

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

W O R K S

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THE FIGHTING TASK OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE TASK OF STRENGTHENING THE NAVY AT THE PRESENT TIME

Speech at the Naval Academy

July 6, 1954

Allow me first to extend warm thanks to the admirals, officers, petty officers and crews of the navy who valorously fought in the just Fatherland Liberation War to defend the independence and freedom of the country.

The great Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the US imperialists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee traitors, was brought to a triumphant conclusion thanks to the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the heroic struggle of our people and the People's Army.

However, we should never rest on our laurels. We should keep a close watch on the enemy's manoeuvres, maintaining a vigilant, stand-by posture, and be always ready to safeguard the creative labour of the people. We should convert the armistice into a durable peace and use the respite to the best advantage and thus strengthen our revolutionary forces in every way.

Now I would like to dwell on the prospects for the development of our country, the fighting task of our people and the task facing the navy.

Our Party's line of economic construction and our people's fighting task in the postwar period were advanced already at the Sixth Plenary

Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

The primary task before us at the present stage is to achieve the reunification of the country.

Our people, a homogeneous nation, have lived harmoniously in one and the same land. But our country has not yet been reunified since the time it was divided into the north and the south by the US imperialists. We should on no account tolerate the country's partition but reunite it at the earliest possible date. Our people will certainly achieve national reunification under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country it is essential to further strengthen the northern half of Korea, the base of the Korean revolution and the fountainhead of our might.

After liberation we established the people's government and carried out the democratic reforms in the northern half, thereby firmly laying the revolutionary democratic base. Had our people not built up and consolidated the revolutionary democratic base under the leadership of the Party following liberation, they could not have defeated, in the great Fatherland Liberation War, US imperialism that had boasted of its being the "strongest" in the world. The invincible might of our people and the vitality of the democratic base were clearly demonstrated in the war against an enemy several-fold stronger.

We should further strengthen the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea with might and main, not slackening in the least the spirit with which we emerged victorious in the war.

For this it is necessary to firmly unite all the people, political parties and social organizations around our Party and the Government of our Republic, continuously strengthen the people's armed forces, carry on economic construction on an extensive scale and rapidly stabilize and improve the people's life shattered by the war.

We should devote great efforts, above all, to speedily rebuilding the national economy ravaged by the war. By reconstructing the ruined national economy as early as possible, we should heal the wounds of war, stabilize and improve the people's life and take our country on a

new and a higher stage of socialist construction.

When we develop heavy industry, light industry, agriculture and culture by properly organizing and mobilizing the working people, rousing their heightened spirit, the northern half of Korea will turn into a paradise on earth for the people. On the contrary, south Korea will be reduced to a worse hell by the US imperialist policy for colonial plunder.

When the two halves of the country face each other as “paradise” and “hell”, the south Korean people will be further awakened, seeing the diametrically different realities of north and south Korea, and will take an active part in the struggle against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique and in support of our Republic. Then the country’s peaceful reunification will be brought about.

There are ample conditions and possibilities for our people to carry out the tasks of economic construction set forth by the Party.

First, they have the experience gained in carrying out peaceful democratic construction for five years under the leadership of the Party and the Government and the valuable experience of fighting victoriously in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War. Our people are courageous, iron-willed and talented, and love work and do not yield to difficulties; our Party members are devoted fighters, standing in the forefront of the people; and our Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic always lead the people to victory.

Second, we have abundant natural resources for economic construction and some economic foundations. Under the ground of our country are a rich and wide variety of mineral resources including gold, silver, copper and iron and on the ground there are plentiful resources for electric power and many facilities of factories and enterprises remain. Though our factories and enterprises were severely damaged during the war, more than 60 per cent of their facilities were saved by the self-sacrificing struggle of the workers.

Our country had some basis of heavy industry in the past such as ferrous and nonferrous metal, electric power and chemical industries. But the foundations of machine-building industry, the core of heavy

industry, and light industry were very weak. This is the colonial lopsidedness of industry left over by Japanese imperialism.

To overcome this distortion, a hangover from Japanese imperialism, and develop the national economy independently, we had to establish our own machine-building industry, without which we cannot develop other branches of the national economy. So the Party Central Committee channelled great efforts into developing our machine-building industry and took steps to build machine factories in Huichon, Kanggye and other mountainous areas during the war.

Since we had taken measures to build machine factories in wartime, we were able to construct them rapidly in the postwar period. If we had started building them after the war, instead of in the war days we would not have progressed so fast as now. It will take about a year to design a factory and several more to build it.

When the Huichon Machine Factory now under construction is completed, it will annually produce 1,000 machine tools such as lathes and drilling machines and, when the construction of the Pukjung Machine Factory is finished, it will turn out quantities of machinery such as cranes and pumps. In 1956, the last year of the Three-Year National Economic Plan, we will put out such machine tools as lathes and drilling machines on our own and this will enable us to build ships and produce farm machines.

Third, we enjoy the internationalist aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies. The Soviet Union gave us a billion rubles of aid and the People's Republic of China 8 trillion *yuan* of aid to help in the postwar reconstruction of our national economy. Such fraternal countries as the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Mongolia and Albania are also giving us material and technical assistance.

Funds, resources, labour force and technique are required to build the economy. If our Party properly mobilizes our industrious and talented people, actively taps and utilizes the rich natural resources of our country and effectively uses the aid of fraternal countries, it can

successfully solve all these problems and develop the national economy swiftly.

Our Party's basic line of postwar economic construction is to give priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture—not laying one-sided stress on heavy industry. This is a correct line reflecting the objective law governing the economic development of our country and conforms fully with the demands of our people. Along the Party's basic line of postwar economic construction, we are rebuilding heavy industry enterprises and at the same time are constructing light industry factories such as modern and large textile mills, general meat-processing plants, canneries and bleaching plants.

We are now carrying out the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Its principal task is to rehabilitate and develop the war-ravaged national economy and rapidly stabilize and improve the people's life.

After fulfilling this plan we will embark upon the First Five-Year Plan. In this period we should lay a solid basis for socialist industrialization and further improve the people's living. Therefore, the First Five-Year Plan envisages building more factories equipped with new technique than at present.

As the national economy develops steadily and the people's living conditions improve, the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half will be further consolidated and all the people in north and south Korea will actively support our Party and the Government of our Republic and unite more closely around them.

The great strength put forth by efficient economic construction is shown well by what had happened at the time of the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea convened in 1948.

The April 1948 north-south joint conference was also attended by Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik of south Korea who had been dead set against communism in the past. For fear that upon coming to north Korea they might be detained on account of the crimes they had previously committed against the country and people, they sent their

special envoy beforehand to find our intentions. So we assured them that we would not rake up their past, and that it was a new start now.

Kim Ku entered north Korea at a time when the democratic reforms including the agrarian reform were enforced, but economic construction was not in full swing. However, Kim Ku, seeing how economic construction was progressing in the northern half of Korea, said that our country had just found its own master and then told us that he would hand over to us the seal of the “Provisional Government in Shanghai” which he had kept to himself for a long time since he was in Shanghai. So I replied that the Korean people could do without taking over what he called “legal government” because they had established their genuine sovereign power by themselves.

When he was leaving for south Korea, Kim Ku told us that though he wanted to remain in north Korea, he found it necessary to set off to south Korea because, if he did not do so, the enemy would say north Korea had detained him. He added that even when he was back there, he would not work again for the Americans. And he further said that if he was in a real difficulty, while fighting after his return to south Korea, he would come again to north Korea. He asked us to give him an orchard then. I agreed. So, even such a self-opinionated man as Kim Ku who was past 70, turned to our side, after having been to the northern half. When things came to such a pass, the US imperialists had him assassinated.

Kim Kyu Sik, too, who came to the northern half and witnessed its reality, said that he had found a true patriot here and that when he went back to south Korea, he would never again work for the Americans.

Both Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik turned to our side, not because someone made a fine speech but because they saw with their own eyes how economic construction was going on in the northern half of Korea and realized that our undertaking was just.

Turning the northern half of Korea into a veritable paradise on earth through effective economic construction is of decisive significance in realizing the peaceful reunification of the country.

Of course, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique may not accept our

proposal to reunify the country in a peaceful way. They are now clamouring about “northward expedition” and “march north”. However, we need not be afraid of it. Since they are reinforcing their army only, not building the economy, the puppet clique will go to ruin in the end. It is not simple to maintain an army. To keep up an army it should be fed, clothed and supplied with military outfit and training equipment and this requires enormous funds. Even a single shell fired during an exercise costs as much as an ox! But the puppet clique have no financial and economic basis on which troops can be maintained in large numbers. They barely maintain themselves with the taxes they exact from the people. That is why they are trying to find the only way out in the “northward expedition”. Should the enemies mount another attack on the northern half of Korea, we will be able to crush them at a blow.

While consolidating the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea politically and economically, we should strengthen it militarily also.

Strengthening the People’s Army, the powerful bastion of national defence, is an important guarantee for preventing the provocation of a new war by the enemies, safeguarding peace and achieving the peaceful reunification of the country. Only when our military power is strong, can we debar the enemies from venturing to invade the northern half of our Republic and, even if they recklessly play with fire, deliver a hard-hitting counterblow promptly. Since the enemies are openly clamouring for “march north”, we cannot avert a new war and achieve the country’s peaceful reunification unless we strengthen the People’s Army. Therefore, we should reinforce the People’s Army in every way, taking full advantage of the period of armistice.

What is basic to strengthening the People’s Army is to raise its quality. We cannot allow ourselves just to increase its numerical strength without taking into account the economic potential as in south Korea. We should strengthen the people’s armed forces on a high qualitative level, in keeping with the political and economic development of the country.

To strengthen the People's Army in quality, we should make it an army of cadres and reinforce its technical arms. First of all, training should be intensified to improve the soldiers' level of military technique and their art of command. Thus a private should be prepared to creditably discharge the duty of squad leader, squad leader that of platoon leader, platoon leader that of company commander, company commander that of battalion commander, battalion commander that of regimental commander, regimental commander that of divisional commander and divisional commander that of corps commander.

It is highly important to train the People's Army into a cadre army strong as steel. If we make it an army of cadres and thus get all the soldiers to fulfil the duty one rank higher and enable the regimental commander to perform the duty of divisional commander and the divisional commander that of corps commander, we will be able to form lots of divisions and corps in case of emergency.

As far as the Workers' Party members, armed with Marxism-Leninism, are concerned, we have as many as one million. When the Workers' Party members alone, excluding others, are put under arms, we can have a one million strong army. If only we skilfully command a million troops, we can easily wipe out the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee traitors if they should attack us. If all the Workers' Party members are placed under arms, our People's Army will be superior to the south Korean puppet army both in quality and number.

One of the major causes for our temporary retreat in 1950 lay precisely in that we were short of military cadres. At that time all the workers and people were mobilized, but there were no military cadres to command them. University and college students who had undergone only one month's training in the army were sent in officer uniforms to take part in the battle to defend Inchon. But they failed to direct the battle properly as they were inadequately trained and tempered, and lacked in military knowledge and technique.

The experience in the past Fatherland Liberation War teaches us that we should make active efforts to train the People's Army into a

powerful cadre army. To make the People's Army a cadre army—this is the first and foremost task arising in strengthening the people's armed forces at the present time.

At the same time we should reinforce its technical arms such as air, naval and artillery forces and signal corps.

Bravery alone is not enough to win a battle. For victory it is necessary to possess a high level of military technique able to rout the enemy to the last man. During the Fatherland Liberation War our pilots gallantly fought head-on against enemy planes. However, as their technical standard was not high, they were not able to employ flanking manoeuvres to wipe out the aircraft of the United States which has more than 100 years of war history and experience.

During the war wireless communication, too, was not ensured well. In peacetime our signalmen were said to have undergone much training and maintained communication well, but actually in the fields of battle, they failed to do so.

The level of our People's Army in military technique is not so high as yet. The soldiers should learn military technique untiringly and open-mindedly, not lapsing into self-complacency. Thus, the level of military technique of all servicemen should be elevated steadily and, in particular, technical corps such as air, naval and artillery forces and signal corps further strengthened.

The People's Army should also stockpile war supplies. Specifically, the navy should create a large reserve for torpedoes, mines, vessels and other equipment. The temporary retreat we made in 1950 was due to the fact that we felt the shortage of cadres and at the same time had no reserves of necessary munitions of war such as weapons and equipment. So, during the war we built factories in safe zones to produce war materials. The war supplies turned out by these factories played an important role in securing victory in the war.

One of the important problems in strengthening the People's Army qualitatively is to intensify ideological education among the soldiers.

To firmly prepare soldiers ideologically is a most important link in the qualitative growth of the People's Army. No matter what excellent

technique and equipment they may have, they cannot defeat the enemy, if their ideas are not sound. The source of invincibility of our People's Army lies precisely in imbuing the soldiers with revolutionary ideas. We are educating them to render faithful services for the building of socialism and communism in our country, for the interests of their class and people and for their own happiness. Therefore, the People's Army, deeply conscious of its mission and duty, is displaying unbounded devotion and prowess for the sake of the Party and the country.

In the People's Army special attention should be paid to intensifying the ideological education of soldiers in the future.

What is important in the ideological education of the soldiers is to firmly convince them of the law of social development that imperialism falls and socialism and communism are certain to triumph.

As historical experience shows, imperialism ruins and socialism and communism are sure to emerge victorious. As a result of the First World War imperialist war incendiaries collapsed and the Soviet Union, a socialist state, was born. And, as a result of the Second World War, Germany, Japan and Italy were defeated, our Republic, People's China and a number of People's Democracies in Europe were founded, British and French imperialisms were weakened and the national-liberation struggle gained further momentum in colonial countries. If imperialists ignite another world war in the future, then the whole of imperialism, not one or other imperialist state, will be demolished and the United States, the chieftain of international reaction, will likewise meet its doom.

It was because we put unshaken faith in the victory of the revolution that we waged an arduous anti-Japanese armed struggle over a period of 15 years. At that time, the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought to the end for national independence and the liberation of the working people and eventually won a victory, surmounting all sorts of hardships and tribulations, with a firm conviction that Japanese imperialism was destined to sustain defeat and socialism was sure to triumph.

Today we are in a favourable position for educating soldiers to have

confidence in victory. First of all, we have conditions to firmly believe in our own strength. We have the Workers' Party of Korea with a membership of one million armed with Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has experience in democratic construction and also in bringing the US imperialists to terms in the flames of the war. Before liberation there was no such party. In the past, factionalists wrecked the Party, indulging in factional strife. We also have the solid revolutionary democratic base and the powerful People's Army. And we enjoy strong support and encouragement from the peoples of many fraternal countries including the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. If we intensify ideological education in the People's Army and give its soldiers a correct understanding of these conditions that guarantee our victory, they will not lose heart whatever the adversity, but fight courageously with a firm confidence in victory.

Next, let me speak on the need to strengthen the navy.

Since our country is seabound on three sides, we should reinforce the navy. The strengthening of the navy is necessary in the endeavours to reunify the country and even after it is reunified. This is because aggressive Japanese militarism is being revived in the vicinity of our country. The Japanese militarists are always watching for a chance to invade other countries. Until Japan becomes a democratic state, we cannot feel easy even for a moment and can never neglect coastal defence. That is why we should strive to strengthen the navy in every way.

This work should be done in keeping with the level of the country's economic development. Without resting on the country's economic basis it is impossible to reinforce the navy. If the naval forces are to be strengthened, it is essential, above all, to build naval vessels. This requires huge funds and various materials including steel. Especially, big warships cannot be constructed before the country's industrialization. Therefore, in our country the naval forces should be developed gradually in two stages.

The first stage is that of guarding the coasts more strictly with small naval craft. At this stage small vessels will be used to guard coastal

lines and watch the enemy's movements on the sea and prevent them from effecting a landing.

We need not feel ashamed just because our navy has only small vessels. If we fight well and bravely even with small naval craft, we can fully safeguard the country's coasts.

Fire power of coastal batteries should be increased. Under the present situation it is better to do so than build big warships.

The second stage is that of strengthening the naval forces to firmly defend our territorial waters. At this stage it is essential to build powerful naval fleets capable of conducting active sea operations. This requires a considerable period of time. However, we should never fail to build such fleets. Only then can we ward off the enemy's attack and firmly safeguard the territorial waters of the country.

An important thing in carrying out the two-stage tasks to strengthen the naval forces is to train commanders well. At the first stage commanding officers for the small naval craft and coastal batteries are needed in large numbers. And at the second stage there should be competent commanders to take charge of big naval vessels and skilfully carry out sea manoeuvres. But a lot of time is required to train commanders. Naval commanders cannot be trained in one or two months. Therefore, we should take deep interest in the training of naval cadres and adequately provide all necessary conditions for it.

Great attention should be directed also to the training of coastal battery commanders. We should educate them properly so that they can skilfully direct artillery battles for coast defence.

The immediate task before the Naval Academy is to train a large number of naval and coastal battery commanders. The Naval Academy should make active efforts to train plenty of competent commanders who can ably direct sea operations and coastal defence operations and admirably carry out joint operations between the navy and the coastal batteries.

The navy should render a great deal of help in shipbuilding. We should construct vessels so well that they can be used as fishing vessels in time of peace and as patrol boats in wartime. For this, the navy

should be concerned about building ships and give assistance in it.

We should build lots of small naval craft at first and then gradually go over to the stage of constructing big ships with the development of technique. The future of our shipbuilding industry is bright. Hereafter, our country will produce quantities of engines and materials needed in constructing ships. And timber, too, is abundant in our country. Therefore, we can build many ships in future.

I firmly believe that the teachers and cadets of the Naval Academy will advance with added vigour to strengthen our naval forces in accordance with the policy set forth by the Party Central Committee.

**TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTH
HAMGYONG PROVINCE IN THE STRUGGLE
TO IMPLEMENT THE THREE-YEAR PLAN
FOR THE POSTWAR REHABILITATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
NATIONAL ECONOMY**

**Speech at a Meeting of Party Activists
in North Hamgyong Province**
July 12, 1954

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like to offer warm felicitations and thanks to the officials of Party organizations, government bodies, economic institutions and working people's organizations at all levels in North Hamgyong Province and all the people in the province who heroically fought to defend the freedom and honour of the country during the just Fatherland Liberation War and are making devoted efforts to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the war-ravaged national economy after the war.

It is one year since the armistice, following the defeat of the US imperialist invaders and the historic victory of the heroic Korean people and the valiant People's Army, their armed forces. Under the new situation brought about by the armistice, our Party set forth the task of achieving the peaceful reunification of the country by speedily rehabilitating and developing the national economy after the war, stabilizing and improving the people's living conditions and firmly

consolidating the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea through the mobilization of all forces of our people. Inspired by the people-oriented policies of the Party and Government, our people rose in a nationwide struggle for peaceful construction and national reunification in the past one year, while being vigilant and alert as they were during the war, and have already scored considerable successes in this struggle. Thanks to the devoted labour efforts of our patriotic people, the towns and villages, factories and enterprises which had been destroyed sprang up again in every nook and corner of the northern half of Korea, some large factories and enterprises have already gone into operation, the rural economy has been restored and the people's living conditions are being stabilized and improved.

But we have only taken an initial step as yet in the struggle to implement the tasks which confronted our Party after the war. Our Party has a lot of work to do, and there are many difficulties and obstacles in the way of carrying out these immense tasks.

The supreme national task confronting our Party at present is to reunify the country on a democratic basis by peaceful means. The heroic Korean people and our glorious People's Army defended the country's freedom and honour against the foreign aggressors by winning a historic victory in the fierce three-year Fatherland Liberation War. However, our country is still divided and the territorial integrity and national reunification, unanimously desired by the Korean people, have not yet been fulfilled. Therefore, the most important task in achieving the country's reunification and independence still remains to be accomplished by the Korean people who have defeated the US imperialist invaders.

This is the supreme national task of our Party and people and the basic task of our revolution.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our people consistently strove to achieve the country's reunification and independence both in the five-year period of peaceful construction following liberation and during the three-year Fatherland Liberation War and are still continuing to do so.

Now that armistice is in force in Korea, our people are rising up as one in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country at the Party's call. The Geneva foreign ministers conference which met some time ago, should have settled the Korean question peacefully, in compliance with the demand of the Korean people who hope for peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification and with the desire of all the honest-minded people who are interested in the preservation of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. But this conference reached no agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question due to the obstructionist tactics of the delegates of the US imperialists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique, as well as the delegates of the satellite countries of US imperialism who not only do not want a peaceful solution of the Korean question but try to keep up international tensions.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique who disrupted the peaceful settlement of the Korean question at the Geneva conference are still persisting in their scheme to unleash a new war, blowing the "march north" trumpet more noisily, oblivious of the lessons of their shameful defeat in the recent war.

The peace-loving people of Korea and hundreds of millions the world over are resolutely denouncing their anti-people intrigues. Their plot for igniting another war will certainly be smashed by the united force of our people who desire the peaceful solution of the Korean question. Our people who enjoy the active support of the peace-loving democratic forces throughout the world will be quite able to preserve and consolidate peace in Korea just as they enforced the armistice in Korea.

The peaceful settlement of the Korean question is feasible only when our people's struggle for its realization gains in strength and our democratic forces become stronger. The current situation demands that our Party and people intensify their struggle for the country's peaceful reunification and the consolidation of the democratic base, while heightening their vigilance against the enemy and keeping themselves alert and ready.

What are the tasks before us and what should we do to preserve and consolidate peace in Korea and reunify our country peacefully? First, it is necessary to unite all the Korean people and all the democratic forces of our country more closely around our Party and the Government of our Republic so as to strengthen the patriotic, democratic forces in every way. Unless this is done, we cannot succeed in the struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of the country. On whether or not the democratic forces are united and consolidated, depends the fate of national reunification.

In order to firmly unite all the people of north and south Korea around our Party and the Government of our Republic, it is imperative, above all, to consolidate our Party and the people's power and strengthen the work of working people's organizations and of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea.

The Central Committee of our Party took a series of measures to consolidate the Party and strengthen the people's power. Through the historic Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee the Party's monolithic unity in ideology and will was achieved, the Party spirit of all the members enhanced, our Party further consolidated organizationally and ideologically and the work of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea strengthened still more. After February 1952, our Party launched an all-Party, all-people struggle against bureaucratism, embezzlement and wastage and thus set right the thinking and work style of leading officials to a considerable extent, elevated their political and professional levels remarkably and strengthened the ties of the Party with the masses. And the Sixth and Seventh Plenary Meetings and the March Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held after the war put forward, proceeding from the huge tasks before us in the postwar period, a number of important tasks such as the questions of strengthening inner-Party democracy and collective leadership, enhancing the guiding role of officials of Party and government bodies and economic institutions, and improving the work of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea.

All these measures rendered it possible to further strengthen our Party organizationally and ideologically, consolidate our people's power, working people's organizations and the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, and strengthen our democratic forces still more.

We should make every effort to consolidate the Party and government bodies and further strengthen our democratic forces on the basis of the successes already achieved.

Second, the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea should be strengthened economically.

No revolutionary movement can ever emerge victorious without its own strong forces, without its own reliable base. To strengthen the democratic base, the fountainhead of the revolution, we must lay a solid economic foundation, while strengthening political forces. For without a firm economic foundation, political forces, too, cannot be strengthened.

We have the northern half of Korea, our democratic base and the base of our revolution, which we have defended at the cost of our blood. After our country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, democratic reforms were carried out, economy and culture restored and developed, and thereby a powerful democratic base was created here, one half of Korean territory. Our democratic base was consolidated still further through the trying ordeals of war.

An important task before our Party at present is to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the national economy and stabilize and improve the people's living conditions in order to consolidate and develop the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea, the fountainhead of the revolution. The most important immediate task in accomplishing it is to successfully carry out the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy and, on this basis, fulfil the First Five-Year Plan.

When all this is done correctly, heavy industry, a key branch of the national economy, as well as light industry and agriculture will be

developed swiftly and then the economic basis of our democratic base will be firmly laid and the material and cultural standards of the people raised speedily. With this all the people will be rallied closer around our Party and the Government of our Republic and the cause of peaceful national reunification further expedited.

Do we, then, have the possibility of carrying out the immediate economic tasks? Certainly, we have.

We have the Workers' Party of Korea organized with conscious advanced elements of the working masses. The Workers' Party of Korea is the leading and guiding force of our people; it has organized and guided and is still organizing and guiding all victories of the Korean people successfully. Our Party was further steeled and tempered through the grim trials of war and became a powerful leading party in our country. As long as we have such a revolutionary party, there is nothing impossible, there can be no unconquerable fortress for us.

Moreover, our country has a heroic people, courageous, clever and tempered, who love labour and know how to win victory overcoming difficulties and obstacles with patience; it has revolutionary cadres schooled in a prolonged revolutionary struggle and abundant natural resources.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other brother countries are giving great material and technical assistance to our people who strive for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

In short, we have work forces and natural resources necessary for economic construction and also have funds and techniques to a certain degree. The question depends on how we exploit and use all these conditions and possibilities. If we work well and properly enlist and utilize the conditions and possibilities created, we can successfully carry out the immediate economic tasks and, further, achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

An important condition for achieving the reunification and independence of our country is to consolidate the economic basis of the northern half of Korea, make the people's life bountiful and turn the

north into a prosperous land of bliss. There is no doubt that when the economy and culture develop there and the people live more happily, the people in the southern half suffering from hunger and groping in the dark will hate more and more the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee traitors and rise up against them and will trust more deeply and follow our Party and the Government of our Republic. Then the question of national reunification and independence will be easily solved.

All Party organizations and Party members and all the people should devote all their energies and talents to the rapid postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea in every way.

Third, an important task before our Party in achieving the country's peaceful reunification is to further strengthen the People's Army. Without strengthening the People's Army it is impossible to realize this objective. Only when the People's Army is strengthened, can our people defend the precious gains, the fruits of their sweat and blood, and the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea from the enemy's encroachment. Therefore, we should make every effort to strengthen the People's Army into a steel-like army of cadres.

Thus, the basic tasks confronting our Party in the postwar period are, first, to unite all the people closer politically and rally all the democratic forces of our country firmly around the Party and the Government of the Republic; second, to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the national economy and stabilize and raise the people's standard of living; and third, to strengthen our People's Army in every way and thereby stoutly safeguard the revolutionary democratic base of the northern half of Korea. By carrying out these tasks successfully, we shall achieve the peaceful reunification and independence of the country. Such is, in general, our Party's future line of struggle and basic tasks laid down at the Sixth and Seventh Plenary Meetings and the March Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Entrusted by the Party Central Committee and the Government of

the Republic, this time I guided on the spot many enterprises and cooperative organizations and cities and counties in North Hamgyong Province. On this basis, I would like to speak on the tasks raised before the Party organizations in North Hamgyong Province in the struggle to implement the postwar Three-Year National Economic Plan.

