would like to answer the questions raised in the course of the meeting.

First, as for the difference between the political lines of north and south Korea, the question is plain and clear. There are now two political lines in Korea, one being the democratic line followed by north Korea and the other, the anti-democratic line followed by south Korea. In other words, our country pursues a line which aims to develop Korea in conformity with the people's demands and hopes and a line which seeks to reverse the forward movement of history against the people's demands and hopes.

Today south Korea has two forces: the progressive force—the Communist Party, New Democratic Party, People's Party, democratic public organizations and the like—that advances along the line of democracy, and the anti-democratic force—Syngman Rhee and other fascists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and the like—that seeks under the manipulation of the US reactionaries to drag Korea back into the darkness of feudal society, turn our country into a colony of imperialism and make our people colonial slaves again. We should resolutely fight against the anti-democratic attempts of the reactionaries.

No amount of frantic manoeuvring on the part of the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries can check our people's advance along the road of democracy. The anti-democratic line of the reactionaries will come a cropper before our democratic line.

A question has been asked as to how the work of amalgamating the Communist Party, New Democratic Party and People's Party is proceeding in south Korea. Concerning this, there will be a separate report. But I would like to make one brief remark.

You will be very anxious because you do not know the south Korean situation well. It is quite natural that you should be deeply concerned about the south Korean situation since south Korea, a half of our territory, is inhabited by our fellow countrymen and our comrades in south Korea are fighting against the enemy under the reactionary US military government. We must know what an arduous struggle our south Korean comrades are waging under the conditions in which all manner of intrigues and white terrorism by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, their stooges, are rampant, and must extend warm greetings and encouragement to our south Korean comrades who are fighting valiantly for the country and the people.

Speaking of how matters stand with the fusion of the three parties in south Korea, as soon as it was announced on July 29 last that the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party would be amalgamated in north Korea, preparations for the merger of the parties started in south Korea. The Preparatory Committee for the Merger of the Three Parties was formed in south Korea at the proposal of the People's Party, and the preparatory committee is now campaigning for the fusion of the three parties in the face of all kinds of intrigues and obstructive moves by the reactionaries.

The US reactionaries and the Syngman Rhee clique, their henchmen, are making every attempt to frustrate the merger of the parties in south Korea. Regrettable above all is the fact that the subversive elements and sectarians who had sneaked into the parties

are making mischief, obstructing the merger. The reactionaries who had crawled into the Communist Party in south Korea set themselves up against the fusion of the three parties. Kang Jin and some others went so far as to issue an anti-Party statement. With the backing of the US military government and the Syngman Rhee clique, they are interfering with the work of the merger. Of course, such a phenomenon is not confined to the Communist Party. In the other parties, too, wicked elements are operating covertly under the aegis of the reactionary US military government. But it is certain that before long the fusion of the parties will be realized triumphantly in south Korea, too.

For the successful merger of the three parties in south Korea the ranks of the parties should be cleared of subversive elements and sectarians as soon as possible. We hope that our south Korean comrades will form the Workers' Party, a mass-based party, despite every obstructive move by the enemies within and without.

Comrades, our revolutionary cause is just and we are following the right path. Our policy is the most people-oriented policy required and longed for by all the people including the working class, and the wisest policy welcomed and supported by the masses of the people. That is why we are sure to win.

It is my firm belief that all comrades attending this congress and all Party members will put up a vigorous struggle to expand and strengthen the Workers' Party and augment its fighting efficiency and thus enable our Party to carry out its historic mission with credit.

PROGRAMME OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF NORTH KOREA

August 29, 1946

With the aim of building a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state, the Workers' Party representing and defending the interests of the working masses of Korea endeavours to carry out the following tasks:

1. To build an independent and sovereign democratic state of Korea;

2. To transfer the state power for the whole of Korea to the people's committee, the people's government, in order to build a democratic people's republic;

3. To confiscate the land owned by the Japanese, traitors to the nation and landlords and distribute it free among the peasants with little or no land, to further consolidate the results of the agrarian reform in north Korea and to carry out the agrarian reform throughout Korea;

4. To nationalize the factories, mines, railway transport, means of communication, other enterprises, and cultural establishments owned by the Japanese state, organizations and individuals and traitors to the nation;

5. To nationalize all the banks and other financial agencies;

6. To introduce an eight-hour working day for the factory and office workers, social insurance, and equal pay for women as for men;

7. To grant the equal right to elect and be elected to Koreans of 20 years of age and upwards, irrespective of property status, education, religious belief and sex;

8. To grant all the Korean people freedom of speech, the press, assembly, public meetings, demonstrations, organization of parties and associations and religious belief;

9. To grant women equal political, economic and legal rights with men, abolish the remnants of feudalism in family relations and customs and give state protection to mothers and children;

10. To reform public education, do away with the remnants of the Japanese educational system in the educational work of various schools, grant all Korean people the right to education, irrespective of property status, religious belief and sex and, at the same time, to promote the normal development of Korea's national culture, art and science;

11. To abolish the remnants of the Japanese imperialist tax system which used to threaten the life of the working masses, and to introduce a new fair tax system;

12. To organize a national army and to introduce the obligatory conscription system; and

13. To promote close friendship with neighbouring countries fighting for world peace and with all peace-loving states and nations.

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE FOUNDING OF THE MAGAZINE *JOSON NYOSONG*

September 6, 1946

Dear Korean women,

I express my heartfelt thanks to you, Korean women, for your vigorous, genuine, sincere and devoted efforts for nation building and for the movement for women's emancipation, the efforts you have made ever since the August 15 liberation which you greeted with overwhelming joy after suffering double and treble oppression because of Japanese imperialist rule for 36 years and of the outworn custom of male supremacy that had been in practice for thousands of years.

More than 600 000 north Korean women who truly love our nation and are striving for women's genuine freedom and equality have already united under the banner of the Women's Union. You, the members of the Women's Union, belong to one organization and, knitted together in bonds of firm solidarity, make up a great force that helps in building a democratic Korea. This is a great event unprecedented in Korean history.

In the countryside many women were in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the agrarian reform and are now striving to increase agricultural production. In factories the working women are pulling their weight in the movement to speed up production shoulder to shoulder with men. Educated women are working day and night to abolish illiteracy in towns, villages and the rest of the country. How

thrilling it must be for you, women, to witness these stirring events!

In former days, too, the worthy, brave and true daughters of Korea fought for the liberation of the country and the people and for women's liberties, dedicating the bloom of their youth to the struggle without fearing the enemy's inhuman persecution and prison bars in the homeland or shedding their blood in the alien mountains and wilderness of Manchuria.

Our women's brilliant and proud exploits in the past and at present prove that the women's movement is a part of the social movement and that they can win equal rights with men and their complete social emancipation only when they struggle devotedly with the men for national liberation and for the building of a new country.

The women who constitute a part of society can achieve complete emancipation only if they strive with no less devotion and awareness than men to solve the problems arising on the productive fronts of the factories and countryside and on the political and cultural fronts. This is the only way to be followed by the women of Korea.

We are well aware that women were treated like slaves in feudal relationship. They were excluded from economic, productive and all other social activities under the feudal system. If a women's organization claims emancipation apart from economic and productive activities and all other social activities related to them directly or indirectly, such an organization will eventually turn into a rich women's club.

Our women's movement cannot exist without democracy. The women must have a clear idea of which is true democracy and at the same time should fight vigorously against the pro-Japanese and pro-American elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries who oppose democracy. If women lack democratic consciousness and enthusiasm for the democratic movement, their organization will be similar to the Patriotic Women's Association of Japanese imperialism, however hard they may work.

Our women should pool their efforts and teach and learn from one another. That is precisely the way to true democracy, conforming to

our line of nation building.

Fighting for democracy is essential for building a new country. Article One of the Women's Union Programme clearly stipulates that it shall struggle to establish a democratic government.

I hope that our women, the Korean mothers and daughters who truly love their country, will share half the work in building a new, democratic state, preserving their noble traits as befitting the women of a democratic Korea.

I congratulate you on the founding of the magazine *Joson Nyosong* (Korean Women-Tr.) in the belief that it will be a helpful and correct guide to the enlightenment and development of our women.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE INAUGURAL CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF NORTH KOREA

**Speech at a Meeting of Activists in the South Phyongan
Provincial Organization of the Workers'**

Party of North Korea

September 9, 1946

Comrades,

The formation of the Workers' Party of North Korea through the merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea was achieved triumphantly in only one month through discussions at Party meetings of all levels—general Party cell meetings, city, county and provincial Party conferences, and the Party congresses—after the decision was taken to amalgamate the two parties at a joint enlarged meeting of the central committees of the two parties on July 29.

The triumphant completion of this great work is by no means an accident. It shows that the entire Party membership, unanimously convinced that the formation of the Workers' Party by merging the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was a historically necessary and most correct measure, took an active part in the fusion of the two parties with a high degree of political enthusiasm.

Why were we able to complete the merger successfully in such a short time and what are the positive features which emerged in the course of this work?

First, the founding of the Workers' Party, representing the interests of the broad masses of the labouring people, through the fusion of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was most fitting in view of the present international and internal situation and was a measure fully in conformity with the expectations and demands of the Korean people.

The international situation today is characterized by the fact that, on the one hand, the forces of the people who love peace, freedom and democracy have liquidated the remnants of the fascist forces and are waging a vigorous struggle for world security and social progress and, on the other, international reaction is raising its head, seeking to drag the world into the horrors of another war.

In this international situation, the Korean people, a component part of the democratic forces of the world, who seized power in north Korea after liberation, carried out great democratic reforms and laid the base for the complete independence, sovereignty and democratization of Korea. The patriotic and democratic forces rallied around the people's power are growing and gaining strength with every passing day, crushing the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and all reactionary forces. In north Korea, where democracy has gained the upper hand, the people enjoy all rights and liberties, and their life is improving rapidly.

In contrast to this, the people in the southern part of Korea have come under a more barbaric rule than in the years of Japanese imperialism and the danger is increasing hourly that the people will be plunged into colonial slavery again.

Therefore, the Korean people should fight more stubbornly now to eliminate the danger that has arisen in south Korea and win complete independence and sovereignty. To this end, it is important above all to unite the broad democratic forces more firmly and, in particular, to secure the monolithic unity of the labouring masses.

The founding of the Workers' Party through the recent merger of the two parties is therefore most appropriate in the light of the

international and internal situation and it answers the demands of the whole people.

When the line for merging the two parties was announced, all the people, not to speak of the members of both parties, expressed warm approval and the merger proceeded successfully in an extremely enthusiastic atmosphere.

A major reason why the work of fusing the two parties was brought to a victorious conclusion lies first in the correctness of the line to found the mass-based Workers' Party.

Second, the victorious results of the recent merger have shown that the members of the Workers' Party are politically very mature and steeled.

Our people, who had no experience of participation in politics under the 36 years of colonial tyranny of Japanese imperialism, grew politically and progressed ideologically in the course of carrying out the democratic reforms after liberation. Thus, our Party members are now able to grasp the present international and internal situation correctly and have been convinced of the correctness of the Party's lines and policies through their practical experience. They have come to know well the character of Korean society and what constitutes the major motive power in the democratic revolution today, and to correctly understand what our tasks are at the present stage of democratization and how to carry them to victory. The recent merger of the two parties has proved that the membership's trust in the Party centre and in other leading bodies at various levels goes very deep.

All this shows that our Party members have made considerable progress politically and ideologically, and this constituted another major factor ensuring success in the merger.

Third, our Party has achieved ideological unity and solidarity.

Through all the struggles waged in north Korea until now, our Party members have been armed with the Party's ideology and united by having one and the same purpose and will. The struggle for ideological unity within the Party has dealt a heavy blow to undesirable elements and factionalists lurking in it and cemented the

unity and cohesion of Party ranks. This unity and cohesion is important for guaranteeing that our Party can break down any resistance on the part of the reactionary elements and lead the people on to victory. Eloquent proof of this is the success of our recent Party congress at which 801 delegates, representing some 370 000 members, correctly accomplished the great task of founding the Workers' Party, by being united with one mind and one will.

If we had not exposed the factionalists and checked their manoeuvrings beforehand and if we had not firmly secured the unity of ideology and will in the Party, we would not have accomplished the merger of the two parties so smoothly and successfully.

Fourth, another major factor for making victory of the Inaugural Congress of our Party is that its leadership was steadfast and experienced, and correctly organized and directed the work of merging the parties.

Our Party leadership consists of seasoned revolutionaries who carried on underground movements or armed struggles against the rapacious Japanese imperialism during the last ten to 20 years at home and abroad and who have acquired revolutionary steadfastness and revolutionary theory and accumulated rich experience during the protracted revolutionary struggle. These revolutionaries, working in cooperation, made a scientific analysis of the world situation and the concrete conditions in our country and, on this basis, clearly defined the line for democratic advance in Korea and our immediate tasks and confidently mobilized the Party members and the people to win victory. So, we were able to achieve great successes in bringing about democratic reforms and in building democracy in the brief period of one year after liberation. Since we had such a strong leadership, we were recently able to rally hundreds of thousands of Party members under a single banner and triumphantly found the Workers' Party—the vanguard of the labouring masses.

Fifth, the prestige of our Party has been signally enhanced among the masses because of the democratic reforms.

Immediately after liberation there were no few instances of

undesirable elements penetrating the Communist Party and impairing its authority and prestige. Following the Third Enlarged Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, however, these elements were purged, and the Party was united as one with the masses to thoroughly defend their interests and, in particular, played a vanguard role in the struggle to carry out the democratic reforms including the agrarian reform, so that its prestige rose greatly in the eyes of the masses. The people came out in unreserved support of the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party because they were convinced that when the two parties were fused, the new party would fight more stoutly and reliably for their interests.

The creation in north Korea of this unified party of the labouring masses represents a fresh advance for the revolutionary movement and a great victory for the democratic forces in our country. This victory will also exert a powerful influence on the democratic forces in south Korea by inspiring them to unite and merge their three parties.

While the positive features mentioned above emerged in the course of the amalgamation of the parties, various shortcomings were also revealed.

First, I must point out that some Party members do not fully understand the significance of the formation of the Workers' Party and that Rightist and "Leftist" deviations still manifest themselves in our ranks.

Some people think that only Marxist-Leninists can be admitted to the Workers' Party and maintain that Marxist-Leninists alone can participate in carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution at the present stage. This is a serious "Leftist" deviation.

It is true that the Marxist-Leninists are the most advanced and active in fulfilling the democratic revolutionary tasks today and it is natural that revolutionaries armed with Marxism-Leninism should become the core elements of our Party. But it is a great mistake to think that only those who are well versed in Marxism-Leninism can

take part in the democratic revolution and join the Workers' Party. It is our view that whoever displays a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm and initiative and plays a vanguard role in the building of a democratic country at present can join the Workers' Party, even if he is not yet armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology. And not only workers but also peasants and working intellectuals who fight resolutely at the head of the masses, can all be admitted to the Workers' Party.

Others maintain that now that the Workers' Party has been formed, Marxism-Leninism should not be the guiding theory of the Party and the communists should forsake Marxist-Leninist principles. This is the most dangerous Rightist view.

The democratic revolution of Korea by no means progresses independently of the law of social development as pointed out by Marxism-Leninism but precisely according to that law.

We Korean communists do not plan to build communism in our country right now. Our immediate task at the present time is to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. In view of the present international and internal situation and the character of Korean society, we communists should take the most active part in the struggle to reform society along democratic lines and complete the stage of the democratic revolution at an early date, and we should play the foremost role in all work of building democracy.

Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and revolutionary theory that illuminates the road of struggle for the people at each stage of social development and at each stage of the revolution and, accordingly, it also serves us as the lodestar in carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution in Korea today. Therefore, the question can never arise that our Party should give up Marxism-Leninism as its guiding theory because it has become the mass-based Workers' Party or that the communists should forsake Marxism-Leninism because they have become members of the Workers' Party.

Only if we communists become more faithful to the principles of

Marxism-Leninism and arm ourselves more closely with Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory, can we successfully fulfil the tasks of the present historical stage which we must inevitably go through in the struggle to attain our ultimate goal.

As pointed out above, the former is a “Leftist” tendency and the latter a Rightist one. We must reject both of these tendencies and follow the correct line as required by the Party and by Marxism-Leninism.

Second, the building of a powerful mass-based party through the amalgamation of the two parties has revealed that a narrow-minded, exclusionist tendency still exists among some comrades. This is due to their lack of a clear understanding of the significance and fundamental purpose of the merger of the two parties.

The Workers’ Party, representing and defending as it does the interests of the broad masses of the labouring people, aims to build a rich and strong, independent democratic state capable of assuring democratic freedom to the working masses of Korea and democratic advance of the country. The fact that we have such a mass-based political party means that we are in a position to lead the broad labouring masses better and unite them more firmly. Only when they are organized and mobilized, can democracy triumph and the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea be won at the earliest possible date.

We must therefore overcome all hidebound sectarian, parochial viewpoints and all manner of exclusionist tendencies and strive to strengthen and develop our newly-established Workers’ Party in every way and to rally the broad masses around it. We should subordinate everything to the struggle for democracy and national independence.

Third, some acts which weaken the work of the united front have been revealed since the founding of the Workers’ Party. These also reflect a wrong tendency.

The stronger our Party grows, the more modest it should be in relations with the friendly parties, the more open-mindedly it should

cooperate with them and the closer relations it should maintain with them in the building of democracy.

Certain local Party organizations try to boss the show in the work of the organs of the people's power and in other work, adopting the arrogant attitude that the Workers' Party is almighty. This is a wrong tendency. Today we cannot tolerate any acts which weaken or undermine the united front.

Last, it is said that there are individuals who claim that the merger of the two parties is temporary and that the Party will certainly split some day. This is a groundless slander spread by reactionary elements who allege that the merger is a communist trick, and to spread such a calumny is a hostile act born of the intrigue to disrupt our Party.

Today our Party unites the broad masses of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, and this is not a temporary policy but a permanent one and, accordingly, the amalgamation of the parties will be eternal.

We should realize that the status of our working people has changed fundamentally as a result of the introduction of the democratic reforms in north Korea after liberation. Our peasants have been freed from feudal exploitation once and for all. Their living conditions are improved, their cultural standards are raised and their thinking, too, is undergoing a change. They took an active part in carrying out the democratic reforms, including the agrarian reform, and are displaying high patriotic zeal in the building of democracy. The north Korean peasants of today are neither the peasants of the days of Japanese imperialism nor the peasants of the feudal age. Now our peasantry plays a great role in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and, together with the working class, it makes up the main unit of the patriotic, democratic forces.

The same can be said of the intelligentsia. Formerly, the intellectuals served Japanese imperialism and the bourgeoisie, but now the vast majority in north Korea are working for the good of the people, particularly for the good of the labouring masses. In only a little over one year since liberation, our scientists, technicians,

teachers, physicians, writers and artists have done a great deal in the building of democracy. They actively participated in putting into effect the democratic reforms such as the agrarian reform, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality and the nationalization of industries, and are struggling devotedly to strengthen the people's power, rehabilitate industry and develop educational and cultural work.

What does this show? It shows that intellectuals in north Korea have quit their old position where they served the Japanese imperialists and propertied classes and have changed or are changing to become intellectuals of the people serving their country and people.

Hence, it is reasonable that the staunchest, most politically conscious and most advanced individuals from among not the workers alone but from all the labouring masses, that is, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, can be admitted to our Workers' Party.

As the movement towards democracy in our country progresses and our society advances to a higher stage, the social and economic position of our workers, peasants and intellectuals will change further, their political level, too, will rise still higher, and their interests will be identified more closely with one another. Thus, the unity of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals will be strengthened and, accordingly, the merger of the two parties will become further consolidated.

As is clear from this, the allegation that the merger of the two parties is temporary or that the Party will split in the future is completely baseless. We must clearly understand that it is merely a slander put out by reactionary elements as part of their design to wreck the cohesion of our labouring masses and the unity of our Party.

In dwelling upon the results of the work of merging the parties at this meeting of activists, I want to put the following tasks before you:

First, I especially stress the need for you to make a profound study of all documents of the Inaugural Congress of our Party in relation with your practical life and faithfully carry out the tasks set forth at

the congress. A decision, however good, which is not carried into effect, is useless.

Second, the greatest effort should be made to get the entire Party membership to understand the character and aims of the Workers' Party and its Programme and not only to expand the Party quantitatively but also to consolidate it qualitatively.

To this end, the Information Department of the Party should not concentrate only on information work designed for the masses at large, but should direct their primary concern to ideological education within the Party so as to raise the political and ideological level of the membership and increase the fighting efficiency of the Party before anything else. This will make every Party member sufficiently able to lead the masses and become a core element among them, and to become a pacemaker for the masses, capable of uniting, organizing and educating them.

Third, Party members should have a clear theoretical understanding of the significance of the Democratic National United Front and play the vanguard role in expanding and strengthening the united front.

We should always maintain close relations with the friendly parties and public organizations, correctly organize people from all walks of life in the common struggle to build democracy, and never compromise with anything that might impair the united front. At the same time, in the united front work our Party should by no means lose its identity but should always play the leading part and categorically reject **tailist** tendencies.

Fourth, all Party members should fight stubbornly to overcome Rightist and "Leftist" deviations, execute the Party's line correctly and strengthen ideological unity within its ranks.

We should energetically wage principled day-to-day ideological struggle among the Party members in order to expose and crush all sectarian and splinter-group activities and the anti-Party tendency of supporting the Party outwardly while betraying it behind its back and to prevent hostile ideas of any kind from penetrating the Party.

Fifth, we should greatly heighten revolutionary vigilance, lay bare before the masses the intrigues and subversive activities of the reactionary elements and enlist the united strength of the broad masses in a mass struggle against those elements.

At present, the desperate manoeuvrings of the US reactionaries and their lackeys, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, in south Korea become more glaring every day.

The *Haebang Ilbo*, the organ of the Communist Party of South Korea, was closed down there long ago, and on September 6, democratic papers such as the *Joson Inminbo*, *Hyondae Ilbo*, and *Jungang Sinmun* were also forced out of existence. It is quite evident that these acts are committed by reactionary elements who, frightened by the victorious founding of the Workers' Party of North Korea, are seeking to block the formation of a workers' party in south Korea and to prevent Korea from attaining independence and sovereignty.

The intrigues of the reactionary elements in south Korea are indeed outrageous. According to absurd reports in the reactionary papers *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Taedong Sinmun* and *Hansong Ilbo* on September 6, more than 5 000 students in Pyongyang raided Soviet Army Headquarters on August 29, National Humiliation Day, and over 2 000 students were killed or wounded in a clash with Soviet troops.

Comrades, who killed and wounded Korean people? None other than reactionary elements! They spilled the blood of south Korean people as they were going to celebrate the anniversary of the August 15 liberation, by showering shells and bullets upon them from planes, guns and rifles! Upset to see that the north Korean people were indignant at the atrocious murder case in Kwangju, those elements concocted these false reports.

We should not relax our vigilance against the reactionary elements even for a moment. They exist not only in south Korea but also in north Korea. We must smash these reactionary forces by relying on the strength of the masses of the people, the united democratic forces,

and give the greatest material and moral support to the south Korean people.

Last, I want to lay the main emphasis on the question of consolidating the people's committee. Doing this by no means implies that Workers' Party members should monopolize its work. We, Workers' Party members, should support the people's committee more actively than anybody else, unite the broad masses around it and be exemplary in carrying out all its decisions.

Let us hold high the banner of the Workers' Party of North Korea which has taken its glorious first step by fusing the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party, rally all the patriotic, democratic forces and march forward vigorously to bring about the complete independence and sovereignty of the country and new victories for democracy.

Long live the Workers' Party of North Korea!

For the early formation of the Workers' Party of South Korea!

Long live the Democratic National United Front!

Long live the complete independence of democratic Korea!

**BE COMPETENT WORKERS
DEDICATED TO THE BUILDING
OF A DEMOCRATIC STATE**

**Speech at the Opening Ceremony
of Kim Il Sung University**

September 15, 1946

Dear teaching staff and students,

Availing myself of this opening ceremony of the first university in our country, which is to train competent workers for the nation and the state, I heartily congratulate all the teaching staff and students.

Brothers and sisters,

The founding of this university is a matter of honour to our nation and state and a great event marking a brilliant page in our history.

In the past, under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the Korean people had not a single primary school of their own, not to speak of a college. Although freed from the rule of imperialist Japan they are still unable to wipe out illiteracy and are backward in culture and technology. Under the evil rule our national culture, art and science were completely suppressed and there were no cadres of our own.

Today the Korean people are masters of the country and have nationalized all the key industries, but they are coming up against difficulties in running the state and industries by themselves. Therefore, an important task facing us today is to quickly shake off our backwardness and raise our standards of culture, science and

technology. Otherwise, our country will become an imperialist colony again and our people will be doomed to become homeless just as they were under Japanese imperialist rule.

Brothers and sisters,

If we are to revive our nation and transform the country into an independent democratic state, we must have our own men of culture, artists, scientists and technicians. In other words, we need cadres who are able to advance all spheres of the country's politics, the economy and culture.

We are very short of these cadres and the number and qualities of the ones we do have are not equal to the challenge of the tasks ahead. That is why we are now opening this university to train the cadres needed by liberated Korea. The state and the people place great hopes in this university. I firmly believe and sincerely hope that you will carry out the work ahead of you successfully, to meet the expectations of the country and the people.

I wish you to be competent workers who serve the people, who are dedicated to the building of a democratic country, and equipped with a wealth of advanced science and knowledge capable of transforming Korea, backward in technology and culture, into a highly civilized and developed country.

You must not lose sight even for a moment of the importance and seriousness of your task and the great hopes the country and the people place in you.

The Korean people must quickly develop politically and ideologically. We still have many survivals of the outdated evil ideas spread by Japanese imperialism for 36 years. In and out of the campus you should uproot the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism.

You should steadily temper yourselves and study hard to become competent cadres of the new, democratic Korea who are infinitely loyal to the country and the people and firmly equipped with advanced science and technology.

LET US EXPOSE AND SMASH THE REACTIONARY MANOEUVRES OF THE US IMPERIALISTS

**Concluding Speech at the Sixth Meeting
of the Central Committee of the Democratic
National United Front of North Korea**

September 18, 1946

Concerning the reactionary policy of the US military government in south Korea, a report has been presented and speeches made at today's meeting, so I would like only to make a few remarks on what attitude the Korean people should adopt towards the United States.

The Korean people advocate maintaining friendship with those countries which respect the interests of our nation and support the democratic independence and sovereignty of Korea, but they reject and cannot but resist those which encroach upon their interests and hinder the democratic independence and sovereignty of Korea, and attempt to colonize it. The Korean people's attitude to the United States depends entirely on the attitude of the United States towards our country. If the United States pursues a friendly policy towards our country, our people will become friendly to it. But, since it harbours an ambition to colonize Korea and follows a reactionary policy as we see today, it is the enemy of our nation and, accordingly, the Korean people should fight against US imperialism.

When the US troops first landed in south Korea right after liberation, we regarded this as ominous and placed no hopes in them.

Although we were aware of the aggressive nature of the United States long ago, we saw no immediate need to oppose the US military government openly because it said it would support the independence of Korea even in words.

But, under the present circumstances when the aggressive nature of the US imperialists has been unmasked in south Korea, we can no longer refrain from opposing them.