North Hamgyong Province is located in an economically very important area. The industry, fisheries and forestry of this province have a really important place in our national economy.

Major bases of the ferrous metallurgical industry essential for the industrial development of our country are in North Hamgyong Province. The Kim Chaek Iron Works, Songjin Steel Plant, Chongjin Steel Plant and Musan Mine—these enterprises occupy an important place in developing our ferrous metallurgical industry.

Our industry can do nothing without pig iron and steel. The Musan Mine is a promising mine having a deposit of more than a billion tons of iron ore and equipped with modern ore-dressing facilities. The Kim Chaek Iron Works is the largest, modern enterprise in our country which will not only produce 300,000 tons of pig iron and steel a year but will also have big rolling equipment in the future. The Chongjin Steel Plant is the only factory which has revolving furnaces producing granulated iron with domestic raw materials. The Songjin Steel Plant is a large factory equipped with modern technology which turns out tens of thousands of tons of special and structural steel annually.

The operation of these large-scale modern factories requires plenty of coal, and in North Hamgyong Province there are many coal mines and especially bituminous coal is found in abundance. This province is a leading coal industry zone where bituminous coal is so abundant that it can be seen everywhere.

The light industry of North Hamgyong Province also forms a large part of our country's light industry. There are the Chongjin Spinning Mill and the Kilju Pulp Mill which are producing large quantities of artificial fibres and their raw materials. These fibres are a substitute for cotton which is in short supply in our country.

North Hamgyong Province also has many chemical and

building-materials industries such as the Aoji Synthetic Oil Plant, Yongan Chemical Factory, Komusan Cement Factory and Chongjin Slate Factory.

It has very favourable conditions also for developing the fishing industry as it has a coast line from Kimchaek to Sosura, which is several hundred kilometres long. In particular, the warm and cold currents meet off its coast, swarms of various kinds of fishes migrate there. According to the 1939 data, Korea's total annual catch of sardine was 700,000 tons, of which 400,000 tons were caught off the shore of North Hamgyong Province. This province has an abundance of seafood resources in its coastal waters and has fishing ports, fishery stations and shipyards everywhere.

North Hamgyong Province has a large zone of forests in the Musan area, adjacent to Mt. Paektu which is the richest in forest resources in our country.

Besides, there are many factories and enterprises such as the Juul Ceramic Factory, Hoeryong Paper Mill, Puryong Power Station and Puryong Metallurgical Factory.

Thus, it has a lot of important factories and enterprises which can constitute a mainstay in the development of our industry. This shows how important are the economic tasks facing the Party organizations and Party members in North Hamgyong Province and all the people in the province. If we are to consolidate the economic basis of our country and embark upon the road of industrialization, first of all, the iron works and steel plants of North Hamgyong Province should be well operated, the coal mining industry should develop and new coal fields should be opened up. Success in the industrial development of this province exerts a great influence on the rehabilitation and development of our national economy.

This time, we did not see all the factories and enterprises in North Hamgyong Province one by one, but made the rounds of almost all its major factories and enterprises. During our inspection tour, we realized that, thanks to the efforts of the officials of Party organizations, government bodies at all levels and those in the economic fields in

North Hamgyong Province, the postwar reconstruction of the national economy is progressing on an extensive scale and in a planned way in different parts of the province. We also noticed that in the work in various fields of North Hamgyong Province there are still many things which should and can be done, and many grave defects, too, which must be rectified quickly.

Availing myself of this opportunity today, I would like to refer to the problems arising in the industry of North Hamgyong Province, especially in the domain of heavy industry, as well as some matters including the rural economy and fisheries.

1. ON INDUSTRY

North Hamgyong Province should first rebuild the Kim Chaek Iron Works rapidly.

This is an important enterprise which produces pig iron and steel most urgently needed in rehabilitating and developing our industry. It has two big furnaces with a yearly capacity of more than 150,000 tons of pig iron each, many by-product plants and a number of other facilities. Speedy reconstruction of this iron works, therefore, acquires a very important significance.

At the works one furnace should be restored to be commissioned in the first half of 1955 as scheduled and a by-product factory which is not included in the plan should also be restored to be put into operation simultaneously. After that, the second furnace should be rebuilt. If possible, preparations should be made to newly build one more open-hearth furnace which is not envisaged in the Three-Year National Economic Plan. This is because, if quantities of pig iron produced by the iron works are to be made into steel, it is better to install open-hearth furnaces there. The rehabilitation and reequipment of the Kim Chaek Iron Works must be done ahead of schedule.

Attention should be paid to rebuilding and reequipping the Chongjin Steel Plant. This is one of the important enterprises in our country. It can turn out granulated iron with domestic coal, not relying on imported coking coal. If the plant is put into operation, it will prove highly profitable and a large sum of foreign currency can be saved. Without setting it in motion, it is impossible to operate the Songjin Steel Plant and the Kangson Steel Plant regularly. It is, therefore, a very urgent and important task to rebuild the Chongjin Steel Plant. But the Ministry of Heavy Industry does not correctly understand the importance of the reconstruction of this plant. It has paid little attention to rebuilding it just because there is some scrap iron available for some time, and is still negligent of the reconstruction and reequipment of the plant. This is quite wrong.

We should not make light of the reconstruction of this plant but attach great importance to it. Major facilities of the plant had been evacuated successfully, thanks to the efforts of the manager and all the workers and technicians, and it was not seriously damaged, either. So, if the orientation is correctly defined for the reconstruction of the Chongjin Steel Plant and if the Ministry of Heavy Industry renders sufficient help and the provincial Party committee concentrates efforts on this and pushes ahead with the reconstruction and reequipment, it will be possible to completely restore it in a short span of time. The Ministry of Heavy Industry and the provincial Party committee should take measures to shorten the period of reconstruction of the Chongjin Steel Plant considerably.

The officials of the plant should not simply sit idly by, complaining of lack of technique and shortage of equipment and materials, but boldly push forward the reconstruction work. Of course, many difficulties including technical matters may crop up. But, if they deeply study the technical documents, make fruitful experiments and give full play to the creative initiative of workers and technicians, they will surely be able to solve all problems.

The Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province should set the reconstruction of this plant as an important task and push ahead

with it powerfully, and give active help in solving technical matters that arise in rebuilding the plant.

The Musan Mine should be completely restored.

Its installations were not badly destroyed and it has many concentrates produced previously, but it is highly important to restore this mine completely. However, mainly readjusting work has been done so far, and no measures have been taken for its perfect reconstruction. One of the most difficult problems facing this mine at present is that the transport of the concentrates in winter is tremendously impeded as they contain much moisture. In North Hamgyong Province they undergo a great difficulty in loading and unloading the concentrates frozen during the long winter season. Therefore, from now on technical measures should be taken to tide over this difficulty.

The Kim Chaek Iron Works, Chongjin Steel Plant and Musan Mine now ask for more manpower. Of course, we can possibly supply them more work forces, if need be. But the question is whether or not the planned targets assigned to the respective enterprises are overfulfilled. If they exceed the planned targets and ask for more manpower to do more work, we can give more. And more work forces can be given to particularly important and necessary fields, even though the plan is not overfulfilled. But where work forces already given are not properly used and the plan is not carried out, there is no need to give additional manpower. Therefore, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, Chongjin Steel Plant and Musan Mine should, first of all, not only carry out the reconstruction and readjustment quickly and overfulfil their production plans but also solve knotty technical problems. In other words, the Kim Chaek Iron Works should solve technical matters arising in connection with the construction of a new open-hearth furnace and the Musan Mine should solve within a short time technical problems arising in dehydrating concentrates. Along with this, necessary skilled workers should be trained from now and those skilled workers dispersed during the war should all be brought back.

The reconstruction of the Chongjin Spinning Mill should be

carried out on a full scale from 1955.

Since less cotton grows in our country, it is important to produce plenty of artificial silk fabrics. There is great demand for rayon fabrics from the people. That is why the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed on a number of occasions the question of rebuilding the Chongjin Spinning Mill and also the question of raw materials for pulp. During my current visit here I noticed that this mill is not so seriously damaged and its major facilities are well preserved. So we came to have a firm conviction that this mill can be rebuilt speedily and easily.

In order to break the bottleneck in its reconstruction we ordered the Ministry of Light Industry to dispatch technical personnel to this mill in August and September this year. We should finish technical checkup within this year and set about rebuilding it in real earnest at the beginning of the new year.

What has to be solved in conjunction with the reconstruction of the mill is the question of substituting pulp raw materials now in use with other things, and this problem should be studied jointly by the Chongjin Spinning Mill and the Kilju Pulp Mill. As you all know, our country is now short of well-grown coniferous trees and, on top of this, large quantities of timber are required to rebuild damaged towns, factories and villages. Therefore, it is necessary to study technical possibilities of making pulp from white poplar wood and producing rayon yarn with it. Our country is rich in broad-leaved trees like white poplar and these trees grow fast.

In future, pulp for production of rayon yarn should be made from white poplar wood and that for paper production from rice straw. The Kilju Pulp Mill should turn out pulp needed in making paper from rice straw. Only then can our country produce both rayon fabrics and paper in large quantities. The possibility of making paper with rice straw has already been amply proved at the Sinuiju Pulp Mill. Among the pulps produced by the Kilju Pulp Mill those made from wood should all be turned over to the Chongjin Spinning Mill to produce fibre and those made from rice straw be used to manufacture paper. As it is going to

use new pulp, the Chongjin Spinning Mill should prepare necessary experimental facilities and conduct technical research on a wide scale.

It should be envisaged to install more equipment in the weaving shop of the Chongjin Spinning Mill in the future. Thus, good-quality rayon fabrics should be mass-produced.

The Chongjin Slate Factory should be rebuilt properly.

At present, it has less amount of important equipment and its production capacity is very small. But much slate is needed. Reconstruction of war-ravaged factories and enterprises requires slate. Only when slate is produced in plenty, is it possible to rapidly rebuild those factories standing roofless and erect new modern ones.

This time I made an inspection tour of many factories and enterprises in North Hamgyong Province, and there are no factories and enterprises which do not want slate. Even according to preliminary estimates as much as eight million square metres of slate for factory roofing alone is needed right now. If slate is to be used not only for roofing factory buildings but for other purposes as well, at least 20-30 million square metres are required. The Kim Chaek Iron Works alone needs at least 100,000 square metres of slate.

In comparison with such a great demand for slate, how do matters stand with its actual production? There is too wide a gap between the demand for it and its actual output. The production plan of the Chongjin Slate Factory for this year is only 600,000 square metres, but eight million square metres are needed to be used for factory roofing alone. If slate is produced at the present rate, it will take at least 13 years to meet needs of factory roofing alone. If things go on like this, all the factory buildings will be ruined during that period. We should reconstruct the Chongjin Slate Factory quickly without any further delay and increase the production of slate.

First of all, the existing equipment of the factory should be fully utilized. If the operation rate of equipment on hand is raised to the maximum, it can turn out 1-1.2 million square metres of slate. The leading officials of the factory, deeply conscious of the importance of slate, should use work forces rationally, organize three-shift work

strictly and secure an adequate amount of machine parts in stock and thereby operate equipment at full capacity.

While making full use of the existing facilities, we should strive to expand the factory equipment. The existing equipment can never meet the demand for slate. Therefore, idle equipment and materials should be collected as far as possible and at least one or two more machines installed within the shortest possible time to double the production capacity. Some leading officials of this factory say the shortage of machines and technicians is felt, but they cannot sit idle. In order to install one or two more machines here, the Chongjin Steel Plant, Kim Chaek Iron Works and Kilju Pulp Mill should produce necessary machine parts, and designers should be mobilized for active help.

Even if a new slate factory is built in the future, the Chongjin Slate Factory should be developed steadily. While ensuring the operation rate of existing equipment at 100 per cent, the factory should install new facilities quickly and thus produce and supply two million square metres of slate per annum. When this is done, all factory buildings can be roofed in the next four years. The Chongjin Slate Factory is not big but its task is very heavy and all its workers and technicians should work devotedly to carry out this task.

We should develop the shipbuilding industry.

This is an important industrial branch related to the people's life.

The Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic have taken various steps to stabilize and improve as early as possible the low living standards of the people due to the war. To maintain one's life one needs food, clothing and shelter. Without steadily improving the supply of food, clothing and housing, there can be no talk of the betterment of the people's livelihood. The improvement of the food problem requires plenty of meat and fish. While it takes a certain period of time to produce meat, fish can be had in a shorter span of time. Therefore, fish should be caught in plenty. Catching fish is tantamount to producing food grains. Man eats less grains when side dishes are plentiful. To make a big haul of fish by developing the fishing industry, we should, above all, develop the shipbuilding

industry. If only we have fishing vessels we can have as big a catch as we want.

The development of shipbuilding industry is of great importance also in developing transport and strengthening the defence capabilities since our country is seabound on three sides.

In the past, our shipbuilding industry was in a very backward state as the machine-building industry did not make progress. At the time of Japanese imperialist rule, this industry was barely able to make tiny wooden boats. Though we put in much effort to develop the shipbuilding industry before the war, we could not achieve impressive results after all, as the time was short.

Today, with the armistice, we have before us the weighty task of speedily developing the shipbuilding industry, and North Hamgyong

Province has undertaken a very important duty in fulfilling this task. Recently, the Government of the Republic decided to build a new big shipyard in Rajin. North Hamgyong Province should strive to implement this decision with success and at the same time further strengthen the work of shipyards in Chongjin, Unggi, Kimchaek and many other places.

As we lack in technique, equipment and materials, we should develop the shipbuilding industry gradually—from wooden boats to iron bottoms, from fishing vessels to transporters and warships. In other words, we should develop our shipbuilding industry step by step on the principle of constructing from small to big ones, from backward to modern ones.

According to experts sardine shoals that vanished from the coastal waters of our country for more than ten years are expected to appear again within the next 2-3 years. In case sardine shoals make their appearance, we should catch them in plenty, and for this we need at least 120-150 purse-seine boats of 150-350 hp units, to each of which 2-3 transporters have to be attached. So, we need more than 400 boats in the future to bring in sardine alone.

Most of our existing shipyards, including the Chongjin Dockyard, Unggi Shipbuilding Plant and Songjin Shipbuilding Plant, are

insufficient in their facilities and very small in scale, too. For this reason, the Chongjin Dockyard and many other shipyards should be expanded on an extensive scale. Wood needed in enlarging them should be produced and supplied in good time by the timber industry.

One of the major defects revealed in the shipbuilding industry is that the few technicians we had originally are now dispersed in different places. As they are scattered, ship designing is not done well and shipbuilding is likewise done in a very crude way. The ships that have been constructed so far are useless under the actual conditions of our country. Therefore, ship designing should be improved definitively and ships should be built well to meet diverse purposes.

To construct good ships, the dispersed technicians should be brought together, their status improved, adequate working conditions provided to them and their technical standard raised. Without this the construction of useful good-quality ships cannot be expected.

Some leading officials are unwilling to allocate fine workers to shipyards for lack of a correct understanding of the importance of the shipbuilding industry. That will not do. Many competent workers should be assigned to work at shipyards and the conditions of shipyard workers improved.

Ships are badly needed for coastal defence, too. Therefore, the People's Army should have a deep interest in the shipbuilding industry and give it active aid.

In North Hamgyong Province a vigorous struggle should be waged to increase the production of coal.

Recently the Cabinet of the Republic adopted a decision on producing 360,000 tons of more coal and on saving more coal. At present, coal production in our country falls very short of the demand. So, how to secure coal for this winter has become a very serious matter. We are now in a sorry position where we have to import coal from other countries, while we have tons of it under our feet! The coal situation has become so severe, because leading officials in the field of the coal-mining industry did not take appropriate measures right after the ceasefire in anticipation of the difficulties that might arise. In

particular, some leading officials of the Ministry of Heavy Industry remained quite indifferent towards coal production and worked irresponsibly. They should have concentrated efforts on restoring coal mines soon after the armistice, but they did not do so, leaving most of the coal mines abandoned during the war just as they were. Such being the case, coal production is small and our coal situation is precarious. Due to the shortage of coal many factories and enterprises find themselves in a grave situation where production and construction are hampered if they do not import coal.

To meet the shortage of coal keenly felt in the country, coal mines should turn out more coal. But a number of coal mines in North Hamgyong Province still do not pay attention to increased production. Not a few in this province fail to carry out even their plans properly. This is a very serious matter.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I call upon all the Party organizations and Party members in North Hamgyong Province to successfully carry out the honourable task of boosting coal production.

If factories, enterprises and railways are to be operated without any hitch, coal is required. We must unfailingly fulfil this year's plan for increased production by all ways and means. Especially, bituminous coal should be put out in larger quantities. First of all, this year North Hamgyong Province should mass-produce bituminous coal of good quality so that factories in the province do not use imported coal. This will save foreign currency and greatly help towards stepping up the country's economic construction.

In order to develop the coal-mining industry, tunnelling should be done on a planned basis. If you mine coal at random, failing to do tunnelling in a planned way, great harm will be caused in its future production. Preparatory tunnelling should be done planfully and tunnelling manpower should also be distributed planfully. Scientific plans for tunnelling should be worked out to end the practice of slipshod tunnelling.

One of the important matters in developing the coal-mining industry is to conduct test drilling in a big way. For stepped-up

exploration of coalfields drilling technicians and skilled workers should be trained and at the same time drilling apparatuses and materials supplied adequately. Drilling of from 500 to 1,500 metres should thus be ensured.

Many young people should be assigned to work in the field of coalmining industry.

In coal mines now there are not many youths. For example, in the Aoji Coal Mine, among those working in the pits the number of youths is very small. This is because the youths are still infected by the old habit of Japanese imperialist rule, a habit of thinking that only old men have to work in the pits. Party organizations and Democratic Youth League organizations in North Hamgyong Province have failed to educate youths well.

During the Fatherland Liberation War our youths blocked the loopholes of enemy pillboxes with their chests and took upon themselves all difficult tasks. Why then today should the young people do easy things and the aged do tough jobs in the pits? This is quite wrong also from the moral point of view. Youths with strong enterprising spirit and full of vigour should take the lead in arduous and toilsome work.

In order to let young people proceed in large numbers to the coal-mining industry it is necessary not only to provide them with good conditions of work in coal mines but to make them fully realize that it is their most honourable and sacred duty to work there. Organizations of the Party and the Democratic Youth League should intensify ideological education among the youths so that they deeply understand that in our society labour is the most honourable.

Formerly, in exploiter society, eating the bread of idleness was regarded as a matter of pride. But today in our society this is considered to be most shameful and disgraceful. In our society those who work more than others and take the lead in arduous and hard jobs are the noblest and finest persons. Party organizations should create a social atmosphere in which all people love labour and take the lead in hard work.

The social status of coal miners should be raised and through intensified political work they should be encouraged to mine more coal and, at the same time, in all fields active efforts be made to save coal. It is said that if more electricity is supplied to the Aoji Synthetic Oil Plant 20 per cent of coal can be saved. That is a very interesting matter and worth studying. The power supply to the Aoji Synthetic Oil Plant which uses a lot of coal should therefore be improved to save coal. This time I toured various areas of North Hamgyong Province for inspection and found that there were electric power resources everywhere. Therefore, in this province a study should be made of a plan to build new power stations.

Coal mines in North Hamgyong Province should actively endeavour to overfulfil their coal production plans.

2. ON THE RURAL ECONOMY

In order to develop our rural economy in a planned way, our Party has pursued, since the time of war, an agricultural policy of turning the scattered individual peasant economy gradually into a cooperative economy, while at the same time developing state-run agriculture.

If in the national economy only industry develops on a planned basis and agriculture remains dispersed private farming, the proportionate development of industry and agriculture becomes impossible, and, if agriculture and industry fail to develop in a proportionate way, not only agricultural development itself will be delayed but even industrial development will be hampered. Therefore, the question of converting individual peasant farming into a cooperative economy acquires a decisive significance in developing agriculture. This is essential for the planned development of the national economy of the country as a whole.

Even under the difficult conditions of the war, our Party and the

Government of our Republic devoted great attention to organizing and developing state crop and stock farms and made large state investments in this domain. Thus, state-run stock farming organized in the crucible of the war has already been able to play a decisive role in meat production in our country and has begun to develop rapidly.

Since labour forces and draught animals were short during the war, our peasants clearly understood the superiority and usefulness of communal labour through their own experience. Taking into consideration that the conditions had thus matured, our Party began to organize during the war agricultural cooperatives on an experimental basis for the first time in our country.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee convened right after the armistice considered that the most important problem in our Party's postwar agricultural policy was to lead the scattered individual peasant economy gradually along the path of cooperativization, and it put forward the policy of organizing some agricultural cooperatives in each county on an experimental basis. Thus, in every nook and corner of the northern half of Korea an extensive campaign was launched to form such cooperatives. Out of the present cooperatives organized in our country, only those which belong to the second and third forms come to nearly 1,000.

Cooperativizing the private farming, which has been handed down for thousands of years, means a fundamental turn in the development of our agriculture. This will exert a great effect on the whole political and economic development of our country, promote the growth of socialist factors in the rural areas and make it possible to ensure the triumph of socialism. Agricultural cooperativization is the only way for radically changing the status of peasants.

I would like first to speak on the work of state crop and stock farms.

Since we found it impossible to invest large funds in industry during the war, we laid out large sums in setting up state crop and stock farms. But under the difficult conditions of the war we faced many difficulties and the state suffered considerable loss as we were building state crop and stock farms on free barren land, not encroaching upon

the land of individual peasants. However, as time passed and the leading officials gathered experience, a remarkable improvement was brought about in the work of these state farms. They now have a solid basis and have grown strong enough to bring large profits to the state instead of inflicting losses on it. Hence, from now on, whether or not state crop and stock farms satisfactorily discharge the responsibility they assumed before the state depends wholly on whether or not the officials in this field work well.

In North Hamgyong Province there are many state crop and stock farms. This year, the provincial stock farms alone will produce some 900 tons of meat, and this is far more than before the war. In the current year more than 6,000 tons of meat will be supplied by all the state crop and stock farms of our country. This signifies a huge progress in meat production as compared with the prewar period.

The amount of meat purchased by the state from the peasants in the past was only 3,600 tons a year, but its production became an enormous burden to the peasants. We could not allow such a thing to continue any longer. So the Central Committee of the Party pursued the policy of developing state crop and stock farms in wartime. As a result, they are now able to produce 6,000 tons of meat a year.

Since the meat produced by the state crop and stock farms was enough to meet the demands of the People's Army and the factory and office workers, the Party and Government abolished the obligatory meat procurement system. This resulted in mitigating the burden on the peasants and augmenting their income. Today our state crop and stock farms serve as enterprises giving great profits to the state and the people.

All these facts patently prove the correctness of the policy of our Party which organized, strengthened and developed state crop and stock farms in spite of the difficult circumstances of the war.

On the basis of the successes already achieved, we should develop these state farms in every way. Only by so doing is it possible to find a satisfactory solution to the meat problem.

By what means can we further develop state crop and stock farms, then?

For this it is necessary, above all, to remedy quickly the grave defects remaining in the work in this sphere. There still are quite a few shortcomings in the work of state crop and stock farms in North Hamgyong Province.

The first defect is that for lack of a clear idea of the cost-accounting system, leading officials of state crop and stock farms are not putting active efforts to make both ends meet.

The reason why they do not try to balance income and expenditure is that their practical education on the cost-accounting system is neglected. The Ministry of Agriculture or the provincial authorities, instead of educating officials to strive to make both ends meet at state crop and stock farms, rather had the loss offset against something else, in case the balance was not maintained. This means in short that the Ministry of Agriculture or the provincial authorities taught the officials of these farms that it would not matter even if they failed to strike a balance. Thus there appeared a wrong ideological tendency that it would be all right even though their farms sustained loss in enterprise management.

At present, crop and stock farms keep lots of unnecessary manpower and draught animals. If state crop and stock farms are to put their business on a sound basis, they should boldly reduce the extra manpower and draught animal power through a rational organization of labour. But some of the farm officials are disinclined to curtail work forces.

Integrated State Farm No. 5 has 3,600 hectares of non-paddy fields which are as wide as the cultivated area of one small county. It is a signal success that one district, pursuant to the decision of the Party Central Committee, obtained in the year of 1953 alone the land equivalent in size to one small county's area under cultivation. True, this farm faces some difficulties as the land is barren and the weather is cold, but it is a promising farm, the biggest in our country. Last year, crops on Farm No. 5 did not grow well due to drought. Other localities of North Hamgyong Province, too, were badly hit by the adverse climate. Therefore, Farm No. 5 cannot be regarded as an

unprofitable farm for its last year's poor crop.

What matters in the operation of Farm No. 5 is an incorrect attitude of managerial workers towards their work. The manager and other managerial workers of this farm do not study how to work if they want to run the farm to benefit the state.

They do not think of reducing manpower by mechanizing farming operations. Farm No. 5 can be mechanized along modern lines, and even now it has lots of farm machines including tractors and seed drills. But the farm's managerial workers have no idea of mechanizing farm work as they are little concerned about this.

They even do not try to increase profitability by improving farming methods. The experience gained hitherto tells that if potatoes are planted by the square-cluster method, a larger harvest can be reaped. If Farm No. 5 plants potatoes by this method it can produce at least 8 tons per hectares, which, if computed in terms of potato starch, will amount to obtaining one ton of potato starch from every hectare. Therefore, if it plants potatoes on 1,800 hectares, it can get an income exceeding 100 million *won*. And if it sows oats on the remaining 1,800 hectares for fodder and breeds many domestic animals, turning them out to graze in spacious pastures nearby as well, it can produce 800 tons of meat a year.

Should the managerial workers correctly plan and organize their work on the basis of a deep study of how to run the farm, Farm No. 5 will be fully capable of making both ends meet on its own and bringing large profits to the state.

What kinds of work, then, should Farm No. 5 do specifically?

Above anything else, it should mechanize farm work and curtail manpower.

This year a number of agricultural cooperatives were organized experimentally in Junghwa County, South Phyongan Province, and their farming operations were semi-mechanized with the assistance of the state. The upshot was that 50-60 per cent of the labour force became extra. This substantiates that when crop and stock farms mechanize farm work, they can cut down manpower a great deal. Work

forces are the precious asset of the country. In our country now there are many branches which are badly in need of hands. But on Farm No. 5 each worker tends three hectares of non-paddy fields since semi-mechanization is introduced. If this farm introduces mechanization efficiently, a worker can handle 10 hectares of non-paddy fields, and the labour force can be substantially reduced.