Today the US troops are carrying out the most reactionary policy in south Korea. As soon as they set foot in south Korea, they declared military government and dissolved the people's committees formed on the initiative of the people and did everything in their power to prevent the democratic advance of the patriotic people. The US military government is ganging up with pro-Japanese and pro-US elements and traitors who betrayed their country and people to turn them into its faithful stooges, and is allowing the reactionaries to swagger about as they please and to perpetrate all kinds of atrocities against the people. Now in south Korea the US troops are ruthlessly trampling upon the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the people such as the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief, and are arresting, imprisoning and slaughtering patriots and other people at random. Moreover, the US imperialists are taking over as "enemy property" all the factories, mines and other industrial establishments which should justly belong to the Korean people and lording it over them.

All this shows that the US imperialists are indulging in every possible machination to make our country their colony.

We cannot tolerate their barbarities in south Korea any longer. All the Korean people should be on the alert and launch a resolute struggle against them.

As you all know, the policy of a state is not immutable. The state should formulate its policy in conformity with the time and circumstances. The present situation demands that we fight actively against the US military government. Since the US imperialist moves to convert our country into a colony are becoming more apparent, our

people will again find themselves in a wretched plight as a ruined nation, far from building a fully independent and sovereign state, if they do not resist the US military government. The thirty million Korean people would rather die in battle than become the slaves of the US imperialists.

To fight against the US military government does not hinder the solution of the Korean question but, rather, it creates favourable conditions for it. An energetic struggle against the US military government is essential to awaken the masses of the people, strengthen the democratic forces and accelerate the democratic development of our country and the building of a fully independent and sovereign state.

Emphasis should be put on exposing and condemning the barbarities of the US imperialists. All the people should be clearly informed of their aggressive nature and all the crimes committed by the US military government in south Korea. Mass meetings should be held to oppose and denounce the reactionary plots of the US military government and to reveal to the whole world every atrocity the US imperialists commit in south Korea. Public opinion should thus be aroused throughout Korea and, further, all over the world. We should strengthen the work of exposing and condemning the US imperialists' barbaric crimes so that all the people come out in the struggle against them and the broad progressive people of the world give active support to the just struggle of our people to achieve their complete national independence and sovereignty.

We should send the US military government authorities letters of protest against the outrages of the US imperialists. We should make strong demands once again that power be transferred to the Korean people, that patriots be released from prison and that an agrarian reform law, labour law and law on sex equality be put into effect in south Korea immediately and that all industrial establishments including factories, mines, railways, communications and banks be handed over to our people. If the US imperialists do not accept these demands, we will fight to the last. If the USSR-US Joint Commission resumes its meeting and we attend it, we will also make a protest there against the US

imperialists and will continue to condemn them in the future, too.

In order to check and frustrate the reactionary manoeuvres of the US imperialists, it is most important to encourage the south Korean people to launch an active struggle. How can we sit idle at a time when the US imperialists are slaughtering the patriots in south Korea, taking away factories and land, the fruits of our people's sweat and blood, and preventing us from building an independent and sovereign democratic state? Workers, peasants and the rest of the people in south Korea will have to display more courage in combating the US military government. The democratic forces should be strengthened for a vigorous struggle against the US military government and the successful building of a new, democratic Korea. The enemies are now making every attempt to weaken our democratic forces. We should sharpen revolutionary vigilance and redouble our efforts to win over the broad masses of the people and build up the democratic forces.

What is important in strengthening the democratic forces is to build up democratic political parties and public organizations well and consolidate the Democratic National United Front. These parties and public organizations should make vigorous efforts to sweep away the alien elements from their ranks, strengthen their organizations and firmly unite all patriotic, democratic forces in the DNUF. Thus, all the people should unite efforts to intensify the struggle against the US imperialist barbarities in south Korea and expedite the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Building up a solid democratic base in north Korea is a decisive guarantee of success in nation building. Only when the democratic base is firmly built, can we frustrate all the machinations of the US imperialists and their lackeys in good time and accelerate the establishment of a unified government, thereby achieving full democratic independence and sovereignty. The political parties and public organizations should strive to lay the foundation for building a fully independent, sovereign and democratic state in north Korea, while further consolidating the successes already achieved in the building of a new country.

ON ELECTIONS TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

**Report to the Second Meeting of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

September 25, 1946

Comrades,

On September 5 the Second Enlarged Meeting of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea adopted the regulations on elections to the people's committees, along with the regulations relating to the provincial, city, county, sub-county and ri people's committees. It has been decided to hold elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees in all areas of north Korea simultaneously on November 3 in accordance with these historic regulations on elections. We should be well aware of the significance and progressive content of the elections and exert all efforts to make them a success.

1. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Comrades,

The democratic elections in our country will be another

outstanding victory in the fulfilment of democratic tasks and an immortal monument adding a new page to Korea's 5 000-year history. The democratic elections in our country will be the first great event of this kind in Korean history and, at the same time, an event of really worldwide historic significance which will have a pioneering influence on colonies and semi-colonies in the East.

So far the Korean people have held no elections at all. Our country has a 5 000-year-long history, but our people have had no opportunity of participating in government and expressing their will freely.

In the past Korea's corrupt feudal ruling classes mercilessly repressed and trampled upon the people's will and, by so doing, they turned our people into an ignorant people whom they could exploit and dominate as they pleased. To cap it all, for 36 years in the past when deprived of their country by the predatory Japanese imperialists, the Korean people were completely excluded from politics, denied elementary political rights and freedoms, and lived literally like prisoners, owing to the Japanese imperialists' barbaric colonial enslavement policy unparalleled anywhere in the world.

Today our people whose human rights were trampled on and who were deprived of liberties in this way, have become masters of government and are in a position to participate in the democratic elections which allow everyone to freely express his will. Through the coming elections the Korean people will be able to exercise genuine political rights and freedoms in practice and to enjoy a decent human life and happiness as masters of the country.

From their own bitter experience in the past, our people fully know how miserable and humiliating is the position of people without political rights and freedoms. The genuine rights and freedoms of people are guaranteed only when they have the right to elect and to be elected, which enables them to participate in politics. The forthcoming democratic elections afford tangible proof that the north Korean people have come for the first time to enjoy genuine rights and freedoms and lead a life worthy of human beings.

Comrades,

Our people liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule put it forward as their immediate basic task to build a unified, completely independent and sovereign democratic state by smashing all the reactionary forces at home and abroad and achieving the firm unity of the broad democratic forces and, further, to join the ranks of those championing the cause of world peace and democratic progress. When our people who have been striving to carry out this basic task look back on the course leading up to the historic democratic elections in north Korea, they cannot but be proud of the achievements gained in the past period.

By forming people's committees in all provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties on the people's initiative only two or three months after liberation, we straightened out the confusion and difficulties immediately after liberation and established a new order, thus demonstrating to the world our nation's ability of self-government. In north Korea democratic political parties and public organizations were formed and strengthened with each passing day, and the work of uniting the broad masses was carried out vigorously. By uniting all the patriotic, democratic forces, we established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea on the rock-like basis of the Democratic National United Front. In carrying out the agrarian reform and enforcing the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, the law on nationalization of industries and the system of agricultural tax in kind, the PPCNK has clearly shown that it is a genuine organ of people's power representing and defending the people's interests.

We are now in a position to hold democratic elections because the PPCNK has creditably fulfilled the democratic tasks assigned it as a genuine people's government. Through our people's struggle after liberation the ground for colonial and feudal exploitation has been removed and a great social and economic change effected in north Korea. This social and economic progress in north Korea has provided the basis for holding truly democratic elections.

Through the coming elections our people can send their trustworthy representatives to the people's committees and thus

strengthen and develop the PPCNK to be a more solid people's government that fully represents the true wishes of the people.

A government will only have the wholehearted support of all the people when it has been established by people-oriented free elections, and that government will only be strong when all the people support it wholeheartedly. And a government elected and supported by all the people will serve the people faithfully for sure. When a people's committee consists of representatives elected directly by the masses of the people, instead of being set up by a few people, the people will participate in the administration of the state through those representatives and the people's committee will be the "home" of all the people.

The coming election campaign will provide a substantial democratic education to all the people. Even those who so far have had only a faint idea of democracy will come to have a real taste of true democracy through the elections and all the people will come to know through personal experience what a good thing democracy is.

The essential requirement of democracy is that the masses of the people seize and exercise state power. With the participation of all citizens of north Korea in the coming elections, our people's government which was established on the initiative of the people and has served their interests, will have a complete legal foundation and the essential requirement of democracy will be fully met.

Our government provides the people with all conditions for exercising democratic rights and freedoms not in words but in practice. Only when the people have democratic rights and freedoms and enjoy happiness in everyday life, will they take an active part in the work to achieve full independence of Korea and to build a democratic state.

The country's reunification and complete independence necessitate the strengthening of the people's government in north Korea. This is a short cut to establishing a unified, democratic all-Korea government. Because if the people's committee, the genuine people's government organ which the people have elected directly

and are supporting, is strengthened further still in north Korea, the democratic forces of north Korea will become more powerful and serve as a driving force to step up the democratic development of south Korea. The strengthening of the people's government in north Korea will inspire the broad masses of the people in south Korea more vigorously to rise up in opposition to the reactionary US military government that has taken over the evil governor-general-type administration of Japanese imperialism and is maintaining the anti-democratic setup of county magistrates and provincial governors, and to get all state power transferred to the people's committee, the organ of people's government.

The people's government bodies in north Korea will be strengthened greatly through the forthcoming elections and the consolidated people's committees will demonstrate the united might of the democratic forces widely at home and abroad, and thus hasten the settlement of the Korean question.

2. THE PROGRESSIVE CONTENT OF OUR ELECTION SYSTEM

Comrades,

The election system we are going to apply this time in north Korea is a most excellent, democratic one.

First, the main feature of our election system is that the election campaign will be conducted on the basis of the Democratic National United Front.

For achieving Korea's complete independence and sovereignty on democratic lines, which is our immediate basic task, we should closely unite all the patriotic, democratic forces and form a strong democratic national united front. Our election system reflects this actual and specific requirement of our country.

In north Korea the broad Democratic National United Front has already been formed and, in support of the people's committees, is actively pushing ahead with the building of democracy. In the coming elections all the democratic political parties and public organizations affiliated with the DNUF will play the leading role. In addition to the members of political parties, independent personalities will also take an active part in the election campaign.

The DNUF will jointly discuss and decide on the candidates to stand as people's committee members and nominate them jointly. The joint candidature system is made possible only by subordinating the interests of individuals to those of the parties and the interests of the parties to those of the whole nation. Only when we have the spirit of subordinating everything to the national interests will we be able to enhance the leading role of the DNUF in the elections and further strengthen it through the elections.

Second, another main feature of the forthcoming elections is that they will be conducted on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

To elect on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot is the most progressive and democratic system of election demanded earnestly by all the people.

Universal suffrage means that all citizens of north Korea will go to the polls with the right to elect and be elected. All citizens over the age of 20, except pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, insane persons and those who have been deprived of citizenship by a judicial decision, can participate in the elections, irrespective of sex, property status, religious belief, education and length of residence. Equal suffrage means that all persons without distinction can equally exercise their franchise, each having a vote. Direct suffrage, unlike indirect elections in which someone is elected to vote and cast his ballot on behalf of the electors, means that each elector votes directly for a candidate standing for the people's committee. And secret ballot means that the election is carried out by secret voting so that the electors can express their will freely.

Such a progressive democratic electoral system has no parallel in capitalist countries. In the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries, universal and equal suffrage is talked about a good deal, but, in practice, universal suffrage is not guaranteed owing to legal restrictions with regard to property status, education, length of residence and so on, and equal suffrage, too, is a mere formality. In those countries elections are held in conditions of race discrimination, class antagonism and harsh oppression by the reactionary rulers including the capitalists and landlords. There can be no true equality in elections between the capitalists who have all the material and spiritual wealth and the workers who have nothing but their bare hands or between the landlords and the peasants. In the capitalist countries the meeting halls, printing shops, printing paper and the like are not available to the working masses and, accordingly, freedom of speech, the press and assembly is but empty talk. It goes without saying that elections under such conditions cannot possibly be democratic.

Third, complete exclusion of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation is a characteristic of the elections.

The exclusion of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation from the elections is aimed at eliminating the reactionary forces that constitute the biggest obstacle to the country's independence and sovereignty and democratic progress, and at opening up the highway to nation building. Their elimination is a prerequisite for the building of a fully independent and sovereign democratic state.

The coming elections are a sacred and lofty national event for the country's complete independence and the building of democracy. Through the elections we should check up on the composition of our population and purge the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, thus preventing alien elements from making inroads into the people's committees. This is an essential condition not only for guaranteeing the sacred significance of our elections but for strengthening the people's government.

The pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation sold out our people in the past and today, too, are trying desperately to sell them

out to the imperialists. Only when those quislings are excluded from the democratic elections and eliminated from the ranks of our people, can the purity of these ranks be ensured and the Korean nation be made to flourish.

Fourth, it is a characteristic of the coming elections that due consideration is being given to making it convenient for the people to cast their vote.

In the regulations on the elections serious consideration is given especially to the fact that the Korean people have had no experience of elections and are lacking in political training and that there are many illiterates among them. We have made sure that in the coming elections every convenience will be afforded to electors who are unable to vote because they are illiterate or crippled, or because they find it difficult to go to the polls due to illness or old age. Further, a sub-constituency will be set up for 500-1 000 inhabitants and, if circumstances require, for even 50 inhabitants. And in order even to enable all in-patients to vote, special arrangements have been made to set up a sub-constituency in each hospital with 25 electors. All these measures show most strikingly that the coming elections are truly democratic elections for the people.

3. ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND TASKS OF PARTY MEMBERS

Comrades,

In connection with the democratic elections taking place on November 3, which have no precedent in Korean history, our Party's task is to make every effort to bring the historic elections to a victorious conclusion. In the light of its position in the DNUF, our Party is charged with the heavy responsibility of successfully carrying out the forthcoming elections.

Prior to the historic democratic elections, therefore, our Party has set its members the following tasks.

First, Party members should themselves have a correct understanding of the elections and vigorously conduct the information campaign for the elections.

The election information work should always be with all the people. Party members should explain concretely to all the people the significance of the elections and the progressive nature of our election system. Thus they must ensure that no one abstains from voting.

Second, through the election campaign they should educate the masses to have a deep understanding of the PPCNK.

The masses of the people should be made to clearly understand that the way to hasten the establishment of a unified, democratic government and ensure the country's democratic progress is by strengthening the PPCNK. Thus all the people should be encouraged to give strong support to the PPCNK and strive for its further strengthening.

Third, they should make every effort to ensure that true workers in the service of the people be elected to the people's committees.

Our Party should pay special attention to nominating candidates to stand for members of the people's committees properly. Party members should go among the broad masses of the people and explain carefully the need to elect good people, so that able workers who can devote themselves to the country and the people will be elected to the people's committees.

Fourth, through the election campaign they should further strengthen the DNUF and enhance our Party's influence on friendly parties. At the same time, they should make every effort to show the broad masses of the people that our Party is active and exemplary and to enhance the prestige of our Party.

Fifth, they should skilfully conduct the work of defining pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

This problem should never be handled carelessly, and a close investigation and detailed analysis should be made before forming a

correct judgement. The regulations on pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation should not be interpreted mechanically or applied indiscriminately. When you are going to judge whether or not people are pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, you must take account of each person's specific conditions while acting strictly according to the regulations. As for those who deeply repent of their mistakes and devote themselves with enthusiasm to nation building, they should be treated leniently.

Sixth, taking advantage of the election campaign, they should educate the masses extensively in democracy.

Education in democracy should always be conducted in close combination with state affairs. In particular, education should be associated with the work of paying agricultural tax in kind, so that a vigorous drive is made to gather in the autumn harvest successfully.

By associating closely with the masses, Party members should educate them effectively, learn from them and rally them firmly around the Party.

Seventh, they should look out for the plots of the reactionaries who are seeking to obstruct the elections, giving them no chance to infiltrate.

All the Party organizations and members should enlist the masses actively in the struggle to ensure victory in the democratic elections and to strengthen the people's government bodies, thus expediting our building of a fully independent and sovereign democratic state.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF NORTH KOREA AND THE QUESTION OF FOUNDING THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SOUTH KOREA

September 26, 1946

The founding of the Workers' Party, which represents and defends the interests of the labouring masses of Korea, through the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, is the greatest event in the political life of our people at the present time. This event has aroused profound public interest, and the attention of all the people has been focused on it.

We have triumphantly completed the establishment in north Korea of a unified party of the labouring masses.

In south Korea, however, the activities of those who are sincerely striving to bring about a merger of the parties are obstructed and the merger has not yet taken place owing to the divisive activities of those who are opposed to the merger and unity. These divisive activities are supported by the reactionary Right-wing camp.

As was to be expected, the reactionary forces have gone all out to frustrate the merger of the democratic political parties of the working people. US imperialism and its lackeys smuggled their spies into these parties to rig up so-called opposition groups and cause unprincipled disputes and factional strife in an attempt to split the democratic forces.

The criminal activities of the factionalists have wasted most precious time for the liberation movement and created favourable conditions for the reactionary forces. This is the basic cause of the delay in the merger of the parties in south Korea.

We cannot on any account overlook the fact that the merging of the parties is retarded in south Korea nor can we tolerate the double-dealing of the factionalists. For only the unity and cohesion of the democratic forces throughout Korea is the prerequisite for building a new, genuinely democratic Korea and constitutes the most important guarantee for the political, economic and cultural development of our country.

We can attain victory only if we have a correct understanding and make a politically correct assessment of this matter. To do this we must correctly understand the following questions:

(1) What has happened in north and south Korea in the year since the Korean people were liberated from Japanese imperialist slavery, and how do they differ?

(2) Why is it that the merging of the political parties of the working people into a single party, the Workers' Party, and the unity of all the working people are the most important, inevitable and urgent tasks in the political life of our country at the present stage?

What are the tasks of the unified Workers' Party?

(3) What do the opponents of unity want and where are they trying to lead the Korean people?

(4) What, in the final analysis, are the immediate tasks at the present stage?

1

One year has already passed since Korea was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Great changes have taken place

in the political, economic and cultural life in north Korea in this short span of time.

In the past year we have laid a solid foundation for developing Korea along truly democratic lines and building a people's republic, by carrying out great democratic reforms.

Our people, who took power into their own hands, have come to enjoy democratic rights and liberties never known at any period in the history of our country. This can be seen from the fact that all the people are taking an active part in the political life, and it is also graphically shown in the social composition of the people's committees.

The composition of the people's committee membership in north Korea is as follows:

Shop-floor workers.....	5.7 %
Peasants.....	71.8 %
Office workers.....	15.8 %
Handicraftsmen.....	2.1 %
Tradesmen.....	4.6 %

Incorporating representatives of the broad masses, the people's committees maintain close ties with them and strive to guard their interests. All the policies and activities of the people's committees are aimed, first of all, at the democratic advance of our country and at enhancing the well-being of the broad masses.

In carrying out its policies, the people's committee relies on the firm unity and the democratic united front of all the political parties and public organizations. The united front embraces more than six million people from all walks of life, that is, nearly all the adult population of north Korea.

Before long the people in north Korea are going to elect people's committee members in accordance with the democratic election law. The forthcoming elections will serve to further strengthen our people's power and the democratic forces united around it.

The people's committees are based on the strength of the broad masses of the people. They have enhanced the political zeal of all the people in north Korea and inspired them to take an active part in building a new, democratic Korea.

In March this year, the agrarian reform was already carried out in the rural areas of north Korea, bringing about a radical change in the relations of production. This dealt a decisive blow to the landlords, the most reactionary class in Korea, by wiping out their economic base. The peasants were freed from feudal exploitation and oppression and became the masters of the land, so realizing their centuries-old aspiration. The peasants now not only work their own land, which was distributed free by the people's committee, but have also got rid of the system of exorbitant forced delivery of farm produce plus all kinds of exacting taxes and levies extorted from them in the years of Japanese imperialism. They have become free to dispose of their farm produce after delivering only 25 per cent of the harvest as tax in kind. As a result, their zeal for production has risen as never before and our agriculture which was long stagnant has begun to make rapid progress.

Last August the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea promulgated a law nationalizing industry, transport, communications and banks which had been owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. With this we have brought under national ownership, ownership of all the people, the backbone of the economy which constitutes the material base for building a fully independent and democratic state.

In June this year, the PPCNK promulgated the Labour Law, freeing factory and office workers from harsh, colonial-type exploitation and introducing the eight-hour working day and a social insurance system. In addition, a law was passed to guarantee women social rights equal to those of men for the first time in the history of our country.

Besides, the PPCNK abolished the former slave-type colonial education, established a democratic educational system and took

measures for the rapid rehabilitation and development of our national culture.

Last year there were 2 387 primary schools and 91 middle schools, and 126 middle schools have been built this year. These figures show that the number of schools has increased by far as against the years of Japanese imperialist rule. Moreover, a people's university was built in only a year after liberation and now a teachers training college and a medical college are being established, whereas there was not a single university in north Korea under Japanese imperialist rule. Thirty specialized technical schools are under construction around the major factories. In all schools lessons are given in Korean and over 50 different textbooks have already been compiled and published in our language.

Over 8 000 adult schools were opened last year to eliminate illiteracy among persons beyond school age and provide them with general education. In addition, we have set up 83 theatres and cinemas, 717 libraries, and now publish more than 30 newspapers in north Korea.

The people's committees have done a great deal of work to improve the material and cultural life of the people and to ensure their political rights. In north Korea the democratic political parties and such public organizations as the trade unions, the Peasants Union, the Youth League, the Women's Union and the Arts Federation have been organized, with the result that the masses participate freely in the political life. The people are assured all political rights and complete freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association.

With the great democratic reforms a radical change took place in the socio-economic base and the positions of all classes and strata in north Korea.

The enforcement of the law on nationalization of industries wiped out the foundations of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and deprived the traitors to the nation who had collaborated with Japanese imperialism of their economic foothold. The landlords whose land was confiscated were liquidated as a class once and for all. Thus, all

the forces that, hand in glove with Japanese imperialism, had oppressed and exploited the Korean people were deprived of their economic foothold and politically eliminated.

Meanwhile, the people's committees have protected the property of the non-comprador capitalists and encouraged the business activities of individual entrepreneurs and traders. They provide all the entrepreneurs and traders who support the democratic reforms and are ready to contribute to the improvement of the people's livelihood with the possibility of having a share in the important branches of the economy, like industry and trade, and assist them in every way. In this way, we ensure that entrepreneurs and traders are free to carry on their business activities and, at the same time, enlist and utilize all available capital for the development of the national economy.

Our working class, formerly subjected to the most barbaric exploitation under Japanese imperialist rule, now has the right to work at state enterprises which have come under the people's ownership and serves the people and society. The workers have won all rights and the possibility of taking part in state political life. Our working class constitutes the core of the democratic forces in north Korea, and its sense of organization and its politico-ideological level are rising rapidly.

Our peasants have also been freed from the feudal exploitation of the landlords and are able to work freely on the land which is now their own. They have become the masters of the land and are taking an active part in building an independent democratic state, and their political enthusiasm is running ever higher.

The position of the intelligentsia has also changed. The great majority are closely united with all the working people. Our intellectuals no longer serve Japanese imperialism and the exploiters as before, but are working most loyally for their state, the nation and the working people. They regard the interests of the state and the people as their own. This means that their views and ideas have changed and that they are resolved to work with all devotion for the country and the people.

All these changes have strengthened the political unity of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Their united strength is the basis of the Democratic National United Front in the struggle to build a new Korea. At the same time, it was the unshakable foundation of the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party into a unified party of the working masses.

The establishment of the Workers' Party through the merger of the two parties is of tremendous historic significance in expanding and strengthening the democratic forces and promoting the building of democracy in our country.

A political party is the advanced detachment of a certain class, defending its interests and fighting to meet its demands and aspirations. The Communist Party, as the advanced detachment of the working class, fought for the interests of the working class. The New Democratic Party defended primarily the interests of the peasants and the working intellectuals. Thus, the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party represented the interests of different classes; nevertheless, they fought under a common programme from the beginning. This can be explained by the fact that the workers, peasants and working intellectuals are all labouring masses and their interests are identical.

The working class gave active support and assistance in carrying out the agrarian reform. This is because they were fully aware that agriculture could be developed at a fast tempo only when the feudal tenant system was abolished and the peasants were freed from bondage to the landlords, and that without the development of agriculture, industry could not go ahead, the country could not prosper and develop, and the people's welfare could not improve.

The peasants actively supported the law on nationalization of industries and the Labour Law, for they knew that unless the economic foothold of Japanese colonial rule and the remnants of the cruel, colonial-type system of forced labour were removed, industry could not be developed and this, after all, would also prevent progress in agriculture.

Our intellectuals were also aware that the democratic reforms were fully in accord with their vital interests, and so participated in them with keen interest.

Thus, the common interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals determined the common goals and tasks of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party and furnished the basis for the common struggle of the two parties for the independence and democratization of the country. That is why the two parties, actively supporting the people's committee, waged a common struggle for carrying out the democratic reforms including the agrarian reform and the nationalization of industries.

Owing to these common features and interests the two parties have merged into a single party—the Workers' Party.

The greater the success of the democratic movement and the farther our society advances in the future, the closer the unity of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals will become and the stronger the unity and cohesion of the Workers' Party will grow. Thus, the founding of the Workers' Party marks an event of great historic and political significance in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the working people and further developing our country. The Workers' Party, as the vanguard of the labouring masses of Korea—the workers, peasants and working intellectuals—will lead all the people in achieving the complete independence and sovereignty of the country and the final victory of democracy.

Our Party, however, is not the one and only party existing in our country. From this arises the question of mutual relations with other parties and other classes.

Our Party actively supports the democratic demands of the Chondoist Chongu Party and closely cooperates with it in order to advance in step with it. The Chondoist Chongu Party, in spite of its religious character, can advance hand in hand with our Party for Korea's independence and democracy.

As for the Democratic Party which represents the interests of part of the intellectuals, traders and entrepreneurs, our Party will likewise

support its democratic programme. In order to bring about the rapid rehabilitation of the national economy, we encourage the business activities of the national capitalists and actively draw the traders and entrepreneurs into the building of democracy.

In this way, our Party has waged and is waging a common struggle in unity with all the democratic political parties. We must forge closer ties with members of the Chondoist Chongu Party and the Democratic Party and unite with them more firmly under the banner of democracy, thereby steadily expanding and strengthening the DNUF.

Our Party is now confronted with weighty and complex tasks. To carry them out successfully it is first necessary to consolidate the success of the merger of the parties and strengthen and develop our young Party organizationally and ideologically.

We must make the lines and strategic and tactical policies of the Party clear to all its members and arm them with scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and thoroughly revolutionary ideas. Thus, we must make each Party member a conscious revolutionary fighter who struggles with the greatest courage for the freedom and happiness of the people, and we must turn our Workers' Party into the steel-strong, core detachment of all the patriotic, democratic forces.

2

The situation in south Korea is fundamentally different from that in north Korea. There the US military government, having seized all power, oppresses the Korean people, and the introduction of democratic reforms is inconceivable.

Some people think that south Korea merely lags behind north Korea. This is an utterly wrong view, implying as it does that south Korea, too, is advancing along the road to democracy, only at a

slightly slower pace than north Korea. In reality, north Korea is advancing along the road to democracy, whereas south Korea is moving along an entirely different course.

The thing which distinguishes democracy from pseudo-democracy is whether the people can participate in state administration or not. The south Korean people, however, are denied the right to participate in government. They have not the slightest elementary democratic rights.

The people's committees set up by the south Korean people immediately after liberation were not recognized and, worse still, they were dissolved and their officials arrested and thrown into jail. The democratic parties, deprived of freedom of political action, are forced underground.

Of all democratic political parties it is the Communist Party that is waging the most determined struggle for the freedom and independence of the country and for the happiness of the working people. This is a hard fact admitted by all conscientious people in Korea. How have the US imperialists and their lackeys, who are obstructing the democratic independence and sovereignty of Korea, dealt with the Communist Party of South Korea? They have arrested, imprisoned and murdered large numbers of the leading cadres and members of the Communist Party and banned its organ the *Haebang Ilbo*. In order to lower the prestige of the Communist Party in the eyes of the masses of the people, the reactionaries have fabricated the so-called "forged-note case" and staged a farcical trial on it. They have framed the so-called "Right-Left collaboration" plot in an attempt to isolate the Communist Party.

Not only members of the Communist Party but also those of the People's Party and the New Democratic Party are suppressed and persecuted. The reactionaries persecuted Mr. Ryo Un Hyong, leader of the People's Party, and went so far as to try to strangle him with violence.

The reactionaries are acting barbarously—suspending democratic publications, arresting members of the democratic political parties in

large numbers, forming terrorist bands to murder patriots in the streets in broad daylight, and so on. Their terrorist acts grow more violent with every passing day and their suppression of the democratic forces becomes more and more outrageous.

The persecution of the working class, in particular, has reached extremes. Look at the massacre in Kwangju last August 15! With tanks, planes, machine guns and bayonets the Yankees attacked over 1 000 workers of the Hwasun Colliery who were marching towards the city of Kwangju to attend a mass meeting to mark the anniversary of August 15, killing one and wounding 109. What a cruel fact this is! Hundreds of such enemy atrocities have been sternly condemned by the whole nation. This is the so-called “democratic order” of the Syngman Rhee clique and the “humanitarian assistance” to Korea which the Americans are advertising so loudly.

The land problem has not been solved at all in south Korea. The peasants are subjected to merciless exploitation by the landlords and suffer from all kinds of exacting levies and the forced delivery of farm produce as in the Japanese imperialist years. The only change, if any, is the transfer of land owned by Japanese landlords to Korean squires, and the replacement of the Oriental Development Company of Japanese imperialism by the New Korea Company of US imperialism.

Far from having an enforced labour law, the workers are exploited more harshly than ever and are suffering from unemployment and hunger. The industrial establishments owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation, far from being nationalized, have been turned into means for the greedy pro-Japanese stooges and profiteers to line their pockets.

As for the women, far from being emancipated, they find themselves in an indescribably wretched plight.

All these facts thus irrefutably prove that what is happening in south Korea is totally different from developments in north Korea. A firm basis of democracy for the people has been laid in north Korea, whereas the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique with the undisguised

backing of the US military government is openly pursuing an anti-popular, anti-democratic policy in south Korea. They are scheming to set up a reactionary ruling machine which, while hanging out the signboard of “democracy,” actually aims at oppressing all the Korean people.

In this grave situation, the primary task of our nation and of all the working people is to unite and again unite.

What kind of unity, then, do we advocate? Though opinions differ, the unity we advocate is one based on the interests of the toiling masses, namely, the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. There can be genuine unity only when it is based on this correct principle.

In contrast to this, both the “Right-Left collaboration” pursued by the reactionary clique in south Korea under the manipulation of the US military government and “unity” with the traitorous Right-wing forces sought by the Rightist elements in the Left-wing camp are all anti-people “unity” detrimental to the interests of the labouring masses and all other people. Such “unity” only panders to the activities of the reactionary groups. We do not need “unity” of this kind.

Genuine democrats must wage an uncompromising struggle against the attempt to forge this kind of “unity.” For such “unity” will undermine the democratic forces, help the reactionaries and hamper the democratization of Korea.

The factionalists and anti-party elements who have sneaked into the democratic political parties are clamouring that the “unity” they are pleading for is for the good of the country and the people. But it is, to all intents and purposes, something which can only profit the enemy—which will break up the working masses and help the US imperialists and the traitorous clique.

We call for unity of the toiling masses that can meet the democratic demands of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. All democrats must wage a resolute struggle for genuine unity to safeguard the interests of the labouring masses.

The fact that the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party merged to form the Workers' Party in north Korea has given rise to a movement for a similar merger in south Korea. The initiator of this movement was the leadership of the People's Party. It proposed to the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party that the three parties merge to form one. Though more than a month has already passed since the proposal was put forward, the movement has failed to have any results as yet.

Broad sections of the labouring masses in south Korea are aware of the need for unity and are strongly demanding it. Many public organizations, for instance, have adopted resolutions calling for the unity of the parties of the working people. The resolutions adopted by the National Council of Trade Unions and the National Confederation of Peasants' Associations point out that the entire membership of the two organizations unreservedly support a merger. Besides, a joint statement of the Central Committee of the Culture and Art Federation, the National Women's Union, the Cooperative Committee, the Democratic Youth League and others strongly condemns those who are bent on divisive manoeuvres in opposition to unity and gives unqualified support to the merging of the three parties.

The officials at the lower levels in the Communist Party, the People's Party and the New Democratic Party and all their members have realized the need to merge the three parties and are working hard for an early merger.

The fact that the merger movement is developing on such a mass scale is of tremendous significance. It shows that the merging of the three parties is the most urgent question at the present stage and represents the unanimous demand of the broad masses. All democrats must heed this mass demand.

Meanwhile, a preparatory committee for the merger of the parties has been set up in south Korea, and it has drawn up and made public a draft programme for a merger. This is a democratic programme, a programme that is correct in principle. We give it our unreserved approval.

The question of a merger, however, has not yet been solved, and, considering the whole situation, its solution is likely to be much delayed. What is it that is obstructing the accomplishment of this important task?

It is the difficulties created by the hostile activities and subversive plots of the reactionaries who are supported and manipulated by the US military government. They are making every vicious attempt to frustrate the merger. They are brutally persecuting the leaders of the democratic Left-wing political parties and public organizations, and have wantonly suspended or banned progressive publications in south Korea.

Along with this, another main factor retarding the merger is the factional activity of the anti-party elements who are manoeuvring within the parties. An anti-Party group has appeared within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Korea. The six elements of this group insist that although they themselves agree to a merger, it has to be approved at a Party congress. They argue that a merger without the approval of the Party congress is a violation of the democratic principles of the Party. Upon what grounds do they charge that the democratic principles of the Party are being violated?

In north Korea the merger proceeded in general along the following course. A merger was first decided on by the Central Committee of the New Democratic Party and then by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. After that, the question was discussed and a merger was decided on at a joint enlarged meeting of the central committees of the two parties, and a draft Programme and Rules for the Workers' Party and a declaration on the merger were submitted to the lower organizations of both parties for discussion. Following these discussions, provincial, city and county Party conferences elected delegates to the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party. Thus, the merger of the two parties was finally decided on at the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party attended by delegates from both parties.

Do the anti-Party factionalists think that this way of solving the

question runs counter to democratic principles?

If the anti-Party group had truly close links with the masses and paid deep attention to their opinions, it would not have committed such a grave anti-Party mistake. If it is really conversant with democratic principles and respects them, why does it not pay heed to the demand of the Party members and the toiling masses who earnestly desire to fuse the parties without missing the chance and without delay, in the grave situation where reaction prevails in south Korea? This only goes to show that the factionalists have got too far out of touch with the masses. Therefore, their anti-Party activities amount, in the final analysis, to opposing a merger itself and helping the reactionaries in their divisive manoeuvres, whether by design or not.

These activities on the part of the anti-Party group are no doubt due to sheer position-seeking. And position-seeking helps the reactionaries and disrupts the parties of the labouring masses from within. So the expulsion of the anti-Party elements by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Korea was a correct measure. Otherwise, the revolutionary ranks would be torn asunder.

Similar anti-party elements are to be found within the People's Party and the New Democratic Party as well. The factionalists in these parties, like attracting like, have gone to the extent of scheming to cook up a separate "Workers' Party."

But no matter how viciously the factionalists might try by means of sophistry, tricks and schemes, the party which they are seeking to organize could never be a militant party of the labouring masses but would inevitably compromise with the reactionary Right-wing elements and traitors.

It is said that the factionalists have even drawn up a programme for "unity" and one for organizing a "Workers' Party." But no matter how much they might embellish their programmes, the anti-Party elements cannot conceal the fact that they are helping the reactionaries and only pursuing their own dirty ends.

The factionalists have perhaps forgotten that separatists making up

a minority that acts in an unprincipled way against the majority will eventually go over to the side of the traitors to the nation and the enemies of the people. Moreover, some members of the democratic parties are standing in the way of a merger because they do not have a principled, correct understanding of the need for it. For instance, some elements maintain that a merger at present would be momentary and temporary. What sort of temporariness are they talking about? Theirs is quite a wrong view.

A party, whatever party it may be, cannot hope for eternal existence. This is because a party is not a party for its own sake, but a weapon necessary for achieving the aims of a certain class.

It is clear to everybody that the Communist Party, the People's Party and the New Democratic Party are parties of the working people with common aims. What are the aims which the labouring masses of Korea are struggling for today? They are to establish a unified, democratic provisional government in Korea at an early date, effect thoroughgoing democratic reforms in south Korea as in north Korea, expand and consolidate the democratic victories already gained, and build a rich and strong, fully independent and sovereign democratic state that is demanded by the Korean people. Even after winning victory in this battle, our working people must all join in a struggle for a better future. This historic cause of the Korean workers, peasants and working intellectuals and their common interests determine the common tasks of the parties of the labouring masses, provide the possibility and give rise to the need for their merging and for unity. This being the case, how can it be said that a merger of the parties of the working people could be momentary and temporary?

Certain people say that unity is impossible because of the difference between the programmes of the parties.

If that is the case, we may ask, does the Programme of the People's Party tally with those of the reactionary Right-wing parties? No. The Programme of the People's Party is poles apart from those of the reactionary Right-wing parties and contrasts fundamentally with them. What then does it mean when certain elements, shoving aside

the question of merging the parties of the labouring masses, insist on the so-called “Right-Left collaboration” and go so far as to hold consultations on this? What can their idea be when they say it is impossible to merge the democratic parties which have programmes in common, while it is possible to collaborate with the reactionary political parties whose programmes are totally different from theirs and have nothing in common between them? The intention of those who speak thus is, in a word, nothing but to desert the democratic Left-wing camp and go over to the anti-popular, anti-democratic, reactionary Right-wing camp.

True, some differences exist between the programmes of the democratic political parties, but the points they have in common and where they coincide are greater. The points they have in common provide them with the possibility of waging a struggle against the common enemy and uniting as one for accomplishing the same goals. Must we fight and defeat the reactionaries by swiftly achieving the unity of the parties of the working people based on common aims and interests? Or rather, must we be crushed by the enemy by operating separately and in isolation? To this question everybody will answer with one voice that the merging of the parties is the only correct solution.

All democrats, truly mindful of the interests of the labouring masses, must overcome the intrigues of the reactionary forces and the obstructions set up by them, expose and smash the divisive activity of the position-seekers, self-seekers and factional elements, and awake those members of their parties who do not yet correctly understand why a merger is essential so as to complete the merger of the parties with concerted efforts in a short time.

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United, we stand; divided, we fall. The independence and sovereignty of Korea on democratic lines can be achieved at an early

date only if the labouring masses are united and all the democratic forces are knit together.

The establishment of a unified party of the labouring masses is a decisive guarantee for accelerating the growth and strengthening of the democratic forces and for assuring the triumph of democracy. This has been confirmed by the experience in north Korea where the fusion of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was triumphantly brought about in a short period of time.

Let us concentrate all our efforts on the struggle for the unity of the labouring masses and the founding of a mass-based party in south Korea!

Victory belongs to the Korean people who aspire to unity, national independence and democracy. Let us all march forward confidently to victory!

TO CREATE THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE MARCH OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Talk with Writers

September 27, 1946

Today I am going to talk to you about creating the national anthem and the march of the People's Army.

We should quickly set about writing the national anthem and make preparations now for creating a march for our army which is soon to be founded.

For nearly half a century our people lived in endless pain and grief fettered to the colonial chains of Japanese imperialism, and drained the bitter cup of sorrow to the dregs as a ruined nation. The Japanese imperialist aggressors went so far as to mercilessly trample upon the time-honoured history and brilliant culture of our nation.

Now that our people are liberated from the Japanese imperialists' tyranny, they are working freely as true masters of the country. By our own efforts we have established the people's government and are developing our national culture and building a prosperous independent and sovereign state. Our workers are rehabilitating the factories and enterprises destroyed by the Japanese imperialists, and by getting rid of the feudal land ownership under the Agrarian Reform Law the peasants have become the masters of the land. The working people can now send their sons and daughters to school without worry and everybody is entitled to medical treatment in the

event of sickness. In this way the people embarked on the road of creating a new life under the correct guidance of our Party.

The political enthusiasm of our people in creating a new life is very high indeed. Our people's hearts are full of joy at having regained their lost country to lead a happy life.

This is the moment when our people feel the urge to sing lustily of their joy and emotion at enjoying freedom and happiness in the liberated country, and they want to express this in their national anthem. This is a natural desire for our people who have started building a new life under the guidance of our Party.

But as yet we have no national anthem to satisfy these sincere sentiments and desires of our people. Therefore, they continue to sing the old song. The words not only jar on the sentiments of our people but are also outdated. The tune has been borrowed from a foreign song, and is not the kind we wish. This song cannot inspire our people with patriotism in building a new, democratic country.

We must create a national anthem as soon as possible. All writers and composers must take part in creating the national anthem, and anybody who is not a writer or a composer but wants to have a try at it must be allowed to do so.

Ours is indeed a beautiful country. It is washed by the sea on three sides, the mountains are grand and majestic, and grain crops and fruits of various kinds are thriving in the fields. Our country abounds in mineral resources and treasures, too.

Our people boast a 5 000-year-long history, and they are a resourceful people with a brilliant culture. Back in ancient times they won world-renown for the astronomical observatory Chomsongdae in Kyongju, the invention of metallic printing types and for their excellent fine arts. Moreover, the music of our country is rich in beautiful melodies. Thus, the science, culture and art of our country have a proud history.

From ancient times our people have driven back the foreign invaders and defended our land at the cost of their blood. The anti-Japanese guerrillas, in particular, took up arms and fought heroically

against the Japanese imperialist aggressors for 15 long years. The working people of our country freed from exploitation and oppression have taken power firmly in their hands today and are making every effort to build a new, prosperous country.

The national pride and dignity of the Korean people who have such a beautiful country and glorious traditions of struggle must be incorporated in the song. By singing such a song, the people will be inspired with a greater love for their country. A national anthem with this content should be created for the people as soon as possible. Our people, now the masters of the country, should be provided with a song of our glorious homeland, the national anthem.

The national anthem will help immeasurably in uniting our people around our Party and people's government who have risen to build a new country and will call them to a greater struggle and victory.

In the near future we will form our national regular army.

How many people lost their lives and property and were ruthlessly trodden underfoot in the past just because we did not have a genuine people's army of our own? Because it did not have a powerful army in the past, our country was swallowed up in the end by the Japanese imperialist aggressors, and our people were forced to live as colonial slaves shedding tears of blood. Historically, our country has never invaded another. The present international situation shows that although the Second World War is over, the imperialist forces of aggression have not given up their plans of aggression against small and weak countries and are constantly plotting a new war.

Our army to be founded in the future must grow into an invincible regular army of the revolution which, by inheriting the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, will be able to defeat the aggressor under any circumstances. Our soldiers will be armed with an indomitable revolutionary spirit and with modern weapons, firmly guard the achievements of our democratic construction and defend the lives and property of the people like the apple of their eye. Thus our army will become a righteous army and enjoy the people's great love.

The song which the soldiers of our People's Army will sing must be composed with ardent patriotism, burning hatred against the enemy and the lofty revolutionary spirit of fighting for the reunification and independence of the country.

I hope you writers will display great pride in creating a splendid march that will raise our soldiers' morale and stir their patriotism and loyalty to the people.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF DEMOCRATIC CONSTRUCTION AND THE DUTIES OF CULTURAL WORKERS

**Speech at the Second Meeting of Information Workers
of the Provincial People's Committees, Political Parties
and Public Organizations, Cultural Workers
and Artists in North Korea**

September 28, 1946

Dear cultural workers,

At this meeting of cultural workers today, I would like to say a few words about the democratic construction we are now carrying out and the tasks and duties confronting the cultural workers in this respect.

I begin by paying my sincere respects to you cultural workers who are coping with all the difficulties and hardships and working enthusiastically to fulfil the tasks assigned you in local areas and workplaces.

An urgent task facing our people at present is to uproot the vicious remnants of Japanese imperialism which still remain deep-seated in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, smash all the anti-democratic, reactionary forces in south Korea and build up our national economy, so that the country achieves complete independence. This is indeed a great and sacred task for the nation at large, to create a new era in our history.

With a view to implementing this great and significant task, we

first carried out the agrarian reform in March. This historic work was an epoch-making event that transformed not only the countryside but also the Korean society based on backward agriculture. With the successful completion of the agrarian reform the feudal land ownership was abolished and the peasants became new people in charge of agricultural production and true masters of the countryside. They started to till their own land freely, and lead a cheerful and hopeful life.

Second, we introduced the system of agricultural tax in kind. It made it possible to remove the heavy burdens imposed so far on the peasants, stabilize and improve their lives and, at the same time, raise their cultural standards.

Third, we enforced the Labour Law which provides the workers with an eight-hour working day and the right to social insurance. It emancipated the workers from slavish and colonial exploitation and oppression, and firmly ensured a cultural life and social position for them. The Labour Law enabled the workers to tackle production with great emotion and burning enthusiasm and display in every way their creative initiative. Not only that. The law changed fundamentally the position and significance of labour in our country. The former concept that labour is the duty of the poor and the humble alone disappeared, and all the working people understand clearly now that labour is essential for the creation of a new life and that through their labour they take part in the sacred work of the state, and work cheerfully with enthusiasm and joy.

Fourth, we enforced the Law on Sex Equality. As a result, women were freed from feudal subordination and slavish inequality for ever and together with men became the driving force for democratic construction.

Fifth, we enforced the law on nationalization of industries to place under the state ownership the major industries and economic establishments owned by the Japanese and the traitors to the nation. This law and the Agrarian Reform Law constitute the two major measures for democratic construction; the former was an important

law that put our industry and economy at the service of the people.

Besides, in order to eliminate the poison of Japanese imperialism in the field of culture and develop our national culture and art rapidly, we encouraged the activities of the cultural workers and artists with the General Federation of Arts as the pivot and saw to it that the state provided every condition for them. Moreover, for the rapid development and improvement of the people's knowledge and minds we built far more institutions of higher learning, and specialized, secondary and primary schools than in the Japanese imperialist years, and opened 717 libraries and over 12 000 adult schools.

In this way we undertook various work of great importance in the one year after liberation. We will hold democratic elections for the first time in Korean history, drawing on the great achievements of the democratic reforms. The coming elections will, so to speak, sum up the building of democracy in the one year after liberation.

All this work is a prerequisite for the free development of our country and the building of an independent and sovereign state, and is also important undertakings to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Korea and its free development.

Without carrying out these democratic tasks to guarantee the interests and life of the people, we cannot win the freedom and independence of the country. The democratic tasks which we have so far fulfilled and are going to fulfil in the future, are of historic importance in consolidating the social foundations for making our country prosperous and independent. Therefore, all the Korean people without exception should regard these tasks as their own and make every effort to carry them out successfully. To contribute to the fulfilment of the tasks, let those with money give money; let those with strength give strength; let those with knowledge give knowledge; let those with technique give technique. Only when all the people devote their all to state work, will our country rise up again and our nation attain its honour, position and rights as one of the world Democracies.

Dear cultural workers,

You are the cultural workers of north Korea.

You are not the cultural workers of the former feudal, colonial Korea, but those of the new Korea. Radical changes took place in north Korea in the span of one year. Through the democratic reforms north Korean society underwent a complete change, and a great transformation was made in all fields of politics, the economy and culture. In other words, the feudal relations, which were the root cause of holding our country in a backward state for several centuries, were broken, and the aftermath of the hated colonial rule of Japanese imperialism that plunged our country into the dark quagmire of bankruptcy was liquidated, with the result that ours became a new society, democratic, free and happy.

Today north Korea has been turned into a new, democratic society.

In north Korea power passed to the people, the feudal land ownership in the countryside was destroyed and the peasants, who till the fields, became the masters of the land. The key industrial establishments became the property of the people, that is, of the state. With the enforcement of the democratic Labour Law which stipulated an eight-hour day and social insurance for factory and office workers, the working masses were completely freed from feudal, colonial exploitation and oppression. Furthermore, women accounting for more than half of the population were emancipated from all kinds of humiliation and maltreatment suffered in the old society, and have equal rights with men.

We cannot call such a society a feudal, colonial society. We call it a new, democratic society.

In the course of great changes taking place in north Korea, all true patriots, democrats and the rest of the people here displayed a great deal of ardour and energy. Needless to say, cultural workers too played an important part in the great democratic reforms. Technicians strove, despite all difficulties, for industrial rehabilitation in factories, and artists went out to factories and villages to successfully fulfil their assigned tasks, side by side with the workers and peasants. All the

cultural workers fought resolutely against pro-Japanese reactionary ideas in culture and for building a new, democratic national culture. In short, in north Korea the cultural workers are of a new type who serve their country and the masses of the people, instead of working for the colonial policy of Japanese imperialism and the reactionary forces as before.

The cultural workers of north Korea made a great contribution to the democratic reforms and in doing so acquired a new quality. Therefore, it is wrong to approach the cultural workers of today with the former narrow-minded attitude. In other words, we should regard them in a new light as cultural workers fighting for the homeland and the masses of the people in firm alliance with the workers and peasants.

We must understand clearly that in any country cultural workers played a great role in a revolutionary era and in the period of democratic reforms before. Moreover, in a backward country like Korea, the role of the cultural workers must be correctly appraised. If today anybody ignores or neglects the role of the cultural workers in carrying out the democratic reforms in our country, he will be a failure and turn into a person who dislikes democratic construction.

Cultural workers always take part in all democratic reforms as the eye, pioneer and guide of the masses. The experience of world revolution, or the past year's developments in north Korea, or the present realities show that cultural workers play a valuable and powerful role in our work of nation building.

Comrade cultural workers,

As you see, your mission in democratic construction at present is tremendous, and your share is indeed great. You cultural workers are most important for the country's democratic construction and the building of national culture. Owing to the vicious enslavement policy of Japanese imperialism, however, there are still very few cultural workers in our country. Your mission, therefore, is all the more important and your effort in building a democratic Korea should be all the harder.

Now I would like to say a few words about the immediate tasks of the north Korean cultural workers.

First, you should organize a cultural front on a firm basis. Cultural workers who truly love their country must form a united front solidly, despite the fact that they are occupied in different areas and have different tastes. Today the reactionaries are attempting to disrupt the ranks of cultural workers and thus form a reactionary camp of culture. The progressive cultural workers of Korea today should maintain the highest vigilance in this respect. Our only weapon in the cultural front or in the building of a democratic state, or in the struggle to crush the reactionaries is unity first, unity second and unity third. You must remember that this is the most powerful base for the Democratic National United Front.

Second, we should train cadres. In particular, we should do our best to train technical personnel. Japanese imperialism deliberately prevented the growth of our cadres. Without our own cadres our nation will be ruined again. You should give positive help in bringing up our cadres who will decide the destiny of the country.

The most vital question facing cultural workers at present is to train our own personnel. The university set up in north Korea is now training technicians and specialists and various specialized technical schools are bringing up personnel. But it will take at least 4 or 5 years for these students to be ready to work as technicians in factories and enterprises. We should therefore foster many workers capable of managing and operating these establishments during this period. We should train many technicians and specialists quickly right in the factories or at evening short courses. This alone will make it possible to rehabilitate and develop the national economy.

For the country to be fully independent, we must operate economic institutions ourselves, and develop all fields including culture and art by our own efforts. Despite the present inadequate conditions and many difficulties, we must overcome all this and display creative ability in training our own cadres and technicians as soon as possible. Although the key industries and economic

establishments are nationalized, we are very short of technicians, who number only a few hundreds. How can we push ahead actively with huge construction projects relying on such a small number? If we fail to build the economy independently within a short period of time, the democratic construction we have achieved so far will end in fiasco, and our nation fall into slavery again.

Stalin once said: “Cadres solve everything.” Since all its people worked enthusiastically to acquire technical skills the Soviet Union has now become a country with the most advanced and excellent technique and science in the world, and fully demonstrated its great strength in the anti-fascist war. In order to turn Korea into a developed democratic country, we should settle the problem of technology. We again stress: “Technology and talented personnel solve everything.”

Third, cultural workers should feel a high sense of responsibility for the fact that the overwhelming majority of our population is illiterate. You should realize that with so many illiterate people we will be unable to promote democratic development and will also meet with difficulties of all kinds. To wipe out illiteracy, a disgrace to our nation, you will have to launch an anti-illiteracy campaign by various methods. This is an important duty the country has placed on cultural workers today.

Fourth, cultural workers should study hard. Suppressed by Japanese imperialism, our cultural workers remained isolated from the advanced science of the world for a long time, and lagged behind the world trend of progressive democracy. We must arm ourselves with advanced science and follow the world trend as early as possible. At the same time, you should know how to learn from the people. We believe in the strength and talents of the masses of the people. We should go among the masses, get to know them first and understand everything about them. We should learn their wisdom and creative ability. We should become not only their teachers but also their students.

Fifth, cultural workers should take an active part in the work of

people's committees. You must be well aware of how important the coming elections are in consolidating our democratic forces and achieving complete independence and sovereignty. You should make the utmost effort to ensure success in the elections, the first in our people's history.

Sixth, our cultural workers should be active in combating the reactionary policy of the US military government in south Korea. Today when the American reactionaries' policy of colonizing south Korea is revealed to the whole world, how can any Korean tolerate it? As the eye of the people and as their pioneer, cultural workers especially should take the lead in exposing and opposing the reactionary policy of the US military government, and fight more ruthlessly to forestall the traitorous acts of the Syngman Rhee clique, the stooges of US imperialism.

In conclusion, I pay my respects to you for your vigorous efforts for democratic construction in the past year and, at the same time, hope that you will take part more actively and devotedly in the work our people urgently need, and fight bravely as activists. Our people are expecting a great deal from the activities of you, cultural and information workers, and are expressing a boundless respect and a close friendship for you. I firmly believe that as the standard-bearers of democracy, you will press forward vigorously for the building of an independent, democratic state to meet our people's expectations.

THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS IN EXPANDING AND STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

**Speech at the Second Congress of the Democratic
Youth League of North Korea**

September 29, 1946

I offer my warm congratulations and greetings to you, the delegates of the Democratic Youth League who, under the leadership of the Workers' Party, are striving tirelessly day and night as important workers for the building of democratic Korea, and, through you, to all Korean youths.

At this meeting to sum up the work of the DYL organization, the vanguard detachment of the youth movement, I should like to deal with a few of the tasks confronting the youth at present.

Our nation's greatest and immediate task is to establish a democratic people's republic as early as possible. To do this, it is of the utmost importance to expand and strengthen the democratic forces. And we must further consolidate the democratic base, north Korea, and thoroughly eradicate the remaining forces of Japanese imperialism and feudalism.