Provincial stock farms have plenty of manpower and draught animals. Some managerial workers feel that they are great figures if they maintain a large labour force on their farms. Officials of provincial stock farms not only have a large labour force but keep many heads of cattle as well.

The Hoeryong Poultry Farm is a farm which does its work relatively well, but its manager also keeps many draught animals unnecessarily. This farm has 100 hectares of fodder fields and only ten draught animals are enough to cultivate them. But it has as many as 30 draught animals. So, obviously, it cannot put its business on a paying basis. The same is true of the Kyongsong and Ryongje Stock Farms.

Formerly, in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, he who fought the enemy well was a good revolutionary, but now he who acquits himself well in economic construction is a good revolutionary worker. Economic construction is the basic task of our revolutionaries today. Effective economic construction calls for acquiring rich economic knowledge. Officials of state crop and stock farms should work in such a way as to curtail unnecessary manpower and draught animals, and simplify their setups, with a correct understanding of the cost-accounting system. A powerful all-Party struggle should be waged with a view to reducing labour power.

If labour is organized rationally, it is quite possible to reduce manpower, and production can be successful even with a less labour force. At a certain workteam of the Kyongwon Stock Farm, 47 persons tended 54 hectares of arable land this year, whereas 61 persons cultivated 49 hectares last year. Still the crops are rather in better condition than last year. Until last year, in private farming, one person worked more than one hectare of paddy fields while on state crop and

stock farms a single person tended only 0.8 hectare, and as for non-paddy fields, each private peasant handled two hectares while on state farms a single member tended only one hectare. This shows that state crop and stock farms are still wasting much labour forces and that they have much scope for reduction of manpower. So, the state resolutely proposed to curtail work forces at state crop and stock farms.

However, some officials of the Ministry of Agriculture are against the Party's policy of reducing manpower at state crop and stock farms. They say it is difficult to cut down the labour force at state farms, alleging that individual peasants work more, prompted by their self-interest, but when people engage in collective labour their work efficiency is lower than the former's, because they do not work as they do their own job. This is a reactionary view that does not admit the superiority of collective labour. On state crop and stock farms which have all favourable conditions, there is no ground that their work efficiency drops as compared with individual peasants'. In the case of collective labour, discipline and order can be established, work becomes pleasant and labour can be rationally organized, so work efficiency will be incomparably higher than when work is done individually. Therefore, state crop and stock farms should continue to reduce manpower and draught animals.

In order to further heighten the zeal of workers for production and effectively reduce labour power, it is necessary to properly apply something like an incentive-in-kind system. For example, if ten persons' portion of work is done by five men, that much reward in kind should be offered additionally to them. This will make it possible to increase the workers' zeal for production and labour productivity and properly organize a cut in manpower.

A major shortcoming in the work of state crop and stock farms in North Hamgyong Province is, second, that the securing of fodder is inadequate and its wastage is seriously in evidence.

In the regulation worked out by the Ministry of Agriculture with regard to state crop and stock farms it is stipulated that domestic animals should be given only concentrated feed. Quite a few farm

officials cling to this regulation and think as if they cannot raise livestock without furnishing concentrated feed to them. This is quite wrong. Such a way of livestock breeding will bring enormous loss to the state. It is rather better to sell concentrated feed to other countries and purchase meat with that money than to produce meat by supplying only concentrated feed to domestic animals. A certain duck farm feeds fish to ducks, but it cannot be regarded as good to feed ducks with fish which even men can hardly afford to have now.

It will not do at all to try to develop animal husbandry by relying only on concentrated feed. Stock farms should actively create various fodder resources with creative initiative. Other countries make silage with potato vines and barley straw to feed the cattle. Our stock farms should likewise let domestic animals have silage made with grass and straw, cutting down on concentrated feed.

In North Hamgyong Province, places suitable for sheep raising are to be found everywhere. This province should secure many pastures. But the Kyongwon Stock Farm is little interested in pastureland. Since this farm does not take good care of its grazing land, the meadow is on the verge of desolation thick with copses. Workers there say they cannot remove these copses for lack of manpower, but it is only a pretext. The meadow is overgrown with copses because the stock farm officials do not organize their work in a creative way. If the farm manager were concerned about the grazing land, he would have removed these copses even by mobilizing students of nearby middle schools during their vacation, through consultations with local Party and government bodies. An important matter in securing fodder is to create its bases. In North Hamgyong Province, even while more than 20,000 hectares of slash-and-burn fields are left to lie fallow, no one thinks of creating fodder bases there. If a grassland is created by planting grass on these fields lying idle, it will become a good fodder base. Grass should be cultivated not on a limited scale at the experimental plots of the Kyongsong Agricultural Experiment Station alone but in a big way through the utilization of the slash-and-burn fields which lie idle. It is said that grass seeds are not available, but if

only organizational work is done well, it will be possible to collect wild grass seeds as much as needed.

People in the field of animal husbandry should make active efforts to explore and utilize fodder resources to the maximum.

Stock farms should also organize shifting pasturage on an extensive scale.

State crop and stock farms should do well to mechanize their work. The operations which can be mechanized have to be mechanized as far as possible. We should introduce mechanization on our own by displaying creative initiative, instead of importing machines and equipment from other countries. The animal-drawn weeding machine devised and now extensively used in North Hamgyong Province is very good. Since paddy and non-paddy field work has not yet been mechanized as a whole in our country, it is a tremendous stride and a signal success that animal-drawn weeder was contrived and put to use. A wide publicity should be given to animal-drawn weeding machines so that they get known in other provinces, too, and may be widely used at state crop and stock farms in particular. In the future, in agricultural field lots of efficient farm machines should be manufactured to mechanize work actively.

Another important problem for state crop and stock farms is to use the main labour force rationally. They do not utilize manpower in a rational way on the plea of having no work to do in winter, but that will not do. If they organize labour properly, they can make a rational use of the main labour force in winter, too. In winter season crop and stock farms will be able to prepare for next year's farming, build animal sheds, repair tools, process fodder or organize various side jobs such as fishing. Farm No. 5 will also be able to organize potato starch production in winter. No extra manpower for capital construction should be allotted to state crop and stock farms. There is no need to give additional manpower for processing and other work. The building of animal sheds will be fully possible with their own labour in the slack season. For Koreans it is an age-old custom to build or repair houses not in summer but after harvesting or before the spring tillage. Even

individual peasants properly use manpower according to the season. There is no reason for state farms to fail to do the same.

One of the important matters in the work of state crop and stock farms is to make the best selection of crops.

In order to increase grain yield, it is necessary to distribute crops properly on the principle of the right crop for the right soil. In North Hamgyong Province, potato, sorghum and maize that grow well there, and other cold-resistant crops should be selected and planted. In crop distribution, it is a principle, on all accounts, to select and plant high-yielding crops suited to the climate and soil conditions of the area concerned. It is said that the Hoeryong area produced three tons of maize per hectare. This is a good example of increasing the yield by planting crops suited to the regional conditions.

In our country there are many non-paddy fields. The northern half has 1.5 million hectares of non-paddy fields, but its paddy fields are no more than 500,000 hectares. Therefore, active efforts should be made to increase the harvest of non-paddy crops.

More experiment should be conducted to raise the utilization of land. The workers of agricultural experiment stations should not carry on tests at their stations alone but go out to different places in the province to conduct experiments and researches on the cultivation of crops.

Next, let me touch upon the problem of petty peasants and the work of agricultural cooperatives.

Thanks to the correct policy of the Party and Government, our agriculture continuously developed even under the difficult conditions of the war and healed the war wounds basically in one year following the ceasefire. But in the agricultural sphere important issues which must be solved still remain to a considerable extent.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set it forth as the keynote of our Party's postwar agricultural policy to solve within two to three years the question of petty peasants, who form 30-40 per cent of the peasants of our country, and to develop agricultural cooperatives on an organizational basis.

Most of our petty peasants live in highland and coastal areas. The Party and Government took from long ago various measures to improve their status radically. While letting petty peasants in some highland regions proceed to factories, enterprises and the plains, the Party and Government took various steps to help those in hilly and coastal zones to manage their life on their own and gave them ample state assistance. However, the peasants residing in these zones failed to bring about a fundamental solution of the problem of their livelihood as their land was originally limited and they tilled barren land.

Travelling all over North Hamgyong Province for inspection this time, we paid great attention to the problem of improving the petty peasants' livelihood. In different localities we studied how matters stand with agricultural cooperatives and fishermen's cooperatives in their work and also met and conversed with many peasants and fishermen. In this way, we came to have a firm conviction that the problem of petty peasants can be solved fundamentally within the next two to three years and reached the conclusion that the Party and Government should take decisive measures quickly to solve this problem.

By what means can we solve the question of petty peasants' livelihood, then?

In order to solve this problem it is imperative to organize agro-stock cooperatives in mountainous areas and agro-fishery cooperatives in coastal areas.

A considerable number of peasants in North Hamgyong Province now find themselves in a position where they have to get the loan of food grains from the state to tide over the shortage, and things have come to this pass because the peasants rely only on the grain produced from their limited land. Whatever good seeds may be chosen and sown on stony fields, it is most unlikely that crops will grow well as in Jaeryong Namuri Plain. In order to improve the living standard of the peasants in North Hamgyong Province, it is necessary to intensify the struggle to increase the per-unit-area yield and to engage in subsidiary activities on an extensive scale by using mountains and seas.

Our ancestors from time immemorial have said that mountains

should be exploited in mountainous regions and seas exploited in coastal regions; the mountains and seas of our country are treasures, indeed. Our mountains and seas are beautiful and, moreover, trees grow thick and rank in the mountains and fish shoals swarm about in the seas. If the peasants of North Hamgyong Province make good use of the mountains and seas, they will be quite able to solve the food problem and increase the cash income, too. The peasants in mountainous and coastal areas must exploit the mountains and seas, and they cannot make their livelihood bountiful so long as they rely only on the land. If agro-stock cooperatives and agro-fishery cooperatives are organized, lots of extra work forces can be obtained and various side jobs organized widely with this surplus manpower.

The overwhelming majority of the population of our country is the peasantry. Raising the peasants' standard of living precisely means bettering the life of all our people. In mountain regions agro-stock cooperatives should be organized to engage in stockbreeding as well as farming and in coastal regions agro-fishery cooperatives be organized to engage in fishing as well as farming and on agricultural cooperatives around towns vegetables should be raised widely and thus the peasants' standard of living should be raised as a whole.

In some agricultural cooperatives now there appears a tendency to increase fixed assets without any proper plan. A certain agricultural cooperative is said to have asked to be allowed to buy a tractor, though it has only 30 or so farm households. This is a demand made without proper thinking. Under the present conditions where agricultural cooperatives are small in scale and their economic basis is weak, they need not have tractors. Cooperatives are able to hire tractors of farm machine hire stations freely. Why should they suffer loss by purchasing tractors?

Agricultural production should be planned on agricultural cooperatives and the cooperative economy be included in the national economic plan of the state for its development.

From 1955 state assignments should be given to agricultural cooperatives. Only then can the full effect of the organization of

agricultural cooperatives be manifested and the superiority of cooperative economy over individual economy displayed.

Agricultural cooperatives should draw up plans correctly and strive to carry them out just as state-run enterprises struggle to fulfil the national economic plan, and should distribute dividends accurately.

They should actively introduce advanced farming methods and tighten work discipline.

One of the important matters in developing agricultural production is to improve seeds and breeding stock. Among the seeds and breeding stock now in our country a certain portion has deteriorated. Therefore, there is need to improve both. We should carry out this work step by step, instead of trying to finish it all at once.

Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province should get state crop and stock farms and agricultural cooperatives to produce more meat. The annual meat production goal of this province should be raised to the level of 20,000-30,000 tons in future. For this, all farm households should have livestock without exception, agricultural cooperatives should be given meat production quotas and state crop and stock farms should be made to fulfil their meat production plans without fail.

3. ON THE FISHING INDUSTRY

North Hamgyong Province has a very large share in the development of our fishing industry. The catch of this province at present accounts for one-third of the country's total. Whereas Hwanghae Province is a rice-producing province, North Hamgyong Province can be called a province producing meat and fish. And yet we cannot rest content with the present size of the catch in this province. The Party Central Committee set it forth as one of the most important tasks to develop the fishing industry at the present stage and took a series of measures to

carry it out. But there are still many shortcomings in fisheries.

The principal defect in fisheries is that fishing is done in a passive way. Just as we should be active in all work, so we should catch fish by active methods. It is a passive work attitude if one sits idle waiting for schools of fish to come. The failure of some fishery stations to fulfil their plan for catching mackerel this year is also mainly because the workers of the stations attended to their work in a passive manner.

Fishery workers should catch large quantities of fish by going out to the sea in the spirit of conquering the ocean. It is necessary to catch fish both in deep and shallow seas and, as for the fish coming to the coastal waters, catch them by rushing forward straight to them and, as for the fish moving away to the distant seas, catch them by pursuing after them. Like this plenty of fish should be caught by active methods. Only then the catch can be increased rapidly.

Another major shortcoming in fisheries is that the fishing period is short. Now fishing is done in the pollack or mackerel season in the way a shock campaign is conducted. What is more, on the ground that the small catch of mackerel in its season this year will be made up by netting pollack in abundance in its season, boats and men are left idle in summer. This is quite incorrect. It is very wrong for fishery workers to try to fulfil their plan in terms of volume alone by netting plenty of pollack in its season without catching various tasty fishes in summer. To transfer manpower frequently according to the season, going only by the fishing season, brings about a negative result that will not only render it impossible to increase the fish output but will also lower the zeal of fishermen for production and make the stabilization of their life infeasible. Therefore, the fishing period should be extended so that fishing may be continued with fixed manpower, with no boats being left to stand idle.

In fisheries, not merely inshore fishing operation should be conducted but also deep-sea fishing operation boldly organized.

In the fishing industry advanced technology should be actively introduced, fishing operations mechanized and fish shoal detection widely conducted.

Mechanization of seafood processing is one of the important tasks facing the fishery sector. At present, as the seafood-processing technique is backward, the fish caught is not disposed of in time. It is many years since the fishery sector was given the task to make disembowelling machines, but it has failed to manufacture them so far. In fisheries seafood processing should be mechanized by all means.

Fishery workers, while striving to overfulfil their fishing plan for the present, should make thoroughgoing preparations to catch more fish in future. In particular, they should prepare well to bring in lots of sardine in the forthcoming sardine season.

The Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Fisheries should take specific measures to build more meat and fish processing plants.

In order to catch more fish and increase the income of petty peasants, the state should build many small fishing vessels of two to three ton and eight to ten ton classes and thus widely organize the work to hire them out to the peasants in coastal zones, especially to agro-fishery cooperatives.

4. ON CITY MANAGEMENT

There are not a few defects also in the city management of North Hamgyong Province. In comparison with other areas, we can say this province was damaged rather slightly during the war. In North Hamgyong Province county seats other than Chongjin and Kimchaek cities were not greatly damaged. And yet, in this province city management is neglected. In the case of Chongjin alone, there are many large vacant buildings, but they do not think of using them by reconstructing and repairing them. Instead they are erecting lots of temporary houses less functional and with poor look. Even if additional funds are to be provided to rebuild and repair buildings, towns should be reconstructed and the problem of buildings solved by

rebuilding and repairing the existing buildings. In case the shortage of buildings is felt though the existing ones are all rebuilt and repaired, necessary buildings should be newly erected.

In North Hamgyong Province buildings are not allotted properly. In Chongjin good buildings in the main street are occupied by offices and such buildings as warehouses in the corner of the city are occupied by public service establishments like the state department store. This anomaly should be rectified quickly.

One of the grave defects revealed in city management is that there is a tendency of departmentalism in the utilization of buildings. This tendency is more manifest particularly in the agencies under the Ministry of Transport. In the field of railways, the houses in Rajin which were used exclusively for railwaymen at the time of Japanese imperialist rule are almost in disuse, but they are not even lent to other fields to be repaired and used. So, although there are many good brick buildings which remain empty, those working in other fields, not allowed to repair and use them, built new tax-in-kind grain storehouses at the expense of stupendous manpower and funds. Such a phenomenon was found in many places. This is attributable to the fact that provincial, city and county people's committees failed to work as organs of power in a manner worthy of the master.

Leading officials of some organs and enterprises in North Hamgyong Province do not heed the problem of dwelling houses for their workers and office employees. Leading officials of the Aoji Coal Mine provided one-room houses to workers with large families, saying that no houses were available, though there were many empty houses which could be easily repaired and revamped for use with a little expenditure of labour.

In North Hamgyong Province buildings which are not in use should be quickly rebuilt and used.

Last, let me touch upon some other problems.

All state-run enterprises should introduce an accurate cost-accounting system. State-run enterprises should not only strive to balance income and expenditure but bring more profits to the state. As for the managers

of those enterprises which fail to benefit the state, it cannot be said that they have worked well before the Party, the state and the people.

State-run enterprises in which the cost-accounting system is introduced should tap and enlist internal resources extensively and organize labour rationally and thereby thoroughly eliminate labour wastage, reduce manpower, launch a vigorous campaign for economizing materials and actively mechanize work. Thus, they should lower the production cost, raise profitability and give more profits to the state.

Along with this, the responsibility of enterprise managers, workers and technicians should be enhanced still further so that all of them work as one in a way befitting the masters of the country.

Guidance of economic affairs calls for acquiring economic knowledge. All cadres should make active efforts to raise the level of their economic knowledge.

Political work should be strengthened among the workers and a movement for creating Labour Heroes and production innovators unfolded extensively on a mass scale. Thus, the ranks of advanced workers should steadily increase and numbers of new labour innovators, fine devisers and inventors and Labour Heroes should emerge in the struggle for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy. A movement for creating many heroes and production innovators should be launched widely on the labour front as the aircraft-hunting team movement and the sniper team movement were waged in the People's Army during the war.

As Party and working people's organizations of factories and enterprises do not conduct well the struggle to create Labour Heroes and production innovators, a social atmosphere on this movement is not yet fully created. Party organizations of factories and enterprises should wage more actively the movement for creating Labour Heroes and production innovators.

Factories and enterprises should work properly for bonus distribution and state commendation and correctly introduce the incentive-in-kind system.

Political work should be intensified among the youth. Party and Democratic Youth League organizations should strengthen the education of the young people so that they regard labour as an honourable task, have patriotic ideas and take an active part in social and political activities. In the People's Army the youth took the lead in battle. Likewise, the youth should take the lead in arduous and toilsome work on the labour front.

Factories and enterprises should further tighten discipline and order. They should strictly establish work discipline and relentlessly combat the practices which go contrary to it.

One-man management should be strengthened. In the work of strengthening this system there are now two tendencies. One is the tendency to ignore collective discussion on the plea of strengthening one-man management and the other is that to disregard and weaken one-man management on the plea of strengthening collective guidance. Both tendencies are wrong. Recently, among some managers there have appeared the practices of looking down on the upper level, carrying out its directives in a perfunctory manner and not accepting its orders. These tendencies must be completely overcome.

To sum up, Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province, first, should thoroughly execute the Three-Year National Economic Plan and all new tasks and, in particular, strive to overfulfil without fail the plans of the coal-mining industry and forestry; second, should set forth as one of the central tasks the improvement of the livelihood of petty peasants and strive to carry it out; and third, should steadily stabilize and raise the people's living standards as a whole by enabling light industry factories and local industry factories to produce cheap and good-quality daily necessities in larger quantities.

I am sure that Party organizations, Party members and people in North Hamgyong Province will successfully carry out the tasks of the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, united more firmly around the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic.

FOR A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Political
Committee of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

August 10, 1954

Today I should like to speak briefly on a few matters to which people in the field of literature and art should pay attention in their future creative activities.

In creating literary and artistic works, they should first pay serious attention to correctly combining works based on our history and revolutionary struggle with those based on the reality of today.

At present one-sidedness is a serious defect in producing or disseminating literary and artistic works. If the Party criticizes that classics of literature and art are not to be had, they devote themselves only to disseminating them and neglect other matters. Some writers and artistes claim that they create works based on postwar reconstruction because the Party has urged them to do so, and neglect to write about the heroic struggle of our People's Army and people during the Fatherland Liberation War. In the sphere of literature and art they do not properly disseminate among the people excellent works produced during the war.

At present they do not widely popularize the songs: *At a Well* and *Song of Truck Drivers*, which our People's Army and people were fond of singing during the Fatherland Liberation War. What is more serious

is that these songs are not sung in original but with words interpolated arbitrarily, thus spoiling their excellence.

These shortcomings in the field of literature and art should be remedied as soon as possible and the Party's literary and artistic policy followed thoroughly.

Great efforts should be made to create and disseminate works based on the Fatherland Liberation War.

This is a very important matter from the point of view of achieving national reunification and stepping up postwar reconstruction.

Our country is not yet reunified and the US imperialists still occupying south Korea are bent on preparing for war in order to invade the northern half of Korea. In order to accomplish the cause of national reunification in this situation, we must expect an arduous struggle in the future and, to wage this struggle, we must firmly prepare Party members and other people politically and ideologically.

The effort for postwar reconstruction is also a very difficult struggle that demands that the masses of the people display a burning patriotism and unequalled heroism. In order to make the hard and huge work of postwar reconstruction a success, education should be intensified so that all the people maintain the same spirit and enthusiasm as they had in defeating the US imperialists in the war.

The literary and artistic works based on the Fatherland Liberation War have a great effect in educating the masses of the people along revolutionary lines. We should educate Party members and other people by creating large numbers of literary and artistic works such as novels, films, songs, dances, etc., using living materials on the heroic struggle of the People's Army and people during the war against the US imperialists, who boasted themselves to be the "strongest" in the world, and their stooges. At the same time, the existing works based on the Fatherland Liberation War should be disseminated widely among the people. Now that a truce has been made, our people engaged in peaceful construction will be much impressed by literary and artistic works portraying their struggle waged during the severe war.

Literary and artistic works based on the present realities should be created in plenty, in addition to those on the Fatherland Liberation War.

Only then is it possible to give an impetus to the struggle of the working people who have risen up in postwar reconstruction and accelerate it successfully. To base themselves on the seething realities and depict them correctly is an important task of writers and artistes.

In response to the Party's call "Everything for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!" our people are working miracles and bringing about innovations throughout the country to fulfil ahead of schedule the plan for this year, the first year of the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Writers and artistes should skilfully portray the pulsating realities of reconstruction and the heroic struggle of the people, thus making their own contribution to postwar reconstruction.

In the field of literature and art the work of creating and spreading works based on the history of our country, too, should not be neglected but conducted efficiently in the future.

Next, in this field the national cultural heritage should be taken over and developed in the right direction.

This is of great significance in increasing the national pride and confidence of the people and bringing about the flowering of national culture. In the first days of liberation our Party put forth the policy of carrying national cultural heritage forward in the right course and has ever since striven to implement it.

However, due to their lack of a clear understanding of the requirements of the Party's policy on taking over and developing our national cultural legacy, some people in the field of literature and art commit deviations.

At present certain writers and artistes are inclined to criticize the present-day literary and artistic works as incompatible with the earlier ones. This is a very serious fact. They claim that the husky voice is a singing tone peculiar to our nation; and they consider ballads well sung only when women sing them in a husky voice and encourage

them to do so. This prevents new people from entering the field of national art and causes those with husky voices to flock together. This is why our national art does not develop. The husky voice is not a singing tone peculiar to our nation; it is the one used by clowns in the former days. All historians admit this. How, then, can the husky voice be the singing tone peculiar to our national music? Even if it is a trend of music coming down from old times, there is no need to advocate that it should be followed today as it is. The husky voice was liked in old days by the nobility who wore horse-hair hats and rode donkeys. However we propagate it as good, our young people who wear Western clothes today will not like it. To claim that a husky voice is good is a revivalist trend to preserve the old blindly without any considerations.

The revivalist trend is manifested also in preserving the national form of art. At present, in developing national culture and art certain people intend to restore backward, outdated costumes and, moreover, to play national musical instruments sitting on the floor with legs crossed even today just because our forefathers did so.

To preserve and develop our national cultural legacy in keeping with the present reality is a major policy maintained consistently by our Party in building national culture. We must approach our national cultural heritage neither in a nihilistic nor in a revivalist manner. We should correctly distinguish what is progressive and popular in our national cultural legacy from what is backward and reactionary, and carry the former forward critically and discard the latter.

Literary and artistic workers should carry through this policy of the Party. In taking over and developing our national cultural legacy they should conduct an energetic struggle particularly against the revivalist trend to preserve old things unconditionally.

In creating, publishing and distributing works, men of literature and art should have the right approach and attitude to historical material.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, in order to help educate the People's Army and the people, we advised them to publish books on

heroes which contain materials of our ancestors' struggles against foreign invaders and authentic records of valorous soldiers of the People's Army.

But some people tried to publish such incidents as would adversely affect our relations with other countries, without taking any political considerations, on the ground that they were historical facts. So we criticized their wrong viewpoints.

Even if they are historical facts, we should sharply analyse them from a political standpoint, and refrain from introducing and propagating them, if they could cause the slightest hindrance to educating the people and advancing society. From now onward literary and artistic workers should steadily improve their political insight and thus firmly maintain political and ideological standpoints in creating, publishing and disseminating works.

Further, in the field of literature and art a strenuous struggle should be waged against the trends to imitate foreign works.

At present some writers and artistes tend to imitate foreign works, instead of using their own brains. Our films and novels have many similarities to foreign ones. Even in painting, they ape foreign artists. All these are trends of dogmatism and flunkeyism, and are very harmful to the advancement of national culture and art. If we copy foreign works, we cannot create excellent works in harmony with the thinking and sentiments of our people and realities or develop national culture. This imitation is alien to the work attitude of the writers and artistes with the Party standpoint.

All writers and artistes should rid themselves completely from the wrong attitude of copying foreign works and use their brains to produce excellent works that reflect our realities. To this end, they should equip themselves closely with our Party's line and policy, the Party's policy on literature and art in particular, and apply them fully to their creative activities.

Meanwhile, they should go deep into realities. As long as they remain cooped up at the desk without contact with vibrant realities, they cannot create excellent works which meet our people's

requirements and the spirit of the times, and have a high ideological and artistic value.

Our country's realities have many good subjects for artistic portrayal. If literary and artistic works are based on the grandiose struggle of our people who have risen up for postwar reconstruction and the efforts of our fishermen who fight violent waves to catch more fish in the sea, these works will accord with Korean character and sentiments and will be liked by the people. Therefore, writers and artistes should go out and delve into realities, living under the same roof with workers, peasants and other working people.