If we are to strengthen the democratic forces, the democratic parties and public organizations must rally more closely under the banner of democracy, and the role of public organizations uniting the broad masses of the people should be raised in every way. It is

imperative to raise the role of the DYL which occupies a very important place among the public organizations.

The DYL ranks have now greatly swelled and comprise 1 300 000 youths. Hence the important task of strengthening the DYL organizations as regards quality.

In order to strengthen the DYL organizations the democratic education of young people should be carried on vigorously. The DYL organizations should do their utmost to train large numbers of positive, militant, theoretically-qualified and talented young people.

In order to rehabilitate north Korea's industries ravaged by Japanese imperialism and eliminate its technical and cultural backwardness, we need science and technology. Nevertheless, north Korea has only several hundred scientists and technicians at present. In view of this, we have made it one of the most urgent tasks to train scientists and technicians.

The present situation of our country calls for a large number of new, competent scientists and technicians from among the youth. If the young people do not become the shock force in taking the fortress of science and technology, our country and people will remain backward as regards the economy and culture, and our people may again come under the colonial yoke of imperialism. So, the young people should make tireless efforts to become the new talent possessing a knowledge of science and technology, and should study, study and study all the time.

And all young people should arm themselves firmly with revolutionary ideas and strive to strengthen the ideological unity of the DYL.

The DYL should become a reliable assistant of the Workers' Party of Korea, and be boundlessly faithful to the country and the people. To this end, all DYL members should arm themselves with an indomitable revolutionary spirit to fight to the last for the freedom and independence of the country and the happiness of the people, and should forge a firm principled unity. Yet, there are still rogues in the DYL who harbour malicious ideas and try to divide its ranks. In order

to strengthen the ideological unity of the youth, a resolute struggle should be unfolded against evil ideological tendencies of all shades including liberalism and individualism. Taking this stand, the 1 300 000 DYL members should advance fearlessly with one mind and one will along the road indicated by the Workers' Party.

Furthermore, in order to strengthen our democratic forces we should further consolidate the democratic base established in north Korea. For this purpose all members of the DYL should positively support and carry out all the laws enforced by the people's committee, and always take the lead in the struggle to consolidate the results of the democratic reforms. Also, in building up the economy and culture to consolidate the democratic base the youth should always undertake the difficult jobs and devote all their energies and talents to the cause of enriching and developing our country.

Since the forthcoming elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees are democratic elections unprecedented in our history, they are of great significance in strengthening our people's power and the democratic base. The DYL members should participate enthusiastically in the election campaign and be an example in the drive to win victory in the elections, rallying the people closely around the people's government.

Our DYL members should take the lead in the shock force movement to bring in the harvest and in the deliveries of agricultural tax in kind. At present the food problem is a matter of the utmost urgency. If only the peasants deliver the agricultural tax in kind without delay, this problem will be solved satisfactorily. Therefore, the DYL members should help the peasants as far as they can to deliver the agricultural tax in kind in good time, working with them in the harvesting and threshing operations.

They should also strive to protect state property. We have nationalized the factories, mines, transport facilities, communications services and banks formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation. All the state property belong to the people and are important assets for the country's prosperity and the welfare

of the people. To protect the state property from damage by the enemy and to value and cherish them is the sacred duty of all the people, and, in particular, one of the most important tasks of our DYL members. All members of the DYL must keenly realize their important responsibility in this matter and value state property more than anything else and be exemplary in their protection.

We should support the south Korean youth extensively, both materially and morally.

We oppose the US military government not from any prejudices or preconceptions. The policy pursued by the US military government in south Korea is totally reactionary and anti-popular. From the stand taken by the US side at the recent meeting of the USSR-US Joint Commission we were able to get a good idea of the intentions of the US imperialists entrenched in south Korea. It is obvious that the US imperialists are scheming to subjugate our country economically and trample upon Korea's independence. Moreover, they are out to exclude the true representatives of the workers, peasants, youth and women from the provisional government, while making every attempt to get only their stooges represented on it. This is because these lackeys once sold out Korea to Japanese imperialism and now, just as in the past, they seek to sell our country to US imperialism.

Our people are not docile sheep; they are not a foolish and servile people who will look on calmly while their country is being turned into a colony again. Our youth, in particular, who are filled with patriotic enthusiasm and a sense of justice, cannot remain impassive. We must unite forces and repulse the enemy who is attempting to swallow up our country once again. The DYL members should expose every crime committed by the US military government and its agents and inform the people far and wide of the actual facts about the treacherous policy of the Syngman Rhee clique. At the same time, they should be on the alert to prevent reactionary elements from worming their way into our ranks.

By drawing on the good experience you have gained so far in DYL work and by remedying the shortcomings in it, I feel sure you

will make the DYL a disciplined, ideologically united, militant youth organization, and will fight staunchly for the independence, sovereignty and democratization of the country, united closely with all the democratic forces under the banner of democracy.

Long live the Democratic Youth League, a new, democratic youth organization!

Long live the Democratic National United Front!

Long live complete independence and sovereignty on democratic lines!

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS ON A MASS SCALE

Speech at the Congress of Sportsmen

October 6, 1946

Dear comrades, youth, students and sportsmen,

I am very glad to attend the first congress of sportsmen after liberation and see the lively and cheerful faces of you comrades, youth, students, and sportsmen who have come from all parts of the country.

The country's liberation from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the democratic reformation of society have brought a free, hopeful, new life to the youth, students and sportsmen. You are not slaves shackled to the imperialist yoke as in the past. You are proud masters of your country and your destinies; you are the growing sons and daughters of liberated Korea who have ample opportunity to keep physically fit and to widen your intellectual horizon by studying as much as you want in the homeland.

Formerly, Japanese imperialism deprived the Korean youth and students of all freedoms and rights and allowed them no opportunity of learning and no possibility of building up their bodies. Countless numbers of young people in Korea were shipped off by force as "drafted labour," "patriotic service corps," "voluntary labour corps" or to battlefields as "volunteers," "student soldiers" and "conscripts."

Under these conditions physical culture and sports were a pastime for the privileged classes only, or were no more than military training

for an aggressive war by the Japanese imperialists.

Physical culture and sports in liberated, democratic Korea at present should not be confined to the distinguished records of a few individual players nor should they become a pastime for a few. Our physical culture and sports should be developed in the future as an important factor of nation building to ensure Korea's independence and sovereignty and its democratic development. In other words, in order to bring up staunch fighters for building a democratic Korea, physical culture and sports should be developed in such a way as to give all people physical and mental training.

In this connection, it is of special importance to put physical culture and sports on a mass basis. Because only by developing them on a mass basis, making them an everyday event, and popularizing them among the broad masses, can the health of our people as a whole be promoted and all the people become physically strong and mentally sound.

We should encourage all youth, students and working people to take an active part always in physical culture and sports and should strive to make them a part of life among the masses.

Comrades,

In north Korea the Democratic National United Front has been formed and, on this basis, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea established, and the work of transforming society along democratic lines successfully advanced. In March the historic agrarian reform was carried out, the Labour Law, the law on nationalization of industries, and the Law on Sex Equality were put into force, and the system of agricultural tax in kind introduced. Furthermore, on the basis of the great victory in the democratic reforms elections to provincial, city, and county people's committees will take place on November 3 amidst the warm support and approval of all the people. These elections will further consolidate the foundation for building a democratic Korea and increase the might and influence of north Korea as the base for building a democratic Korea.

In south Korea, half of our territory, the colonial policy of the US military government and the treacherous acts of its henchmen Syngman Rhee clique are becoming more undisguised of late, and suppression of the patriotic, democratic forces has reached its peak. Today, therefore, liberation is a mere name for our south Korean compatriots. In fact, they remain languishing in the abyss of death as before. Unable to tolerate the appalling hardships and brutal suppression in south Korea any longer, the workers headed by the railwaymen, office employees and students came out in a general strike on September 23 last in protest against the reactionary policy of the US military government. This you know well through the radio and newspapers.

Our south Korean compatriots, deprived of all rights and poverty-stricken, are suffering worse than under Japanese imperialist rule and are longing with all their hearts for north Korea where our people have seized power and are creating a new, happy life. They are demanding that power be transferred to the people's committee and that democratic reforms be carried out in south Korea, too, the same as in north Korea.

It is the sacred duty and honour of upright young people to rise up for justice and lay down their lives for truth. Today all young people in Korea should rise up as one against the colonial subjugation policy of the US military government in south Korea and the traitors' unpardonable barbarities against the people.

United more firmly under the banner of the Democratic National United Front, the north Korean people should further consolidate the victories won in carrying out the democratic tasks and fortify the democratic base, in their efforts to smash the plots of reactionary elements and to establish a unified, democratic government as early as possible. For this purpose, it is essential to bring up healthy, energetic people fully equal to the task of nation building. In this context, physical culture and sports should play a major role.

I expect all comrades present here without fail to become excellent, sturdy builders of the nation as required by the homeland

today and able vanguards in the work of rearing all youth, students, working people and the rest of people as energetic and cheerful democratic builders of the new society by popularizing physical culture and sports everywhere.

The youth are brave and reliable shock troops in the great work of building a democratic state. The future of our liberated homeland rests on the shoulders of the youth. Therefore, I repeat my request that you youth and students, more deeply conscious of your mission, should study hard, build up your bodies and work actively with all your might and talent for the complete independence and sovereignty of the country, the happiness of all the people and the prosperity of the nation.

In conclusion, I express my firm belief that this congress of sportsmen will mark up great success and make a big contribution to the development of popular physical culture and sports in our country.

FOR THE BUILDING OF A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

**Talk with the Cadets of Sub-Camp No. 1,
Camp No. 1 of the Security Officers
Training Centre
*October 7, 1946***

I appreciate the great effort you have made to build this training centre. Arranging a new home even for a single family is no easy task, and I am sure you have had to work very hard and overcome a lot of difficulties in creating this training community for thousands of soldiers. All the difficulties, however, have been surmounted by your determined effort to build a genuine army of the Korean people as quickly as possible, an effort spurred by your memories of the humiliating experience with the Japanese imperialists before liberation. Indeed, this is a remarkable and righteous struggle. We are very gratified with the results of your work.

Today I would like to speak about several tasks of the Security Officers Training Centre in building our genuinely revolutionary armed forces.

What is essential in organizing a revolutionary army is to arm the soldiers politically and ideologically. The Security Officers Training Centre should, first of all, eradicate the survivals of the outdated ideology of Japanese imperialism from the minds of young trainees and imbue them with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary idea of our Party.

As you all know, our country was a colony of Japanese imperialism for a long time. In the past our young people had the misleading reactionary propaganda of the Japanese drummed into their ears and saw many outrages committed by their army and police. Although the Japanese imperialists fled from Korea, the survivals of their evil ideas which poisoned the minds of people still persist. Unless one wipes out these ideological remnants, one cannot become a builder of a new society. This is all the more true of the soldiers who are in arms to fight the enemy in defence of the revolution.

The training centre should strive to eliminate the survivals of Japanese imperialist outworn ideas from the minds of young soldiers. This is not an easy task that can be done in a day or two, for the old ideas took root in the young minds over a long period of time. Meetings or speeches alone cannot remove them. So the training centre should steadily unfold a powerful ideological struggle, while at the same time strengthening politico-ideological education. It is important in eradicating the residues of old thoughts that officers set an example for the men to follow. Practical examples are more effective than ten or hundred words in educating the men.

Next, the ties between the army and the people should be further strengthened.

The support of the people is the source of the strength of a revolutionary army to defeat a strong enemy. In former days, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army could defeat piratic Japanese imperialism even under difficult conditions precisely because it won the support and sympathy of the people. An army which is firmly united with the people and enjoys their active support and sympathy is invincible.

Nevertheless, you still have little consideration for the people and their property. You have dug up peasants' fields to get your water pipes laid. You cannot strengthen ties with the people if you do things like that. You should not regard even a shovelful of earth as mere dirt abundant in a vast land. You must know how our peasants treasure

their land. If you need some earth and have to dig for it in a field, you should go to the tiller, discuss the matter with him and ask for his permission before you dig it. The training centre should restore the fields to their former state as soon as the water supply works now under way are finished.

Wherever it is, our army should always regard it as an inviolable law to protect the lives, property and interests of the people. If you, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, do not respect the interests of the people, then who can do it? Besides, servicemen should become their true sons and daughters and servants who truly respect them as parents and who help them when they are in difficulty and teach them when they are uninformed. In this way the bonds of kinship between the army and the people will be further strengthened.

Unity between officers and men is a trait inherent in the revolutionary army and one of its top priorities. Officers and men of the revolutionary army are firmly united in ideology and will because of their common class stand and aims in struggle. In the days of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army officers and men were in complete unity cemented by true revolutionary comradeship. The officers valued and loved their men as fellow revolutionaries and true comrades-in-arms, and from the bottom of their hearts the men respected and followed their officers as revolutionary seniors. Because officers and men were thus solidly united and all acted as one, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army was able to emerge victorious in the 15-year-long war against Japanese imperialism.

It is this valuable tradition that should be handed down to the revolutionary army we are going to form. In other words, we intend to build a truly people's army which will carry forward the tradition of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, safeguard the country and the people from imperialist aggression and provide a military guarantee for the Korean revolution. Accordingly, our army should be permeated with a spirit of unity between officers and men.

To this end, the officers should first pay attention to the daily life and all activities of their men with warm comradeship. The practice

of commanding officers hurling abuse at their men or beating them as in the imperialist army cannot be tolerated in the education or daily life of our army.

In addition, commanding officers should not try to tighten discipline merely by issuing orders or dictating to their men. If a commander shouts at the table, “Five minutes to eat!” or “Stop eating, stand up!” it differs little from the way the Japanese imperialist army behaved. Discipline, too, should be established to suit the character of our army, a revolutionary army.

As our young people are unfamiliar with the army life, a collective life, some of them may be slow-moving and fail to keep pace with the rest in collective action or lag behind a little. Commanding officers should ask these men if they have any problems. And if you find they have, you should help them to solve their problems or kindly teach them what they do not know, instead of just shouting commands without discrimination. If someone gets up late in the morning, the commander should ask if there was anything the matter with him the previous night, if there was anything on his mind to keep him awake, if his bed was uncomfortable, if he is sick, or if he has had bad news from home, and then kindly help him with the heart of a parent caring for his child.

How do parents show their love for their children at home? Parents always take loving care of their children, and pat them on the head. At table they sit next to their children, giving advice: drink some water before you eat; eat slowly and chew your food well; otherwise it will lie heavily on the stomach; or you will choke. Commanding officers should always love and look after their men with the heart of a parent. Only then can there be genuine unity between superiors and subordinates and among comrades as well as voluntary discipline.

Good arrangement of the daily routine is essential for a collective life. Among the cadets, you will find youngsters with different backgrounds—some from factories who used to work in shifts, some from farm villages who are not too punctual, some who used to read

in bed at night, and so on. So commanding officers should organize the daily routine properly so that all the men can shake off their past habits and get used to the group life as quickly as possible.

The schedule of the day should allow ample time for meals and rest, and time to read newspapers and books and to write home. The men should be given a tough training and enough time to sleep. In addition, the schedule must allow time to inform trainees of the situation at home and abroad. The daily schedule at the training centre should be drawn up in time taking these points into account and everyday life organized properly.

Officers at this sub-camp should always treat their trainees as parents bringing up their children and explain to them the aim of forming a people's army and educate all of them well to be the real hard core of the revolutionary army.

To continue. The training centre should be made to look spick and span.

Looking over the place today, I found that cooking is still being done outdoors and the bedrooms are not properly fitted out. The recruits who used to sleep in warm rooms at home and eat a hot meal, even though it was bean paste soup, should not be accommodated like this. You should quickly get the camp shipshape and provide the men with better living conditions.

In the first place, you should build a mess hall as soon as possible and improve the assortment of the men's meals. You should provide them with adequate cooking utensils and good dining tables. The tables should not be too long but rather small so that four or five men may sit at one table. If they take their meals in this way, they can easily see what food the men like, who is a bigger eater, who likes his food salty, or who likes it hot. If they know one another's tastes and help one another when taking meals, they will feel at home and friendly towards one another before long, even though they are not old acquaintances.

At the training centre the cadets should be taught how to cook nicely so that they will not chop radishes too big for the soup as they

do now and so that they do not make the soup too thick or too salty but prepare all other food tastefully. More rice instead of other grains should be rationed, and meat and oil supplied adequately to improve the quality of the meals.

Quarters should be made neat and comfortable. At present the beds are made of planks that have not been dried and planed properly because of the pressure of time. But this is not the way to do it. We did not do it this way even when we were fighting in the mountains against the Japanese imperialists in the past. Conditions are far more favourable now. Why, then, should we work and live in such a crude manner? We must never overlook the sleeping quarters of our precious men nor should we allow even one of their finger-nails to get hurt.

Commanding officers should pay meticulous attention even to the making of a bed for the men's quarters so that it will be good looking and durable. Double berths for four men would be more suitable than ordinary beds arranged in rows. In this way, anyone who tosses about in his sleep will not disturb the others and it will make it easier to shift them for the cleaning. The front part of the beds should be fitted with stools for the men to sit on in rest hours, and drawers installed under them for books and the like. Beds should be good and the quarters clean and tidy so that the men can spend a pleasant time in a warm and convenient place after training.

Washrooms, bathrooms, laundries and other sanitary and quartermaster's facilities should be equipped conveniently and in a hygienic and modern way.

Lecture halls, demonstration-lesson rooms and training aids should also be prepared well, and a shooting range, tactical and physical training grounds fully equipped as soon as possible.

An auditorium and nation-building rooms should be quickly and well prepared to provide the cadets with conditions for an active political and cultural life.

Supply service for the soldiers should be improved. The supply system should be quickly established at the training centre to ensure

prompt and planned delivery of all the goods needed for the work of the centre and the life of the soldiers.

Officials of the Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial People's Committee should frequently meet those in charge of the training centre to discuss the soldiers' living conditions and help them solve their problems, if any. It would be better if the chairmen of these committees came to the training centre in person. Since the soldiers safeguard our Party and people's government, the latter are obliged to assist the former responsibly.

All our youths are clever, energetic and talented. The training centre should solidly arm these fine young people politically and ideologically and get them well prepared in military technique to firmly defend the country and the people in the event of foreign aggressors invading this land again to oppress and exploit our people.

You should devote all your efforts to the building of a revolutionary army, always remembering our country's past and bearing in mind the eager desire of the Korean people to become a fully-fledged nation with a powerful regular army of their own as soon as possible.

LET US CONSOLIDATE THE FOUNDATION FOR THE BUILDING OF A DEMOCRATIC KOREA

**Speech at a Mass Rally in Sakju County,
North Phyongan Province**

October 10, 1946

Dear citizens in Sakju County,

I pay my warm respects to my fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in Sakju County, who are making devoted efforts to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state.

I have long planned to visit the Suphung Power Station, a treasure of our Korea, and the Chongsu Carbide Factory, but was delayed till today for many reasons.

I came here today and saw the majestic Suphung Power Station and your gallant struggle to build a new country, which confirmed my belief that democracy will certainly be victorious and that the Korean people are fully capable of building an independent, sovereign and democratic state by their own efforts.

In the past the Korean people were kept in bondage, suffering harsh exploitation and oppression under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, but now they are the proud masters of the country. In north Korea factories and enterprises have come into the people's possession and all wealth is used to create a happy life for them. The Suphung Power Station too has become the people's property, and as its masters, they are operating the station by themselves.

The Suphung Power Station is one of the biggest properties of the Korean people and an important power base for building a democratic Korea. The station is an important material basis for the construction of our democratic country. If we increase the production of electricity by running it well, factories will be able to turn out many more goods needed for building a new Korea and for improving the material and cultural standards of the people. When I think of this, I simply cannot suppress my rising excitement, and feel full of courage.

Filled with emotion and excitement I will tell you briefly about the external and internal situation and certain tasks we should carry out in the future.

The world situation at present is different from that before the Second World War. In the West, fascist Germany had been out to conquer and control the whole of Europe, and in the East Japanese imperialism had occupied Korea and Manchuria and had tried to swallow the whole of China and many other countries in Southeast Asia. All were defeated, and the world was freed to lead a life of peace. Today the peace-loving and democratic forces in the world are growing in scope and strength with each passing day, while no imperialist power is in a position to invade weak nations at will.

Like many peoples in East Europe freed from fascist oppression, we Korean people after liberation have embarked on the road of democratic development and are endeavouring to take our place among the democracy-loving peoples of the world.

Now when the masses have won democracy and freedom, and are yearning for peace, there still remain fascist survivals in all parts of the world, in the East and the West, and in collusion with aggressive imperialist countries they are putting a brake on democratic advance across the world. Take Greece in Europe as an example. In that country the reactionary forces, manipulated by the British reactionaries, have reappeared to repress the young democratic forces. In Asia too, the Jiang Jieshi clique of China, at the instigation of the American reactionaries, triggered off civil war against the democratic forces, with the result that even now, over one year after

the Second World War ended, the Chinese people are suffering from the war.

What, then, is the situation in our country?

In north Korea after liberation the people's committee, a true people's power, has been established and democratic political parties and public organizations formed, and they are gaining in scope and strength daily. In north Korea one democratic reform after another is being carried out with success to lay the foundations for building an independent, sovereign and democratic state and for helping our country take up an equal position with democratic countries of the world. Thus, the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation are being purged from all branches including politics and the economy, and feudal backwardness and the survivals of Japanese imperialist colonial rule are gradually disappearing. On November 3, at democratic elections people will be able to elect the members of the people's committees truly representing their interests according to their will.

But in south Korea inhabited by our fellow countrymen, the situation is quite different. Owing to the moves of the US military government, the reactionaries including pro-Japanese stooges are still influential there. The American imperialists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and national traitors are suppressing the true patriots and people there more ruthlessly than in Japanese imperialist days, turning south Korea into a dark society like the feudal Ri dynasty (feudal Joson dynasty).

Look, dear citizens, the American imperialists and their lackeys dissolved the people's committees, the people's organs of power, in south Korea, and resorted to every despicable means in suppressing the people. Moreover, they invented the atrocious murder case in Kwangju on August 15, the Haui Islet incident and, most recently, the Taegu incident to intimidate large numbers of workers and peasants with tanks and aircraft and kill them with bayonets. They also deprived the people of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, closed down progressive newspapers, and arrest and

imprison patriotic democrats at random. And at the session of the USSR-US Joint Commission the American imperialists proposed to the Soviet side that they share, as trophies, all the factories, mines and enterprises formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists, which were built by the blood and sweat of the Korean people, instead of handing them over to our people. The Soviet side resolutely rejected this proposal. This precisely is one of the reasons why the USSR-US Joint Commission was adjourned. At present, the American imperialists have seized the economy of south Korea by changing the name of the Oriental Development Company of the Japanese imperialist aggressors to New Korea Company and, in place of the latter, are bleeding the workers, peasants and working intellectuals white there.

Unable to bear this exploitation and oppression by the American imperialists, the south Korean people have risen up in struggle. Workers on the railway and in almost all other fields have come out in a general strike across the whole of south Korea from Pusan to Seoul.

While in north Korea the people have become the masters of the country and owners of the factories, and democratic construction makes successful headway from day to day, in south Korea the people are oppressed ruthlessly and their democratic demands trampled upon violently, owing to the reactionary schemes of the American imperialists and their stooges.

What are our tasks under these circumstances?

We should lay a more solid foundation for democracy in north Korea, a democratic base for the whole of Korea. Only when we consolidate the democratic foundation of north Korea can we frustrate the moves of the American imperialists and their lackeys, achieve the democratic development of the whole country, establish a unified government and succeed in building a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state.

In order to strengthen the democratic base, first, all the people should unite more firmly around the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

A few people cannot make our nation-building work successful. It is only possible by uniting all the people.

The PPCNK is a genuine people's power which fights for the freedom and happiness of our people. Firm unity around the PPCNK is a sure guarantee for establishing a democratic people's republic, desired by all the Korean people. All the people should actively support the PPCNK, rally around it and implement its laws and decisions to the letter.

In the forthcoming elections the north Korean people will participate directly in the government of the country for the first time. We should make these democratic elections an important opportunity to instil in the people confidence in the triumph of democracy, draw them extensively into the work of nation building, strengthen the people's power and unite the masses more firmly around it.

The first election law to be enacted in our country is most progressive and democratic; it stipulates that the elections be held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Under the law, all citizens, men and women, young and old, irrespective of property status, education, with the exception of pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and insane persons, have the right to elect and to be elected representatives of the people. In the coming elections political parties will not compete with one another, but they will all support and elect those who will represent the interests of the people.

November 3 will be an outstanding occasion for our people when they exercise their political rights. All of you should take an enthusiastic part in the elections of genuine people's representatives and vote for them without fail.

All the people should fight to transfer power to the people's committee and effect democratic reforms all over the country.

The Agrarian Reform Law, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, the law on nationalization of industries, the system of the agricultural tax in kind, and the democratic election law are all of great significance in building a fully independent and sovereign state

in our Korea. By the united efforts of all the people we should strive to have these democratic laws carried out as soon as possible in south Korea, too, the same as in north Korea, and begrudge no spiritual and material aid for the south Korean people in their struggle to achieve this aim.

Second, efforts should be made to reinforce the economic foundations of the country.

Our country is still in a difficult position economically. In one year after liberation we have scored no small successes in the struggle to restore the factories and enterprises devastated by the Japanese imperialists and to develop the country's economy, but its economic foundations are still shaky. In order to strengthen the democratic base and build a prosperous, new Korea, we should develop the economy energetically to consolidate the economic foundations of the country.

All the working people including workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals should devote all their efforts to the rehabilitation and development of the national economy. In cooperation with technicians, workers should complete as quickly as possible the restoration of factories and enterprises damaged by the Japanese imperialists so that they produce large quantities of various goods including clothes and shoes, and strive to develop industry all round. Peasants should increase agricultural production and pay the tax in kind in good time, thus providing factory and office workers with food in a responsible manner.

All our production today should not be for foreigners like the Japanese and American imperialists. It should be for the Koreans and for the construction of a prosperous, new Korea. We should strive to develop the national economy with all possible speed in order to bring about the prosperity and development of the country, improve the people's living standards and give all the people a happy life.

Through this endeavour the people's revolutionary enthusiasm should be fired and they should be encouraged to take an active part in the democratic political life. Only then can we strengthen our democratic forces and fulfil the democratic tasks more quickly under

the banner of the national united front.

Third, vigilance should be heightened against the plots of reactionaries.

The American reactionaries and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, not only suppress the democratic activities of the people and slaughter patriotic people by forming terrorist groups in south Korea but also send spies and saboteurs into north Korea in a bid to obstruct the struggle of our people for building a democratic Korea. They are sending their spies into the democratic political parties, public organizations and people's committees in north Korea and committing terrorist outrages and setting fire to factories by mobilizing saboteurs. As part of the enemy's atrocities the children of a cadre in the PPCNK were killed and a railway factory and the Manpho Sawmill burnt down. The enemy may attempt to destroy the Suphung Power Station, an important power base for building the new Korea, too. Just think, what will become of us if they demolish the station? We must never allow them to do that.

All the people must unite with one mind and one will, and be constantly on the alert, keenly watchful against every move of the reactionaries. By themselves they must beat off any enemy who tries to ruin or hamper the building of an independent, sovereign and democratic state.

I wish you greater successes in your struggle to build a new, democratic Korea.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT
BY A JOURNALIST
OF THE NEWSPAPER *MINJU JOSON***

October 10, 1946

Question: I believe that the elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees to be held in our country soon will assume worldwide significance and will have a considerable influence on the reunification of the north and the south of Korea. What is your opinion, General?

Answer: The forthcoming elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees in north Korea are of great external and internal significance, inasmuch as they are most progressive and democratic.

They will be the first democratic elections not only in our country but in the whole of Asia. Therefore, they will have a great political impact on many countries in Asia and will stimulate their democratic development. We can say this because the agrarian reform carried out successfully in our country in March had a tremendous influence on other countries. The coming democratic elections will enable our people freed from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists to exercise their true political rights for the first time in their history, so there is no doubt that they will give great encouragement to many peoples in Asia fighting against imperialist exploitation and oppression for national independence.

The coming democratic elections in north Korea will exert a great

political influence particularly on the people of south Korea. They will enable the south Korean people to understand clearly that the elections to be held in north Korea involving the broad masses of the people are indeed progressive and democratic and that a genuine people's power defending their interests can only be established through elections of this kind.

The coming elections will exert greater influence on the south Korean people than the democratic laws such as the Agrarian Reform Law, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality and the law on nationalization of industries which have already been proclaimed and carried out in north Korea, and will prove a tremendous encouragement for reunification of the north and the south. In other words, these elections will provide an excellent opportunity to promote the reunification of the two parts of Korea.

Question: I imagine the overwhelming majority of Christians in north Korea take a progressive attitude at present but some who cling to the old idea of worshipping the American missionaries who came to settle here in the past still have an inclination to place their hopes secretly on the US military government and its stooges, pro-US elements and national traitors in south Korea. What have you to say about this, General, and do you think this will have any effect politically on the results of the forthcoming elections?

Answer: Religion is not banned in north Korea and freedom of religious belief is guaranteed by law. Men of religion should be brought to understand clearly that they are free to believe in a religion or not. By the way, to ensure freedom of religious belief does not mean that religious activities against state policy should be allowed. Such activities cannot but be regarded as betrayal of the interests of our people. Infringement on the interests of the country and the people should be thoroughly denounced.

Since our people led a wretched life as colonial slaves without a state for nearly half a century in the past, quite a few had a tendency to put religion first. However, they should not have such backward

ideas when we are building an independent, sovereign and democratic state after defeating the vicious Japanese imperialists and liberating our Korean nation. From now on, everyone should actively participate in building a rich and strong, independent and sovereign state with the true patriotic idea of fighting for the interests of the country and the people.

The foreign missionaries living in Korea in the old days were the espionage agents of the imperialists. Only the imperialist countries dispatch missionaries in order to invade other nations but there can be no such a thing in the democratic world today.

Religious people should abandon the wrong idea of worshipping foreign missionaries. From now on, religion should also be subjected to the interests of the state and the people and should be for the sake of our nation. This is the only religion Koreans can believe in.

We are of the opinion that some Christians at present are inclined to place certain hopes on the US military government and its stooges in south Korea but that this will have no political effect of any consequence on the coming elections. We believe that Christians are first of all Koreans and that, if they really love Korea and want the country's independence and sovereignty, they will take an active part in these elections of great significance in the history of our nation.

Question: I understand that your main objective, General, in coming to Sakju at this moment is to give guidance to the Suphung Power Station and the Chongsu Carbide Factory on the spot. Please explain the urgent tasks that have arisen in carrying out the electrification of the country.

Answer: The Suphung Power Station is an important power base and a treasure of our country. Our country has the Suphung Power Station and many others. The electricity to be generated by them is a great asset for rehabilitating and developing industry and electrifying the country.

Electrification is one of the most pressing problems in our country at present. Only when the factories and all branches of the national

economy are electrified, can the economy be built up rapidly and the country prosper and develop.

The most urgent task in the electrification of the country is to switch over to electric traction on the railways. Insufficient supply of good-quality coal for the railways is making it very difficult to operate the train service. That is why the railways should be electrified as soon as possible. First we plan to electrify the Pyongyang-Wonsan line and are conducting a survey.

It is not at all easy to carry out the electrification of the country. We are faced with a lot of difficult and complex problems including technical personnel and materials. To solve these problems will take a long time. This does not mean that we should sit idle.

From now on we should train large numbers of technical personnel capable of managing the power stations and factories. Technique and personnel solve everything.

All branches of the national economy should fully display creativeness to cover the shortage of materials and technical personnel and make a supreme effort to find a solution. In this way, the electrification of the country should be accelerated and the economy be rehabilitated and developed quickly.

ON PRESENT TASKS OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS

Speech at a Conference of Scientists and Technicians

October 18, 1946

Dear scientists and technicians,

Today our people are carrying on the great work of establishing an independent, sovereign and democratic state in our liberated country.

Really important are the tasks the scientists and technicians should tackle in restoring the ruined economy, sweeping away the country's centuries-old backwardness and building a new, prosperous Korea. It is no exaggeration to say that victory in nation building depends largely on the scientists and technicians.

As you all know, in a little over one year following liberation we successfully carried out a series of democratic reforms, among them the agrarian reform. The enforcement of the Labour Law and the nationalization of major industries opened up a wide avenue for all factory and office workers, scientists and technicians to throw off completely the yoke of colonial slavery and manage the country's life for themselves.

The great victorious democratic reforms have liquidated once and for all the economic foothold of the Japanese imperialists for plundering our country of its natural resources at will and bleeding our people white in the past and the protracted feudal bondage of exploitation; the workers and office employees have become the masters of the factories while the peasants have become the masters

of the land. The scientists and technicians, too, are now able to contribute freely to the building of a prosperous country by applying their talents and ability to the full in the factories, mines, enterprises, rail transport and communications which have become the property of the people. This shows that we have laid social foundations for building a solid independent national economy in a short span of time and rapidly improving the living standards of the people.

However, we cannot rest content with this. Since we are no longer servitors but masters of the country, we should have the attitude of master and strive like master to build our country well. The Korean people waged a long and arduous struggle to recover the livelihood they had lost. Today we should devote all our enthusiasm and energy to building up well the new life we have regained.

Only when we run our factories and enterprises properly and lay a solid foundation for an independent national economy, will we be able to ensure the genuine independence and sovereignty of the country and achieve its prosperity and development. To attain this goal, we urgently need scientific and technical personnel, and the extraordinary energy, valuable talent and creative enthusiasm of you scientists and technicians.

Now, I am going to deal briefly with the immediate tasks of the scientists and technicians.

First, scientists and technicians should make an active contribution to the planned rehabilitation and development of the national economy and to the planned management of all factories and enterprises.

You know, I am sure, that our industries have already passed the period of adjustment and entered the stage of full-scale reconstruction. An urgent problem facing us now is to work out a correct plan for industrial reconstruction. Without a detailed plan for factories and enterprises or on a nationwide scale, it is impossible to restore and develop the industries now in the hands of all the people.

In order to draft an exact national economic plan, it is necessary to make a thorough examination of our economic situation and the

actual conditions in all factories and enterprises and there must be an accurate assessment of equipment, raw and other materials, funds and manpower.

We should organize figure work and statistical work properly, and formulate a plan on the basis of exact figures and carry it out.

It is important in drafting a state plan to give the right slant to economic construction. In particular, a careful study must be made as to which industries are to be earmarked for reconstruction.

While stressing the rapid rehabilitation of the factories and enterprises demolished by the Japanese imperialists, for immediate production of goods, we should direct much effort at developing the machine-building and light industries, the most backward industries in the past. In light industry, too, stress should be placed on manufacturing plenty of daily necessities, instead of luxury goods.

In this way we must closely examine and get to know the actual situation in our country and all our resources and work out a plan in conformity with our specific conditions and, according to this plan, rapidly restore and develop our industries and all the other branches of the national economy with our own hands, efforts and talents.

Second, you should take an active part in the work of training technicians and specialists.

Without its own technical personnel no country can become economically self-reliant nor can it build a new society. The Soviet Union has grown into a world power with a modern industry and a large-scale mechanized agriculture because it has lots of excellent scientists, technicians and specialists of its own. If Korea, though backward now, is to rank among the advanced countries of the world in a short period of time as a prosperous country with its independent national economic foundation, it must, from now on, train large numbers of capable technicians. Colleges and specialized technical schools must be set up and evening technical schools and short courses opened everywhere to train large numbers of technicians and specialists. Very important in this respect is the part to be played by you who have already acquired science and technology. While

carrying out your immediate research work and technical guidance with due responsibility, you should do your best to train technicians and skilled workers.

At the same time, you should make an effort to learn more from the achievements of the world's advanced science and technology. We should not display the least arrogance in learning; we should always be open-minded and modest.

Foreign technicians are in our country at present helping with our industrial rehabilitation. While working together with them, you should learn their techniques quickly and make them yours.

Third, scientists and technicians should undergo further political tempering and equip themselves thoroughly with progressive ideology.

As you know from your own experience, the position of scientists and technicians has changed fundamentally in our country. Today our scientists and technicians are provided with all conditions for freely studying advanced science and technology and are in a position to serve their country and people as they please, putting an end to the life of an employee in the past.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea which represents and defends the interests of all the people always shows great concern for improving the living standards of the scientists and technicians and ensuring that they can devote all their energies to scientific and technological progress without the least inconvenience or anxiety.

You scientists and technicians should give positive support to our people's government which guarantees you every freedom and right and, together with the workers, peasants and all other patriotic people, you should rally closely around the PPCNK and be the first to join the struggle to implement all its policies.

Besides, you should take loving care of state property, the foundation for the improvement of the people's well-being, and resolutely struggle to defend our people's government and democratic system. In particular, you must become highly vigilant against the

plots of the reactionaries to wreck our economic construction, and expose and frustrate their subversive moves whenever they are made.

And you should make tireless efforts to eliminate the old thoughts with which you were obsessed under Japanese imperialist rule and equip yourselves with noble patriotism and a spirit of selflessly serving the people.

Dear scientists and technicians,

Today the country and the people expect really great things of you. Your knowledge, talents and experience are invaluable for the cause of building a new, democratic country. We have a great deal of work which can be carried out only by the enthusiasm and endeavour of scientists and technicians.

I hope that you will work devotedly to hasten the building of democracy in the country, having a correct understanding of the tasks of the scientists and technicians at the present moment.

ON STRENGTHENING STATE DISCIPLINE AND FOUNDING THE CENTRAL BANK OF NORTH KOREA

**Concluding Speech at the 18th Session of the Provisional
People's Committee of North Korea**

October 29, 1946

1. ON STRENGTHENING STATE DISCIPLINE AND HEIGHTENING THE SPIRIT OF NATION BUILDING AND SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE AMONG OFFICIALS

Many shortcomings are now being revealed in the collection of agricultural tax in kind and in many other activities. The shortcomings in the officials' work fall under two headings. One is the tendency to regard meetings as the panacea for all ills, instead of responsibly implementing the laws, decisions and instructions of the state. And the other is the lack of the spirit of nation building and service to the people. Unless these negative tendencies among officials are corrected, the building of a democratic Korea will not be successful.

We must strengthen state discipline among government officials.

In order to be efficient in the work of democratic construction and succeed in building a prosperous and democratic, independent and

sovereign state, all officials must strictly observe state discipline and do their jobs with a sense of responsibility. However correct the laws and decisions of our people's government, they are useless, so long as there is no rigid discipline of implementing them to the letter.

At present some officials lack a sense of responsibility towards their work and tend to replace their work with meetings. Of course, meetings are needed to carry out our tasks correctly. But we should not try to solve all problems by holding meetings. A discussion of the task in hand must not be an end in itself; the decision passed by the meeting must be implemented without fail.

Laws, decisions and instructions of the state are not implemented properly because administrative officials show a lack of strict discipline in carrying out state policies to the letter. This is manifest, for instance, in the work of collecting agricultural tax in kind, an important task facing the people's government today. In handling an important matter such as this, some government officials merely stress the importance of the task at a meeting and do not take concrete steps to thoroughly carry it out. On account of the irresponsible attitude to work, the tax in kind is not being collected with success. The failure of the Pyongyang City People's Committee to collect house taxes by the deadline set by the state is another instance of the irresponsible attitude to work of officials who do not observe state discipline.

In spite of government officials' irresponsible attitude to work, no serious effort is being made to tighten state discipline and heighten their sense of responsibility. Even in a socialist country which won the revolution a long time ago, a strong emphasis is put on a sense of responsibility for work. Our country has only just started building a democratic state, and so to put no emphasis on a sense of responsibility for work is a grave mistake.

We must see to it that all irresponsible and undisciplined practices among government officials are combated with determination and that all officials acquire the spirit of strictly implementing the laws, decisions and directives of the state. In this way, we will heighten the

officials' sense of responsibility and establish strict discipline under which they correctly implement all state policies.

It is also important to encourage government officials to cultivate the spirit of nation building and service.

Now they lack the spirit of building the country and serving the people. Quite a few officials are working perfunctorily and bureaucratically, making false reports to their superiors. According to the report by the director of the Public Prosecutor's Office, the agricultural tax in kind assessed for South Hamgyong Province is considerably lower than it should be. This is because in its report the province reduced the cultivated land and exaggerated the flooded area. There was a similar case in South Phyongan Province, too.

As we gleaned from our talks with peasants, heads of agricultural departments of provincial people's committees are working in a bureaucratic manner, seated at their desks, without studying their work sufficiently. This shows, after all, that the officials do not work devotedly for the building of a new country and lack the spirit of faithful service for the people. If they had had an ardent love for their country and the people and a fervent spirit of nation building and service, they would have tried to levy the tax in kind correctly and refrained from making false reports on the cultivated land and the flooded area.

The officials' half-hearted attitude towards nation building and poor service are also evident in the neglect of state property. Some officials now talk about the need to protect state property, but in actual fact they waste it by handling it carelessly. Some officials leave the lights on in their offices after they go home. This, too, can be considered negligence of state property and the interests of the country and the people. Those who do not value the property of the country and the people cannot be regarded as true patriots and faithful servants of the people.

If we are to encourage officials to strengthen state discipline and develop their spirit of nation building and service, we must intensify their ideological education. At present this education is inadequate.

We should improve ideological education for government officials so that they can clearly understand their heavy tasks and work with a high degree of awareness and responsibility. The members of the PPCNK should strive to rectify the shortcomings in their work quickly and pay close attention to the education of local people's government officials.

In addition, it is important to strengthen inspection of work. Regular inspection of the officials' work will enable them to discover and correct their shortcomings before it is too late and perform their tasks properly.

At present inspection is considered something to be feared or conducted perfunctorily because of misconception on the part of some officials. The failure of the people's government organs to correct their defects in time is due largely to the fact that some officials, still afraid of inspection as in the years of Japanese imperialism, deceive inspectors, and that inspectors deceived by officials at lower levels do not inspect them properly.

All officials should have a correct understanding of inspection and make it an occasion to rectify their shortcomings and improve their work rather than be afraid of it. And inspection should not be perfunctory; it should be organized meticulously and conducted efficiently. Officials at higher levels should regularly inspect the work of those at lower levels and in this way help their subordinates and educate them properly.

We must solidly build the ranks of government officials. We should completely remove undesirable, heterogeneous elements and idlers from the organs of power and replace them with fine people faithful to their country and people.

Government officials should carefully observe state discipline and satisfactorily carry out all their tasks by displaying a high spirit of nation building and service.

For the present they should conduct the collection of agricultural tax in kind in a proper manner.

Agricultural tax in kind should total no more and no less than 25

per cent of the harvest. It should be exactly 25 per cent. The people's government organs should efficiently carry out this task until the total amount originally estimated is delivered to the state, including the 130 000 tons still missing.

Efficient information work is necessary for the successful collection of agricultural tax in kind. We should fully acquaint the peasants with the content and significance of the system of agricultural tax in kind. Only then will all the peasants strive to pay it in time with a high degree of political enthusiasm. When the elections are over, all members of the PPCNK should undertake to explain the agricultural tax in kind to the peasants.

We should strengthen the inspection and control of agricultural tax collection. The heads of the General Affairs, Personnel and Food Administration departments of the PPCNK should take charge of this work and enlist the officials of the Public Prosecutor's Office of North Korea, Security Bureau and Agriculture and Forestry Bureau for detailed fact-finding on the levying of agricultural tax in kind. And each province, too, must thoroughly investigate and report any negative practices in tax collection. By intensifying information work, inspection and control in this way we will ensure that the peasants pay the tax in kind before the fixed time.

2. ON FOUNDING THE CENTRAL BANK OF NORTH KOREA

Today the PPCNK is establishing its central bank—the Central Bank of North Korea.

Recently we effected the law on confiscating without compensation and nationalizing all the factories, mines, power plants, rail transport, communications, banks, trade and cultural establishments, etc., which had been owned by the Japanese state and

individuals and traitors to the nation. This property is an important asset for the nation's economic development and the building of an independent and sovereign state.

New economic conditions created by the democratic reforms require a corresponding new financial system and raise the urgent question of founding a central bank, the centre of the system.

So far, we have had only a peasant bank as a special financial body but no central bank of our own. However, we are now establishing an independent central bank that will play the role of the central account-settling body and that will gradually assume the responsibility for issuing banknotes.

Organizing the Central Bank of North Korea is not a matter of simply taking over existing banks but is an important work for expropriation of the branch banks formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors and for the establishment of a people-oriented financial body suited to the actual conditions of building a new Korea. Our officials should have a correct understanding of this and pay close attention to this work.

In organizing the Central Bank of North Korea the question of funds should be handled correctly and with caution. The Central Bank of North Korea should not be responsible for the settlement of accounts left over by former banks. The financial transactions of the banks before the August 15 liberation were conducted by the Japanese imperialists. So we are not under obligation to settle the accounts. The state cannot assume responsibility for the bank balance of the period immediately after the August 15 liberation because the transactions were not conducted under the guidance of the PPCNK but freely by separate individuals. Since the supervision of bank activities by provincial people's committees after liberation has no legal basis, it is not worth mentioning. Granted that provincial people's committees had something to do with bank activities, it can be regarded merely as lateral supervision. We should, therefore, examine the current bank deposits and balances and take over all the funds now available at the banks.

The Central Bank of North Korea will be under the direct control of the PPCNK, and its capital will be fixed at 500 million *won*, consisting of all assets of nationalized branch banks and a subsidy granted by the PPCNK.

The bank's head office will be located in Pyongyang, and for the present its branch network will not be extended but reorganized to include the branch banks now existing in north Korea.

The Public Prosecutor's Office of North Korea will supervise the Central Bank. Needless to say, the Public Prosecutor's Office alone will be unable to control all its activities. So a council must be formed within the bank itself to ensure proper supervision of its activities. The council as the supreme organ of the Central Bank will discuss and decide on the important questions related to banking affairs, and the council must be responsible to the PPCNK. The council must have a chairman and a vice-chairman and include the head of the Finance Bureau of the PPCNK as a member. His presence on the council will help to link finance and banking. And the day-to-day management of the Central Bank should be the responsibility of its president who is at the same time chairman of the council.

Some time ago we organized the Peasant Bank of North Korea. As a cooperative credit organization for the peasants it aims to consolidate the results of the agrarian reform, accelerate development in agriculture, and, in particular, eliminate usuries in the rural areas and satisfy the demands of the impoverished peasants for farming funds.

The Peasant Bank must be under the direction of the head of the Finance Bureau, and in matters of financial and fund control and fund adjustment it should come under the control and supervision of the Central Bank, which will be responsible for settling accounts and issuing banknotes.

With the recent organization of the Peasant Bank and today's founding of our own Central Bank, the first of its kind, the basic structure of the banking system has been built in our country.

From now on, we should steadily develop this system to suit the

new system of national economy.

In conclusion, I will touch on the problems of instituting an electric power department and arranging meetings to celebrate the democratic elections.

A suggestion has been made to establish an electric power department in the Industry Bureau. This question requires careful consideration. In my opinion, there is no need for an electric power department in addition to the General Bureau of Electricity now operating under the Industry Bureau. If the department is to be set up inside the Industry Bureau, it will be better to make it an advisory body to the head of the Industry Bureau. If the department is imperative for the guidance and management of the electric power industry and not as an advisory body, you may do so, but you must dissolve the General Bureau of Electricity. For success in the democratic elections, we should arrange meetings to celebrate them in all parts of north Korea. We should hold a mass meeting in Pyongyang on November 1 and, on the basis of its report, mass meetings should be held in the rest of north Korea on November 2. Thus, all the people will celebrate the historic democratic elections and zealously work for success in the elections.

LET US SURMOUNT ALL UNFAVOURABLE CONDITIONS AND DEVELOP RAIL TRANSPORT

**Speech at the Third Meeting of the Head and
Office Chiefs of the Transport Bureau**

October 31, 1946

Comrades,

I would like first of all to extend my warm thanks to the railway employees who are striving to restore and develop the damaged railways.

The railways are the arteries of the country. If the railways, that is, the arteries of the country, do not function properly, they will greatly hold back the development of the national economy. In any country the railways play an important part in national economic development. If a country fails to run its railways satisfactorily and to develop the economy, it will remain poor.

In order to raise our country to the level of the advanced countries as soon as possible, it is imperative to rehabilitate and develop rail transport.

The railway workers have so far kept the railways running in spite of manifold difficulties, and particularly from April, they increased the carrying capacity of the railways far more than before. This illustrates clearly what great efforts the railway workers, technicians and office employees made to develop rail transport. Indeed, they have accomplished a great deal in the important period of building a

new, democratic Korea. I am very gratified that even with inadequate technical skills, the railway workers keep the railways operating, giving full play to their creative initiative.

The success scored in rail transport is ample proof that although our people were trampled underfoot under Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past, subjected to all manner of maltreatment and contempt, they can now restore and develop the wrecked railways and industries by their own efforts and build a prosperous independent and sovereign state.

The railway workers should not rest content or be satisfied with what they have done up till now. Besides the successes, rail transport has quite a few shortcomings, too.

This spring the railways did not deliver on time the fertilizer produced by the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, thus putting a big obstacle in the way of agricultural production, nor did they transport salt in good time so that much fish was spoilt. They even failed to ensure a timely transportation of foodstuffs and caused great difficulties in the life of the workers at the Hungnam District People's Factory.

In the past there were frequent accidents on the railways. A short time ago there was a train collision, in which a locomotive and track were damaged and many lives lost. This is a serious matter hindering the building of a new country.

One reason for the low carrying capacity and frequent accidents on the railways is the lack of strict discipline in this field, which the reactionaries take advantage of to engage in subversive activities and sabotage. Another reason is that the railway officials have neither organizational ability nor activeness in state affairs.

Through the shortcomings apparent in rail transport we can tell that the workers in this field lack a true spirit of loving their country and people. If they do not love their country and work like masters, leaving their workplaces to wander about, we cannot escape from our former destiny, the destiny of a ruined nation.

Who are the masters of the railways? They are the liberated

Korean people and the railway employees. Now the railways have become the property of the country and the people. Therefore, the work you are doing is not for others but for your own good and for the good of the country and people. When a person clearly understands that his work is for his own good, he can bring initiative and activeness into play. Peasants work hard on the farm precisely because they know that they are working their own land for their own good. The railway workers, too, should fully understand that they carry on their work as the masters of the railways. If they all make vigorous efforts by displaying patriotism, deeply conscious of being masters of the country and the railways, they can fully guarantee the work of rail transport and step up the building of a new Korea, rich and strong.

Every effort should be made to remedy the shortcomings on the railways quickly and develop rail transport.

Many difficulties lie ahead of us as we set out to build a new country. This is the evil consequence of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. The Japanese imperialists not only intensified their colonial plunder of Korea and hampered at every step the development of its national economy but also demolished before they fled after defeat what few economic facilities that existed. Since our economic foundation is weak, we experience no little difficulty in the work of nation building and in our everyday life. At present all the people—from the officials of the PPCNK to children—suffer from hardships.

Without clearing the obstacles ahead of us, we cannot develop rail transport nor can we build a prosperous independent and sovereign state. If officials make no attempt to overcome the difficulties in the hope of living a life of luxury from the very outset, they are seriously mistaken and really foolish. If we fail to surmount the difficulties today, we will encounter greater ones in the future.

The railway workers should make vigorous efforts to overcome all difficulties, restore and develop the railways and increase their carrying capacity, by displaying a high degree of patriotism.

In order to develop rail transport, the workers in this field

should acquire technical knowledge.

Although our people have become masters of the country at present, they cannot justly act as the masters for lack of technique. In the past the Japanese imperialists kept the technical know-how to themselves and did not allow the Koreans to acquire it.

For the rehabilitation and development of the economy of the new Korea, it is vital to raise the technical level. If you remain satisfied with the technique you possess at present, exerting no further efforts to master it, you are not qualified to be the masters of the country and the railways. Ignorance of technology makes it impossible to develop the rail transport and increase the carrying capacity. To study technical knowledge is one of the most important tasks facing the railway workers now. They should make every effort to learn technical know-how.

They should fully acquire the traits of learning while working and working while learning, and of teaching one another. And they should strive to learn from the advanced technique and good experience of other countries, too.

Another important task of rail transport is to strengthen discipline.

The railways should always be run smoothly and this requires strict discipline the same as in the army.

In order to strengthen discipline on the railways, it is important first to establish a system of strictly obeying the orders of superiors. Without discipline whereby superiors' orders are carried out to the letter, we cannot maintain the train services. In this field it is necessary to set up a precise system of work and establish iron discipline to carry out the orders and instructions of superiors promptly and accurately.

An intense struggle should be waged on the railways against the practice of breaking discipline. It is the sacred duty of all people to abide by state law and discipline. If anyone breaks the law and discipline set by the state, it means that he infringes upon the interests of the country and the people. Therefore, an uncompromising struggle should be waged against violations of state law and discipline, even if

they are trifling. From now on, discipline must be tightened on the railways to avoid even a minor accident.

To take good care of the property of the country and the people is one of the important tasks facing railway workers.

At present some of them are regrettably lacking in the spirit of taking loving care of this property.

Some time ago when travelling by train, we found there was no electric lamp in the coach and all the seats needed repairing. On seeing the inside of this coach many things came to mind, in particular the inconvenience travellers would have to put up with, and so we could not but feel unhappy.

The responsibility for such a careless maintenance of the railway coaches rests with none other than you workers in rail transport. Those who do not value state property cannot be called patriots.

Education of the railway workers should be intensified, so that they will take good care of the property of the state and the people.

All the railway workers should achieve a firm ideological unity and take an active part in the drive to detect and frustrate in advance every move of the reactionaries to cause destruction and engage in sabotage. You should always be highly vigilant, thus preventing even a single reactionary from slipping into the ranks of railway workers.

By exerting all efforts to complete the restoration of the railways as soon as possible, normalize work on the railways and increase their carrying capacity, the railway workers should fulfil their transport plans on time. Only then can our country flourish.

I am convinced that you will try hard to develop rail transport, braving all the unfavourable conditions and displaying your talents and energies to the full.

ON THE EVE OF THE HISTORIC DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

Speech at a Pyongyang Celebration of the Democratic Elections

November 1, 1946

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Election day for the people's committees falls on November 3, and it is a day of great significance in the life of our people.

Our people have never had any experience of establishing state power according to their will, nor have they ever had the experience of electing any organ of power by themselves. In the past, the handful of rulers who oppressed the people forged their power by force from above without regard to the people's will, and so it was always a bureaucratic power not in the people's interests. But such a dark age is now over.