To continue. The broad masses of the people should be drawn actively in literary and artistic activities.

Like all other revolutionary work, literary and artistic work cannot achieve success by relying on a few professional writers and artistes alone. In order to develop literature and art, we should induce the broad sections of masses to take part in this work. The masses are not only the makers of material wealth but also the creators of literature and art. Only when they are involved in literary and artistic activities will there be a large number of excellent works which reflect truthfully the lives of workers, peasants and other working people. This is proved by the works shown at the recent national contest of amateur art circles; many good literary and artistic works created by the masses themselves were represented on the stage and the dance *Girls Pick Apples* produced by the members of the amateur art circle from Jongju County, North Phyongan Province, was an excellent piece. Life shows clearly that only when the masses are made to take part in literary and artistic activities will good works be created and our national culture and art blossom.

It is true that, the works of amateur art circle members may be a little inferior to those created by professional artists in both artistic representation and technique. But the former are characterized by a truthful and vivid portrayal of real life, and, for this reason, arouse great sympathy among people.

From now on the work of amateur art circles should be conducted

more briskly and the broad masses involved actively in literary and artistic activities. The officials in the Ministry of Culture and Information and in the field of literature and art should make effective organizational arrangements so that the broad masses can take part in brisk literary and artistic activities. They should also intensify their guidance to mass cultural work. As for the literary and artistic works produced by the masses, they should be valued and actively encouraged, even if they have shortcomings.

I hope you will strive for the thorough implementation of our Party's policy on literature and art.

ON SOME MEASURES TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND IMPROVE THE LIVELIHOOD OF PETTY PEASANTS

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Political
Committee of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

August 20, 1954

At today's meeting we have discussed the work of the fact-finding teams dispatched to all provinces to get firsthand information on the livelihood of petty peasants, in line with the decision taken by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee last July. I consider that these teams made correct investigations into the actual conditions of the petty peasants so as to take measures to improve their livelihood.

Increasing agricultural production and improving the lives of the petty peasants is of great significance in ensuring a balance between industry and agriculture, consolidating our class positions in the countryside and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

Over the past years our Party and the Government of the Republic have taken various measures to develop agriculture and solve the problem of petty peasants. In particular, they paid great attention to improving the living conditions of these peasants whose numbers increased rapidly during the war.

As you all know, before the war, the countryside did not lack in

manpower and draught animals and the peasants were not so badly off, thanks to the correct policy of our Party and the patriotic labour efforts of the peasants themselves. After the war broke out because of the invasion by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, large numbers of young and middle-aged people left the countryside for the front and the bestial bombings and plunder by the enemy caused a shortage of manpower and draught animals and severely damaged farmlands and agricultural facilities. As a result, the food problem became acute and many petty peasants came into being. Under these circumstances, our Party directed great efforts to rural affairs. It took various steps to meet the demands of the front and the rear for food and to solve the problem of petty peasants. Its agricultural policy during the war served as an important factor for guaranteeing our victory. Thanks to its correct policy nobody died of starvation even in the difficult circumstances of war.

The great efforts our Party has directed towards rural affairs, have resulted in quite a few successes in the agricultural sphere.

During the war tens of thousands of hectares of lands were newly reclaimed. On Farm No. 5 in North Hamgyong Province alone, 3,600 hectares of land, equivalent to the crop area of a county, was brought under cultivation. In spite of the enemy's continuous and barbarous bombing our peasants increased the yield of grain by actively introducing advanced methods of farming and there came to the fore many peasants who raised good crops. Last year, at Okto-ri, Ryonggang County, South Phyongan Province, they produced seven tons of rice per hectare on an average throughout the ri, and this year Anak County, South Hwanghae Province, expects an average per-hectare rice output of four tons on the county scale, and Unnyul County—5.5 tons. Such high yields were inconceivable in the days of the Japanese imperialists.

Realization of the advantages of cooperative farming by our peasants during the war is one of the great successes achieved in the development of agriculture. Since they were short of labour, draught animals and farm implements owing to the war, they organized

labour-aid teams and ox-sharing teams on their own initiative and pooled in their efforts for farming. In this process they experienced the superiority of collective labour.

Considerable progress was made in the development of livestock farming, too. Before the war the state crop and stock farms could not produce much meat. Because these farms had been organized not long before the war and, accordingly, the management personnel, too, were inexperienced to run them properly, their work did not go well. As a result, some peasants were known to say, "If you want to see the skinniest ox and the poorest crop, go to a state crop and stock farm." But, since our Party strengthened and developed the state crop and stock farms during the war, they are now in a position to produce 6,000 tons of meat this year.

Needless to say, the state crop and stock farms still have many shortcomings in their work. But they have become solid bases which can play a decisive role in the production of meat in our country. Because our Party built solid bases for livestock farming in wartime like this, we are now able to abolish the system of obligatory meat procurement by the state, which has been a burden on the peasants.

Our estimate is that 20,000 tons of meat will be produced on state and provincial crop and stock farms alone next year. If in the future we organize cooperatives extensively and they develop stock farming, it will not be difficult for our country to produce about 100,000 tons of meat. If about 700,000 tons of fish are caught by fisheries in addition to this, the dietary standards of our people will further improve.

Although some success has so far been achieved in the development of farming, our agricultural production is still at a low level and the problem of petty peasants has not been completely solved. The petty peasants are now in a situation where they manage to overcome difficulties temporarily with the help of the state.

What, then, is to be done from now on to develop agriculture quickly and fully solve the problem of petty peasants?

To this end, various cooperatives suited to the different regional characteristics of our country should be organized and run, as we have

already stated at meetings of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and at many other meetings. In other words, agro-stock cooperatives should be organized and developed in mountainous areas, agro-fishery cooperatives in coastal areas, and agricultural cooperatives in the plains. If we organize and consolidate different cooperatives this way to suit the features of our terrain, we can quickly develop agriculture and make a marked improvement in the livelihood of petty peasants in two or three years. The reorganization of agriculture on the basis of cooperativization is the only and the correct way to the rapid development of agriculture and the radical solution of the problem of petty peasants.

Officials of Party, state and economic organizations should clearly understand the correctness of the policy of transforming agriculture along the lines of cooperativization and energetically conduct the movement for cooperativization in the future.

In order to successfully carry out the movement for agricultural cooperativization, an effective campaign to explain and propagate the advantages of cooperative farming to the peasants should first be launched. Only when they correctly understand the advantages, will they take an active part in the work of organizing agricultural cooperatives. They should be fully convinced that the reorganization of agriculture on the lines of cooperativization is a significant change in the development of our agriculture, and that it is the only way to expand the elements of socialism in the countryside and radically change the economic situation of the peasants. The work of convincing the peasants of the advantages of cooperative farming should be undertaken as an all-Party venture.

The principle of voluntariness should be strictly observed in organizing the cooperatives. Under no circumstances should peasants be coercively drawn into agricultural cooperatives in disregard of their will. As we have emphasized time and again, we should induce the peasants to have a correct view of the superiority of cooperative farming so that they will join cooperatives of their own accord.

The size of the cooperatives should be fixed in keeping with actual

conditions. Making them too large is not advisable because conditions for it are not yet fully ripe. In the present situation where there are not many cadres and the conditions for mechanization have not been created, the cooperatives cannot be managed properly, if they are too large.

In organizing the cooperatives, it is also important to make a detailed estimate of the state's ability to aid the cooperatives and of the peasants' level of ideological consciousness. If they are organized out of a subjective desire without specifically assessing such factors, it will adversely affect their development.

Organizing agro-stock cooperatives in mountainous areas is not very difficult but organizing agro-fishery cooperatives extensively in coastal areas poses problems which require serious consideration. If a large number of agro-fishery cooperatives are simultaneously set up in coastal areas and the state fails to provide them with fishing boats and implements, they may not be run the way they should. Therefore, organization of agro-fishery cooperatives in coastal areas should be tackled only after a detailed estimate of the possibility of supplying fishing boats and fittings.

In order to organize cooperatives and run them smoothly, it is necessary to select and allocate the right kind of cadres and give them effective help.

The Peasant Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Agriculture should select able persons and give them short training courses at the centre before dispatching them to the provinces so that there they can in turn give short-term courses to people who will actually organize and manage cooperatives. Accountants of cooperatives should also be trained.

If we are to develop livestock farming, many technical people should be employed in this area. From the new academic term onwards we should expand the veterinary and animal-husbandry department of the agricultural college, transfer students to it from other departments and, on this basis, set up a veterinary and animal-husbandry institute in the future. Meanwhile, the veterinary and animal-husbandry school should be expanded to train around 300 veterinarians every year.

Also, there should be wide dissemination of knowledge on livestock farming. Officials of Party and state bodies in particular should strive to acquire this knowledge. Only then will they be able to eliminate the wrong theory on animal husbandry widespread among some stock-raising technicians and give efficient guidance to the livestock industry.

While disseminating knowledge on livestock farming, we should adequately propagate the experience gained through advanced farming methods.

The major defect revealed in this work in the past is that instead of our own experience, only the experience of foreign countries in this area was propagated through translation. It is necessary, of course, to make available the advanced experience of other countries, too. But it is quite wrong to spread it alone, in disregard of ours. Our country, too, has gained a lot of good experience in the agricultural sphere. From now on, we should write about our experience in advanced farming in simple language and publish it in pamphlet form for wide distribution.

Party guidance to the cooperative economy should be intensified.

In the past Party organizations have failed to give efficient guidance to the cooperative economy. They have not guided the producers' cooperatives in a responsible manner and have allowed them to grow spontaneously. As a result, there have been instances when profiteers entered the cooperatives and misappropriated their property.

Party organizations have not given adequate guidance to the consumers' cooperatives, either. The consumers' cooperatives play a big role in strengthening the economic link between towns and the countryside in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. However, since they were not strictly guided by the Party in the past, they have failed to fulfil their duties.

The fishermen's cooperatives, too, have not been given good guidance but left to the mercy of spontaneity.

Party organizations should not confine themselves to forming cooperatives; they should effectively guide the functioning of the organized cooperatives. Only then can the cooperative economy

develop properly. If effective guidance is not given to the agricultural cooperatives to be formed newly as was the case with other cooperatives, it will be meaningless to organize them.

Party organizations should pay serious attention to strengthening and developing the agricultural cooperatives. In the future, when the work of agricultural cooperatives is not up to the mark, Party work in this sphere should be considered to be unsatisfactory.

A planned economy should be introduced in the agricultural cooperatives.

If they engage in economic activities according to their own plans, without receiving unified production quotas from the state, they will be unable to continuously boost agricultural production or ensure proportionate development of the national economy as a whole. The State Planning Commission should make good preparations so that from next year onwards the cooperatives will be run on the basis of a planned economy.

To proceed, efforts should be made to increase the per-hectare yield of non-paddy fields.

In our country where non-paddy fields comprise the major portion of the entire crop area, it is necessary to increase their yield in order to augment agricultural production. An important way to increase agricultural production is to raise the per-hectare yield of non-paddy fields. At present our country's area of non-paddy fields is as much as 1,500,000 hectares, which accounts for 75 per cent of the total farmland.

In the past, however, our officials concentrated on increasing the per-hectare yield of the paddy fields, and were less interested in augmenting that of non-paddy fields. In particular, no attention was paid to farming on the burnt patches in mountainous areas. From next year onwards all the officials should remedy this defect of laying stress only on farming on paddy fields and make vigorous efforts to increase the per-hectare yield of non-paddy fields.

Further, scientific research on agriculture should be strengthened.

Agricultural production cannot be boosted unless advanced science and technology are introduced. Agricultural research institutes should

devote their energy to research on scientific and technical matters essential for the advancement of our agriculture.

What is important in scientific research on agriculture is to discover new strains suited to the climate and soil of our country. The agricultural experiment stations should intensify research to obtain such strains.

Research should also be conducted well to develop livestock farming.

In the future a new animal-husbandry research institute should be set up to conduct research on improving breeding stock and cultivating fodder. Three or four breeding stock stations should be built in each province and good breeding stock produced there for stock-raising farms and cooperatives.

Last, I would like to refer to improving the work of the purchasing agencies.

Improving their work is very important in increasing the peasants' zeal for production and supplying raw materials to industry. However, this work is not satisfactory at present.

To improve procurement, it is necessary to provide the local areas with meat-processing and storing facilities. The present situation is that the purchasing agencies cannot, no matter how much they want to, buy animal products produced by the peasants due to the lack of processing and storing facilities.

For instance, if pigs or ducks purchased at Hoeryong are carried to Pyongyang by train, instead of being processed where they were procured, they will all get thinner on the way. Therefore, the Cabinet should make sure that meat-processing plants are built and storing facilities provided in each province.

At today's meeting we have discussed some measures to increase agricultural production and improve the livelihood of the petty peasants.

I hope that officials of Party, state and economic organizations will augment agricultural production radically and further improve the living conditions of the petty peasants in a short span of time by fulfilling all the tasks discussed and decided on at the meeting today.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH DELIVERED
AT THE 30TH PLENARY MEETING
OF THE CABINET OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

August 23, 1954

At the Cabinet plenary meeting today we have discussed the 1955 Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy and various other problems.

I am going to emphasize a few points in connection with the problems discussed at the meeting.

**1. ON THE 1955 PLAN FOR THE REHABILITATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY**

I consider that the draft 1955 Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy submitted by the State Planning Commission was formulated correctly in the main.

This draft plan for next year is a tremendous plan with a tight schedule. We drew up such a plan because we had envisaged the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy six months or a year ahead of schedule.

Some of you may wonder how the Three-Year Plan can be fulfilled in two or two and a half years. But we are quite capable of carrying out the plan before the set time.

As for the national economic plan for the first half of this year, although the assignments for the first quarter were not carried out, those for the second quarter were overfulfilled including those left unfulfilled in the first. Thus the plan for the first half of the year was executed successfully. This was possible because our people gave full play to their ardent patriotism and creative initiative and enthusiasm and the cadres brought about many changes in their work in keeping with the spirit of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held last March.

The fact that the national economic plan for the first half of this year was fulfilled shows that we can overfulfil the 1955 plan and also complete the Three-Year Plan ahead of schedule. When we drafted the Three-Year National Economic Plan, we envisaged an annual growth in production of more than 48 per cent during the plan period and some foreigners said that the world had rarely witnessed production increase at such a rapid rate. However, we carried out the assignments of the first half of this year, the first year of the Three-Year Plan, as scheduled. If our officials had not marked time during the first quarter, we would not only have fulfilled but could have also overfulfilled this year's plan. We should not rest content with the successes achieved so far but continue to make strenuous efforts to fulfil this year's plan and overfulfil next year's.

We have possibilities to carry out the plans of this year and next, and we are confident of doing so.

When we worked out the Three-Year National Economic Plan after the war, many people lacked confidence in its implementation. Right after the truce our factories and enterprises were, indeed, in an appalling condition. But the country's economy has now been rehabilitated to a satisfactory extent.

We have also been able to solve the problems of materials, labour, finances and food grains. When formulating the Three-Year National Economic Plan, we rather feared whether we would be able to strike

the right balance in ensuring materials, labour, finances and food grains. However, in the course of carrying out this year's plan, it has been proved that we were able to achieve this balance.

Take the case of materials for example. We have plenty of timber resources. Since the problem of transport has been solved in Mt. Paektu and the Paengmu Plateau areas, we are now in a position to solve the timber problem. We were able to secure cement, too, so that we could even produce tiles which was not envisaged in the plan. We are a little short of steel but, when we discussed this with the technicians, they said they could solve this problem, too.

The balance of manpower may change in the future as agriculture develops in a big way and the speed of industrial development increases, but in the present situation we do not think there will be any big problem and we can fully solve the problem of manpower without mobilizing the rural labour force.

I think the balance of finances will also be maintained if only it is adjusted properly. In order to strike the right balance, we should issue a few government bonds next year to tap sources of money and save part of the funds earmarked for the non-productive sectors and turn it over to the productive sectors.

We can maintain the balance of food grains, too. An effective adjustment of the consumption of food and its proper procurement will enable us to solve the food problem satisfactorily. If the Ministry of Fisheries catches fish as planned and the Ministry of Agriculture produces large quantities of vegetables, this will help greatly to resolve the food problem and further improve the people's living conditions.

The people's love for the country, their creative initiative and enthusiasm have increased and our officials' methods of guidance improved markedly.

Therefore, the draft national economic plan for 1955 is not a haphazard plan without any calculation but a plan which has ample grounds for feasibility. You should accept this draft plan without any hesitation and make specific plans to suit the actual conditions of your respective sectors.

Next year's plan should include proper assignments for export and import.

The export assignments should be based on adequate consideration of the country's economic conditions and the people's interests.

The draft plan for next year envisages the construction of many factories and enterprises for producing pig iron with the aim of exporting it. But pig iron should not be exported. Our officials intend to export pig iron, giving no thought to restoring open-hearth furnaces to manufacture steel ingots. Pig iron should not be exported but used to manufacture steel ingots.

Although we need to import fabrics, the textile industry exports silk yarn. They should not do so. Instead, we should import silk-weaving machines and produce a greater quantity of silk fabrics at home.

In drawing up the import assignments, it is necessary to include experimental apparatuses badly needed in our country. They are required on a large scale for agriculture, livestock farming, the pharmaceutical industry and many other branches of the national economy. The complaint that silkworm raising by women is being held up for the lack of thermometers was brought up at the recent National Congress of Women. Our leading officials have paid no attention to this problem. Therefore, next year's plan should ensure the provision of experimental apparatuses and, especially, the import of those needed to equip simple experimental rooms and stations.

Provincially-run crop and stock farms should fulfil their assignments for meat production without fail. Only if they produce meat in large quantities, can we supply it to the People's Army and the people. Next year they should turn out 21,000 tons of meat. They have ample possibilities of producing that amount of meat. I will not go any further into this problem because I have already emphasized it in detail at a consultative meeting of provincial people's committee chairmen.

The year 1955 is a peak difficult to attain, we should say, in the fulfilment of the postwar Three-Year National Economic Plan. The fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan depends largely on the fulfilment of the 1955 national economic plan. If we fulfil the latter successfully, it

will be easy for us to implement the former. The year 1956 is, as it were, a gentle downward slope in the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan.

Realizing clearly that 1955 is a decisive year in carrying out the Three-Year National Economic Plan, we should make more strenuous efforts, draw up a correct plan and exert ourselves with fearless determination to carry it out at all costs.

With a view to scaling the peak of next year, it is essential to make good preparations from now. Our experience in the past has been that production fails to go up in the first quarter every year. From now on we should make thorough preparations so that this will not repeat itself next year, and, once the plan is formulated, we should carry it out by all means without revising it.

2. ON CONDUCTING FOOD GRAIN PROCUREMENT WORK EFFICIENTLY

The state is going to procure food grains for the first time this year; conducting this work well is very important for ensuring successful postwar reconstruction and stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood.

Food grain procurement makes it possible to prevent the price of rice from falling too low, increase the incomes of the peasants through the state's wholesale purchase of their surplus grains, and to sell the grains purchased by the state to peasants short of provisions and urban dwellers at an appropriate price, thus stabilizing their lives. The state policy on food grain procurement is, in the last analysis, a very correct policy which benefits all peasants—both those with surplus grains and those wanting more grain—and makes their lives convenient.

Grain procurement enables the state to adjust the market prices of cereals by using the purchased grains and thus restrict the speculative profiteering of private merchants.

It can also prevent such exploitative practices as peasants with a large amount of surplus grain making fantastic profits by taking advantage of a rise in the price of rice or by lending money to poor peasants at high rates of interest. Further, it can restrain some peasants from becoming rich farmers.

Grain procurement makes it possible to systematically supply grains and raw materials for the development of the national economy, step up its development as a whole and provide factory and office workers with enough provisions. Therefore, we should lay great stress on food grain procurement.

The grains grown by peasants should, in principle, be purchased by the state. According to the peasants of Wonhwa-ri, Sunan County, South Phyongan Province, they go to the market to sell rice, only to take it back, because they are badly insulted by private merchants. If the state purchases the rice grown by the peasants it can provide them with facilities and prevent private merchants from trading in rice. When rice trading by private merchants is stopped, there will be no confusion in the markets.

If private merchants are not allowed to trade in rice, a problem may arise as to how to dispose of the surplus grains after the peasants have sold to the state. Peasant markets should be set up to sell their grains.

Important problems in food grain procurement are, first, that of purchasing methods and, second, that of procurement prices.

The selling of grain by the peasants should on all accounts be conducted on the voluntary principle.

It is true that quite a few peasants have not reached such an ideological level that they can take part in food grain procurement by the state of their own free will. At present some peasants have to sell a certain amount of rice in autumn to pay their taxes, but most of them do not sell it in autumn but wait for spring so that they can sell at higher prices.

However, we should not make it compulsory that they sell their grains to the state. This runs counter to our Party's intentions. Our peasants do not like compulsory sale because they nurse a grudge about the criminal plunder of their grain under Japanese imperialist

colonial rule. If we educate and persuade the peasants well and rouse their patriotism, we will be able to purchase as much surplus grains as we want without making it a system based on compulsion.

We cannot regard procurement through barter as a good method either.

The peasants will be happy if they are able to buy necessary goods at their own discretion with the money they get from selling rice. Why should we restrict their freedom by offering them goods in payment? Such methods do not go down well with our peasants. Therefore, instead of advocating compulsory sale or barter, we should purchase grains with cash on the voluntary principle.

It is important to fix proper procurement prices of grain.

When the procurement prices of food grains are high, the peasants will sell zealously but if they are low, they may not be willing to sell. The prices should be fixed appropriately keeping the peasants' interests in mind.

I hear that at present the peasants cannot even buy a pair of rubber shoes for one *mal* of rice. The question is whether the price of rice should be raised or the prices of industrial products lowered. Raising the price of rice is not advisable; so we should effect a check on the prices of industrial goods as a whole and take measures to make the prices fall.

I think the procurement price of rice which has been fixed at 300-410 *won* for half a *mal* this year is appropriate in view of the present market price. And yet, there should be some area-wise differences in the procurement price of rice according to the various grades, and the balance of prices of different cereals should be correctly maintained.

Since food grain procurement is a very important activity, we should inquire further into the actual conditions of the countryside and formulate a good method.

In order to discuss with the peasants measures relating to grain procurement, the Cabinet should send teams to the rural areas near Pyongyang and to Hwanghae and South and North Phyongan Provinces.

Only when they go among the masses and consult with them, can they acquaint themselves with the latter's intentions and requirements and formulate reasonable methods for food grain procurement. The team members should hear the opinions of many peasants on grain procurement and explain to them what the situation in the country would be if they sold rice to private merchants instead of to the state.

The teams that go out to rural areas should not only conduct explanatory and information work among the peasants but also formulate plans, before they return, to provide them with the necessary facilities required for procurement, including setting up of itinerant purchasing agencies in the countryside.

The Central Committee of the Party, too, should dispatch its workers to the rural areas to take stock of the specific situation of the countryside and find out effective ways and means to make food grain procurement a success.

3. ON TOWN MANAGEMENT

In towns private merchants are now running shops and eating-houses in uncultured and insanitary surroundings and without any facilities. Take Pyongyang, for example. The private shops damaged by bombings during the war reappeared in large numbers but on a smaller scale after the armistice. The markets are so full of private rice-cake houses, taverns and small jumble shops that you can hardly step in. But government officials have taken no remedial measures.

It is true that our Constitution allows private trade and enterprise. At the stage of the socialist revolution, however, it is necessary, step by step, to restrict private trade and enterprise.

At present private trade is not restricted but rather authorized at random. When individuals apply for permission to do business, the officials of financial agencies in charge of the administration of private

trade merely register them and allow them to go ahead in order to collect taxes; they do not even examine whether or not the applicants are provided with facilities for opening shops. Such officials have no regard for the country's political and economic development.

Of course, we need not fear the development of private trade in our country. Even if it develops, it will not be a dire threat to the nation's economic progress. However, there is no need to redevelop the private trade and enterprise ruined during the war without any restriction. If private merchants have neither the ability to work nor jobs, that is a different matter; but such is not the case at present. Moreover, the work of economic construction needs many workhands, so we should persuade them to engage in work as actively as possible, so as to remould them into working people.

We should do away with the system of registering private trade at random and without limit and put into effect a strict licensing system.

Rigorous regulations should be framed on private trade. As for private eating-houses the size of the rooms and the sanitary requirements should be specified. Thus, in case private merchants are not capable of satisfying the requirements stipulated in the regulations, they should be made to give up trade and find their way into workplaces.

It is also necessary to reexamine the tax policy for private merchants and entrepreneurs. According to public opinion, at present financial officials collect a small amount of taxes from the traders who carry on large-scale business in secret while outwardly pretending to engage in small-scale business, whereas they collect a large amount of taxes from the private merchants who actually run petty establishments. The Cabinet should make an overall appraisal of the implementation of the state's tax policy and take appropriate measures.

We should actively tap and use private funds for urban construction. At present we are not doing this. Some urban dwellers live in shabby houses but they do not try to build new houses with their own money, obsessed with making and saving money.

We should see to it that individuals build standard houses as per guidelines of the state in the areas envisaged in the urban construction

plan. Those who have the means to build houses for themselves should do so and those who do not should build houses jointly, pooling in their money. The state should sell the materials needed by individuals for house construction at reasonable prices. In order to prevent the waste of materials, construction trusts may build houses for individuals. It will be a good thing if individuals get houses built for themselves and the state, too, does the construction for them so that the towns are well-planned and beautifully laid out; this can in no way be bad.

Private houses should be repaired in time. At present they are not repaired promptly in some areas. When we visited North Hamgyong Province, we saw many war-damaged vacant houses in the bystreets of Chongjin, which were left totally unrepaired because they were private houses. Individuals do not repair their own houses nor do state organizations because they belong to individuals; so, the towns are not clean.

In order to solve the housing problem of the citizens and beautify towns, the state should repair private houses. When owners say they cannot repair their houses themselves, the organizations concerned should buy these up at reasonable prices to bring them under state ownership and repair them and let factory and office workers live in them.

Public buildings and facilities such as railway station buildings, theatres, hotels, bathhouses, parks, etc., should be maintained well.

At present public buildings and facilities are not being maintained properly. City and county people's committee chairmen should do this work responsibly with the consciousness of being masters.

City and county people's committees should acquaint themselves with and maintain all public buildings and facilities in their districts in a coordinated manner.