We are now able freely to elect the people's committees, organs of genuine people's power, for the first time in the history of our nation. November 3, therefore, is to our people a day of historic significance, a glorious holiday.

Greeting this happy, significant election day, I offer warm congratulations to the citizens of Pyongyang and to all other people.

Dear brothers and sisters,

A little over a year has passed since our country was liberated from the Japanese imperialist yoke of colonial rule. The past year, though short, was a period of great change. In view of the manifold

events that have taken place in north Korea, it is comparable to hundreds of years of past history.

The democratic reforms carried out during this period with the active support and enthusiastic participation of all the people have radically changed the face of our society and laid a solid basis for the establishment of a democratic people's republic in Korea. As a result of the agrarian reform, the feudal system of exploitation has been abolished in the countryside and the peasants who till the fields have become the masters of the land. The industrial establishments owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation having been nationalized, the material basis of colonial dependence has been liquidated. Along with this, a progressive labour law benefiting factory and office workers, a law ridding women of social inequality and a law protecting private property are now in force, and the work of abolishing the Japanese imperialist system of enslavement education and setting up a new, public education system is also well under way.

People from all walks of life have rallied closely around the people's committees, and the political enthusiasm of the masses is running exceptionally high.

That such great changes in the life of our people could be effected in a short span of time is due solely to the fact that the people's committees, organs of people's power, have protected the interests of the people and led them unwaveringly towards the victory of democracy.

From the first day of their liberation from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, our people launched out on the road of founding the people's committees, their own organs of power. The immense vitality of the people's committees lies in the fact that they have close ties with the people and have struck their roots deep among the masses. The people's committees have clearly shown through their practical activities that they are organs of a type of political power best suited to the realities of Korea and capable of realizing the centuries-old dream of the masses in the best way. Our

people are convinced through real life that the people's committees are genuine organs of their own political power. Hence, it is now time to turn the heretofore provisional provincial, city and county people's committees in north Korea into legally sound organs of power.

The people's committees were established on the initiative of the Korean people in all parts of north and south Korea right after liberation. From this fact alone it can be seen that they are organs of a type of political power which answers the unanimous and earnest desires of the Korean people. In north Korea the people's committees have clearly demonstrated their vast superiority and vitality and won high prestige among and the confidence of the masses.

In sharp contrast, however, the people's committees in south Korea have been suppressed and dissolved and it has become impossible to realize the long-cherished desire of the masses.

The south Korean people have been deprived of their power and do not have the liberties and rights that are enjoyed by the people in north Korea. Although in south Korea the people have been liberated from the Japanese imperialist yoke, their position has not changed in the least, and it has become utterly unthinkable to carry out such democratic reforms as in north Korea. This is highly deplorable.

That the situation has come to this pass is not the people's fault, but is the consequence of the criminal manoeuvres on the part of the reactionary elements against the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. Such criminal manoeuvres have made it impossible for the Korean people to set up a unified, democratic government for themselves and kept them divided between the north and the south.

But no efforts, however desperate, on the part of the enemy will be able to check the Korean people's struggle to establish a unified, democratic, independent, and sovereign state. Our country will certainly be reunified, and when the reunification is realized, all the Korean people will be able to enjoy all the benefits of freedom and democracy together.

The people's committees to be elected now are confronted with

the heavy task of accelerating the building of our state.

To make our country a prosperous and strong independent state, the people's committees should consolidate and add to the successes already scored in the democratic reforms. First, agriculture should be developed rapidly and the peasants' livelihood improved on the basis of the results of the agrarian reform. Simultaneously, sound economic foundations should be laid for the building of a democratic state and the people's living standards should be raised markedly, by rehabilitating and extending industry and transport which are now owned by the people. Private property should be protected and individual business activities encouraged and promoted in industry and trade.

The people's committee should ensure education for the rising generation and the advancement of science, literature and the arts, and eliminate the evil aftermath of Japanese imperialism in these domains at an early date. In particular, it should train scientific and technical personnel in large numbers to overcome the shortage of cadres, the biggest obstacle to advance.

Under the guidance of the people's committee our people should strengthen friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the countries in the international democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and continue to develop cooperation with the freedom-loving peoples of all countries of the world in the struggle to preserve and consolidate world peace.

All these are most important tasks confronting the organ of our people's power at the present stage, and when they are thoroughly carried out, the historic cause of founding a democratic people's republic in Korea, a prosperous and strong, independent and democratic state, will be accomplished.

We have adequate conditions for carrying out these tasks successfully. We have genuine people's power established on the people's initiative and the might of our awakened people united closely around it. In north Korea our people are the masters of the country and owners of all its natural resources. If all the people unite

ever more firmly around the people's committee and devote their all to the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of the country and its prosperity and progress, they will successfully overcome difficulties, however grave, and win brilliant victory.

The coming elections of the people's committees, therefore, are of tremendous significance in the political life of our people. They will reinforce our people's power, thereby consolidating the results of the democratic reforms carried out in north Korea and firmly guaranteeing the establishment of a prosperous and strong, independent and democratic state.

We should all take part in the elections with a high degree of political zeal and elect to the people's committees the finest, most talented and most conscientious persons who will serve the country and people faithfully.

There are persons spreading false rumours in an attempt to disrupt the elections. We must sharpen our vigilance against them.

Some are slinging mud at the forthcoming elections, alleging that an organ of power elected by the people themselves cannot have real power and that the people themselves are not fit to engage in politics. According to their view, a real organ of power is only one rigged up from above or forcibly imposed by a foreign country. Those who make such allegations usually refer to the old society and say, "Our ancestors, too, lived that way." But what kind of organ of power is it that is rigged up from above? It is a power organ of the rich established without the people's participation, an inequitable one which the minority uses against the majority. It is a well-known fact that all through history such a power organ was used to oppress the people and defend the exploiters. Moreover, through their own bitter experience our people know better than anyone else how barbarous and predatory the organ of power forcibly imposed by another country is.

Therefore, those who reject the organ of power elected by the people are, in fact, persons who want to return to the past when the people were subjected to oppression and maltreatment and who are

attempting to bring our people under the humiliating yoke of colonial slavery again.

Others demand that the elections be put off because they are premature. Of course, this is wrong.

Though of a provisional nature, the people's committee organized in the past year proved itself, through its policies and work, to be an excellent form of power organ, the one best suited to the actual conditions of our country, and it gained high prestige among the broad masses.

Under the guidance of the people's committee our people have carried out great democratic reforms and laid solid foundations for the establishment of an independent and sovereign state. To consolidate and develop the successes of the democratic reforms, the people's committee which is now provisional should be made legally sound, a people's committee established through the elections. We should, therefore, hold the elections on the scheduled day without fail. There is no reason why we should put them off.

Those who allege that the elections are premature do not believe the people's committee to be an organ of people's power, but they undoubtedly demand some other type of power which is not people's power. They consider that the Korean people are not yet capable of self-government and that Korea is still unable to become independent and sovereign. They are the people's enemies bent on frustrating our democratic elections.

Still others insist that no priests and pastors should be elected to the people's committees, nor should religious believers take part in the elections. According to their view, participation in the elections would be an act of betrayal to religion. This is sheer nonsense uttered by reactionaries with the sinister intent of inducing religious people to boycott the elections.

Election to the people's committees means one enjoys the confidence of the people and enters their service. There should be no religion which prohibits believers, priests and pastors from working for their country and people. I think that believers of any religion,

including pastors and priests, can and ought to work for the people, if they are true patriots. So, a good and patriotic believer, no matter who he is, can be elected to the people's committee, can vote in the elections and can and must zealously further the work of the committee.

In north Korea freedom of religion is guaranteed and no religion is suppressed or restricted. All religious persons in north Korea enjoy the full rights and liberties of a citizen, and they are to take part in the coming elections of the people's committees with equal rights. Thus, many pastors and priests have been put up as candidates for the people's committees and most believers are participating in the election work with zeal.

If any religious figures try to prevent believers, priests and pastors from participating in the elections on the plea of religious traditions and doctrines, they must be spies bribed by a foreign country, who are attempting to use religion for subversion. These persons try to play upon the good sentiments of the believers and thus cheat them with the objective of disrupting the elections. Certain Protestant pastors, for instance, act this way. They are pawns of the enemy that is seeking to turn Korea into a colony again. We do not doubt that the believers themselves will expose and reject those traitorous pastors who disguise themselves as "friends of believers," but who, in reality, are their enemies and enemies of all the Korean people.

Still others maintain that women should not be elected to the people's committees and even that they should not be allowed to take part in the elections. This is also wrong thinking.

Women account for half of the population. If half of the people do not take part in electing the organ of power or in its work, such power can hardly be called a genuine people's power. Women constitute a great force, and large numbers of them are sharing in the work of rehabilitating our country no less creditably than men. In our country women are guaranteed by law equal rights with men in all fields. The Law on Sex Equality, therefore, should be fully enforced in the elections, for only then can they be truly democratic elections.

The elections of the people's committees are most progressive and democratic elections. This is evident above all from the social composition of the candidates. The candidates jointly put up by our Democratic National United Front consist of representatives of many democratic parties, non-party personalities and representatives of people in all walks of life, such as workers, peasants, office workers, tradesmen, entrepreneurs, handicraftsmen and men of religion. It is quite unthinkable anywhere, except in a truly democratic society where the people have become the masters of their own destiny, that workers and peasants elect a large number of their representatives to power. Many representatives of the intelligentsia are among the candidates, and I think this is also reasonable. Our intellectuals, who are using all their energy and talent to help build a prosperous and strong country and create a good life for the people, should, as a matter of course, play an important role in the people's committees together with the workers and peasants.

The elections of people's committee members are wholly based on universal and equal suffrage. All citizens of our country have the equal right to be elected and to vote. Regardless of party affiliation, property status, conditions of residence, religious belief and other factors, no discrimination or restriction of any kind is put on their right to vote and be elected.

That the forthcoming elections are most democratic elections is also seen in the fact that the people themselves cast secret ballots and directly elect the people's committee members. An indirect election is not at all necessary in electing an organ of genuine people's power. Such a form of election is used by the privileged circles to deceive the people whom they are afraid of.

The truly people-oriented character of our power and the great tasks confronting it place very heavy duties on the members of the people's committees who are to be elected. Our people's committee members should have boundless love for their country and people, devote all their energy and talent to serving the people faithfully and, no matter what difficulties they encounter, they should fight to the

end unflinchingly, solely in the interests of the people, surmounting all difficulties boldly and with devotion.

Members of the people's committees are statesmen and servants of the people. They should always be principled and fair in doing all kinds of work, organize and lead the people correctly, and make day-by-day efforts to raise their own political and intellectual levels. People's committee members should become officials who maintain close bonds with the people, carefully listen to their demands and know how to educate them and also learn from them, and who always examine their own work and eliminate shortcomings. The duties of people's committee members are heavy but honourable, indeed.

Our constituents should elect advanced elements with these qualities to the people's committees, and the elected members should discharge their duties well.

The electors should always check up on the work of the people's committee member they have elected and if he fails to acquit himself well or loses the confidence of the people, they should recall him and recommend another person faithful to the people to replace him.

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Today our people feel boundless pride in the fact that they are electing by themselves the people's committees, organs of genuine people's power, and they greet the election day with hope and confidence.

All electors without exception should participate in the elections on November 3 and fulfil their sacred duty to the country. They should vote for the best representatives of the people of all classes and strata, for the candidates put up by the Democratic National United Front, for the true patriots who ardently love their country and people and who are fighting devotedly to build a prosperous and strong, independent and democratic state.

Election day is close at hand and the election campaign is now at its height. At such a time there may appear persons who attempt to obstruct our historic elections. We should ensure a brilliant victory in the democratic elections by thoroughly smashing the manoeuvres of

the reactionaries who are bent on frustrating them.

Since liberation from the Japanese imperialist yoke of colonial rule, our people have achieved tremendous successes in building a new life by their devoted efforts. But this is no more than the first step in building a rich and powerful democratic country, and we are confronted with difficult and heavy tasks. In the future, we must establish a democratic independent and sovereign state, rapidly rehabilitate and develop the national economy, promote the material well-being of all our people and make our national culture bloom and prosper.

To carry out all these tasks successfully, our organ of people's power should be strengthened and the unity and cohesion of all the people cemented. The forthcoming elections of the provincial, city and county people's committees are very important for this. All the people, therefore, should guarantee the success of the elections by their united efforts and concerted action and should forge ahead vigorously to win new and great victories in building a democratic country.

Each and every Korean citizen who loves his country and desires happiness for himself and the people, should go to the polls and vote for the candidates for people's committee membership.

It is my firm belief that you will all zealously take part in the elections and express the indomitable will of the Korean people to attain the freedom and complete independence of the country and so demonstrate to the whole world that our awakened and united people are capable of self-government and are fully able to build their country into an advanced, independent democratic state.

ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE MEMBERS

**Speech at the 30th Meeting of the South Phyongan
Provincial People's Committee**

November 13, 1946

Dear people's committee members,

This meeting is attended by people who represent all walks of life in South Phyongan Province. I warmly congratulate you members of the people's committee who have been elected representatives of the people.

Recently we won the elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees with the active participation of all the people. The people's committees formed through democratic elections are the genuine organs of people's power consisting of representatives of broad sections of the people—workers, peasants, office employees, educationalists, cultural workers, tradesmen, entrepreneurs, men of religion, and so on. This is the first time in the 5 000 years of our history that such government bodies have been established. Together with you, I would like to pay tribute to the people's committees, the genuine organs of people's power, formed through the first democratic elections in our country.

Through the victorious democratic elections, the Korean people clearly demonstrated to the people of the whole world what kind of government they want. The recent elections were a graphic

illustration that today all the Korean people do not want an American-style bourgeois dictatorship. The kind of government our people want is genuine people's power in which people from all walks of life participate and which represents their interests. The people's committee is the very government that fully accords with the will of all the Korean people and opens the way to the democratic and complete independence and sovereignty of Korea.

At present the American imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to all manner of manoeuvres to rig up an anti-popular government contrary to the will of our people. They claim that the government should consist of just a few capitalists or privileged persons.

The American imperialists' attempt to install a reactionary government in our country today is prompted by aggressive designs. They know that if representatives of the people from all walks of life participate in the Korean provisional government they cannot turn our country into their colony, so they try to concoct a government out of a bunch of reactionary bandits.

All the moves of the American imperialists and their stooges to set up a reactionary government in Korea were rejected flatly by our people at the recent democratic elections. We won these elections and in doing so gave legal status to the people's committees, the genuine organs of people's power. Thus, we foiled the reactionary plots of the American imperialists to turn Korea into their colony and gave them a telling rebuff. By winning the democratic elections and thus strengthening the people's government, our country has taken its place among the Democracies and has been able to make a positive contribution to the struggle for the world's democratic development and peace.

However, the successful democratic reforms in north Korea and the legal consolidation of the people's committees do not mean that all our problems have been solved. The successes our people have scored so far in fulfilling their democratic tasks are merely the foundation from which we go forward to win the country's full

independence and sovereignty. From now on we must use this foundation to build a country where all the people can live happily.

In order to build a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state, it is imperative to strengthen the people's government and push ahead more vigorously with the building of democracy. For this purpose, the role of the people's committee members should be decisively enhanced. All of them should do their utmost to carry out their serious assignments accurately.

The people's committee members should endeavour to ensure that the people's government formulates correct policies for the people.

Our people's committee is the government body of the people. Our people who have come to understand clearly from the experience of the past year that the people's committee is indeed a true champion of their interests, entrust it with their destiny. Therefore, the people's committee must work out just policies that will bring well-being to all the people.

In order to formulate a truly people-oriented policy, it is necessary to know what the people want and what they intend to do, and listen attentively to the opinions of people from all walks of life. Only a policy correctly reflecting the will of the people can be popular and, accordingly, the masses can readily accept it and carry it out. We were able to win great victory in the first historic democratic elections this time, because they correctly reflected the requirements of the broad masses embraced in various political parties and public organizations.

If the people's committee members are to play their part satisfactorily, they should keep in close touch with the masses. They should always go deep among the broad masses to listen to what they have to say and grasp their requirements promptly. If they fail to heed the true voice of the masses but put forward as an opinion what a few persons talked about in secret behind the scenes or what has been excerpted from some "ist" theory or someone's book, that will be empty talk running counter to the realities and the masses' wishes and will be of no help to the people's government in shaping a policy.

Bearing in mind that the masses of the people are following their activities, the people's committee members should visit factories, mines, towns, farm villages, plain and mountain areas and everywhere people live and should listen to the voices of the broad sections of the masses and reflect them on the people's committees. Members of worker and peasant origin should collect constructive opinions from among the broad sections of workers and peasants, women members from among women, and cultural and religious members from among cultural workers and religion, and submit them to the people's committee meetings for discussion. In this way correct policies will be worked out for the people.

However, the people's committee members should not accept all individual opinions at random without analyzing them, on the plea of heeding the masses' wishes. Some people still misunderstand our democratic line. If the people's committee members listen only to those people and interpret their opinions as those of the masses, they may commit a blunder in their work. They should therefore distinguish between right and wrong opinions and should not accept the latter.

Nevertheless, it will not do to suspect and reject all people who come forward with wrong opinions. True, a struggle must be waged against those who offer opinions deliberately distorting the facts in order to obstruct the work of the people's government. As for those who express incorrect views due to a misunderstanding of our democratic line, they should be educated. The people's committee members should carefully explain the essence and correctness of the democratic line to the people so that they will view all problems in the right light.

While endeavouring to get the policies of the people's government correctly formulated, the people's committee members should strive to carry them out.

The people's government policies must be correctly shaped to reflect the people's will and then carried out by the masses of the people themselves. No matter how good the policy we put forward, if

it is not carried out and remains a dead letter, it is good for nothing.

If the people's government policy is to be carried out correctly, it must first be explained clearly to the masses of the people. The people's committee members should not only have a good grasp of all policies of the people's government but fully explain and propagate them among the broad masses. In this way all the people should be well acquainted with all policies of the people's government and accept them as their own.

The people's committee members should take the lead in implementing the people's government policies. They should strive to carry out the laws, decisions and directives of the people's government by actively enlisting the broad masses of the people, so that democratic construction will make good headway.

In order to play their role satisfactorily they should acquire the good habit of learning from the masses.

The government officials in feudal or capitalist society stood above the people, giving orders and shouting commands without relying on them; but the people's committee members should never behave like that because they champion the interests of the people. Our officials should not act like the bureaucrats in government bodies in the old society but should go deep among the people and learn from them.

The masses of the people may not be so proficient in office work and writing as our officials, but they are wisest and most sensible and know better than anyone else how to distinguish right from wrong. Therefore, justice, wisdom and strength are always to be found among the masses. This is the reason why our officials should go among the broad sections of the people to ask them about everything and learn from them.

The people's committee members should always try to learn from the masses. In particular, from the workers and peasants they should learn fidelity to the state and ardent love for the country and the people. And it is important to imbibe the noble traits of workers and peasants who value the state and people's property, the fruits of

labour, and run the economic life of the country with care. They should acquire the trait of learning from the masses with an open mind and rely firmly on them in doing all work.

The people's committee members should be ready to combat negative practices. They should oppose all wrong tendencies including those of living in idleness and embezzling and squandering the property of the state and the people, instead of caring for it. In particular, they should see if there is such a corrupt and indolent practice among the people's government officials as working simply for the sake of getting a salary, not as faithful servants of the people; they should struggle resolutely against wrong practices in their midst so as to rectify them promptly.

While learning from the masses of the people and combating negative practices, the people's committee members should teach them. This alone enables them to work in accordance with the correct line of the people's government and become true servants of the people.

Now, I am going to refer to some immediate tasks.

One of the most important tasks confronting us today is to ensure success in the work of collecting the agricultural tax in kind.

Timely collection of agricultural tax in kind is the key to the solution of the country's food problem. Now that all countries of the world are experiencing a food shortage, we are unable to import food from abroad. In these conditions, we must definitely solve the country's food problem with the grain we harvest. If we fail to collect the agricultural tax in kind from the peasants, we will be unable to ensure regular food supplies to the factory and office workers and students and, moreover, to realize the industrial rehabilitation we plan for 1947.

Therefore, one of the most important political problems in north Korea at present is the food policy and, accordingly, a most important task facing our people's committee members is to strive to implement the state's food policy correctly. They should direct every effort to the job of collecting agricultural tax in kind so as to solve the country's food problem.

Attention must be concentrated on receiving the correct amounts stipulated in the system of agricultural tax in kind. It will not do to collect more or less than the stipulated amount. Twenty-five per cent of the harvest is the correct amount to be collected.

In order to collect agricultural tax in kind accurately and in time, it is necessary to launch an activist-corps campaign for full delivery of agricultural tax in kind. It has already been decided to launch this campaign but organizational work is falling behind. With good organization, this campaign will ensure success in collecting agricultural tax in kind. The people's committee members should go among the peasants to organize properly the activist-corps campaign for full delivery of agricultural tax in kind, and intensify explanatory and information work so that the tax is paid in time. And so through the quick and complete delivery of agricultural tax in kind the peasants should be encouraged to display their patriotic zeal.

The people's government bodies should make efforts to restore and develop industries.

Industrial reconstruction is the basis for building a prosperous independent and sovereign state and the key to the improvement in the people's living standards. If we are to achieve the prosperity and development of the country and provide the people with a happy life, we should restore and develop industries to produce plenty of goods.

At present our industries are negligible; they produce only a scanty amount of goods for building a new Korea and improving the people's livelihood. As a result, we cannot reach the desired targets in democratic construction, nor can we pay high enough wages to the workers and office employees and supply enough daily necessities to the people.

With a view to rehabilitating and developing industries and increasing production as soon as possible, all factory and office workers should work well as befitting masters of the country. Some of them still fail to understand correctly that they are the masters of the country. Some are not aware that they are the masters of the factories and enterprises, railways and banks, and still work like hired

labourers. So they cannot raise labour productivity and waste the country's valuable property, instead of taking care of it.

By making the factory and office workers keenly aware that they are working for the country and themselves as masters of the state and the factories, we should encourage them to carry out their assignments as sincerely as if doing their own work at home. We should ensure that all of them strive to produce plenty of goods with a sense of being the masters, bravely coping with all obstacles and difficulties cropping up in the course of production.

The crimes of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation must be thoroughly exposed and condemned.

The Syngman Rhee clique in south Korea are traitors who have betrayed the country and the people. In the past when true Korean patriots were fighting against the Japanese imperialists, arms in hand, shedding their blood for the country's independence, the Syngman Rhee clique were gratifying their own interests with the sympathy money they had got under the pretext of conducting an "independence movement" abroad and committing the crime of selling out the country and the nation. The same is true after liberation. In the past year they were engrossed in factional strife and national partition in south Korea and perpetrated thrice-cursed outrages such as closing down democratic schools and arresting, imprisoning and murdering large numbers of patriots and ordinary people while actively supporting the US military government.

The Syngman Rhee clique have employed every possible means to smuggle subversive agents and saboteurs into north Korea to wreck the building of democracy. They went as far as committing such crimes as setting fire to a sawmill and killing the children of a certain high official of the PPCNK. They plotted to disrupt the recent democratic elections too, by inciting a handful of reactionary pastors in north Korea. However, the people and progressive pastors did not follow in the wake of the reactionary pastors but took an active part in the democratic elections.

As you see, the Syngman Rhee clique did nothing in the past for

the country; all they did was to betray the nation and act as enemies of the people. All the facts in the past indicate clearly what path they are taking. They are taking the path of opposing democracy, hampering Korea's full independence and sovereignty and returning our people to the status of colonial slaves of imperialism.

We should fully acquaint the people with the anti-popular crimes of the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation and rouse the masses to struggle against them. If all the people unite firmly and fight vigorously, they will be able to frustrate every move of the reactionaries and succeed in building a fully independent, sovereign and democratic state in Korea.

Dear people's committee members,

In north Korea, one half of our territory, genuine democratic power has already become firmly rooted. This is positive proof of our victory. No force can impair our victory. We should make a strong endeavour to establish a unified, democratic central government on the basis of the successes already achieved.

I hope that deeply aware of your honourable duties you will make a great contribution to strengthening the people's government and stepping up our democratic construction by enhancing the role of the people's committee member.

IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PROSECUTORS AND SECURITY PERSONNEL

**Speech at a Joint Meeting of the Heads of Public Prosecutor's
Offices and Security Stations in Provinces and Cities**

November 20, 1946

After the liberation of our country the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was established in north Korea and, under it, new, democratic prosecutor's offices and security bodies were formed.

Over the past year the judicial and security bodies have carried out an enormous amount of work in maintaining social order and combating all sorts of crimes and in defending the people's rights and interests and protecting state property and personal property.

Our prosecutors and security officers have contributed greatly to the success of the democratic reforms. They have discharged their honourable duty as faithful sons and daughters of the Korean people.

Twenty-four prosecutors and security officers died a heroic death in pursuit of their important duties, among them Comrade Kim Sang Chun, member of the Pyongyang Security Station, Comrade Yun Sung Un of the Security Bureau and Comrade Ri Chol Jung, head of the West-coast Maritime Security Corps. The lofty fidelity of those who fell in the struggle for their country and people will be remembered long by our people.

The brilliant victory in the elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees held on November 3 is proof that north

Korea is advancing along the correct democratic line and, at the same time, that the prosecutors and security personnel have valiantly safeguarded all the democratic gains scored in north Korea in resisting the reactionaries' encroachments.

However, when reviewing the work of the prosecutor's offices and security bodies of north Korea for the past year, we find there are still many shortcomings in it. The workers employed in these organizations were not equal to their heavy responsibilities and did not fully meet the people's expectations and requirements.

Moreover, there were cases where shady elements found their way into the prosecutor's offices and security bodies and defiled their sacred ranks. Let me cite some examples. At the time of the agrarian reform some officials in the prosecutor's offices tried to obstruct it, playing into the hands of reactionary landlords, and others failed to deal resolutely with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. And there were also those who because of their inconsistent democratic consciousness failed to carry out their duties with determination and slackened their efforts without taking an active part in carrying out the democratic reforms.

In the security bodies there were some who, adhering to the Japanese imperialist police-first principle, arrested people illegally, tortured them and confiscated their houses and property to dispose of them as they wished. There were also wrong tendencies to act in disregard of the directives of prosecutor's offices and the law on civil liberties which democratic state organizations must observe to the letter.

Because prosecutors and security personnel lacked a correct understanding of their duties, a narrow departmentalist tendency appeared, which harmed the work of prosecutor's offices and security bodies in general and seriously obstructed their personnel's role as servants of the people.

Only when the prosecutor's offices and security bodies help and cooperate with each other like two wheels of one cart and maintain close contact in carrying out their respective assignments, can the

building of democracy and the defence of human rights be fully guaranteed.

What, then, is the basic mission entrusted to these two organizations?

The mission of the democratic prosecutor's office is, first, to defend our people's building of an independent and sovereign democratic state and, secondly, to protect human rights.

In order that this basic mission could be fulfilled, the PPCNK laid down in detail in the law the duties of a prosecutor.

The function of a prosecutor is not confined mainly to the investigation and prosecution of crimes; it is to supervise, on democratic principles, how the decisions and orders of the PPCNK and its bureaus are put into effect by state institutions, public organizations and the masses of the people, and to observe the enforcement of the decisions and directives of the provincial, city and county people's committees. What is more, the prosecutor is duty bound to watch over the activities of security bodies, approve or disapprove of warrants for the arrest of citizens and see whether the justice is properly carried out in both criminal and civil cases.