In order to maintain public buildings and establishments properly, the ideological and cultural education of the working people should be intensified. Only then will they be able to take loving care of these buildings and establishments and to participate voluntarily in their maintenance.

Instances of not taking care of state property and injuring public morality have been considerably eliminated from among the working people, but some of them still make trains and theatres untidy and violate traffic order. This is mainly because the ideological education of the working people has been inadequate in the past.

From olden times the Korean people have had a high sense of courtesy and morality. Further, they are a people who fought heroically and defeated the US imperialists in the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War; they are an enlightened and noble people. Our people who prevailed over the US imperialists should also be exemplary in observing public morality.

Education should be intensified so that all the working people acquire lofty moral qualities. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture and Information should consider the cultural and moral education of the working people as important as their political and ideological education and further improve the work of developing their lofty moral qualities.

If public buildings and facilities are to be maintained well, it is necessary to establish a strict discipline in maintenance.

Order and discipline in the maintenance of public buildings and establishments are quite lax at present. The Ministry of Transport sells more than two hundred tickets per passenger carriage whose fixed capacity is 102, as the sign shows.

In order to enforce discipline in taking care of public buildings and facilities, relevant regulations should be made. They should stipulate how to observe order in the trains and how to maintain restaurants, theatres, schools and hospitals.

At the same time, it is necessary to strongly combat the instances whereby the maintenance of public buildings and establishments is neglected.

Markets should be maintained well.

Lots of people flock there to sell and buy goods. So, only when markets are set up in hygienic and cultured surroundings and

maintained well, can we educate people and exert a positive influence on private merchants.

Some people say that because only private merchants get together at the markets, there is no need to build them up, but they are mistaken. Markets are crowded not only with private merchants but also with workers, peasants and office employees.

Workers of people's government bodies should strive to keep markets clean and take good care of them. They should have the stalls roofed and drainage systems built. And they should see to it that the markets are kept in good order and intensify the system of sanitary inspection.

Last, urban construction should be carried out efficiently according to a well thought-out plan.

In some areas they are now building just a few houses in towns and many in rural districts, saying that they will leave the construction of modern cities to the future. As a result, the towns are almost bare. If towns are rebuilt this way, by when can we hope to construct all the towns that were reduced to ashes?

We should further step up urban construction. We should rearrange the back-alleys of towns and build many houses. Next year we should build a large number of buildings such as houses, schools, hotels, restaurants and bathhouses not only in Pyongyang but also in all other towns.

Children's parks should also be built in towns. Because there are no places in Pyongyang at present for children to go and play, they go out and amuse themselves in the streets. This is not good. Children's parks should be built in Pyongyang next year and these should be provided with various amusement facilities.

The Cabinet should examine every urban construction plan and ensure that the state provides workers to look after the parks and squares.

Good town management is an important duty of city and county people's committee chairmen. Therefore, they should strive to improve town management.

LET US COMPLETE THE PHYONGNAM IRRIGATION PROJECT QUICKLY

**Concluding Speech at a Small Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

August 28, 1954

The Phyongnam irrigation project is a large-scale project to irrigate Yoltusamcholli Plain comprising nearly the entire area of Anju, Mundok, Sukchon and Phyongwon Counties of South Phyongan Province.

As you all know, this project which was started in 1948 was to be completed in 1952, but work had to be suspended owing to the war.

Now that the armistice has come into effect, we must go ahead with the Phyongnam irrigation project full steam and finish it by 1956. Its speedy completion is of great significance in increasing grain yields and advancing our rural economy.

According to our on-the-spot inspection of the construction site and our examination of the work plan, the project can be finished ahead of schedule, if in winter also, we bravely continue with the concreting of the dam and the built-in ducts, carry on waterway and tunnelling projects and other work in succession, widely introduce small and medium machines in gravel and sand production and civil engineering works and make adequate organizational arrangements.

At present, however, some officials are not so willing to invest in the Phyongnam irrigation project and other rural construction works and are not making active efforts to implement the policy of

construction for irrigation set forth by our Party. This is very wrong. A strong ideological struggle should be waged against such attitudes.

It is true that given the present situation, we may encounter quite a few hardships and difficulties if we are to complete the Phyongnam irrigation project which would entail a vast amount of manpower, funds, equipment and materials in a little more than two years. But, provided the whole nation gets down to it, it can be completed on schedule.

What is important in going ahead with the Phyongnam irrigation project is that work should not be spread out but concentrated efforts should be directed towards the major sectors in keeping with the policies advanced by our Party. If this is done, we can save a large amount of work forces, funds, equipment and materials, while speeding up the project.

Last year the Ministry of Agriculture spread out construction projects throughout South Phyongan Province, instead of determining the proper order of priority and concentrating on the main projects. As a result, they could complete none of them.

Since we cannot undertake the project in its entire scope simultaneously, we should first direct our efforts to the first stage of the project and finish it by early May next year. Thus we will supply water to 3,000 hectares of paddy fields down below the Kumsong pumping station for next year's farming.

Flawless preparations should be made for the second stage of the project, which should be started as soon as the first stage is completed. The Ministry of Agriculture should draw up the designs and work plans for the second stage of the project by the end of this year and erect houses, hostels, storehouses, shops and clinics on the project area.

In the second stage of the project, too, we should determine the proper order of priority, concentrate our efforts on the major sectors and maximize the tempo of the construction work by giving precedence to detailed designs and work preparations, so as to complete it before the end of 1956. This will make it possible to water the rice fields of Yoltusamcholli Plain from 1957.

For the early completion of the Phyongnam irrigation project it is necessary to provide opportunely the necessary manpower, equipment and materials.

It is necessary first to work well for the mobilization of manpower.

Otherwise, it will be impossible to expedite the project, for our country is short of manpower at present.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the local power organs should make maximum use of the manpower on state crop and stock and fruit-growing farms and provincial ranches for this project and also mobilize during winter the peasants in areas to be irrigated. Meanwhile, before the tenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation we should conduct a dynamic mass campaign for labour support to speed up the project. The Cabinet should recall and assign to the construction site all the technicians and skilled workers specializing in irrigation who were scattered during the war and are now working in other fields.

We should provide enough equipment and supplies as well apart from mobilizing manpower. The ministries and bureaus concerned should give priority to producing and providing equipment and supplies needed for this project and take care not to let anything come in the way of this even if they have to import those which cannot be produced in our country. The ministries and bureaus which have machines and equipment which were registered before the war as belonging to the construction company for the Phyongnam irrigation project, must return them quickly. The State Construction Commission and the Ministry of National Defence should hand over construction machines and equipment required by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Phyongnam irrigation project needs colossal equipment and supplies. All the officials and constructors who participate in the project should further intensify the struggle to take good care of equipment and economize in the use of supplies.

The Phyongnam irrigation facilities will be monumental structures for all ages to come. Therefore, a vigorous struggle should be waged to raise the quality of the project.

We should bravely overcome all hardships and obstacles and succeed in completing the Phyongnam irrigation project on schedule, thus making sure that the ardent desire for water, which has been cherished by the peasants in Yoltusamcholli Plain over thousands of years, never fails to be fulfilled in this era of ours.

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE
TO ALL THE WORKERS,
TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE
EMPLOYEES WHO PARTICIPATED
IN THE WORK TO RESTORE THE
BLOOMING SHOP OF THE
KANGSON STEEL PLANT**

September 4, 1954

The Kangson Steel Plant which holds an important place in our nation's steel industry was severely ravaged by the bestialities of the US imperialist invaders during the Fatherland Liberation War. But, thanks to your strenuous and creative efforts, electric furnaces Nos. 1 and 2 were restored soon after the armistice and thus are contributing to postwar reconstruction; and today the blooming shop which is crucial to the steel industry has been perfectly restored to start functioning. You actively mobilized internal resources in this rehabilitation work so as to secure large quantities of materials which are in short supply on your own initiative and achieved considerable successes in introducing advanced techniques too.

Today, on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the blooming shop of the Kangson Steel Plant, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to praise highly the labour exploits performed by you and offer warm congratulations and thanks to you.

I am sure that, without resting on your laurels, you will further

display your creative zeal and patriotic devotion and keep on acquiring advanced techniques to rebuild completely the parts of the plant that still remain unrestored in a short space of time, so as to produce more steel needed in great quantities for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

I wish you many more shining successes and victories in your future struggle to strengthen the country's base of democracy and accomplish its peaceful reunification and independence.

THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

September 10, 1954

Today the Korean people are successfully carrying out the postwar reconstruction of the national economy with exceptionally high enthusiasm in labour. For 13 months and more since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement our people have been engaged in a great amount of creative work to reconstruct the war-ravaged national economy, develop science, culture and art, and stabilize and improve the people's living conditions.

We owe all our successes to the patriotic enthusiasm of our people who actively support the people's democratic system established in our country, the correct policy of the Workers' Party of Korea, the leading and guiding force of our people, and the unselfish support and encouragement of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries.

Since the end of the war, the Workers' Party of Korea, just as it did in the prewar period of construction under peaceful conditions and during the Fatherland Liberation War, has put forward immediate tasks, reflecting the vital interests of our people, roused all of them in the struggle to rehabilitate the national economy ravaged by the enemy and led them on the road to national prosperity and progress.

The policies of our Party are correct. Our Party formulates all its policies by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Communist and Workers' Parties of fraternal countries to

conform with the reality in our country.

In carrying out its policies our Party relies firmly on the solid worker-peasant alliance and the unreserved support and assistance of all the democratic political parties and social organizations affiliated to the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and of people of all strata. This was clearly evident particularly during the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist armed interventionists and their stooges.

The war of aggression unleashed by the US imperialist invaders and their hirelings, the traitorous Syngman Rheeites, ended in an ignominious, military, political and moral defeat for them.

The result of the Korean war is vivid proof of the fact that the days are gone for good when imperialist aggressors could at will conquer and plunder other peoples and their territories.

During the Fatherland Liberation War the admirable features of the relationship formed between the peoples of the fraternal countries came to the fore. From the very first days of the war our people received strong support and help from the fraternal peoples.

Hundreds of millions of people all over the world gave strong support and encouragement to our people who had risen in their righteous struggle, and raised their voice of protest against the aggressors.

With internationalist support and aid, our people achieved a brilliant victory in the struggle to defend the liberty, independence and honour of the country.

The Fatherland Liberation War was a stern trial to test the stability of the people's democratic system established in the northern half of Korea and the might of our Party's policy. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic endured this trial honourably. Our people's democratic system was further consolidated in the crucible of war and the Party grew in strength. The masses of the people came closer together around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, the prestige of both of which rose very high among the people.

After the signing of the Armistice Agreement the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was faced with important political and economic tasks. By mobilizing all the forces of the nation we had to consolidate the victory gained in the war and turn the armistice into a lasting peace, reconstruct every sphere of the severely destroyed national economy and raise the people's material and cultural standards quickly.

In order to consolidate our victory in the war it is necessary to sharpen our vigilance and strengthen the democratic base of the northern half of Korea politically, economically and militarily.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic have consistently pursued and will pursue a policy for the peaceful reunification of the country in keeping with the vital interests of all the Korean people. At present our Party's policy on the country's reunification is to effect the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and solve through negotiations between Koreans themselves the question of Korea's reunification. In order to reunify our divided country as early as possible we must lay a strong economic foundation, rally all the people firmly around our Party and the Government of the Republic, powerfully rouse the united force of all the people of north and south Korea in the struggle for the country's peaceful reunification and isolate thoroughly the tiny gang of traitorous Syngman Rheeites.

In postwar economic construction the task set in the sphere of industry is to eliminate the shortcomings manifested during the Fatherland Liberation War, put an end to the distortion and one-sidedness of industry, the legacy of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and quickly reconstruct the metallurgical, machine-building, chemical, mining and power industries—the basis of future industrialization—and the sectors producing building materials and daily necessities. In agriculture the arable land must be expanded, irrigation facilities increased, yield per unit area increased by extensively introducing new farming methods and advanced techniques, livestock farming developed and state crop and stock farms and agricultural cooperatives consolidated in every way. This

will be effective in developing our agriculture step by step along socialist lines. At the same time, various measures must be taken to continuously raise the people's material and cultural standards of living. Measures must also be taken to train technicians, skilled workers and leading officials needed in large numbers for postwar reconstruction.

In order to carry out these basic tasks our Party and the Government of the Republic worked out the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for 1954-56 and put forward policies to carry it out.

Even during the Fatherland Liberation War the Korean people had been convinced of their ultimate victory and had started making preparations for postwar reconstruction. In the war years a large amount of funds were invested in undertakings to lay the foundations for the development of agriculture and livestock farming as the enemy's severe bombing made it difficult to build factories. As a result, in mountainous areas tens of thousands of hectares of land was reclaimed by the evacuees from towns, and dozens of state crop and stock farms, which could be the basis for the development of livestock farming, were set up with them. With a view to building new factories after the war we had begun designing and doing the ground work during the war itself, making use of every possible opportunity. And we sent trainees, students and research students to the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries for training cadres necessary for postwar reconstruction.

In 1952 when the war was still going on, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic set forth a policy to map out an overall plan for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy, and started preparing blueprints to rebuild the war-ravaged cities, factories and enterprises.

At the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea held after the armistice a specific orientation was given for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the

national economy, and at the Seventh Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea called in April 1954, the Act on the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy was adopted.

The basic task of the Three-Year Plan is to attain prewar levels in industry, agriculture and other fields of the national economy destroyed during the war, quickly develop science, culture and art and improve the people's living conditions.

Some of the main indices of the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy are cited below.

As against 1953, the year 1956 will see a 2.6-fold increase in total industrial output value, of which the production of means of production will increase 1.3 times and consumer goods twice as much as compared to the prewar year of 1949.

As for the power industry it is envisaged that the Suphung Power Station, the largest of its kind in our country, will be rebuilt completely by the end of 1956 so that its generating capacity will reach the prewar level of 600,000 kW and that other power plants, too, will be restored on a wide scale.

The Three-Year Plan envisages about 4,000,000 tons of coal to be produced in 1956, which means a 5.6-fold increase as compared with 1953 or a 0.3 per cent increase relative to the prewar year of 1949. In addition, it is planned to make preparations for a speedy increase in coal production in the future.

Great attention is directed towards the mining of nonferrous and ferrous ores. The production of iron, steel, rolled steel and coke will increase markedly.

In 1956 there will be an increase of 2.5 times above 1949 in the output of machinery and processed metal products, which include new machines for mining, agriculture and transport.

Rapid construction and production of plenty of building materials is one of the most important and difficult tasks of the Three-Year Plan. Large quantities of building materials and machines should be made

available if the devastated national economy is to be rehabilitated.

Therefore, it is planned to increase the output of cement 1.2 times, brick 16.3 times, slate 6 times and lumber 1.9 times in 1956 as compared to the output in 1949.

The Three-Year Plan poses the raising of the material and cultural standards of living of the people as an important task. In 1956 the output of foodstuffs and daily necessities will be more than double that in 1949 with the production of cotton fabrics increasing 5 times, rubber shoes 3 times, and the production of silks, knitted wear, meat, fish and cooking oil also rising markedly.

As production and labour productivity increase, the national income in 1956 will grow by more than 30 per cent relative to 1949, and over 75 per cent relative to 1953, and the real wages of workers and office employees will rise greatly.

In order to ensure a continuous enhancement of the people's living standards, the prices of commodities will be lowered systematically, and the rationing system abolished between 1954 and 1956, so as to create conditions for going over to free commerce. About 3,000 shops will be rehabilitated or built anew over the period of three years. From among the sales of major commodities required by the population in 1956, the sale of polished rice will increase 1.5 times, that of fish 15 times and that of cotton textiles more than twice as compared to 1953.

The total floor space of the houses to be built for the population in the Three-Year Plan period will be 4,700,000 square metres.

Factories and enterprises will be equipped with up-to-date machinery and the levels of technical skill of the workers and technicians will rise so that labour productivity will go up by 76 per cent in industry and 74 per cent in the field of construction in 1956 as compared with 1953.

In working out the Three-Year Plan our Party and the Government of the Republic paid special attention to the development of agriculture and livestock farming. In 1956 the total grain output will reach the level of the highest prewar crop year. In order to carry out this task it is necessary to increase the per-hectare yield of every crop, expand

irrigation facilities and improve farming methods.

Under the Three-Year Plan agricultural cooperatives, along with state crop and stock farms, will be expanded and developed in every way, and Party and state guidance and assistance to them intensified. Organizing agricultural cooperatives is the work of peasants themselves; so the Party and the Government will make sure that the voluntary principle is strictly observed in setting up the cooperatives and drawing peasants into them and that the advantages of the cooperative economy are brought home to the peasants through object lessons.

The mechanization of agriculture will be further stepped up. In 1956 the number of farm machine hire stations and tractors and various other farm machines will increase considerably as against 1953.

As for livestock farming, in 1956 the number of cattle will grow by 38 per cent and pigs by 72 per cent as compared with 1953.

The rapid development of transport is an important condition for the successful fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan. Goods railways will increase to 110 per cent and passenger railways to 107 per cent in 1956 as compared with 1949. It is planned to restore some 500 kilometres of the main lines and sidings of the railways, 519 railway bridges, large and small, and to restore or build approximately 150 kilometres of electric railways.

Between 1954 and 1956 the number of workers and office employees engaged in every field of the national economy will increase nearly 1.5 times as against 1953.

In the field of education universal and compulsory primary education will be enforced for all children of school age at the end of 1956, and the number of pupils and students at all levels of education will grow by hundreds of thousands during the Three-Year Plan. The plan foresees the restoration or construction of theatres, cinema houses and clubs up to a capacity of 134,000 seats in all.

The plan envisages the reconstruction of all provincial seats as well as Pyongyang and other towns.

The tasks set forth in the Three-Year Plan are difficult and

enormous in scope. But every possibility for the successful fulfilment of these tasks exists.

First, our people have the burning patriotic zeal and firm resolve to rehabilitate the ruined national economy as quickly as possible so as to make their country more beautiful and prosperous; they have the valuable experience gained in the five prewar years of democratic construction; and the indomitable fighting spirit fostered during the three-year Fatherland Liberation War. In addition, we have experienced and tempered Party and political workers and leading officials in the economic fields as well as able engineers, assistant engineers and skilled workers.

Second, our country is blessed with abundant natural resources needed for successful postwar reconstruction. It abounds in resources of iron, coal, nonferrous metals, timber and electric power. The question is how to tap and put to use these rich resources for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

Third, we receive unselfish aid from the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries.

As soon as the Armistice Agreement was concluded, the fraternal nations offered sincere aid to us.

The Soviet Government offered free aid of a billion rubles for our postwar reconstruction. During the Fatherland Liberation War, the Chinese people helped our people at the cost of their blood by sending the Volunteers and, after the war, they decided to grant 8,000 billion *yuan* as free aid for the rehabilitation of our destroyed national economy. Other People's Democracies, too, resolved to furnish our country with a large amount of aid for postwar reconstruction.

The policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy reflects indomitable will and desire of all the people to rehabilitate our country's industry and agriculture and all other branches of the national economy, and raise material and cultural standards of living in a short span of time. Therefore, this policy enjoys positive support and approval from the Democratic Front for the

Reunification of Korea and all its affiliated political parties, the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Democratic Women's Union. The Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and every political party and social organization under it are active in organizing and mobilizing their membership under our Party's slogan, "Everything for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!" Today the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and the members of all parties and organizations affiliated to it are taking an active part in the postwar reconstruction of the national economy and contributing greatly to this work, upholding the line and policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

Just as in the prewar period or during the war years, all policies set forth after the war by our Party and the Government of the Republic receive unquestioned support and approval from the working class, the peasantry, working intellectuals and people of all other strata. These policies are based on their high creative zeal and inexhaustible energy.

In the period after the war an emulation drive for increased production and economy has been widely launched at factories, enterprises and construction sites. This drive has given rise to hundreds of Labour Heroes, inventors and innovators in production and enabled an annual increase of 33 per cent in labour productivity in the sphere of industry.

Thanks to our people's devoted efforts and the disinterested assistance of fraternal peoples, great successes have been achieved in rehabilitating industry, agriculture, transport, communications and medical facilities and in developing science, culture and art since the armistice.

In the first half of 1954 the total value of output of state and cooperative enterprises rose about 1.5 times relative to the comparable period in 1953; in the past year the value of output of the heavy industrial sector increased to 170 per cent, and the generation of electric power, and the production of farm machinery and daily necessities increased 2.5, 2-4 and 1.5-2 times respectively.

As the work of reconstruction was being carried out on a large scale in the northern half of Korea after the ceasefire, the production of building materials began to increase rapidly. In a year after the truce the production of bricks increased 26 times, tiles 51 times and sawn wood about 2.5 times.

The first half of 1954 saw an increase of nearly 3.5 times above the comparable period in 1953 in the total value of state capital construction.

More than a hundred factories and enterprises, large and small, such as the Huichon Machine Factory, Huichon Automobile Parts Factory, Munphyong Smeltery, Nampho Smeltery, Nampho Glass Factory, Pyongyang Textile Mill and Kusong Textile Mill were partially or fully restored and started operation. They are now producing equipment and materials such as steel, lead, ship engines, building implements, trams, electric wire, wooden vessels, sulphuric acid, cement, glass and slates, as well as various goods of daily use including tens of millions of metres of cotton and silk textiles, ceramics and enamelware.

After the war the appearance of towns in the northern half of Korea is changing with each passing day. Now in many towns the wounds of war are healing and the work of construction is in full swing under new urban construction plans that reflect the people's demands. In towns and workers' districts houses with a total floor space of 620,000 square metres have already been built, school buildings of 300,000 square metres in area and theatres, cinema houses and clubs with a total capacity of 100,000 seats reconstructed, and quite a few scientific, cultural and health establishments, kindergartens and nurseries newly built or restored. In Pyongyang alone houses for workers and office employees with a total floor space of 200,000 square metres and schools of different levels with a floorage of 90,000 square metres were rehabilitated or built anew, and the modern Moranbong Theatre was built in a year after the ceasefire. A number of streets, squares and playgrounds were restored or built in a modern way in this city.

To this date since the truce about 80 railway bridges and several

hundred kilometres of main lines and sidings have been rehabilitated in the sphere of railway transport; 120 kilometres of new trunk lines have been laid. Although engines and freight cars are very scarce as compared with the prewar days, the freight haulage has nearly reached the prewar level. Over the past year, with a view to training skilled workers and shop management personnel, enterprises in different fields of the national economy set up and ran a large number of trade schools and workers' schools and organized diverse training courses and meetings to pass on good experience. As a result, in the first half of this year, about 15,000 workers acquired skills here and went to different workplaces.

Since the armistice, many successes have been achieved in agriculture, too. This year the area under cultivation increased by over 18,000 hectares as against last year, of which the area under rice grew to 103 per cent and that under industrial crops to 106-141 per cent.

During the first half of this year alone the Government of the Republic issued a long-term loan of more than 1.3 billion *won* to enable peasants to purchase draught animals, farm implements, seed and foodstuffs, and provided them with good strains of seed. Thanks to the concern shown by the Party and the Government the amount of chemical fertilizers supplied to the peasants this year is 2.2 times as much as last year.

To lighten the peasants' labour and assist them in their work, the Government of the Republic set up 20 farm machine hire stations and over 100 ox and horse hire stations at different places. During the spring sowing this year these hire stations tilled tens of thousand hectares of fields for the peasants. Within a year after the truce a substantial section of irrigation facilities was rebuilt and reequipped, too.

This year all farm work was done in season and was of high quality in keeping with scientific and technical requirements; this is a guarantee for a good harvest of all crops.

After the armistice the number of livestock increased considerably—horses 3 times, pigs by 58 per cent, cows by 2 per cent, and sheep and goats by 6 per cent. The number of peasant families

which, with the help of the state, bought draught cattle in the first half of this year accounts for 21 per cent of the total number of those without such animals.

Agricultural cooperatives developed in scope and strength in the past year. About 600 of them were newly organized in this period, so that there are now more than 1,000 in all, involving about 20,000 peasant families. Mention must be made here of the fact that the overwhelming majority of these agricultural cooperatives own the land, farm tools and draught animals in common, applying the principle of distribution according to work done.

In the past year state crop and stock farms were also expanded and strengthened markedly with the area under cultivation increasing by 11 per cent, the number of cattle by 53 per cent, horses by 18 per cent and pigs by about 26 per cent.

Thanks to the concern shown by the Party and the Government of the Republic the people's material and cultural standards of living rose considerably. The Government of the Republic lowered commodity prices on two occasions and raised the wages of workers and office employees by 25-55 per cent after the ceasefire. As a result of the reduction, commodity prices dropped by 44.2 per cent in state trade and 38.8 per cent in cooperative trade as compared to prices during the first half of 1953.

As a result of the lowering of prices and the increase in the norms of rationing and the degree of state expenditure on public and cultural well-being, the real wages of workers and office employees almost doubled.

With the rapid reconstruction of light industrial enterprises, the production of major foodstuffs and industrial goods for the population increased greatly. In the first half of 1954 the amount of industrial goods sold or rationed to the population increased by 61 per cent relative to the first half of 1953. And during the same period eleven department stores, about 1,300 shops, stalls, restaurants and cafeterias were built to meet the demands of the population more fully.

The Party and Government have directed special attention to

radically raise the material and cultural standards of living of the petty peasants who constituted 30 to 40 per cent of the total number of the peasantry in the northern half of Korea. They gave these peasants considerable assistance for the betterment of their livelihood by taking a number of measures, such as exempting them from the payment of tax in kind that remained unpaid during the war and from the repayment of seed and food grain loaned by the state, providing them with seed, fertilizers and funds for farming, issuing long-term loans and abolishing the obligatory meat procurement system. However, the problem of the petty peasants' livelihood has not yet been solved in a fundamental sense.

In an endeavour to improve their livelihood the Government of the Republic is affording them state assistance, so that those who are in mountainous areas can do agro-stock farming and those in coastal areas can engage in farming and fishing, and it is taking necessary steps to draw them into cooperatives. Experience shows that cooperativization is the only way to fundamentally improve the lives of petty peasants.

Relaxation centres and rest homes for the working people run by the state and the workplaces concerned are being rebuilt on a large scale and public catering services are also improving.

We achieved these great successes in a year after the armistice. But some Party organizations and government and economic bodies displayed quite a few shortcomings in their work. The Workers' Party of Korea did not tolerate these shortcomings to be overlooked or covered up in the least. We spotted on time the shortcomings manifested in work, and rectified them, promptly tidied over all difficulties that came in our way and deeply convinced the masses of the people of the fact that the Workers' Party of Korea was a party struggling for the benefit and happiness of the people; as a result its prestige rose still higher.

In south Korea under the tyrannical rule of the US imperialists and traitorous Syngman Rheeites one can observe tendencies diametrically opposed to those in the northern half of Korea.

Having left the destiny of south Korea to the mercy of the reckless aggressive policy pursued by the US ruling circles, the traitorous Syngman Rheeites have converted the southern half of our country into a stepping stone for the US imperialists to realize their plan of aggression in the Far East, bringing indescribable misfortunes and sufferings to the south Korean people.

Even during the first days of the war started by the US ruling circles and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the south Korean people experienced an extremely difficult period. The war devastated south Korea's economy completely and starved and impoverished its people. At present its industrial production is no more than 20 per cent of that in 1945. South Korea's industry is able to meet only 10 per cent of its own demands.

It is more than a year now since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, but not a single industrial enterprise has been restored, and the destroyed towns and villages remain as they were in south Korea.

In order to mislead public opinion the world over and hoodwink the south Korean people, the US imperialist occupiers are clamouring about the "Korea Rehabilitation Project" or "aid" pretending as if they are providing south Korea with a considerable amount of funds. In fact, however, the US "aid" is not aimed at rehabilitation of south Korea's economy or improvement of the livelihood of its people who are groaning in hunger and penury.

The head of the US "Aid Mission in Korea" said that out of the 200 million dollars of the foreign activity headquarters fund which the US Congress had decided to grant as "aid fund for Korea" after the armistice, tens of millions of dollars had actually been given by January this year. But the *Seoul Sinmun* reported on February 9 this year that the "aid" materials shipped into south Korea from the US till last December is worth no more than 5,800,000 dollars. The amount of material "aid" actually given by the US imperialists to south Korea is not only insignificant but even of this a great part is appropriated for military expansion to unleash another war and the balance is used to force the south Korean people to buy surplus US goods.

To this day not a factory or a house has been restored or built in south Korea for the people with US “aid”. The puppet government announced that a US chemical construction concern would survey an area with the aim of building a fertilizer factory planned since last year, but no steps have been taken as yet. A US official said the price of fertilizer produced there would be higher than the international market price and suggested that it would therefore be better not to build the factory.

Last September the Syngman Rhee puppet government requested the US for 12,000,000 dollars’ worth of wagons and materials to reconstruct the destroyed and backward means and facilities of transport in south Korea. However, they have not yet received any reply from the US, and their resources development project has made no progress. Now, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique themselves cannot but admit that the “Korea Rehabilitation Project” is only empty talk and is making no progress. At a press conference held on June 8 this year the traitor Syngman Rhee said that millions of dollars had been appropriated for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged factories, but the prospect of actual reconstruction was very remote. In his interview with a UPI correspondent on July 24 the so-called south Korean ambassador to the US confessed that industrial construction was well under way in north Korea, whereas construction had not yet been started in south Korea.

Agriculture in south Korea, which was called Korea’s granary before liberation, is in an appalling condition now. The area under cultivation and the yield have decreased gradually and the destroyed agricultural facilities have not been restored. As a result of the south Korean puppet government’s “agrarian reform”, agriculture has been further fragmented. In 1946 the average area of farmland per peasant household was 1.25 hectares but the figure dwindled to 0.9 hectare at the end of 1953.

The south Korean puppet government collects 85 per cent of its taxes from the peasants and imposes on them 280 kinds of miscellaneous levies. Under these circumstances the peasants are

unable to eke out their bare existence and leave their farm villages to wander all over south Korea. As of the end of April this year the number of vagrant peasants accounts for more than 371,000 even going by the data made public by the enemy. In recent years south Korea has fallen short of more than 3,000,000 *sok* of food grain annually; and in 1954, it is reported, the figure reaches 4,340,000 *sok*. According to the *Choson Ilbo* dated June 18, at present the number of peasant families going short of food approximates to 2,150,000 in south Korea.

The traitorous Syngman Rhee gang's moves to unleash a new war are freezing all the manpower and material resources of south Korea and resulting in a serious currency inflation and an uncontrollable increase in prices. As of July 1 this year the total amount of currency issued in south Korea is 31.9 billion *hwan*, which is about 47 times as much as on June 25, 1950. As of March this year, the prices of public goods in south Korea went up by 46 times relative to 1949 or were about twice as much as at the time of the ceasefire.

Such being the case, the south Korean people's discontent with the US imperialist occupiers and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique increases as the days go by. Despite the cruel repression by the Syngman Rhee puppets with the help of the US imperialist bayonet, the south Korean people are fighting vigorously against the occupiers and the puppet government.

The traitorous Syngman Rhee gang, which has betrayed the interests of the Korean people and is dead scared of the people is doggedly opposed, at the instigation of the US imperialist occupiers, to the peaceful reunification of Korea, the earnest desire of all the Korean people. On instructions from the US imperialists, frenzied war preparations are now being made and new divisions formed in south Korea.

The US imperialist aggressors have brought weapons and munitions into south Korea and armed the Syngman Rhee puppet army with them in violation of the Armistice Agreement, and are instigating them to "march north and unify". However, the lesson of the three-year

Korean war shows that the “position of strength” policy of the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, against the Korean people is doomed to frustration.

Today all the Korean people demand reunification of the country by Koreans themselves in a peaceful way and on a democratic basis without any foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country.

The Korean people will, in the future too, strive to achieve the country’s peaceful reunification, our national task, foiling at every step all provocations by the enemy against the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

After their liberation from nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial oppression the Korean people established a people’s democratic state, their genuine power, and defended the freedom and independence of the country from the aggression of international reaction; and today they are advancing confidently along the road to national prosperity and progress through the reconstruction of the devastated national economy.

Only victories and glories always await our people who struggle for the country’s freedom, reunification and independence and for the building of a new life, upholding the banner of the Republic under the wise leadership of our Party.

ON OUR PARTY'S POLICY FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

**Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

November 3, 1954

Comrades,

The problem of developing agriculture discussed at this plenary meeting is of very great significance.

It is most important to solve the problem of food, clothing and housing for the people in the course of postwar economic reconstruction. In order to rapidly stabilize and improve the people's living conditions, which fell most sharply in the war, to strengthen our economic base and thus expedite the reunification of the country, the problem of food, clothing and housing for all the people should be solved before anything else. This is impossible without the development of agriculture.

Agriculture not only meets the people's need for food but supplies the necessary raw materials for industry. Hence, without swift progress in agriculture, it is impossible to solve the questions of industrial reconstruction and the improvement of the people's livelihood.

Since the prewar period of peaceful construction, our Party has regarded agriculture as one of the cardinal problems in our economic construction. We therefore carried through the historic agrarian reform and took every possible state measure for the growth of agriculture. Measures taken by the Party and the state for building irrigation

facilities, improving seed, securing draught animals, and so forth, greatly contributed to agricultural expansion.

After the war was started by the invasion of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, our Party directed its greatest efforts to rural work so as to meet the demands of the front and stabilize the livelihood of the people in the rear. During the war when most of the factories were destroyed, the Party assigned all its best forces to the countryside. Our Party's wartime rural policy not only made it possible to guarantee supplies to the front and stabilize the people's living conditions in the rear, but was an important factor making for victory in the bitter three-year war.

Because our Party directed its efforts to rural work during the war, we have been able to attain a large measure of success in grain production in this first postwar year, although all North Hamgyong Province was hit by a natural calamity and South Hamgyong and Kangwon Provinces also suffered considerable damage. As for livestock farming, our state crop and stock farms, which never produced more than several hundred tons of meat before the war, have already produced 6,000 tons this year because our Party set up a large number of new ones and strengthened their work during the war in order to expand livestock farming, the important agricultural sphere.

As you see, we have done a great deal of work to expand agriculture after as well as during the war.

1. ON IMPROVING LEADERSHIP IN AGRICULTURE

We have been very successful in the struggle to develop agriculture during the past years. Needless to say, this can be ascribed to the correctness of our Party's rural policy before, during and after the war and to the devoted struggle of the entire Party to put this policy into practice.

But we cannot rest content with what we have so far achieved.

The rehabilitation and expansion of our industry is proceeding apace now. Take heavy industry for example. We do not confine ourselves to rehabilitating former factories. We are building new factories such as we never had before, and especially many machine factories, in order to eliminate the colonial one-sidedness of our industry. The machine factories we are now planning to build number as many as 20 to 30. Construction of the Huichon Machine Factory, begun in 1951 following a decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, is to be completed this winter. From next year the factory will turn out lathes, drilling machines and other machine tools. The Pukjung Machine Factory, too, will produce as many as 300 marine engines from next year. Among other branches of heavy industry, the machine-building industry will thus grow rapidly. We are now working to lay the basis for the future socialist industrialization of our country.

Along with heavy industry, our light industry will also make rapid progress. In prewar days it was insignificant. In the postwar period our Party has followed a policy of rapidly rehabilitating and increasing light industry to improve the people's standard of living. As a result, a new textile mill with 60,000 to 70,000 spindles and later on 100,000 spindles will be built in the near future, with an annual production capacity of 40-80 million metres of fabric. We must make great efforts to expand the textile industry so that at least 75 million metres of cotton fabric, 15 million metres of silk fabric and 10 to 15 million metres of rayon can be manufactured from 1957. In addition, canneries, meat-processing plants and many other light industrial factories will be built.

The number of factory and office workers has also increased with the growth of industry, and will go up further in the future. Factory and office workers already number 810,000 this year and in the not too distant future will exceed one million.

Our cities are also growing rapidly. For instance, the population of Pyongyang, which was some 70,000 to 80,000 during the war, is now already 400,000.

Swift progress in industry, the increase in the number of factory and office workers and the growth of cities necessitate the rapid advance of agriculture. Our present rate of agricultural growth cannot keep pace with that of industry. We need more food and meat and more industrial raw materials. In the near future we must boost annual grain output to at least 2.9-3 million tons and the output of meat to 100,000-200,000 tons. We must also turn out more industrial crops. Only then will our living standards improve in some degree.

At present we are still short of food and meat, and of fabrics too. Even if we produce 20,000 tons of meat next year, little will be left after supplying the People's Army. This amount is still too small to supply all the people. In the Three-Year Plan period we must greatly increase meat production. Two hundred thousand tons of meat are needed to ensure sufficient supplies to the people.

We are now short of meat but, on the other hand, our country has inexhaustible marine resources. If large quantities of fish are caught by improving the work of the state fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives and organizing agro-fishery cooperatives on a broad scale, the shortage of meat can be made up. We must see to it that the annual fish catch reaches upwards of 700,000 tons by the end of the Three-Year Plan. The people's standard of living can be raised to a high level when we catch 700,000 tons of fish and produce 200,000 tons of meat annually.

Can we possibly carry out all these tasks? Of course we can. We have all the conditions needed for doing so. The question is whether our Party guides the rural economy properly or not. In his report, Comrade Vice-Premier dwelt on concrete problems. We must make a profound study of the report and the resolution, and give proper leadership in agriculture.

It is most important to correct the wrong attitude assumed in the past towards agriculture. In giving guidance to agriculture in the past, we of course drew up plans every year and sent them down to the lower levels. But in many cases, organizational work in production—introducing advanced farming methods, improving the soil, planting the right crop on the right soil, timely sowing, and so

on—was left to chance. The outmoded farming methods used by the peasants from ancient times have been left untouched. Even when a leading official gave guidance, the way he did it was to drive around in a car and ask the peasants: “Can you manage well this year or not?” And when assured they could, he would make a note of it in his memo and leave. My conversations with chairmen of county Party committees and county people’s committees and with many of the officials working in the countryside reveal that they do not know much about agriculture.

We should not leave the rural economy to take its own course, but should take positive measures to guide it. If we had worked a bit harder and guided the peasants more actively this year, we could have achieved greater results. If we simply introduce advanced farming methods and work the land now under cultivation properly, we can gather a good harvest even without expanding the crop area.

Dry fields account for roughly 1.5 million hectares of the total area under cultivation. If we increase the per-hectare yield from the present 700 kilogrammes to 1.5-2 tons, we shall be able to gather 2.25-3 million tons of farm produce from them. If we gather one ton more from each hectare of paddy fields, we shall have over 400,000 tons more of rice.

In order to do this we must first of all improve our methods of work. When asked the reason for poor crops, some people tend to complain of poor land, saying, “It’s because of the land,” “The land is sterile.” We should not complain of poor land, but improve and transform it.

Careful study of the experience of those peasants who raise rich crops shows that the secret of a good harvest is no more than liberal fertilizing, proper seed selection and diligent tending of the crop. They have no special secret for a rich harvest. These methods are not so difficult. Therefore, if we organize the work well and give proper guidance, we are fully able to increase the harvest. If we simply apply plenty of fertilizer, select good seeds, go in for timely planting of the right crop on the right soil and timely weeding, we can reap a rich harvest. This method is not difficult to learn or pass on to others. There

is no big secret about increasing farm production.

Quite a few officials of our Party and government bodies, however, are indifferent to this.

Take North Hamgyong Province, for instance. This July we visited there. Finding the crops in poor conditions, we said to the responsible persons in the province, “Your method of farming is wrong.” To this, the answer was, “No, you don’t understand, Comrade Premier! The crops may look bad now, but soon there will be a sudden turn for the better.” So we said, “Even if that’s so, it seems to us that such a turn has to be gradual. So we do not understand what you mean by a sudden turn. Maybe you are going to use magic on us. No matter how you look at it, your method seems wrong.”

The leading officials in North Hamgyong Province took no measures to overcome frost damage. In the past, North Hamgyong Province suffered from frost, not now and again but every year. Yet, the members of our Workers’ Party in the province have failed to make scientific study to do something about it. Since this region is in the cold zone, it has a short growing season. Therefore, such measures as planting early-ripening or hardy crops, or at least growing seedlings in hothouses should have been taken in this area to ensure the early maturity of crops. Even in a region as cold as Siberia, farming is carried on and high yields are obtained. Why, then, is it impossible to farm successfully in North Hamgyong Province?

We must learn to give proper guidance and gain mastery of nature. It is wrong just to sit around and deplore one’s lot, making no effort to conquer nature. All Party members in North Hamgyong Province must go into why they suffer frost damage every year. If the seeds are not good, you should improve them so that they will resist the cold, and if you have not been planting the right crop on the right soil, you should change the crop. Damage cannot be prevented just by raising smoke to keep the crops from the frost. We must give the peasants guidance on the basis of scientific study and knowledge.

Cases of halfhearted guidance in rural work have also occurred in other places. In North Hamgyong, South Hamgyong, Jagang and South

Phyongan Provinces there is the common practice of abandoning cultivated lands, on the grounds that they are slash-and-burn plots. There are some peasants who till their reclaimed land for only three years and then reclaim other land so that it may be exempt from agricultural tax in kind. Our officials fail to see this, and allow good land to be abandoned. If land is poor and unsuitable for cultivation, it is advisable to turn it into fields for growing hay for feed.

The same consideration applies to the question of introducing advanced farming methods. It will not do just to make a tour in a car and talk to the peasants instead of taking measures for the energetic dissemination of advanced farming methods through active publicity and explanation.

This is not the proper way to guide agricultural affairs. The entire Party must pay greater attention to guiding work in the rural areas. Rural work is the most important job of the county Party committees, county people's committees, provincial Party committees and provincial people's committees in the farming regions. Our Party officials working in the countryside must therefore make a profound study of the rural economy and give active guidance to the peasants.

2. ON THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA AND THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

I shall now pass to the question of the socialist transformation of our countryside, that is, agricultural cooperativization.

In the first place, I feel it is necessary to make an analysis of the economic structure in the northern half of Korea. As everyone knows, the economy here consists of three sectors:

First, the socialist state sector;

Second, the cooperative sector, which is of a socialist or semi-socialist character;

Third, the private sector, which comprises capitalist and small commodity economies.

What, then, is the situation in these three sectors in industry and agriculture?

First of all, the socialist state sector holds unchallenged sway in industry. This is the result of the nationalization of key industries in the northern half after our country's liberation from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. The economic laws of socialism operate in our industry because the state sector rules supreme in it. Therefore, we are building industry in accordance with the economic laws of socialism, not capitalism.

The private sector makes up a very small proportion of our industry. State-owned industry accounts for about 90 per cent of total industrial output. Of the remaining 10 per cent, the cooperative sector accounts for 7-8 per cent and the private sector only 2-3 per cent. Before the war, the proportion held by the private sector was larger. But because private enterprises suffered great losses during the war, private entrepreneurs find themselves in a very difficult situation. Our country now has only a small number of private enterprises and they are, at the most, rice mills, blacksmith shops, small-scale rubber factories, and the like. Moreover, private enterprises in the northern half of Korea, far from exerting any influence on state and cooperative industries, are influenced by them and rely on them. This is because our means of transport, banks, factories and other major means of production have been nationalized, and we have people's power based on the firm worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

What, then, is the situation in these three economic sectors in agriculture?

The great bulk of agriculture is in private hands. In agriculture small commodity production is overwhelmingly predominant, and many individual peasants follow very backward farming methods.

In addition to the private sector, there is also the cooperative sector

in agriculture. We have started organizing agricultural cooperatives for the first time this year on an experimental basis. They are now growing swiftly and 21.5 per cent of all peasant households have already joined them.

Besides agricultural cooperatives, there are other socialist sectors in our countryside. They are state crop and stock farms, farm-machine and ox-and-horse hire stations, consumers' cooperatives, peasant banks, rural sideline producers' cooperatives, fishermen's cooperatives and irrigation facilities held in the hands of the state, which serve as bases for the socialist transformation of the countryside. All these are socialist or semi-socialist in form. Socialist state-run industry exerts a great influence on the rural areas and socialist elements are now growing in our countryside from day to day.

This, in general, is the economic structure of our country.

Our task is to expand and consolidate the socialist sector in industry and agriculture still further, step by step.

As you all know, our country is still divided into north and south; it has not yet been reunified. In the northern half under the leadership of our Party and the people's power, the economy is developing daily and the people's ideological level is rising. But the southern half has been reduced to a US imperialist colony and plunged into poverty and economic ruin. Thus, in our divided country one half is following the road of growth and prosperity, while the other is on the road to decline and ruin. We must struggle more tenaciously for our country's reunification and independence.

The most important thing in the struggle for reunification is to consolidate our revolutionary democratic base and make it impregnable. The consolidation of our rural positions is of the utmost importance in strengthening the democratic base, because the countryside accounts for the majority of our population.

What, then, is to be done to strengthen the rural positions? We must develop the socialist sector in the rural areas and transform our countryside step by step along socialist lines.

As I mentioned before, individual farming now predominates in our

rural areas. What would happen if we left it alone? Some peasants would become rich farmers, while many others would not improve their livelihood very much in spite of all the assistance given by the Party and the Government.

Petty peasants, who now represent 30-40 per cent of our peasantry, have received enormous benefits from the state since the agrarian reform. But since they were practising individual farming on poor land and using backward farming methods and implements, their economic position could hardly be improved. Of course, in order to solve the problem of the petty peasants, we moved them down to the plains, where there are vast tracts of fertile land, and took various other measures. But the problem cannot be solved thoroughly in this way. We must solve this problem once and for all and in the shortest possible time. Only then will the worker-peasant alliance be consolidated. The only way to the final solution of the problem lies through cooperativization in the countryside.

We also cannot close our eyes to the fact that rich farmers are constantly emerging in the countryside. Of course, we successfully carried out the agrarian reform. Since then there has been no serious trouble, but it is a fact that rich farmers are gradually appearing in the countryside. Though they benefited from the agrarian reform, those who are growing into rich farmers are liable to be influenced by south Korean reactionary circles as their farming gradually takes on a capitalist character. An analysis of those who collaborated with the reactionaries during our temporary retreat shows that some had benefited by the agrarian reform and some had even worked as farm hands for the landlords. The reason is that as they were becoming rich farmers after the agrarian reform in our countryside, they were all influenced by south Korean reactionary circles and by the US imperialists. Inasmuch as rich farmers are emerging in the countryside and they are affected by reactionary influences, the class struggle is continuing in the rural areas anyway, even though it has not yet come out into the open, and it may gradually grow sharper.

For this reason, we must gradually transform the countryside along

socialist lines so as to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, improve the livelihood of the labouring peasants, restrict the rich peasant economy and get agriculture also governed by the economic laws of socialism.

Some people argue: how can we reorganize the countryside along socialist lines in the northern half when reunification has not yet been achieved? They have forgotten that reunification depends on the strengthening of the democratic base in the northern half. To fortify this democratic base, it is necessary not only to develop industry, but also to strengthen our rural positions.

In order to achieve the latter now, we must gradually lead our countryside onto the path of socialist cooperativization. There is no other alternative. This is the first reason why our countryside should be cooperativized.

Second, agricultural cooperativization is needed if we are to manage not only industry but agriculture in a planned way, and to ensure the proportionate development of industry and agriculture.

A planned economy has been introduced in our industry, where the state sector holds unchallenged sway. But planned economy cannot be introduced in agriculture where private economy predominates. At present, we work out plans for agriculture and send them down to the lower bodies, but, in fact, this cannot be called a planned economy. The present plan for agriculture is no more than a kind of target for ensuring a certain level of production.

Such conditions not only make it impossible to expand agriculture rapidly, but also may impede the advance of industry. The complete planning of agriculture is also necessary for the planned development of industry. Without this, agriculture cannot keep pace with the rate of development of industry. Without this, the supply of grain, industrial raw materials and meat which we have mentioned before cannot be guaranteed.

In order to develop agriculture in a planned way, we must reorganize it on cooperative lines. Only then can we expand it.

Third, we must cooperativize agriculture in order to solve the

question of the shortage of labour and draught animals in the countryside. Three years of war brought about an acute shortage of rural labour. Because many young and middle-aged men joined the army, the greater part of the rural labour force is now made up of women and old people. Villages are now short of draught animals, too. Consequently, even those who own fertile land cannot farm well owing to the lack of labour, while those who lack draught animals cannot farm well, however hard they try, and those with poor land cannot even produce enough to feed themselves, no matter how hard they work. It was for this reason that the peasants thought out and voluntarily organized cooperatives in order to overcome these difficulties during the war. This was how our first cooperatives were organized.

All this shows that cooperativization is a movement which is completely law-governed and reflects the objective requirements of social development, for it has evolved from the conditions as they have matured at our present stage of development. We must take the road of agricultural cooperativization in order to expand our agriculture and radically solve the peasant problem.

As was proved by the experience of the Soviet Union, agricultural cooperativization makes it possible to develop agriculture in a planned way, introduce advanced farming methods and agro-technology, mechanize agriculture, expand farm production and thereby ensure a life of abundance for the people.

We began to organize agricultural cooperatives on an experimental basis this year. Some comrades think we have done so because we are afraid of making mistakes. But that is not the case. We have done so not because we are afraid but because we aim to do better by accumulating experience. One year's experience has proved more clearly that the cooperativization of agriculture is the only correct path for us to follow.

Here is an example. This year we visited the Junghwa Agricultural Cooperative three times. In the spring, some peasants received us with heads lowered; in summer when farming was picking up, their faces were beaming with joy; and in autumn they were so full of joy that

their faces were all smiles. An old man said, "I've been farming since the end of the Ri Dynasty, then under Japanese rule, and now in the era of our Republic, and I have never seen such fine crops as this year's." In fact, as this old man said, the crops in this district are really fine this year thanks to the cooperative.

Where a cooperative has been formed and farming has been done well, the worker-peasant alliance has been consolidated and the work of the united front also proceeds successfully.

We have proved in practice that agriculture, too, can be developed in a planned way if we organize cooperatives. We did not give the agricultural cooperatives any plan this year. But they worked out plans of their own and farmed in a planned way on the principle of planting the right crop on the right soil. From next year we will be able to farm even better. The state should set plans for the cooperatives next year. We must include in them the distribution of crop area and the introduction of advanced farming methods, not to mention production targets, and ensure that the plans are carried out as a matter of duty. Though the organization of cooperatives and distribution of income should be carried out on the principle of voluntariness on the part of the peasantry, things like the introduction of advanced farming methods cannot be left entirely to the free will of the peasants. We should carry out these things more resolutely.

Further, the experience gained in the organization and management of cooperatives has even more firmly convinced us that we can thoroughly solve the question of the petty peasants who suffer from barren land and a shortage of labour and draught animals. This year we have been able to save 20-30 per cent of labour power in the agricultural cooperatives, even though mechanization of agriculture has not yet been effected. So, it is probable that more than 50 per cent of labour power can be saved simply by introducing semi-mechanization in the future. We can increase production and develop sideline occupations on a large scale by making proper use of the labour thus released. Then the peasants' incomes will rise.

We have therefore come to the conclusion from the past year's

experience in the organization of agricultural cooperatives that agricultural cooperativization is necessary to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and consolidate our rural positions, to ensure proportionate development of industry and agriculture by introducing a planned economy in agriculture, and also fundamentally to solve the problem of our country's petty peasants.

I should now like to pass on to the forms of our agricultural cooperatives. At present, there are three forms, all of which are good and necessary.

The first form, which is called the mutual-labour-aid team, is necessary in order to enable the peasants to get the taste of cooperativization. We are going to transform the countryside along socialist lines step by step, not at one stroke and in a short time. Therefore, individual farming will remain in the countryside for a certain period. Hence this first form is needed in leading the individual peasants along the road of cooperativization.

The second form is that of pooling land and jointly managing the economy, and getting shares according to the land contributed and the amount of work done. This is a transitional form. The first form may be called the bud of socialism, and the second a semi-socialist form.

The third form is of a socialist type. Here all the land and implements of production are placed under common ownership, and distribution is made only in accordance with the amount of work done, and only small kitchen gardens, some chickens and pigs are allowed as an individual sideline. This is the highest form of agricultural cooperative in our country.

But some comrades consider that in organizing cooperatives they must go step by step from the first form to the second and then to the third. It is wrong to think that they must advance in this way like schoolchildren who are promoted from the first grade to the second and from the second to the third.

The question lies in the peasants' degree of preparedness and political consciousness. We should not force peasants who demand a higher form to take a lower form, nor can we impose a higher form

from the beginning On peasants who are only ready for a lower form.

In the Soviet Union, too, there were different forms of cooperatives when the agricultural cooperative movement was launched. The first was the association for joint cultivation of land (TOZ), which is equivalent to the second form in our country, and the present kolkhoz is similar to our third form.

The principle we must abide by in agricultural cooperativization is always to organize cooperatives on the basis of the peasants' willingness. It is absolutely impermissible to organize a cooperative by forcibly drawing the peasants into it simply because it is a good thing.