As mentioned above, the prosecutor's office in a democratic state serving the people has an essentially different mission from that of an imperialist state and a very important one. We have set up a prosecutor's office in every city and county to defend the government and the people's rights.

You should understand that building a democratic state is out of the question if the prosecutor's offices fail to do their work thoroughly at all times.

The basic mission of the public security body is to maintain law and order and defend the people's personal dignity and property substantially. In every respect our security organizations work for the people and must become the people's security bodies.

Although in imperialist Japan and other fascist states the people's personal dignity and honour were completely impaired due to police despotism, in our country where a people's government has been

established every citizen's personal dignity and honour are most highly regarded and defended by the public security bodies. Our public security bodies must faithfully perform this mission entrusted to them.

If the prosecutor's offices and security bodies are to fulfil their basic missions well, their organization and composition, and the content and methods of work must be truly democratic; and they must strictly abide by the laws which embody them. The detailed regulations and procedures laid down in the laws are not trivialities but a means of fully implementing democracy. Only when everybody fulfils his duty faithfully in accordance with these laws, will it be possible to further strengthen our organization and give full play to the superior democratic system. We should have a profound understanding of the fact that the tendency to treat lightly as a trivial official form all the detailed stipulations of the laws at the present stage is most harmful that weakens the organization and delays its work.

I take the occasion of this meeting to call on all the workers of the prosecutor's offices and security bodies to strive devotedly to overcome the aforesaid defects in their work, to be more faithful to their duties, to enhance the prestige and functions of these organizations through work, to ensure the correct execution of all the PPCNK's undertakings and to defend more firmly the successes of the democratic reforms carried out in north Korea.

Now, I am going to speak about some immediate tasks facing the prosecutor's offices and security bodies.

First, the survivals of Japanese imperialism must be cleared from the work of the prosecutor's offices and security bodies. To this end, it is essential for them to faithfully execute all the laws of the PPCNK, to do away with such malpractices as illegal arrest and duress of citizens, torture, bribery and the like, which the Japanese imperialists' prosecutors and police committed, respect rules and order and establish discipline.

Second, the prosecutors and security personnel should be diligent,

irreproachable and courageous persons who are infinitely loyal to the state and the people as servants of the people, and strive constantly to be comrades to one another and ensure ideological unity in their ranks.

Third, it is necessary to look after state property and protect personal property. Although under Japanese imperialist rule everything that belonged to the Korean people was beyond legal protection, today it is one of our important tasks to have high regard for and protect the people's property.

Particularly important is to protect all property which have come under state ownership through the law on nationalization of industries. We should take good care of all the nationalized property and manage and protect them as befitting owners. In particular, security officers and prosecutors should bear in mind that all facilities and materials of state enterprises must first be protected from the reactionaries' subversive activities and the embezzlement of alien elements.

Fourth, all the security personnel and prosecutors should not be elated at the victory already won, but be extremely vigilant and on guard against any inertia that may appear under the favourable conditions prevailing in north Korea. They should always be ready to fulfil their duties without hesitation however unfavourable the conditions, or however great the difficulties and confusion.

Fifth, the personnel of security bodies and prosecutor's offices should strive to improve their working knowledge and qualifications and to raise their political and cultural level. They should intensify political study and make steady efforts to acquire the trait of genuine public prosecutors and public security officers, and wage a vigorous struggle against all criminal and subversive acts.

Sixth, they should give help to make the collection of agricultural tax in kind a success. They should keenly realize the great political and economic importance of the agricultural tax in kind and see that all decisions regarding this tax are carried out.

In view of the fact that officials of our local people's committees

still fail to do their work well and that some backward peasants make false reports on the cultivated area, the yield, natural disasters and so on, they must wage a resolute struggle against these tendencies. They should be enlisted to ensure that the fixed agricultural tax in kind will be paid in full within the set time by carrying through Decision No. 110 in particular and, at the same time, they should strive to guarantee the storage and transport of the collected tax in kind and prevent shady elements from engaging in swindling.

All these are the important tasks facing the security personnel and prosecutors.

You are honourable workers defending our people's government in person, protecting human rights and guaranteeing the building of democracy in north Korea. Therefore, you must have a stronger hatred for the enemy than anyone else and cultivate the spirit of loving the country and the people and a high degree of national pride.

I am convinced that with this noble ideological preparation, you will remain faithful to your duties to the end as servants of the people, thus adding greater contributions to the normal development of the work of prosecution and security which is of vital importance in building democracy and, further, to laying a solid foundation for the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state.

THE RESULTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

**Speech at the Third Enlarged Meeting
of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea**

November 25, 1946

Comrade members of the people's committee,

The elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees ended in victory on November 3. All the people marked election day as their most glorious holiday and discharged their sacred duty as citizens to elect their representatives with great patriotic zeal and joy.

Out of a total of 4 516 120 electors, 4 501 813, or 99.6 per cent, went to the polls and the overwhelming majority voted for the candidates nominated by the Democratic National United Front. The ratio of ballots was: 97 per cent for the provincial people's committees; 95.4 per cent for the city people's committees; and 96.9 per cent for the county people's committees. This is indeed a brilliant victory.

The victory in the recent elections disproved the slanders and contempt of the imperialists and traitors directed against the Korean people, and demonstrated to the whole world that we, too, can run our lives as well as others, build up our economy ourselves, and administer our country by our people's efforts.

The victory in the elections showed the extent to which the Korean

people are politically awakened, how closely they are united, and how strong their determination is. It has provided striking proof that no one can dare to violate the interests and sovereignty of the Korean people.

The victory in the recent elections testified once more that the road our people are now following is indeed a road leading to the well-being of the masses, to the building of a genuinely unified, independent state, one that meets the demand of all the people and is enthusiastically approved by them.

The electoral victory has inspired our people with a firm faith in their own strength, and thoroughly convinced them that their cause is right and is bound to win.

While the people in north Korea were carrying out democratic elections, the reactionaries in south Korea were enacting the fraudulent farce of the so-called "election to the legislature." It was opposed by all the south Korean people and even by the Right-wing political parties which the reactionaries themselves had organized and been directing.

The recent elections have knitted together the democratic forces more closely and further consolidated the achievements of the past year.

Comrades,

The recent elections were a fair and sober assessment by the people of the activities conducted by our people's committee in the past year. Through their practical experience the people have come to realize that the people's committee is a government truly guarding their interests and that, indeed, this government is to be depended upon and can safely be entrusted with their destiny. That is why our people expressed their full support for and unreserved trust in the people's committee in the recent elections.

Life itself has shown, and the results of the recent elections have afforded ample proof, that the people's committee enjoys prestige and the deep confidence of the people. Why is this?

Primarily, it is because the people's committee not only represents

and safeguards the interests of all the people, but also is made up of representatives of the people from all social strata. Herein lies the great vitality of the people's committee.

The following election returns show graphically that our people's committees are genuine organs of people's government consisting of representatives of the people from all social strata. Here is the breakdown of the total of 3 459 persons elected to the provincial, city and county people's committees.

Workers.....	510.....	14.7 %
Peasants.....	1 256.....	36.4 %
Office employees.....	1 056.....	30.5 %
Cultural workers.....	311.....	9.0 %
Merchants.....	145.....	4.2 %
Entrepreneurs.....	73.....	2.1 %
Religious believers.....	94.....	2.7 %
Former landlords.....	14.....	0.4 %

Of these 453 are women, who account for 13.1 per cent of the total number.

The working class that was most harshly exploited and persecuted by the Japanese robbers under their colonial rule, and that fought most staunchly against the enemy, is playing the vanguard role in building their liberated country along democratic lines. It is, therefore, natural that a large number of workers should participate in the people's government. And it is also natural that the peasants, who, though constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, enjoyed no rights and were trampled underfoot by the privileged simply as objects of exploitation and oppression, should have the largest number of representatives returned to our organs of people's power. Moreover, office employees, cultural workers, entrepreneurs, merchants and religious believers are also represented in the people's committees.

The women who, though equal human beings, were not treated as

such but were downtrodden in the old feudal and colonial Korea, have now legitimately entered the political arena in the new Korea and have sent a large number of representatives to the organs of people's power.

All this proves that the people's committee has close ties with the broad masses of the people and has taken deep root among them. It also demonstrates clearly that our people's committee is based on a national united front and is a form of democratic power representing the demands and interests of the masses of the people from all walks of life.

Through its practical work of the past year, the people's committee has abundantly demonstrated that only this type of government is capable of freeing the masses from the consequences of the enemy's rigorous rule, improving their material and cultural lives and building a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state.

The people's committee carried out the agrarian reform and distributed land among the tillers, freeing them from the feudal system of tenancy and paving the way for them to build a new life. Today, the masters of the countryside are not the nobles or the landlords but the peasants with hoe in hand.

The mere fact that the peasants participated so enthusiastically in the recent elections and welcomed them so warmly is ample proof of how they trust and support the people's committee. The burning patriotic enthusiasm and awakening of the peasants manifested in the campaign for completing delivery of the tax in kind now under way in north Korea, arouse the admiration of everyone and infuse great courage and strength in those of us engaged in state affairs.

After confiscating and nationalizing the industrial establishments owned by the Japanese state, Japanese individuals and Korean traitors to the nation, the people's committee geared all industries to improving the material and cultural standards of the masses and rehabilitating and developing the state. By introducing the eight-hour working day and labour protection and social insurance systems, it

freed the factory and office workers from colonial exploitation, and provided conditions for quickly improving their material and cultural standards.

The people's committee protects private property by state law, encourages private businesses and trade, and stimulates and develops the creative initiative of the entrepreneurs and merchants.

In order to develop our national culture, the people's committee effected a reform in the educational system, and did everything in its power to set up institutions of higher learning, specialized schools and other cultural establishments.

Under state law women are guaranteed the same rights as men and play a positive part in all social activities and in building up the nation. Through its practical work on behalf of the masses, the people's committee has established ties of kinship with people from all walks of life and earned prestige among the masses which no one can impair.

We can say without hesitation that no reactionary forces would dare to attack the government now that it has deep roots among the masses of the people, established close ties with them and won their confidence through life itself.

We may take great pride in the fact that we have established in our country such a people's committee, a genuinely people-oriented form of power.

Comrade members of the people's committee,

All these victories, however, are not a windfall but a gain won through hard struggle against the enemy.

The reactionary elements in south Korea who hate our successes and are hostile towards democracy and against the independence and sovereignty of Korea, tried to frustrate the recent democratic elections in north Korea in every way.

They were also well aware long before that the elections held by the north Korean people would be of immense significance in the democratic development of Korea and the building of a unified, independent and sovereign state and that victory in the elections

would prove a heavy blow to them. That is why they resorted to all sorts of underhand moves to upset the elections.

The reactionaries of south Korea pulled wires systematically to wreck the elections. No sooner had the elections got under way than the reactionaries encouraged their underlings to spread such reactionary slanders as “The elections are nonsense,” “The elections are undemocratic,” and “The elections are premature,” in an attempt to give the people a distorted picture of the significance and democratic essence of the elections.

They also tried to wreck the Democratic National United Front in the most despicable way by provoking strife among different political parties. In their rabid efforts to carve up the DNUF and torpedo the elections, they resorted to all sorts of slanders and vilifications, prattling, “The joint candidacy is unnecessary. Only free competition can ensure truly democratic elections,” “The elections will result in the despotism of a certain party,” “A certain other party is bound to fall if it fails to win this time.”

What is more, the reactionaries attempted to bribe workers who were badly off and egg the students on to upset the elections. They even tried to stir up the former landlords by telling an outrageous lie, “We’ll get the lands back for you.” They sent in as spies some degenerate Christian ministers whom they thought most reliable, in a desperate effort to seduce honest-minded believers.

Finally, the reactionaries launched the so-called “black box drive.” This meant that the electors might go to the polls, but should cast their votes in the black ballot boxes. In Sinuiju, for example, reactionaries lurking about the back streets stopped women and misled them by telling them to cast their votes in black boxes if they were in favour of the candidates.

However, in spite of the reactionaries’ vicious manoeuvres and plots, people of all social strata in north Korea turned out as one to ensure victory in the elections, smashing these despicable efforts of the reactionaries.

We should draw the proper lessons from the steps taken by the

reactionaries in the recent elections. We should never be carried away by victory or become self-complacent.

We should not forget that the reactionary elements are becoming ever more desperate as the people's strength increases, as the people become more politically conscious, as the foundation of democracy becomes more consolidated, as the day of complete independence approaches, and as the reactionary forces come nearer to their doom. With the growth of our strength and the approach of our final victory, we should increase our vigilance and prepare for a more acute and complex struggle. Self-conceit and self-complacency mean self-destruction.

The struggle against the reactionary elements is becoming more acute with every day. We should not allow the least chance for the enemy to strike.

How is it that we have won a crushing victory in the recent elections despite all the premeditated acts of subversion and conspiracies of the reactionary elements?

First, it is because the political consciousness and enthusiasm of the masses aspiring after independence, sovereignty and democracy were very high and all the labouring masses were closely united.

Deeply conscious that the election results would have a serious bearing on their future destiny, the masses of the people were intent on electing representatives capable of fighting resolutely for their interests.

Second, the DNUF played a big role. As in all previous democratic reforms, so in the recent elections, the united front provided an important guarantee of our victory.

With more than six million people organized in it, the DNUF has grown into a powerful force fully capable of crushing any manoeuvre of the reactionaries. Through its activities the DNUF has already won the people's confidence and in the recent elections became the basic factor making for victory.

Third, the role played by the information workers in the election campaign should be highly appraised. Almost all the primary school

children, secondary school, college and university students, youth, women, artists, and members of many public organizations were mobilized and worked enthusiastically for victory in the elections.

A woman information worker in a mountain village in Kangwon Province, carrying her baby on her back, walked as far as 30-40 *ri* in the mountain district canvassing for the elections. In every remote corner of north Korea artists could be heard singing and evenings were devoted to plays and dances. In particular, pupils and students played a great part. Day and night they conducted explanatory work in towns and farm villages.

Most characteristic of the recent election campaign was that the information work took the form of a mass movement, deep among the masses.

This enthusiasm displayed by the information workers in the recent elections will go down in the history of our nation building as a manifestation of our people's patriotism.

All this constituted an important factor in ensuring our recent victory.

Now, I should like to refer to the tasks of the people's committee. It is our duty to consolidate the victory already achieved and develop it in a planned way. To begin with, we should fulfil the following immediate tasks:

First, we should further strengthen the people's committee. As a result of the elections, the people's committee has been confirmed as the legitimate government. We are confronted with the task of enhancing its authority and role. We should improve and strengthen its apparatus and straighten up its administrative system. It is necessary to do away with all lawlessness and illegalities, strictly abide by state laws and establish administrative discipline and order.

A bureaucratic style of work is still much in evidence in the activities of the people's committee. Complicated procedures and formalistic methods of work greatly hinder the people from gaining easier access to the people's committee and actively participating in its work. This runs counter to the essential characteristics of the

people's committee as a genuine people's government and prevents it from displaying its advantages to the full. It must be said that alien elements are still lurking in the organs of people's power and that their subversive activities do much harm to the people.

The people's committees at all levels should be cleared of irresponsible and incompetent chairwarmers, bureaucrats and ideologically-unsound alien elements, and all formalistic methods of work should be discarded. This will further strengthen the government bodies, increase their work efficiency, reduce their office work and cut down all superfluous staff.

At present the People's Committee of the Special City of Pyongyang has a staff of 1 106, of which as many as 51 are messenger-boys, and more than one "office boy" is attached to each section chief. Many offices and institutions in Pyongyang have quite a few loafers who get paid by the state for just sitting and gazing at the ceiling.

In certain local districts taxes are levied on the peasants, which even the county people's committee, to say nothing of the provincial people's committee, is unaware of. Moreover, there are not one or two kinds of levies but ten or more. In North Hamgyong Province, for example, 17 to 22 kinds of taxes are imposed on the peasants. This cannot but be regarded as subversive activity carried out by loafers and alien elements to harm the prestige of the people's committee and estrange the people from it by deliberately violating the laws and ordinances of the people's government.

The most important task facing us now is to establish the authority of state power and assure the dignity of laws and ordinances by cutting down all surplus staff in the people's committees and expelling the bureaucrats and alien elements. Unless this problem is solved, it will be impossible to further develop the people's committee as a genuine organ of people's power and carry out the new, greater tasks to be set before us.

All members of the people's committee should be ready to go among the masses and acquaint them with its policies and frequently

check up whether they are correctly carried out. Paying heed to the voices of the masses and learning from their good qualities of industry and simplicity and their wisdom, we should become people's committee members that truly represent the interests of the people. We should also be experienced leaders of the masses who do not tolerate or shut their eyes to the old habits and wrong tendencies persisting in part of the masses but are ready to make an effort to remedy them.

The people's committees at all levels should intensify their guidance and control over the public security bodies and public prosecutor's offices and see to it that their officials get rid of all their bureaucratic and warlordist tendencies that set them aside from the masses.

Second, it is necessary to push forward vigorously the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building among the broad masses throughout the country and to wage a struggle to remould their old thinking.

Whether employed in administrative, industrial, cultural, educational or security organs, our cadres should clearly understand the conditions and circumstances in which we are now building a new country. Many of our cadres fail to see our difficulties and shortcomings. Therefore, some officials retain their bad habits of indulging in extravagance and dissipation in quest of personal pleasure, shunning difficulties instead of helping and joining one another in getting over them, being indolent and lazy, making no positive effort to create new things and hating to study. All this is an aftermath of the protracted rule of Japanese imperialism. Obviously, with such obsolete ideas, we cannot build a new country under the present difficult circumstances.

As you all know, we took over from Japanese imperialism nothing but dilapidated factories, chaotic transport facilities, a ruined rural economy and safes containing nothing but account books. We are in need of many things and have many difficulties. We are now endeavouring to build a new country under extremely difficult

conditions, shouldering the destiny of the whole nation. Therefore, we must grit our teeth and surmount all difficulties while producing the things that are lacking and doing without the things that are in short supply.

If we are lazy and dissipated, fond of luxury, fight shy of difficulties and indulge in personal enjoyment, a bitter fate will again befall our country.

We should have a keen awareness of the present circumstances and conditions in our country and work with greater devotion and creative initiative.

The officials in our people's committee, and officials at industrial establishments, cultural and educational institutions and in all other fields should take the lead in eradicating the old ideas among the broad masses and arming them with the new ideas of nation building.

All cadres and people should clearly understand, above all else, how difficult the economic situation of our country is today. Everyone of us should therefore work hard in a responsible manner, and acquire the habit of working four hours when others work two, and of working ten or twelve hours when others work eight. The workplaces, the streets and the back lanes should be cleared of loafers.

A vigorous struggle should be waged against all the bad practices of waste, swindle and misappropriation, and a mass economy movement should be launched in all spheres ranging from the state's economic management to personal consumption.

Loose, disorderly and lax tendencies and the wrong practices of slandering and vilifying one another should be cast aside, and all should help and unite with one another and advance together.

A resolute struggle should be waged against all manner of selfishness manifested in seeking only personal enjoyment, ignoring the community life of the state and society, and neglecting or not caring for state property. We should create a new people's moral code to place the good of society as a whole before personal interests and to value and take good care of state property.

It is necessary to bravely face up to difficulties instead of shrinking from them and criticize shortcomings severely without shutting one's eyes to them. We should educate the masses in the bold and persevering spirit of overcoming all difficulties and obstacles without flinching, and inculcate in them the spirit of criticizing and remedying defects persistently.

Cadres should tirelessly study the tasks assigned them, strive to acquire new know-how and scientific knowledge, and combat the mistaken tendency of refusing, out of self-conceit and self-complacency, to learn from others' experiences. By so doing, they should raise their practical qualifications, acquire new scientific knowledge and assimilate the good experiences of advanced countries on a wide scale.

In short, we should carry out the ideological revolution aimed at cultivating the spirit, trait, morality and fighting efficiency befitting the builders of a new, democratic Korea. We should conduct the great ideological remoulding work to do away with all the depraved and decadent ways and attitudes of life left behind by Japanese imperialism in the past and to create a national spirit worthy of the new, virile and pulsating democratic Korea.

Third, the task is to strive to wind up the delivery of agricultural tax in kind before the set time and carry out the food policy of the state without a hitch. For any country the correct implementation of its food policy is of great importance. Only when a country has plenty of food can it rehabilitate and develop industries, operate rail transport facilities, and promote education and culture. In particular, because our country is a newly liberated state, everything is in short supply and there are no reserves of food. So the food problem is all the more pressing.

Korea is not the only country suffering from a food shortage. The people of all countries are short of food because the world emerged from the flames of war only one year ago and, worse still, because there have been droughts and floods. So we find ourselves hardly able to seek the aid of other countries in solving our food problem. We

have no alternative but to provide for ourselves as much as possible with the grain produced in our north Korea.

To do this, we should actively develop a patriotic grain contribution movement for the peasants to deliver more grain to the state out of love for the country even after the payment of all their tax in kind. We should enlist consumers' cooperatives in the active purchase of grain from the peasants in exchange for commodities. The more plentiful our food supplies become as a consequence, the more energetically we can implement all our policies. Therefore, every effort should be directed to the work of paying the tax in kind, under the slogan, "Much grain to the state for the building of a fully independent democratic country!"

We must do our utmost to prevent profiteers from taking cereals out of north Korea. To take food grain out of the country and leave the people hungry must be regarded as wrecking the building of democracy and at the same time as selling out the country. All the people should fight against such persons, and people's committees at all levels, public security organs, public prosecutor's offices and judicial organs must punish them severely according to the law.

A vigorous campaign is needed now to economize on food. To collect food and then to fail to store it well and economize on it is a grave crime against the people. The food administration departments of people's committees at various levels and the public security organs should investigate and prepare exact statistics on the factory and office workers, exercise strict control over illicit rationing and make sure that provisions are distributed most reasonably without the slightest waste. Only people on the payroll and their families are entitled to rations, but the loafers who quit their jobs or live an idle life while merely having their names on the list of employees must not be given food.

Some peasants have a bad habit of thinking incorrectly, "Let's eat our fill while we have enough." The people's committees will have to take special care to encourage the peasants to economize on food.

Our nation building will not be accomplished in a day or two. We

should foresee the numerous obstacles and difficulties lying in the way of our nation building. We should anticipate that for some time in the future, too, our food situation will be difficult.

All wasteful practices and illicit consumption of food grain—waste of cereals on ceremonial occasions and on secret brewing and distillation of alcoholic drinks—should be absolutely forbidden in the countryside.

The people's committees at all levels should take good care of the cereals already collected by acting in a responsible way. In an attempt to harm our national interests and undermine our work, the reactionaries are trying to perpetrate such vicious subversive acts as setting fire to our grain storages. We should always guard against such sabotage by the enemy and store the grain well so that not a grain of rice will rot.

In short, we should realize that whether or not the food policy is carried out correctly is one of the important problems decisive to the victory of our present endeavours to build a democratic state, and should concentrate all our efforts on obtaining food.

Fourth, we should make every effort to rehabilitate and develop industry and transport as speedily as possible and thereby lay a solid economic foundation for the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. The people's committees still fail to pay enough attention to the rehabilitation of industry. Industry and transport are the mainstays and arteries of our national economy. The people's committees should devote all their energies to the rehabilitation of industry.

The most democratic patriots, staunch skilled workers and activists who are true to state policies and who put up a determined fight against the reactionaries should be selected boldly and appointed to the management of factories; and slack and inefficient managers should be sent to training centres for re-education so that they can improve their management skills and level of political consciousness.

It is necessary for factory committees to be active in supervising

the running of the factories and dealing with all the wrong tendencies within them. We should be resolute in resisting such erroneous tendencies as wasting state property through wrong spending, pilfering the workers' provisions and turning workers out of their homes and then giving the houses to idlers.

We should make the factory and office workers know thoroughly that today the factories belong to them and that protection of these factories and rehabilitation of industry are for the good of their country and their happiness, and should see to it that they wage an uncompromising struggle against the tendency of violating labour discipline. In this way we will lead them to steadily increase labour productivity, get over all difficulties and boost production. All factories, enterprises and transport facilities should be operated independently without relying on state subsidies; they should bring profits to the state.

The people's committees at all levels should drop their indifference to production as soon as possible and show responsibility in properly guiding and supervising the factories and enterprises, improving the workers' living conditions, increasing their labour productivity and protecting the industrial establishments of the state.

The Industry Bureau and the industry departments should organize work in a planned way, tackle all difficulties by displaying creative initiative, readjust and distribute the labour force correctly and supply raw and other materials in good time.

Fifth, the victory of the agrarian reform should be further consolidated and agriculture developed rapidly in the countryside. Autumn ploughing should be completed without delay and next year's production plan worked out in advance so as to make thorough preparations, getting draft animals, seeds, farm implements, fertilizers and everything ready now.

Sixth, the financial policy of the state, unified and planned, should be shaped. Finance is very important business not only for management of factories and enterprises but also for state administration. We should put an end to the lack of planning and

disorder created in financial administration right after liberation, and should balance revenue and expenditure in a planned manner within the limits of the budget.

The task is to prepare correct statistics on the finances of the state and endeavour to increase national revenues.

In the future foreign trade will be controlled by the state in a unified way. The loss caused so far by the lack of state guidance and control over this area is considerable. Large profits from foreign trade are flowing into the hands of profiteers. Since foreign trade is conducted separately by various agencies, there appear the intolerable phenomena of our essential goods flowing outside while, in return, goods unnecessary to our country flowing in.

In collecting taxes, too, the cadres' lack of a plan and responsibility is inflicting great losses on the state treasury. Even now when the end of the year is near, only 60 per cent of the taxes have been paid.

Large amounts of money are being hoarded by the people at present, instead of circulating among the banking organizations of the country. As a result, money which as a matter of course should be used for industrial reconstruction is concentrated in the hands of individuals, profiteers in particular, thus causing prices to soar. This is a major factor today causing financial embarrassment to the state.

The people's committees at all levels should induce the people, through information work, explanation and various other ways, to invest their unused funds in industrial rehabilitation or to deposit them in the bank. The people should be called upon to launch a patriotic money-deposit campaign for the building of a democratic state, and all administrative bodies and other state and public establishments should launch a drive against wasteful practices. All non-budgeted outlays should be strictly forbidden, all financial administration concentrated in the central bodies in a unified way, and severe legal sanctions applied against unlawful outlays and wasteful practices.

Seventh, the people's committee should make greater efforts to

develop our science, art and culture, eradicate the vestiges of Japanese imperialism remaining in the institutions of public education, and promote educational work quickly. A broad anti-illiteracy campaign should be conducted in winter, the peasants' slack season, and much attention directed to rural enlightenment work.

The people's committee should concentrate its energies on the training of talented personnel. Evening technical schools, evening secondary schools and various other training centres should be set up in many localities. In the last analysis, the problem of talented personnel is today the focal point of all matters concerned with building up democracy. Whether this problem is solved or not is an important factor decisive for success in our work. This is especially true of technical personnel. If we fail to train our own cadres in a short period of time, we shall encounter great difficulties in all spheres and be unable to take even one step forward. While doing its best to train our own cadres, the people's committee should take good care of them and study and correctly select them for appointment to appropriate posts.

Eighth, the people's committee should further strengthen and develop friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and all other freedom- and democracy-loving countries and take an active part in the struggle for world peace and the people's security.