This by no means implies, however, that the cooperative movement may be left to take its own course. In organizing cooperatives, we must not tolerate the tendency to leave things to chance. Our Party must carry on information work vigorously among the peasants and educate and persuade them so that cooperatives may be organized and make progress.

Another principle we must abide by is to organize agricultural cooperatives not all at once in a spurt, but gradually, in accordance with the peasants' degree of preparedness. For the cooperativization of agriculture cannot be completed all at once, in accordance with the wishful thinking of some leading officials. It depends on the level of the peasants' political consciousness, on the level of the development of our industry and on various other conditions.

It is not advisable at present to organize cooperatives which are too large. In his speech, one comrade said that as many as 500 households are united in a cooperative. This is too large. I consider it appropriate to incorporate at first some 15 or 20 households and then, as conditions mature, increase the number gradually to some 30, 50 or 70. Unless we have cadres and conditions are ripe for mechanization, it is impossible to run large-scale cooperatives properly. Therefore, it might be well not to organize overlarge cooperatives at the beginning.

To proceed. We should not direct our efforts only to organizing new agricultural cooperatives, but should give proper guidance to the existing cooperatives so as to consolidate and develop them.

We must first select and appoint suitable cooperative chairmen and

other leading officials and train them. We must also give full scope to democracy in the cooperatives and raise the ideological and political level of their members so as to keep malicious elements from worming their way into them for the purpose of carrying on exploitation and subversive activities.

We must do all this so that every cooperative member can express his views freely, thus preventing any “extraordinary fellow” from placing the cooperative under his thumb.

Class education among agricultural cooperative members should be intensified. It must be brought home to them that the agricultural cooperative, as a socialist economic form, is the only correct system, absolutely necessary for putting an end to the system of exploitation of man by man and for eliminating the capitalist elements in the countryside, and especially that payment is made here on socialist principles according to the amount of work done.

It is also important to strengthen labour discipline and order in the cooperatives. Only then will loafers disappear. At present the most important problem is to increase the returns of the cooperatives by organizing labour rationally and managing them according to well worked-out plans.

In the future the relations between agricultural and consumers’ cooperatives should be strengthened and the contract system should also be introduced between them.

In order to strengthen the cooperatives and raise the ideological and political level of their members, it is necessary, above all, to strengthen the Party organizations in the cooperatives. Otherwise, it will be impossible either to consolidate their economic base or to remould the outdated thinking of their members.

To reorganize our countryside gradually along socialist lines, we not only need to promote the cooperative movement actively, but should also ensure the steady growth of other socialist elements in the rural areas.

The state-owned farm machine hire station and ox and horse hire station play a big role in the countryside. They are organizations to

help the working peasants and combat their exploitation by rich farmers. Some simple-minded officials in the rural areas regard those stations as organizations for making money or undertaking transportation. That is a wrong view. The stations serve as important bases for transforming the countryside along socialist lines. Besides, socialist elements such as state crop and stock farms, state irrigation services, consumers' cooperatives and peasant banks are of great help to the cooperativization of agriculture. We must continue to strengthen and develop these socialist elements. We must do everything in our power to lead the peasant masses along the socialist path. But we cannot lead them along that path by force or in a rush. I want to emphasize again that the cooperative movement should be unfolded gradually but actively and always on the principle of voluntariness on the part of the peasants.

The socialist transformation of the countryside will not hinder the country's reunification, as some comrades think, but will favour it. If we organize and guide the work correctly and transform the countryside along socialist lines, our labouring peasants will enjoy a more bountiful life, their ideological level will rise and the influence of the rich farmers and other capitalist elements in our countryside will gradually disappear. Accordingly, the alliance between the workers and the toiling peasants will grow stronger and our rural positions will be consolidated. Then the peasants in south Korea will follow us in the hope of living a life as prosperous as the peasants in the north. Clearly all this will promote the cause of our country's reunification.

3. ON THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

The recent session of the Supreme People's Assembly advanced proposals and issued an appeal for the peaceful reunification of the

country. Some of our comrades, however, have incorrect ideas about it.

Some people say that reunification cannot be achieved because of the presence of the American bandits in south Korea. Their ideas on reunification are so befuddled that they do not even want to put up the slogan of reunification. Some comrades, I was told, even think that north and south Korea can coexist, on the grounds that the socialist and capitalist systems can coexist. A certain teacher has gone so far as to give a lecture to this effect at school.

The theory of the coexistence of the capitalist and socialist systems is quite correct and such coexistence is possible. But the idea that north and south Korea—parts of one country—can remain separate and coexist is very dangerous, and it is a harmful view which hinders our cause of reunification. People who have this idea think that the responsibility for the revolution in south Korea rests only upon the south Korean people, and we, the people in north Korea, are not responsible for liberating south Korea. This is nothing but an attempt to justify and perpetuate the division of the country.

This tendency must be eliminated. When our people are unanimously demanding reunification, how can our Party representing the people discard the very slogan of reunification and advocate the “theory of the coexistence of north and south”?

Reunification is the basic revolutionary task of our Party at the present stage. Therefore, when it issues an appeal and advances proposals for reunification, this is not just a formality. Our Party sincerely desires it and struggles for it with might and main. The question of reunification is a matter to be taken up not only by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the information organs or the press, it is a task which all the people must accomplish through united action.

Without reunifying the country, our Party cannot say that it has fulfilled its duty. “Reunification is impossible. The proposals for it are a mere formality. North and south can coexist”—this way of thinking only tends to paralyse the will of all the Korean people in their struggle for reunification and is tantamount to abandoning south Korea. It is entirely for the purpose of hastening reunification that we are

consolidating the democratic base and strengthening the Party and the people's power. We must have correct ideas and a clear perspective as regards the reunification of the country, and fight with all our might to attain it.

Trading on our people's aspiration for reunification, the enemy constantly harps on the stale call to "march north and reunify". So if our Party gave up even the slogan of reunification and retreated, what would happen? It would eventually forfeit the people's confidence, and the cause of reunification, the unanimous desire of the Korean people, would not be realized.

Needless to say, it is not easy to achieve peaceful reunification in a short time because the Syngman Rhee clique is backed by the US imperialists who persist in their aggressive schemes in Korea; if it were only this clique which stood in the way of peaceful reunification, it would not mean much. Of course, the strength of US imperialism cannot be underrated. But though it is strong now, it is doomed to perish eventually according to the laws of historical development. The thing is that we should struggle to hasten the downfall of imperialism and defeat it. So, whatever support the US imperialists give to the Syngman Rhee clique, it can never hinder us from realizing the cause of reunification. Reunification will be achieved without fail.

In the past, even when Japanese imperialism devoured Korea, occupied half of China and then made inroads into areas in the Pacific, we Korean revolutionaries never gave up the slogan of Korea's independence, but upholding it firmly, waged a resolute anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle. And in the end the desire of the Korean patriots was realized. Our country was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialism.

We should not forget the lessons of history. As a consequence of World War I, tsarist Russia fell and the socialist revolution triumphed there. World War II led to the ruin of the imperialist states of Germany, Italy and Japan, and to the emergence of a number of People's Democracies in Europe and, in the East, to the triumph of the revolution in China and the establishment of a powerful people's

democratic system in the northern half of our country.

Imperialism still remains in the world. But, as history has proved, its collapse is inevitable.

The contradictions among the capitalist countries are now becoming more acute. We should not overlook the sharpening of the contradictions between US imperialism and its subordinate capitalist countries such as Japan. One of the weak points of the imperialists is these inevitable contradictions between them. These contradictions will create very favourable conditions in the future for the reunification and independence of our country.

No matter how strong the US imperialists may be, they will have no alternative but to get out of south Korea in the end when they become more isolated from their own people, have lost the support of their colonies and dependent countries and the south Korean people rise against them. Whether or not the south Korean people will rise against the US imperialists depends upon our organizational work in rousing the people in the south to action. We can certainly drive the US imperialists out of Korea when the south Korean people rally firmly around our Party and rise up.

We have had bitter experience in this respect. In the early days of the war when we counterattacked and drove the enemy into the narrow strip along the Raktong River, if we had properly organized the people in the southern half—or at least part of them—to rise up in strikes and carry on resistance movements, the enemy would have had no alternative but to pull out. But we failed to do this. We should draw a lesson from this experience.

Though peaceful reunification is an arduous task, whose achievement requires a protracted struggle, it is not beyond our power. We can reunify our country, and this we must do by all means. If we do not try and do not struggle for reunification merely because it is difficult, the question of reunification will remain unsettled for ever. The solution of this question depends upon our Party's strenuous fight for it.

For the sake of reunification we have to do our work well in two

ways: on the one hand we must work tirelessly to exert our Party's influence upon the people in south Korea and arouse them to struggle against the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and on the other, we must strengthen the democratic base in the north so that it becomes an impregnable bastion.

If we are to inspire the growing revolutionary forces in south Korea correctly and grasp the revolutionary situation in time to turn it actively to account and solve our revolutionary tasks, our own strength must be great, and this requires the consolidation of our democratic base. Therefore, when our country was liberated we already laid down the line of building the democratic base in the north and of strengthening and developing it. Strengthening the democratic base is a decisive guarantee of reunification. The slogan calling for the strengthening of the democratic base should be upheld until our country is reunified. It is necessary to strengthen the democratic base. We need a strong party and government and sound economic power. Only when we have them can we correctly appraise the revolutionary forces and revolutionary situation and take the initiative in settling matters. Hence, the strengthening of the democratic base and reunification are closely interrelated revolutionary tasks.

In order to strengthen the democratic base in the north, it is necessary to consolidate our Party and government bodies. We should strengthen our Party's political and ideological unity, and turn the Party into a more reliable force leading the people. We must strengthen our people's power and enhance its functions in every way. It is also important to reinforce the social organizations. In short, we must strengthen the Party and government bodies and the social organizations, expand and intensify the work of the united front, and so rally all the patriotic, democratic forces more firmly around our Party and the Government of the Republic.

We must also consolidate our democratic base economically. We must rapidly improve the people's living standards so as to turn our northern half into a paradise. Improving the people's livelihood entails succeeding in economic construction. We must grow good crops, erect

fine factories, build beautiful towns and many houses. To this end, we must industrialize our country and build it into a rich and strong one. First, the Three-Year Plan must be fulfilled and overfulfilled, and after that, a Five-Year Plan must be carried out.

Thus if we carry out economic construction well and improve the people's livelihood, turning the north into a prosperous and happy land, no force on earth will be able to suppress the revolutionary spirit of the people in south Korea who, longing for the north, will rise against the reactionary regime in south Korea, and we will be able to solve the problem of their livelihood easily after the country is reunified.

Then, we must strengthen the People's Army in every way. Otherwise we cannot carry on economic construction or preserve our Party and government. Only by strengthening the People's Army can we defend our revolutionary gains and repel foreign aggression. If we strengthen the Party and the government, consolidate our economic base and strengthen the People's Army, the democratic base will be fortified and our strength will become still greater.

Peaceful reunification will not be achieved just by shouting slogans, it will come only when we are strong. While struggling actively for peaceful reunification we must also take an active part in the world peace movement. For the more the peace forces grow and the peace movement is stepped up internationally, the better it will be for the cause of our reunification.

We shall surely be able to solve the question of reunification when the democratic camp is stronger, when our democratic base in the north is strengthened and the revolutionary tide runs high in the south.

Therefore, we must thoroughly do away with sceptical and vacillating attitudes towards peaceful reunification. We must do everything in our power to carry out the basic task of our revolution—the reunification and independence of our country.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

**Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the South Phyongan
Provincial Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 19, 1954

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend thanks to all Party members and other people of South Phyongan Province, and the cadres of the provincial Party and people's committees and the county- and ri-level organizations in the province, who strove under the correct leadership of our Party during the war and have worked hard since the end of the war for increasing agricultural production. In particular, I offer thanks to those who have devoted their energies to organize agricultural cooperatives, such as Comrade Kim Ryong Hwa, chairman of the Chilgol Agricultural Cooperative, Kangso County, Comrade Rim Kun Sang, the model farmer of Okto-ri, Ryonggang County, and the Party and people's committee chairmen and all the peasants of this ri; the chairmen of the Party committee and cooperative of Phalchong-ri, Kangso County; the Party and people's committees and all the members of the cooperative of Iram-ri, Yangdok County.

I have been authorized by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to guide the plenary meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee.

I would like to take this opportunity of commenting on a few questions.

The report detailed the tasks confronting the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province for implementing the decisions of the November Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Therefore, I would like to emphasize once more some important tasks which the Party organizations of this province should fulfil for the development of agriculture.

These tasks are, first, to turn the poorly irrigated paddy fields into fully irrigated ones and to expand the area of paddy fields all along.

At present, in this province rice fields cover over 80,000 hectares, of which more than 40,000 hectares are precariously irrigated. These rice fields are rain-dependent and yield a good crop when rain falls and a bad crop when it does not.

An important task of the Party and people's committees of South Phyongan Province is to convert the 40,000-odd hectares of poorly irrigated paddy fields into fully irrigated ones. The Government of the Republic has already started work on the Phyongnam irrigation project envisaged in the Three-Year National Economic Plan. This project has great importance not only for increasing the area of rice fields but also for turning the poorly irrigated rice fields into fully irrigated ones. When the project has been completed, 15,000-16,000 hectares of precariously irrigated paddy fields will become fully irrigated.

The Party organizations in this province should make every effort to complete the Phyongnam irrigation project conducted under a state plan. In particular, the county and ri Party organizations in the districts where the works are undertaken should mobilize all their members and people for the work. There are many places in South Phyongan Province where poorly irrigated paddy fields can be made fully irrigated and dry fields turned into paddy fields by local efforts. In the lower reaches of the Taedong River, poorly irrigated paddy fields can be made fully irrigated without carrying out labour-consuming work if tidal water is utilized when the tide rises. And, as it has been pointed out in the speeches, there are also many rice fields which can be turned

into fully irrigated ones by tapping underground water. Further, quite a few places offer the possibility of expanding rice fields by damming up small rivers and using their water.

The state set it as an important task to produce water-lifting machines in a great number, preparatory to turning the poorly irrigated rice fields into fully irrigated ones and expanding the rice-field area. Their production has already started this year. In the future, the state will produce large numbers of water-lifting machines and electric motors, supplying them for agriculture.

We are capable of setting up many pumping facilities for irrigation. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake extensive work for converting poorly irrigated rice fields into fully irrigated ones and turning dry fields into paddy fields by making use of underground, tidal and other waters. Only then can we increase grain output. A comrade said in his speech that they dammed up the Haechang River in Sukchon County and pumped the water to irrigate over 1,000 hectares of paddy fields, with the result that the paddy fields which used to yield less than two tons of rice per hectare have produced 4-4.5 tons. This is a very good thing.

The Party Central Committee is satisfied with your creative initiatives and expects you to display more creativity in future. The work experience of the Chil-ri Party organization in Sukchon County furnishes a model. This Party organization mobilized all its members, who led the people in damming up the river and lifting the water, thus solving the water problem, and turned the poorly irrigated rice fields into fully irrigated ones.

In future, South Phyongan Province should undertake on a wider scale the work of converting poorly irrigated paddy fields into fully irrigated ones. If its poorly irrigated paddy fields, more than 40,000 hectares, are made fully irrigated and their per-hectare yield increases only by two tons, 80,000 tons more of rice will be produced. In addition, if the production of rice is increased through the expansion of paddy fields, the province can easily increase rice output by 100,000 tons in all. Thus, the peasants will enjoy a more plentiful life and our

country will become still richer.

I once again emphasize the point that one of the most important tasks of the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province is to turn the poorly irrigated paddy fields into fully irrigated ones and expand the area of paddy cultivation by converting dry fields into rice fields. I hope that all Party members and people in the province will take an active part in the Phyongnam irrigation project, set up pumping facilities at all possible places, and strive to increase rice yield, thus producing over 100,000 tons more of rice.

The important tasks of the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province in developing agriculture are, second, to increase the per-hectare yield of dry fields, improve farming methods, and widely introduce mechanization in these fields.

It is very important to increase the per-hectare yield of dry fields. South Phyongan Province has more dry fields than rice fields. So, if the question of increasing the yields of dry fields is neglected with the stress placed only on rice production, grain output cannot be augmented. I hear that there are people in this province who have the tendency to hate planting such crops as maize. They are wrong. True, the population of this province can manage to live without eating maize. But in other areas where rice is scarce, people have to eat even maize. We should approach the matter from the national, instead of local, point of view.

We need much grain in absolute quantity, and vigorous efforts should be made therefore to increase the per-hectare yield of dry fields. To this end, high-yielding crops should be planted on the principle of the right crop on the right soil. In other words, reckoning what kind of crop thrives in which locality, we must plant maize and foxtail millet and wheat wherever they grow well. In this way we should increase our country's grain production. Of course, we need large quantities of rice, but we must have other cereals, too, in great quantities. Maize is not bad, either. It is bad to eat without processing, but well processed, it will make good food. If we develop the maize-processing industry, we can make various foodstuffs such as noodles, cakes and sweets from

maize. Therefore, high-yielding crops such as maize should never be neglected but planted on a wide scale.

Double-cropping should be widely introduced. It is clear for all to see that it is better to raise two crops in dry fields than to grow one crop.

Dry-field farming must surely go in the direction of double-cropping. Much feed is required to develop livestock farming. So it will do well to sow maize, for example, as the second crop and, when the season runs out, gather it and use it for animal feed. They say that double-cropping is also possible in rice fields, but it can hardly be introduced on a wide scale because it has not been experimented yet. According to agronomists, even if rice seedlings are bedded out in the paddy fields after peas have been cropped, rice cultivation will not be impeded. Peas grow fast and do no harm to rice cultivation, and so it seems we can plant them in paddy fields as the first crop.

Every time I visit the countryside, I emphasize the need to raise two crops in the cooperatives—planting the dry fields with wheat and then, after harvesting it, with radish and cabbage and the like. This is essential to increase grain yields. It will be good if every hectare of dry fields produces two tons of wheat. Wheat has no less nutritious value than rice. Wheat is bad to eat if not processed, but is good as food when it is ground to flour. All Europeans live on flour. Grain production should be increased decisively by raising two crops widely with wheat as the first crop.

Improving the methods of farming is very important for increasing crop yields.

Even now in the countryside farming is done by the same old methods as in antiquity. It is impossible to increase crop yields by old methods.

To raise the grain harvest, farming methods should be improved without fail. If wide-row planting is good in wheat cultivation, it should be introduced as a matter of course. It is important for farming that much compost should be made and fertilizer applied generously to the fields. My talks with peasants who have reaped good crops reveal

that there is no special secret in raising good crops. Their secret is in applying plenty of fertilizer, adopting advanced farming methods and working hard to plant, weed and harvest in season. We should widely propagate the farming methods of those peasants who have gathered in big harvests and continuously raise grain yields in dry fields.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic decided to introduce mechanization in the rural areas of South Phyongan Province before others, and this year, for the first time, we have had a try at mechanization on the Junghwa Agricultural Cooperative. But we set out on mechanization in March, which was too late for wheat sowing, and so we sowed barley. Barley was sown with machines, and it has grown very well. In the spring, the local peasants objected to sowing barley crosswise with machines. But seeing this barley growing better than others, they were well pleased. Where it was sown with machines, barley was harvested 2-2.2 tons per hectare. So, in the autumn, wheat was also sown crosswise.

At this cooperative maize cultivation, too, has been mechanized. Maize was sown with machines, with the seeds planted 70 centimetres apart from each other at the corners of foursquare. And weeding was also done with machines. In consequence, needless to say, less labour was consumed, and the yield of maize was considerably greater than when sowing and weeding had been done by hand before. The Junghwa Agricultural Cooperative turned out 3-3.3 tons of maize per hectare on an average, and they say some plots yielded as much as seven tons. This proves that, if advanced farming methods are applied and machines are used in dry-field farming, the per-hectare yield can be raised noticeably higher than now.

Proceeding from the experience of the Junghwa Agricultural Cooperative, we are planning to mechanize all farm work in the dry fields in the plains where machines can enter. In future, ploughing, sowing, weeding and even harvesting should be done by machines. South Phyongan Province has many dry fields in the Junghwa, Ryonggang and Phyongwon Plains and other flat areas in Kangso, Chungsan and Onchon where work can be mechanized.

In agriculture, rice fields should be watered by installing many water-lifting machines and the like on the one hand and, on the other, dry-field cultivation should be mechanized. Crop yields should thus be raised both in paddy fields and dry fields.

Farm mechanization requires adequate preparations by the Party organizations. As the director of a farm machine hire station said in his speech, some rural cadres know how to allocate tractor operators, but they do not know much about machinery.

If they are to direct the farm machine hire stations, the rural cadres must not be ignorant of the machinery. They must know the rudiments of the tractor—how many horsepower it has, how much it can plough a day, where it can work and where not. In the army the artillery commander cannot command the artillerymen if he does not know the performance of the guns, and the tank commander cannot command the tankmen if he does not know the performance of the tanks. Likewise, the rural cadres cannot mechanize farming if they do not know about farm machines.

In order to mechanize dry-field farming, the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province should make various preparations well, including the training of tractor operators.

The important tasks of the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province in developing agriculture are, third, to develop sericulture and to expand the areas of industrial crops such as peanuts, tobacco and cotton.

Before anything else, sericulture should be developed energetically.

Sericulture occupies a very important place in our rural economy. From olden times, our country is one of the leading silkworm-raisers in the world. Our country is blessed with favourable conditions for the development of sericulture. Mulberry trees thrive in our country because it abounds in calcareous soil which is suitable for their growth. In particular, this soil is widely found in many areas of South Phyongan Province including Sunchon, Songchon, Tokchon, Kangdong and Kaechon.

We must make full use of favourable natural conditions of the

country. To do so, we must plant mulberry trees widely according to a plan. The more mulberry trees we have, the more silkworms we can raise. According to scientists, two hectares of mulberry field give enough leaves to produce one ton of cocoons. Cotton does not grow well in our country. Therefore, it is very important to develop sericulture to meet the people's needs for clothing. To produce large quantities of silk fabric, we have decided to import spinning and weaving machines which can turn out 10 million metres of fabric. These machines will arrive and go into production by 1957 at the latest. Then, 15 million metres of silk can be turned out a year, including hand-woven silks.

The Ministry of Agriculture says it can produce enough cocoons to weave 15 million metres of silk fabric. But we cannot rest satisfied with 15 million metres. In future we must produce more, and this necessitates developing sericulture on a large scale. For the development of sericulture, silkworm-raising techniques should be widely propagated, and all farming households should raise silkworms.

Industrial crops such as peanuts, tobacco and cotton should also be cultivated on a large scale.

In order to meet the demand for cooking oil, peanuts should be planted widely. The results of experiments this year show that to plant and extract oil, peanuts are better than soy beans. The rate of oil output from soy beans is 11-12 per cent and peanuts 30-35 per cent, they say. I hear peanuts grow well in sandy soil such as of Sungho County and Kangdong County. The yield of peanuts is higher than that of soy beans. While the per-hectare yield of soy beans is about one ton, that of peanuts is 3-3.5 tons. We must widely plant peanuts that have a greater yield and oil output than soy beans. But it will not do to neglect soy beans. Soy beans should be planted where they fit in and peanuts, in sandy soil where they grow well.

Tobacco, too, should be planted on a wide scale. At present this is not so, with the result that the people suffer from its shortage. In addition, because of its cultivation in a small way, we cannot improve

the quality of cigarettes. Good-quality cigarettes will be produced only when leaf tobacco is stored for two or three years before processing. But cigarettes taste poor because they are produced the same year as the tobacco leaves are picked. Therefore, tobacco should be planted extensively to produce more good-quality cigarettes.

Cotton should also be produced in quantities. In our country where cotton does not grow well, it will be fine even if only one ton of cotton is produced per hectare. If we produce three tons of cotton per hectare, as a comrade said in his speech, it will be still better. Even though we can import cotton, we must produce cotton for use at home as far as possible. Only then can we lower the prices of fabrics.

To cultivate industrial crops on a wide scale in future, the provincial and county people's committees should envisage in their plans the concentrated planting of industrial crops on the right soil. For example, it will be well to ensure tobacco planting widely in Songchon where it thrives. Great stress should be placed on tobacco cultivation where tobacco grows well, and on silkworm raising where silkworms do well.

The important tasks of the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province in developing agriculture are, fourthly, to organize agro-stock cooperatives widely and guide the private peasants properly, and thus develop livestock farming actively.

Under Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past, our people lived in abject poverty, suffering from hunger. This greatly affected the health of the younger generation. In future, we must increase the production of meat and give more meat to children and youth. This necessitates developing livestock farming. Livestock farming should be developed not only in mountainous areas, but in the flat country as well. In mountainous regions pigs, cattle, sheep and other animals should be raised in large numbers, and in the flat country, ducks and others.

Fish must be caught in large quantities. Fish should be produced through fish culture where it is possible, and in the coastal areas agro-fishery cooperatives should be organized to catch fish. The state has a plan to supply timber to build ships to the agro-fishery

cooperatives, and it is importing yarn for fishing nets. We should catch great quantities of fish by developing fisheries on a large scale.

While increasing the yields from cultivated lands, we should make good use of the mountains and the seas. From olden times it was said that mountain dwellers should live by the mountain and seaside dwellers should live by the sea. We should increase our incomes by using the mountains and the seas.

In order to carry out these tasks well, we should develop agricultural cooperatives. Only by working in cooperation can the peasants cope better with everything.

We carried out the agrarian reform long ago. It brought great benefits to the peasants, emancipating them from feudal oppression and exploitation. But in spite of the agrarian reform, the countryside is not entirely free from the relations of exploitation and poverty. Even now there are people in the rural areas who are short of land or have barren lands or are badly off because they are short of workhands and draught animals, whereas there are people who are turning into rich farmers. This is inevitable, for the rural economy is based on private farming.

Needless to say, we carried out the agrarian reform to make all peasants well-off, that is, to make them middle peasants. As a result, many peasants have come to enjoy a life of plenty, and this is a good thing. But some farmers who have become well-to-do, practise usury and work others hard while they themselves live an idle life. Although buying and selling of land and tenant-farming are prohibited by the Agrarian Reform Law, rich farmers are emerging anew because the rural economy is based on private farming. Before the war, Jaeryong County witnessed the emergence of well-to-do people from among the peasants, thanks to the agrarian reform; they left farms to engage in trade in towns, to make money by running a rice mill, or to deal in rubber shoes or wine.

Our countryside is not yet totally clear of exploiting practices. The path being followed by some peasants like this is not the path our Party has charted. Our Party is moving along the path of socialism which

repudiates the exploitation of man by man. Those who follow the path of exploiting others run counter to the Party's line. We should check the practice of people going this way.