I am firmly convinced that our people's committees will successfully carry out the tasks I have mentioned and thus hasten the building of a unified, democratic people's republic which is an urgent demand and the goal of all the Korean people.

FOR PLANNED MANAGEMENT OF STATE- CONTROLLED ENTERPRISES

**Speech at the Meeting of Heads of Industry
Departments of Provincial People's Committees
and Directors of State Enterprises**

December 3, 1946

In a little over one year following Korea's liberation from colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the people's government, has carried out the agrarian reform, nationalized industries, introduced the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality and effected other democratic reforms with the active support of all the people.

This signified the successful fulfilment of the democratic tasks of fundamental importance at the present stage and the creation in north Korea of the groundwork on which to build a democratic country. The first democratic elections held on November 3 in particular strengthened our people's government and consolidated the success in the democratic reforms.

The foremost task in ensuring the independence and sovereignty, prosperity and development of the country is quickly to rehabilitate and develop the national economy and lay the foundations of an independent national economy. Unless these foundations are laid solidly, the building of a rich and powerful, independent and democratic state and the improvement of the people's living standards will be impossible.

As you all know, our economy had long been subordinated to Japanese imperialism and suffered from its merciless colonial plunder. Consequently, we had to start building a new, democratic Korea with a very backward and deformed economy, which moreover had been destroyed. Ours is still a backward agrarian country whose industrial development is at a very low level.

If our country is to be economically independent and catch up with the advanced countries in all fields, it must shake off its industrial backwardness to build an independent industry capable of manufacturing everything to meet its domestic needs. Industrial progress is the key to the rapid development of agriculture and all other spheres of the national economy.

Our immediate task is to rehabilitate the national economy, rebuild and develop industry in particular on the basis of the successful democratic reforms. We are confronted with many difficulties and hardships, however, in reconstructing and developing industry.

The biggest obstacle in industrial construction is the colonial one-sidedness and deformity of our industry.

The industries we took over from Japanese imperialism had been built and developed not to promote Korea's economic progress and improve its people's living standards, but as an appendage of the Japanese economy to cater exclusively for the interests of the Japanese imperialist colonial plunderers. Accordingly, the very structure of these industries was one-sided and deformed beyond description. Although a comparatively big proportion was said to be taken up by heavy industry, it consisted mostly of those branches which extracted natural resources; it lacked a series of major branches including the machine-building industry. Light industry was in an even poorer state. Very weak, too, were the links between the various processes within a branch, not to speak of different branches. Moreover, the division of the country adds to the one-sidedness and deformation of our industry.

We are very short of raw and other materials needed for the rehabilitation and development of industry. This, too, is one of the

serious difficulties we are now facing.

Our country is blessed with rich natural resources. But the Japanese imperialists plundered our resources indiscriminately and shipped everything to Japan. For this reason there were very few raw and other materials available immediately after liberation and even this small amount has been practically used up in the past year. So we are now short of these materials and fuel. There is a serious shortage of bituminous coal, particularly coking coal, which causes difficulties everywhere. To make matters worse, many factories, mines and collieries were devastated. Consequently, domestic production cannot be expected to make up for the shortage of raw and other materials.

Another major problem in economic construction is the scarcity of technicians and skilled workers.

By imposing an evil colonial enslavement education on Korea, the Japanese imperialists prevented the Koreans from studying technology. This resulted in a scarcity of scientists, technicians and even skilled workers. Our country is not only short of experts in natural sciences and technology but also economic experts experienced in industrial management. Therefore, one of our most pressing problems today is to train technicians and specialists in these fields and plenty of skilled workers who can operate the main production processes in different branches.

Besides, we are short of funds for industrial rehabilitation and construction. This applies even to state funds for the operation of state enterprises, not to speak of private capital. So another task of prime importance is to solve the problem of funds for the development of industry. To do so we must increase state accumulation and actively tap all the sources of funds on a national scale.

As mentioned above, we are meeting countless difficulties and obstacles in rehabilitating and building our industry, but we must not lose heart. Now that we have a people's government and have nationalized the key industries, we can rapidly rebuild and develop our industry and push ahead successfully with nation building,

overcoming the difficulties, if all the people display an unusually high degree of enthusiasm and creativity.

The key to surmounting the difficulties in economic construction lies in arousing the spirit of nation building among the broad masses of the people. However, the spirit of devoting all energies and talents to the building of a prosperous, new, democratic Korea is still absent among our workers. Quite a few workers at state enterprises are not really conscious of the fact that they are the real masters. Among them are even swindlers who misappropriate the property of the state and people. We must understand clearly that only by heightening patriotic enthusiasm and the spirit of nation building can we cope with all these difficulties and ensure success in the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

A powerful factor in propelling the work of building a democratic state is the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building. So we must make sure that everyone strives to intensify the movement, always examining himself as to how he is displaying the spirit of nation building and criticizing one another in a comradely way.

An important factor in speeding up the reconstruction and development of the national economy is to develop the nationalized industries and run the state enterprises, in a planned way. Only when we plan national economic development and firmly establish planned management particularly in the state industries, can we smooth out all the difficulties, build our economy successfully and lay a firm foundation for a prosperous, unified, democratic state.

Our main efforts should be directed at planned development of the state industries owned by all the people, in the meantime actively utilizing private capital. Thus, we will closely combine state and private businesses, quickly expand and consolidate the former while encouraging the latter.

In the light of this, I consider the 1947 production plan and budget drafted this time by the Industry Bureau to be basically correct, and I hope you will ensure that they are successfully carried out in all branches and enterprises.

If you are to plan the management of state enterprises properly, you must, first of all, have a clear understanding of the economic laws governing the nationalized industries and the principles of industrial management. Only then will state enterprises operate smoothly and to good advantage.

Without detailed statistics on production and operational activities there can be no planned management of the state enterprises. Accurate statistics on equipment, materials, funds and manpower and an understanding of the details of objective conditions can provide you with the basis for drawing up a correct plan. And a carefully worked-out concrete plan makes it possible to manage enterprises in a planned way. It is urgent, therefore, to introduce a system of management accounts and a statistical report in all enterprises.

A proper business-accounting system is basic to the planned management of state enterprises.

Accounts must not be neglected simply because production is a priority. Needless to say, the aim and principles of running state enterprises which belong to the people are totally different from those adopted by capitalist enterprises. The aim of the latter is to make profit by exploiting the workers, whereas the former aims at increasing production solely for the well-being of the working people, allowing no room for exploitation. Yet, if a state enterprise works at a loss due to inefficient and irrational operation, it will be an additional financial burden to the state and, in the long run, will badly affect the well-being of all the people. That is why each state enterprise must increase labour productivity, economize on raw and other materials and systematically lower its production costs so as to increase its income and state accumulations.

I hope that the directors of state enterprises will actively contribute to the expansion and development of our industry and the working people's well-being by drawing up precise, detailed production and financial plans based on the targets set by the state plan to be issued this time and exceeding the plans by mobilizing all resources and possibilities.

In enterprise management it is important to establish a strict system of property administration and to pay wages regularly.

Some officials pay lip service to people's factories and property, but, in collusion with the profiteers who obstruct democratic construction, they dispose of the property of state enterprises as they please to fill their own pockets. Stealing state property is an anti-popular act that cannot be forgiven under our present system. These criminals must be duly punished under the decree on the management of state enterprise property.

Besides, some employees misinterpret the underlying spirit of the Labour Law by trying to work as little as possible for as much as they can get. Everyone should be paid according to the quantity and quality of the work done. Those, who work little and wish to get paid as much as those who work a lot, cannot be tolerated.

Wage levelling is a wrong practice, which must be rejected.

We must set scientific work norms for each branch and each trade and make it a principle to pay additional remuneration for overfulfilling work norms.

The directors of enterprises must correct their outdated, slipshod manner of planless manpower organization. They should allocate manpower and organize work rationally according to detailed plans and tighten labour discipline in every way so that the waste of manpower as well as all idlers can be eliminated from every factory and enterprise.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that you managers of state enterprises are entrusted with very heavy responsibilities.

The state has placed in your charge the management of its enterprises which belong to all the people and constitute the cornerstone for the building of a democratic Korea. Only when you run them properly according to a plan can the rehabilitation and development of our national economy be speeded up and the building of a rich and powerful, unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state be accelerated. You must, therefore, make every effort to carry out your important duties.

I firmly believe that you who have been entrusted with the highly honourable job of director of a state enterprise, will splendidly overfulfil the plan for 1947, the first national economic development plan in our country, by properly mobilizing the zeal and creativity of all workers and technicians, following every policy of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORTH KOREAN NEWS AGENCY

**Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea**

December 5, 1946

Today the presidium has decided to set up the North Korean News Agency under the direct control of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

Since liberation we have published our own newspapers and have carried on radio broadcasting by ourselves in the centre and local areas. Our news media have so far played a big role in educating the masses in democratic ideas and arousing them to the nation-building work.

Today we are confronted with the heavy task of further consolidating and developing the PPCNK and people's committees at all levels, strengthening north Korea, the strategic centre of our revolution, politically and economically and speeding up the building of a fully independent and sovereign democratic state. In order to carry out this historical task successfully, we should vigorously inspire all the people to build a new country.

Here it is very important to enhance the role of the news media. If we are to heighten their role, we should improve the work of newspaper offices and radio broadcasting stations in keeping with the requirements of the developing reality and, at the same time, should have a news agency to collect information on the internal and external situation and distribute it to the news media in a unified way. The

establishment of the North Korean News Agency today is precisely for this purpose.

The NKNA is the mouthpiece of our people's government. The people expect a great deal of the news agency, so its mission is very important indeed.

The NKNA is to distribute quickly among central and local newspaper offices and radio broadcasting stations accurate information about the political, economic and cultural life of our country and the international situation, and clarify our stand and views on events at home and abroad by circulating official information and statements. As a state organization possessing up-to-date communications equipment with which to run an information service, it should naturally play a leading role with regard to the news media. Moreover, since our country is now divided into the north and the south, its task and role are very important.

The news agency should carry on a live publicity to acquaint the broad masses of the people promptly and correctly with the policies of the people's government and inspire them to carry them out.

The policies of the people's government are aimed at the people's freedom and happiness and the building of a prosperous, independent and sovereign state in our country. In order to put these policies into effect, the broad masses should be encouraged to assist in carrying them out.

The news agency should step up publicity regarding the policies of the people's power so as to inform the masses of the decisions and directives of the PPCNK promptly and accurately and actively mobilize them for their implementation. It should also broadly publicize the struggle of the masses to build a new, democratic Korea and the rapid changes and developments in our country, and educate them in patriotism and democracy.

The news agency should increase its militant functions and role so that all the people take an active part in the struggle to establish a unified, democratic government and achieve full independence and sovereignty of the country.

At present the American imperialists occupying south Korea are plotting to turn our country into their permanent colony, while the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are making desperate efforts to lead our country again on to the road of ruin, following the former's colonial subjugation policy towards Korea. The American imperialists and their stooges are intensifying the suppression and slaughter of the patriotic people in south Korea, while hurling malicious abuse and slander at north Korea and conducting false propaganda against it.

Under these circumstances, the NKNA should naturally unfold a vigorous information campaign against the enemy. Its communications apparatus should be a powerful weapon in this campaign, and every clause and sentence of the information a sharp bullet.

The news agency should fully expose the aggressive nature of the American imperialists, their plot to colonize Korea, and the Syngman Rhee clique's reactionary, anti-popular and treacherous acts. At the same time, it should refute and condemn in good time the false propaganda of the south Korean reactionaries who are denigrating our democratic system and the correct policies of the people's government. Thus it should deal a heavy blow at the American imperialists and their stooges and encourage all the people to struggle energetically against the enemy barring the way to the democratic development of the country and the building of a fully independent and sovereign state.

The news agency must conduct good overseas news activities. It must widely report and propagate abroad information about the new, hopeful life of our people who have become true masters of the country, and their splendid achievements and experience in the building of a democratic Korea. In particular, it must fully acquaint the world with our people's struggle to win the full independence and sovereignty of the country and the correctness of this cause. In this way it will help considerably to rally international support for our people in their struggle to build an independent and sovereign democratic state.

The news agency must lose no time in supplying press agencies with materials on the international situation.

This has a great bearing on ensuring uniformity of reports on the international situation, deepening the people's understanding of world political affairs and broadening the political outlook of the masses. It must collect in good time news dispatches from many countries of the world and edit them well for newspaper offices and broadcasting stations.

Since the NKNA speaks for the state, every word of its reports has a bearing on state activity and the people's life. Therefore, the news agency must ensure a rich political and ideological content, militancy, promptness and truthfulness in its news service.

In order to guarantee the success of the NKNA, it is important to lay its solid material and technical foundations. Only then can it operate a prompt news service at home and abroad.

So, close attention should be given to building up the material and technical foundations of the news agency. It is particularly important to install radio apparatuses as soon as possible. These should be installed not only in the capital but in Hamhung, Chongjin and all other provincial seats. And a building for the news agency should be made available. The Pyongyang City People's Committee should allocate a building for the news agency so that it can get down to work soon.

It is vital to have a well-staffed news agency. The staff should consist of people who are well prepared politically and practically and have a high sense of responsibility. Full-time special correspondents should be carefully selected and allocated for every province.

When the material and technical foundations and the staff of the news agency are firmly built up, and the news service is functionary well, it will spur the north Korean people on to further efforts in building a new country, provide great impetus to the south Korean people aspiring for the democratic development of society and deal a telling blow to the American imperialists and the south Korean reactionaries.

All efforts should be mobilized to organize the news agency well and launch the news service quickly.

**TO COMRADE KIM JE WON AND
OTHER PEASANTS IN JAERYONG
COUNTY, HWANGHAE PROVINCE**

December 13, 1946

Comrade Kim Je Won, after receiving land under the agrarian reform, you launched a drive for increased production and have taken in a good harvest this year. You have contributed 30 sacks of rice to the state out of patriotism.

The peasants of Jaeryong County, Hwanghae Province, have donated thousands of sacks of rice to the country, following your patriotic example, Comrade Kim Je Won.

I extend my thanks to you Comrade Kim Je Won and other peasants in Jaeryong County, Hwanghae Province, who by a patriotic drive for higher yields have brought in a good harvest and donated rice to the state at the very moment when the country's food situation is difficult.

Our nation building is proceeding at a time when everything is in short supply and the food situation in particular is acute; it is proving successful solely because peasants like Comrade Kim Je Won are carrying on a patriotic drive for increased production and are showing initiative for the sake of the country and the people.

Comrade Kim Je Won is indeed a peasant of the new Korea today. I firmly believe that you will put all your energies into, and redouble your efforts for, the building of a new, democratic Korea following the example of Comrade Kim Je Won. I wish you Comrade Kim Je Won and other peasants in Jaeryong County, Hwanghae Province, greater victories and successes in the work of building the state.

TO ONE MILLION KOREAN COMPATRIOTS IN JAPAN

Letter to Korean Compatriots in Japan

December 13, 1946

One million fellow countrymen in Japan! Our nation who were colonial slaves of the Japanese imperialists for many years have been liberated. Our people have regained their freedoms and rights and now have all the conditions for building a new life freely.

In north Korea the historic democratic reforms now well under way serve as a foundation for our nation's full independence and sovereignty and its future development along democratic lines. In the past the vicious Japanese imperialists drove large numbers of our brothers away from this land where our nation had lived for many generations, but which now is surging with the joy of life and songs of construction.

One million fellow countrymen in Japan! I imagine that you, too, are feeling jubilant to be a nation freed from an inhuman life of humiliation and maltreatment. Viewing from afar the progress being made by the new homeland, you care deeply, I know, about the new destiny of your native land with infinite patriotism and brotherly love. However, Korea has been unable, so far, to establish a unified, democratic national government and is not ready at this moment to receive one million fellow countrymen in Japan who wish to return to their warm-hearted homeland. This is because implementation of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on ensuring Korea's

independence, sovereignty and democratic progress is being delayed by the plots of pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and other national traitors who are aided and abetted by international reactionaries.

Today the south Korean people are waging a bloody struggle, calling loudly for the introduction of democratic reforms in south Korea, too, the same as in north Korea.

One million fellow countrymen in Japan! The issue of the homeland's destiny today will immediately affect the destiny of our fellow countrymen in Japan, too.

Only when a unified, democratic national government is established in Korea and it becomes fully independent, will it be able to raise your dignity and stretch out a protecting hand as your homeland.

One million fellow countrymen in Japan! Construction in north Korea will provide the foundation on which the whole nation can build a unified, democratic state definitely in the not too distant future. Then, having gathered strength, our country will encourage and look after you and will be perfectly prepared to give you warm welcome. I believe you are cooperating with the true democrats of Japan to overthrow Japanese imperialism.

The reactionaries obstructing the building of democracy in our country now have an international foothold, and only by relying on it can they manoeuvre. This is because the overwhelming majority of the Korean people reject them. I hope the one million compatriots in Japan realize the responsible duty they have of further weakening the reactionaries' international collusion and its links. As a force today the reactionaries are not advancing or developing; they are deteriorating and crumbling. I expect you to do your best until the day comes when the reactionaries will perish throughout Asia and lasting freedom and peace will reign there, when our people will enjoy peace and freedom and when our country will glow with eternal prosperity, wealth and power, and a brilliant culture.

Long live Korea's full independence!

Long live the founding of a democratic people's republic of Korea!

ON CERTAIN TASKS FACING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AT PRESENT

**Speech at the Eighth Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea**

December 26, 1946

1. FOR FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

All the democratic reforms have been completed smoothly and successfully in north Korea thanks to the mutual cooperation and joint efforts of political parties and public organizations. We can say that we have laid a solid foundation in north Korea for building a new, democratic Korea through enlisting the broad patriotic forces united in the DNUF.

One year has passed already since the publication of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on Korea. However, the Korean question has not yet been settled and the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission set up in accordance with this decision has ended in failure.

Who is to blame for this? Needless to say, it is the American reactionary group and the south Korean reactionaries who, under its aegis, are engrossed in treachery against the country and the nation.

Fearing the unexpected strength of the democratic forces which grew rapidly after liberation, the reactionary elements at home and abroad engineered the breakdown of the USSR-US Joint Commission so as to regroup for an onslaught on the patriotic, democratic forces because if things had developed at this rate, their foothold would have vanished and the democratic forces would most certainly have gained an overwhelming majority in the future provisional government.

As is generally known, since the breakdown of the joint commission the US military government and the south Korean reactionaries under its control have resorted, and still are resorting, to every dirty trick possible to split the democratic forces. In south Korea they are openly engaged in unprecedented terrorism, persecution and murder against political parties, public organizations and patriots affiliated to the DNUF and are closing down democratic press centres by force on the one hand and, on the other, are smuggling spies, subversive elements, saboteurs and bogus democrats into the democratic camp. By sending stooges of this kind to penetrate even the Communist Party, not to speak of the New Democratic Party and the People's Party, the reactionaries of the United States and south Korea have tried to undermine the progressive democratic parties from within and plotted in every way to prevent the merger of parties in particular.

Not only in south Korea, the reactionaries are also trying to infiltrate spies, subversive elements, saboteurs and pseudo-democrats into political parties and public organizations in north Korea in an attempt to split our DNUF and weaken the democratic forces. This is very serious indeed, and we must guard against it.

This happened some time ago when a certain Kim, ex-chairman of the South Hamgyong Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party, openly opposed the people's committee, challenged the Workers' Party and attempted to break the DNUF. In South Hamgyong and Kangwon provinces there were some Democratic Party members who insisted upon land being returned to landlords and a fresh start to the agrarian reform. In Ryongchon County, North Phyongan Province, an

attempt was made to form a separate youth department of the Democratic Party in order to split the Democratic Youth League while in Namsi some Democratic Party members even organized a “boycott” against grain procurement work. It cannot be said that these incidents are accidental.

In actual fact, the Democratic Party members who seek to weaken the unity of our democratic forces and bring about the failure of democratic construction are led not by the Korean Democratic Party but by the Hanguk Democratic Party in south Korea. This fact cannot be overlooked.

In view of the fact that the enemies’ splitting and subversive machinations against the democratic forces are becoming more open, it is highly important today to strengthen the DNUF which has the honourable mission of building a prosperous democratic country.

What, then, should be done to strengthen the DNUF?

In the first place, we must wage a resolute struggle to detect and purge the spies, subversive elements, saboteurs and bogus democrats who have found their way into the democratic political parties and public organizations in order to split our united ranks. Those who plot to undermine the DNUF are, without exception, the enemies of our nation and our people. That is why we must not allow these elements to remain among us even for a moment, but expose and expel them through a massive struggle.

What I am going to emphasize particularly at this meeting is that each political party should further intensify explanatory and educational work regarding the DNUF among its members. It is very important for everybody to be educated—from the leading personnel of the centre to the rank and file—so that they get a good idea of the need for the DNUF, its immediate tasks, and the way to strengthen it.

Another thing I must point out is that no political party should accept those expelled from other parties without question. All political parties in north Korea are democratic. Therefore, those expelled from such democratic parties are, after all, betrayers of democracy and opponents of the policy of the people’s government.

To allow such elements to join other democratic parties indiscriminately is harmful to the united front work and things cannot possibly go well when such people are accepted.

Next my emphasis is on letting all democratic political parties give active help in strengthening public organizations. In a certain party there are people who work under cover to disunite the public organizations.

In north Korea, the trade unions, the Peasants Union, the Democratic Youth League, the Women's Union and so on have been formed as broad mass organizations of the working class and other working people; they are taking an active part in nation building. To strengthen these organizations and enhance their role should be a matter of common concern for all democratic parties. Nevertheless, a certain hidebound political party, pursuing a dirty purpose, is inclined to form separate public organizations under its influence.

This is sort of thing Syngman Rhee, Jo Man Sik and their kind would like. Although the National Council of Trade Unions is operating in south Korea as a unified mass organization of the working class, the American imperialists and the reactionaries at home have formed a separate reactionary organization, the so-called Taehan Federation of Trade Unions; and in the early days when the Democratic Youth League was set up as a unified youth organization in north Korea, Jo Man Sik made a pretence of supporting it in word, but tried to set up a separate youth department within the Democratic Party in an attempt to disrupt the youth movement. Such splitting activities are intolerable; they only help the enemies of our nation and our people while doing enormous harm to the building of democracy.

The nation-splitting policy is the stereotyped policy of all imperialists. In south Korea the American imperialists are enforcing such a policy, and the Korean reactionaries have become the henchmen of their American masters, bent on selling out the national interests. We must completely isolate these traitors and frustrate the American imperialists' insidious policy of nation splitting while exposing and thwarting in good time the slightest move to wreck the

unity of our democratic mass organizations especially in north Korea.

The road we take is one, and our goal is also one. Why, then, must we split our mass organizations? Whoever plots such a split is undoubtedly an alien element with ideas incompatible with democracy, and such persons cannot be tolerated. All of us must struggle resolutely against every attempt to divide our democratic mass organizations and break up our united front.

I would like to make one last remark. It would be better if the political slogans of all democratic parties were coordinated. Many of the slogans now to be seen in the streets show that each political party gives prominence to itself only; this is unfair. True, each party may well give itself a boost and put forward independent slogans and is called upon to conduct its own particular ideological education within its ranks. But I think that the general political slogans for the masses of the people should be uniform after being approved by the DNUF or the people's committee.

2. ON THE GENERAL IDEOLOGICAL MOBILIZATION MOVEMENT FOR NATION BUILDING

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building is a most appropriate movement suitably timed for our people's building of a prosperous, new country at present.

This is not a movement that will end with the shouting of one or two slogans and several public lectures; it is a down-to-earth movement aimed at inducing all people to devote their activities to the building of a democratic country. Needless to say, information and publicity work should be intensified, but if practical work does not follow, the movement will not be crowned with success.

It is important to put the idea of nation building into practice first

in carrying out immediate daily routines. Factory and office workers should translate into action, to begin with, the slogan of "Let us finish a day's work on the day!" We should not return home after idling away the time just because there is an eight-hour working day, but should establish the habit of finishing one job and plan every day. When all officials and working people do their jobs with a sense of responsibility, there is no doubt that the cause of nation building will be carried forward to victory.

The idea of nation building is badly needed also in economizing on funds and taking good care of state materials. Although the word economy is used very frequently, many cases of waste are still to be found everywhere. There is much talk about cutting down on superfluous personnel but office employees over and above the regular staff are dozing idly at their desks, and in many cases useless establishments and organizations are occupying state buildings. All the establishments and organizations have set up separate provincial, city and county offices, employing large numbers of salaried workers. Many officials admit that this is wrong, but do nothing about it.

Everywhere there are slogans calling for the dismissal of people who fill their pockets by misappropriating and stealing state property, and in fact all civil service organizations are purging many swindlers and squanderers, bureaucrats and loafers. This is good, but it is better to reeducate these kinds of people so that they devote themselves to the cause of nation building.

Why are there so few people who admit their mistakes and say: "Although I made a mistake because of my poor knowledge of nation building, I will turn over a new leaf from now on and work devotedly for the country and the people"? We can ascertain, in the final analysis, that this is because education is unsatisfactory and the ideological movement for nation building is failing to gain ground deep among the masses.

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building is now on in our country, but as yet it is confined mainly to cadres; it does not reach the broad masses nor has it become a

nationwide movement. Since this is so, we cannot establish a new national trait.

The general ideological mobilization movement for nation building can only achieve great success when it becomes a campaign of all the people.

3. ON GRAIN PROCUREMENT AND FOOD RATIONING

The grain procurement work is one of our immediate important tasks. I cannot but point out that in its early stage certain shortcomings were manifested in this work.

First of all, it was a mistake for consumers' cooperatives to insist on all farm households selling an equal amount of grain. This method of work is wrong because no attempt is made to find out how much surplus grain each one has left over after payment of the agricultural tax in kind. This cannot result in good procurement work. And the tendency to purchase grain forcibly is also incorrect. Grain procurement is not a job to be done by coercion. It must always be carried out according to the peasants' voluntary will.

This does not mean, however, that the grain procurement work must be discontinued, but rather that it must be carried on more vigorously. We must thoroughly eliminate the early deviations manifested in the procurement work and push ahead with it by having the peasants exchange their surplus grain for industrial goods and by appealing to their spontaneous enthusiasm and patriotic spirit through information work.

At the same time, the working people must be rationed fairly and regularly, and we must guard against the malpractices of increasing the number of people receiving rations without principle or embezzling from the state grain reserves.

Food rations must be restricted to the officials of the state bodies and the workers and office employees of state enterprises. If all the grain reserves of the peasants are deprived through forced deliveries just as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, not only factory and office workers but all citizens will be able to receive rations. Today, however, we collect the agricultural tax in kind from the peasants amounting to merely 25 per cent of their harvests, so we are not in a position to cater for all. In this situation, it is natural that only the officials of state bodies and the employees of state enterprises are supplied with provisions.

For instance, private businesspeople and tradesmen in the towns are earning far more than the blue- and white-collar workers of state factories. Why should we allow rations to such persons at the same price as employees of state enterprises? They can buy and eat as much food as they need at market prices. Besides, we should not allow rations to dishonest persons who, even though they are employed at state factories, only register their names on the food lists, but do not work. It would also be advisable to institute food control so that unnecessary civil service establishments and organizations be abolished and the excessively enlarged staff be cut down. Anyhow, only those who work honestly for the country and the people should be allowed valuable state food supplies.

I hope that all political parties and public organizations affiliated to the DNUF will unite more firmly and closely cooperate to fulfil the tasks ahead of it with credit, and contribute to hastening the building of our new, democratic Korea.