We must know that those who have a liking for the system of exploitation of man by man will come to give the glad hand to Syngman Rhee puppet regime. Ours is a power of the workers and peasants and all our cadres are of worker and peasant origin. But the puppet regime of south Korea is a "power" of the landlords and comprador capitalists. That is why the workers and peasants in south Korea are deprived of any right. Gathered in the "National Assembly" of south Korea, the landlords and comprador capitalists are only discussing the ways to squeeze the people. So those who like exploiting others will eventually come to welcome the puppet regime of south Korea. Life has proved this.

When we returned from the temporary retreat, we dropped in at a village in Anju County. A woman said that a scoundrel who had even benefited by the agrarian reform had killed her husband in league with the enemy. So we inquired about the fellow. The man was originally a good-for-nothing who hated work; thanks to the agrarian reform, he became a rich farmer and liked to exploit other people through usury. Not all people are good who received benefits from the agrarian reform. Whether a man is good or not is decided by his ideological consciousness.

Remodelling the ideological consciousness of people is most important. In order to refashion the thinking of people, the form of the economy should be transformed. Without reorganizing private farming in the countryside into cooperative farming, the ideological consciousness of peasants cannot be transformed. Further, without organizing cooperatives we cannot improve the lives of the peasants who are now poorly off. Only by organizing agricultural cooperatives can we solve the question of petty peasants from the ground up, wipe out the sources of all forms of exploitation engendered in the rural areas and strengthen our rural positions. Therefore, our Party has put forward the policy of organizing agricultural cooperatives in good time.

Another reason why we are following the path of agricultural cooperativization is that we intend to introduce advanced farming techniques and methods, mechanize farming, and develop agriculture in a planned way.

Our farming methods are still backward. As long as private peasant economy is left as it is, we cannot widely introduce advanced farming techniques and methods. Nor can we bring agriculture abreast of industry which is making rapid progress according to plan under the economic system of socialism, and the eventual result will be disparity between industry and agriculture. The gap in their development will impede the advance of industry to a great extent. This is why agriculture should be transformed along cooperative lines so that it may be reorganized into a socialist economic system and developed according to plan. The formation of agricultural cooperatives will make it possible to introduce mechanization, apply advanced farming methods widely to increase crop yields, and make the peasants enjoy a life of abundance.

Formation of an agricultural cooperative with hundreds of peasant households, all at once, should be avoided. In the present conditions it will be well to form a cooperative with some 50-60 households. If the agricultural cooperatives are of this size, each cooperative will have 50-60 hectares of land. Supposing each peasant household has two workhands on an average, the cooperative's work force will number 100-120. With this manpower the cooperative will be able to tend 50-60 hectares of land well enough without machines. If the peasants pool their work forces instead of each household doing its work separately, they will be able to work efficiently by organizing their labour in such a way as to assign feminine jobs to women and jobs requiring men's strength to men.

Yet, some people question, how can we organize cooperatives now when our country is still short of farm machines? This is because they are not well aware of the actual conditions of our countryside. Unlike the Soviet Union and other such countries, in our country, each peasant household has a small allotment of land, and so even if mechanization

has not yet been realized, cooperatives can be formed and operated quite easily if only work is well organized. But we are not opposed to farm mechanization. Farm mechanization is a good thing and it must be done without fail.

Since we are still lacking in experience, we should not form cooperatives of an excessive size. We have an insufficient number of workers ready to direct large-size cooperatives. Therefore, cooperatives should be formed about the size of 50-60 households. Small cooperatives will be easy to direct.

Some people want to know whether the cooperatives we are forming are of a socialist or a semi-socialist nature. To answer this question, the first form is a fixed mutual-labour-aid team and can be regarded as the bud of socialism; the second form is a semi-socialist form because the means of production are used jointly, and the distribution of incomes is based on work done and the size of land contributed to the cooperative; and the third form is a socialist form because all means of production are commonly owned and the principle of distribution according to work done is applied in full.

Some of the farming population do not clearly know as yet what socialism is. In the past the imperialists spread a malicious rumour as if socialism means sleeping together all under the same quilt and eating meals all from the community kitchen. So, even now there are some peasants who think this is what socialism is. When I went to a cooperative and told the peasants that their cooperative signified socialism, they said if this was so there could be nothing better than socialism. We must give the peasants a clear understanding of socialism.

We should strengthen the already formed agricultural cooperatives. It is indeed important to organize a large number of cooperatives, but still more important is to strengthen the already formed ones.

For organizational consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives, the role of the Party organizations in the cooperatives should be enhanced before anything else.

Our Party is the guide in the revolution and the advanced detachment of the working masses. Therefore, the consolidation of

Party organizations and enhancement of their role are prerequisite to strengthening the cooperatives.

Party organizations should intensify the class education of the cooperative members. The farming population should thus be clearly taught that we are advancing along the path of socialism to abolish the exploitation of man by man for good, and their class consciousness should be enhanced to hate the exploiters and those who turn against our system.

Cooperative members should also be told clearly that under socialism distribution of incomes cannot be levelled and distribution is done only according to the socialist principle based on the quantity and quality of everyone's work. This is essential to rid the cooperatives of loafers and swindlers and to enhance the socialist consciousness of their members.

If we just organize cooperatives and do not tell their members which way we are going, they will be unaware of what path they are moving along.

In order to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives, it is also necessary to bring democracy into full play in their activities. Cooperative members, no matter who, should be allowed to have their say in regard to the activities of their cooperative. Only then will it be possible to prevent swindlers from manoeuvring insidiously within the cooperative and knaves from spreading false rumours.

As a comrade pointed out in his speech, it is wrong that the financial affairs of the cooperative are kept secret from its members. Finances should be made known to the members in all events. The members should be informed clearly of the income and expenditure and the share of distribution for each of them. If you keep the finances secret from the public in a slovenly way, this may give rise to irregularities and excite suspicion among the members. Financial affairs of a cooperative are not a big secret. Only when they are open can the members watch if money is spent properly, and can criticize the chairman when things have been mismanaged. Because the cooperative's property does not belong to any individual but to all its

members, every member is interested in it.

To give free scope to democracy in the cooperative and consolidate the cooperative, the accounts should be settled in good time and the income distributed correctly. Otherwise, frauds may be committed and scoundrels may find a pretext to pick holes in it.

In South Phyongan Province 35 per cent of the peasants are now in agricultural cooperatives. This year the Party organizations should not form agricultural cooperatives any more but should pay attention to consolidating the foundations of the already formed cooperatives, strengthening their management boards, and ensuring good crops in the cooperatives next year. It would be well to form new agricultural cooperatives next autumn.

What are the immediate tasks confronting the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province?

Before anything else, they should continue to explain in depth the decisions of the November Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee among the masses. The decisions should be deeply expounded not only to the Party members but to the masses. Further, the Party organizations in the province should pay attention to good preparations for 1955 farming. The fulfilment of next year's plan for agricultural production requires adequate preparations from now on. Agricultural cooperatives, private farmers and state agricultural establishments should all make thoroughgoing preparations for farming. Seeds and chemicals for sterilizing the seeds should be duly prepared, farm implements and machines repaired and put in good shape, rivers and dikes repaired and readjusted, compost and chemical fertilizers got ready, and the peasants short of food should procure it.

The winter should be utilized to popularize widely the know-how of farming. Without such knowledge, crops cannot be raised well. Before anyone else, rural cadres including the chairmen of county and ri Party and people's committees should learn farming know-how. Without this, they cannot hope to properly guide farm work. Thoroughgoing measures should also be taken to disseminate farming know-how widely among the peasants.

Now, I pass to our country's prospects for the development of the economy and the national economic plan for 1955.

First of all, I should like to touch on the prices of goods and the country's prospects of economic development.

The prices of commodities are not yet low in our country. So we intend to reduce them continuously in future. But we cannot say that our prices are very high now. Although it is only one year since the end of the three-year-long grim war, our present prices are not much different from the prewar prices. Before the war, for example, if you sold one *mal* of rice, you could buy with the money 1.9 metres of cloth, or 1.2 pairs of rubber shoes, or 5.4 pairs of socks. At present you could buy 1.7 metres of cloth, or 1.2 pairs of rubber shoes, or 4.5 pairs of socks. You can see that calculated in terms of rice like this, the present prices are not much higher than the prewar prices. True, at present the value of the currency is a little different from that of the prewar currency, but the prices are not very different.

In view of the costs of rice production in the rural areas and cloth production in factories, one *mal* of rice should fetch 2.5-3 metres of cloth, or about three pairs of rubber shoes. If things turn out this way, the rural population will be pleased, but the present situation does not allow it. We shall be able to cut the prices that much during the first half of the Five-Year Plan following the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, at the earliest.

It is not long since the armistice was signed, and we cannot reduce the prices at random. We must undertake many construction projects for the development and prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people. We should build factories, railways and schools, and so we need large funds. The funds for construction work come, first, from factories where accumulations are made through the production of goods; second, from the revenue from consumer goods transaction; and third, from the tax revenues of the state. In future, when many factories have been built and large quantities of goods have been produced, accumulations will increase and, accordingly, the differentials will diminish and the prices will drop.

If we eat up everything by greatly cutting the prices and raising the real wages of the workers and office employees right now, we cannot build factories nor lay the economic foundation of the country.

The Syngman Rhee puppet clique in south Korea merely bring in US surplus goods and consume them without thinking of building factories. They go so far as to sell out all the factories taken from the Japanese imperialists. We have placed the confiscated enemy property under the ownership of the state and the people and carry on production, but the Syngman Rhee puppet clique have sold off the enemy property to individuals. Because they are incapable of building and running factories by themselves, they have lately been fussing about building factories by drawing in US capital. Like this, they are now openly selling out everything in south Korea to foreign capitalists.

But we are moving forward along the path of consolidating the foundation of our national economy and improving the people's living conditions, and making our country a prosperous independent state. We should, therefore, undertake many construction projects. For success in construction work, everyone should devote his all to the building of a prosperous independent state, donating money or cereals if he has enough to spare. He should pay taxes to the state without delay.

In the present situation we cannot reduce the rate of tax in kind, either. Needless to say, this rate is not unchangeable. In future, when many factories have been built and the state's accumulations have increased, we can reduce the rate of tax in kind. At present, however, we cannot do so because we have many construction projects to carry out. Crop estimates should be properly made to levy accurate amounts of taxes in kind.

We envisage a price cut in 1955 and plan to reduce the prices continually thereafter. In future, when many factories have been built and the state expenditure increases, the people's burdens will further lighten. Party organizations should explain all this correctly to the people.

To sum up, the present prices are not much higher than before the war. It is not very long since the termination of the war. Nevertheless,

we have been able to reduce the prices to the present low level. This is entirely due to the correctness of the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for the stabilization of the people's living conditions.

As you all know, the basic objective of the Three-Year Plan is to rehabilitate the ravaged factories, recover or surpass the prewar level of production, and build some new factories unknown in the prewar years.

Before liberation the machine-building industry in our country was nil. The Japanese imperialists did not found the machine-building industry in Korea because they had to rob her of her raw materials. That is why we are now erecting many machine factories in various local areas.

A prosperous independent state cannot be built without the machine-building industry that turns out the means of production. Only by developing this industry can we build more factories and develop them. At present we are unable even to produce simple farm implements and spare parts of motorcars properly. But, in future, when the machine-building industry has developed, we will produce various kinds of machines by ourselves.

Our country now has several textile mills including those in Pyongyang and Kusong, and their spindles number 45,000. This is far greater than the prewar figure of 15,000. With the fulfilment of the Three-Year National Economic Plan, the number of spindles will reach 80,000. After the Three-Year Plan the number should be increased to 100,000-120,000.

Before the war, there were only a few hundred handlooms for weaving silk cloth in our country. But in 1957 we will produce 15 million metres of silk fabric and 10 million metres of rayon fabric. Then, there will be ten metres of textiles per head of the population.

They say the fabrics now produced in our country are of inferior quality. They are not so bad. Our fabrics are durable and good; they look inferior because they are not pressed or dyed. In the future, when dye works have been built and fabrics are dyed and printed with floral patterns and pressed, they will show up better.

We are building tinning plants and meat-processing works which were non-existent before the war. We are building a fish-tinning plant on the east coast, a meat-packing plant at Ryongsong and many food-processing factories in other places. All this is aimed at improving the material standard of our people.

Fish will be caught in large quantities. This year's fish catch is poor due to the inefficiency of officials of the Ministry of Fisheries, but next year we can catch plenty of fish. If the officials in the fishing industry organize work properly, 440,000 tons of fish could be taken next year.

The state stock farms plan to produce over 10,000 tons of meat next year, and this is quite feasible.

As you see, the prospects of economic development in our country are bright. To turn these prospects into reality, we must increase our accumulations.

We have many construction projects to carry out. We must develop heavy and light industries, agriculture and fisheries. Thus, we should fulfil the Three-Year Plan ahead of schedule and lay the firm foundation of socialism.

1955 is a year of great importance for carrying out the plan.

The national economic plan for next year is very enormous. In order to fulfil this enormous plan, the daily, monthly and quarterly plans should be carried out without fail. If you put off today's task till tomorrow and this month's assignment to next month, you will not be able to fulfil the plan. For the successful implementation of the 1955 national economic plan, the Party organizations should properly conduct the work of ideological mobilization. They should kindly explain to all the people that they should fulfil the national economic plan of next year by all means and that if next year's plan is fulfilled, they will be able to carry out the Three-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule. If in an army the soldiers are ideologically well roused in a battle, they will win for sure, but if the work of ideological mobilization is poorly conducted and, as a result, the soldiers do not know their duties correctly, they will inevitably come a cropper. The same is the case with the implementation of the national economic

plan. Just shouting the slogan “Let’s carry out the national economic plan!” will get you nowhere. You should explain the 1955 national economic plan in detail to all workers, so that they will know their duties clearly and work hard to carry them out.

Adequate preparations should be made for the fulfilment of the national economic plan next year. Enough raw materials, supplies, machine parts and the like needed for the carrying out of the plan should be prepared and the machines should be repaired and put in good shape in advance. Party organizations should effectively help to make full preparations for next year’s production activities in all units and branches of the national economy.

The results of the implementation of the 1954 national economic plan should be properly summed up. In order to ensure success in carrying out next year’s national economic plan, it is important to know clearly the shortcomings in the work in the past. All establishments and enterprises should call a meeting next January to review the results of the implementation of the 1954 national economic plan, and criticize the shortcomings in the work so far and take remedial measures, while popularizing fine experience.

An important question in dealing with the national economic plan for 1955 is to raise productivity, rationalize the organization of manpower, reduce the non-productive work force, and increase the manpower in productive sectors. It must be ensured that in all branches of the national economy there are less people sitting in the office and more people engaged directly in production work.

Profound attention should be paid to economizing in materials. At present the wastage of materials, cement and timber in particular, is quite common. We should, therefore, vigorously combat the practices of wasting materials and tighten control over their consumption, thus establishing a strict regime of using them only where they are indispensable.

Great efforts should be made to establish financial discipline and tighten control over finances.

In order to carry out next year’s national economic plan smoothly,

we should study and discuss the document of the March Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee once more.

Last, I would like to speak about reviewing the activities of Party organizations and elections to their leading bodies.

Elimination of bureaucratism and improvement of the cadres' style of work should be the keynote in the forthcoming review of the work of the Party organizations and elections to their leading bodies.

There still is a lot of bureaucratism and formalism in our Party. Many officials do not go deep among the masses nor listen to their opinions. Some Party workers lack in the habit of carefully studying and correctly analysing a question when it has come to the fore before they offer appropriate conclusions. A Party worker should rely on the masses in his work, defend their interests, listen attentively to their requests, analyse their opinions before settling the matter in hand, and know how to educate them. And he should not present a report describing the false rumours spread by the alien elements against our system as opinions of the masses.

Our Party workers still retain bureaucratic work style due to their weak Party spirit and their failure to equip themselves with the Party's ideas. So, they should be the first to try and strengthen their Party spirit. Party workers should behave as befitting political workers in the true sense of the word. Our Party is an advanced detachment of the working masses, but not an organ of power. Therefore, a Party worker should not shout at or order the people about or wield Party authority arbitrarily. He should always be humble, love study, and be capable of resolutely fighting against injustice. Even when conducting an inspection, he should do it, politely educating and helping the lower officials. An inspection is meant to rectify what is wrong and educate the officials concerned, not to find faults and criticize and punish people. What needs to be criticized should be criticized and corrected as a matter of course.

In many cases at present inspection work is not conducted in the right manner. So, when officials from the upper level come for an inspection, those of the lower bodies cower with fear. The officials of the lower bodies fear and detest an inspection and only report good

things to the higher-ups while withholding bad things, all because inspection is conducted in a bureaucratic fashion. Therefore, bureaucratism should be dropped completely in inspections, too.

All Party workers should make a deep study of the February 1952 speech and temper their Party spirit and strive to acquire the lofty qualities and work style worthy of Party officials. Only then can our Party go deep among the masses and further strengthen its ties with the people.

The basic orientation of Party work today is to consolidate our country's economic foundation and stabilize and improve people's lives by overfulfilling the Three-Year Plan, and to achieve reunification and independence of the country as soon as possible by further strengthening our Party and organs of power, consolidating our revolutionary democratic base and reinforcing the People's Army in every way.

Reunification and independence of the country is a long-cherished desire of all the Korean people and the fundamental duty of our Party. Only by consolidating our revolutionary democratic base, the northern half of Korea, can we rouse the people in the south for an energetic struggle for national reunification.

At present, day in and day out the Syngman Rhee puppet clique is clamouring for a "northward expedition", but we need not be afraid. They clamour for the "northward expedition" because they are scared at the might of the northern half of Korea. We should never be frightened by their clamour and sit inertly not carrying on construction work. The more the enemy clamours, the better we should build the economy and improve the people's living standard and, at the same time, strengthen the People's Army to make the country's defences impregnable.

What is most important is to make the people well-off. Only when the question of food, clothing and housing is solved completely will the people unite still more closely around our Party, and the south Korean people, too, will follow us in good earnest. Therefore, while working unremittingly to improve the people's living standards, we should strive for strengthening the People's Army. And we should

further strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically by preventing shady elements from worming their way into the Party and waging a ruthless struggle against the practices weakening the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks. This is the way to consolidate our revolutionary forces and hasten reunification of the country by strengthening the democratic base.

We are now carrying out the revolution and construction in favourable conditions. During the Japanese imperialist occupation we fought for national independence although we were poorly armed, had a small number of revolutionaries and received no international support. But today the situation is different.

Today we have the hundreds of thousands strong People's Army, the precious cadres who have the experience of beating the American imperialists in the three years of war, and one million members of the Party including the revolutionary warriors tempered in the long revolutionary struggle. And in the northern half, the working class is growing from day to day, the cooperatives are developing on the road to socialism, millions of people are united firmly around our Party and, the communists, the true patriots of Korea, hardened in the prolonged anti-Japanese armed struggle, are leading the Central Committee of our Party and the Government of the Republic. In addition, we have international aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal People's Democracies.

Under such conditions, if the American imperialists and their lackeys should start another "northward expedition", we will be able to vanquish these enemies completely in concert with the people in the south.

In the future, too, we should continue to strengthen our Party and the People's Army, consolidate the democratic base, stabilize and improve the people's lives and rally all the people closely around our Party and the Government of the Republic.

I hope that you will endeavour still more energetically to carry out your revolutionary tasks with credit.

**ON MAKING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY
A CADRE ARMY AND THE PROSPECTS
OF DEVELOPMENT OF ARMS
AND SERVICES (Excerpt)**

**Speech at a Meeting of Military and Political Cadres
of the Korean People's Army**

December 23, 1954

Today, as we are reviewing the combat and political training of the People's Army over the past year, the situations in north and south Korea present a remarkable contrast. In defining our duties, we should proceed from the present political situation in our country.

As you all know, it is nearly a year and half now since we signed the Armistice Agreement. But our country has not yet secured complete peace.

Armistice means literally suspension of war; it is no more than stopping direct hostilities with the enemy for the time being. Thus the great task of peaceful reunification and independence of the country, our people's ardent desire, has not yet been realized.

The US imperialist aggressors still hang on to south Korea and, furthermore, egg their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rheeites, on to create tensions in Korea continuously.

Our Party and people are confronted as ever with the revolutionary task of driving out the US imperialist aggressors from the southern half of our country and crushing their lackeys, the traitor Syngman Rhee and his gang, to accomplish complete

reunification and independence of the country.

Before we have achieved the revolutionary cause of realizing the country's complete reunification and independence, we cannot say we have fulfilled our duty.

Today the US imperialist invaders are intensifying their colonial enslavement policy and their machinations for preparing for a new war in south Korea, and, in the meantime, have taken the road of further strengthening and perpetuating the fascist dictatorship of the Syngman Rhee clique, their faithful lackey.

After the armistice, a military pact was concluded between the US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee regime. US Congress and the Syngman Rhee "National Assembly" recently gave their full approval to it.

Some time ago Syngman Rhee submitted to the "National Assembly" a "constitutional amendment" envisaging an absolutely favourable change for himself.

According to the so-called "Constitution of the Republic of Korea", the President's tenure of office cannot exceed eight years. Nevertheless, Syngman Rhee is making frantic attempts to revise the "Constitution" to hold the presidency for life. He demands that the "Constitution" provide freedom to foreign capital to enter south Korea and build factories and operate mines.

In the bygone days the Japanese made investments in Korea to build factories and railways with the sweat and blood of the Korean people and plundered unchecked the precious resources of our country, made it their colony, and brutally oppressed and exploited our people. We have a bitter experience of this.

In the final analysis, the introduction of foreign capital today means throwing away economic independence and selling out the country, thus placing the south Korean economy entirely under the control of the US imperialists.

So, they are quarrelling over the "constitutional amendment" of Syngman Rhee even inside the "Liberal Party", a party of Syngman Rhee himself, to say nothing of what is happening in the puppet

National Assembly. Thus, in connection with the results of voting on the bill, some opposition groups and the lackeys of Syngman Rhee in the “National Assembly” are wrangling with each other, the former insisting that the bill has been rejected, whereas the latter arguing that it has been carried. It is thus not clear if the bill has been rejected or passed.

The traitor Syngman Rhee openly opposes the withdrawal of American troops and asks for their permanent stationing, because he cannot maintain his “government” even for a single day without relying on the armed forces of the US imperialists, his masters.

The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique is selling state property to the profiteers. They are arbitrarily selling to foreign capitalists, comprador capitalists, and profiteers the so-called “property reverted to the government”, which the Japanese imperialists created before liberation on August 15, 1945 by exploiting the Korean people. This signifies that Syngman Rhee’s domestic economy is going bankrupt.

The breakdown of south Korean industry, the deficit in the balance of foreign trade, and increase in military expenditure are pushing the economy-finances of the Syngman Rhee “government” into an irretrievable confusion.

The US imperialists give Syngman Rhee a lot of money to reinforce the puppet army. Thus, he is increasing its strength from the present 20 divisions to 30.

Like this, Syngman Rhee has sold out south Korea to the US imperialists over the past year, and today south Korea is a complete colony of the US imperialists.

Needless to say, south Korea was in fact an American colony before, but now that, after the armistice, a military alliance has been concluded between the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee, the “agreement” concluded to place the south Korean economy under the full control of the US imperialists and even a corresponding amendment of the “Constitution” proclaimed, south Korea has legally become a full colony. Thus, the US imperialists have got everything prepared for them to interfere in the south Korean affairs at any time.

Today, Syngman Rhee openly opposes national reunification. He unconditionally rejects our demand that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea. The same about our proposal that “the Korean question should be solved peacefully by the Koreans themselves.”

Of course, the Americans stand behind Syngman Rhee who is opposed to these demands. Syngman Rhee, an old stooge of the US imperialists, flatly opposes them as urged by the latter.

What did the Americans say at the Geneva conference in reply to our proposal for the establishment of a unified government of Korea through elections held by the Koreans themselves after the withdrawal of foreign troops? That Dulles fellow openly clamoured, “We lost hundreds of thousand lives in Korea. How can we give up Korea for nothing? We won’t leave Korea.”

While we insist on solving the Korean question by the Koreans themselves, the Americans and Syngman Rhee say they want to settle this question only under the supervision of the United Nations. This is an aggressive and treacherous position.

We waged a difficult war for three years against the “UN Forces” in defence of our country. The United Nations was our enemy in the Korean war. How can we solve the question under UN supervision? The United Nations long ago drifted away from a fair position and reduced itself to a spokesman of the United States. That is why we cannot do anything with the United Nations.

This Syngman Rhee fellow is afraid of sitting face to face with Koreans. Why should he dislike and fear the Koreans if he has not committed a crime against our people? He has the crime of selling out the country on his conscience, and so he is averse to sit face to face with Koreans.

As you all know, some time ago, our Supreme People’s Assembly made an appeal on the question of peaceful reunification of the country. The Supreme People’s Assembly proposed once again to the puppet National Assembly for an across-the-table discussion on the question of national reunification. We conceded as far as that. Our idea is to have a *tete-a-tete*, anyway, even with the “Liberal Party” of

Syngman Rhee. Although they are puppets, we believe there may be some among them who have a conscience and may turn back to the right path in course of a tete-a-tete with us. This is why we made the proposal. We believe so because we are doing a just, fair and aboveboard thing for the nation and the country.

Syngman Rhee is opposed to a dialogue because he commits theft and many sins and sells out the country.

So, we made an appeal that if they cannot accept our proposal, correspondence should be opened at least between north and south Korea. I think you have read the statement of the Minister of Communications. Correspondence is conducted even between different countries. Why should the people of one and the same nation be kept from exchanging letters? According to reports, the workers of post offices in south Korea told their Minister about this. But we have received no answer to this.

They are opposed to it because they fear we may influence south Koreans if letters are exchanged as we insist.

Although our economic life is still difficult, it is much better than in south Korea.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea held in Pyongyang in April 1948 was attended by delegates of all parties in south Korea except those under Syngman Rhee's direct control. Even such men as Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik, who had regarded communists as their enemies, came and praised our policy as being correct. At that time they witnessed the prosperity and progress of the northern half and expressed admiration for it, and admitted that all our work was for the benefit of the country and the people and for our national reunification and independence.

In fact, everything we have done is for the country and the people. True, there are things which we have not yet completed. But there is not a thing already done which is not for the good of the country and the people.

If even today people of south Korea come to the north and see for

themselves, they will understand well how bright our prospects are. So, no matter what kind of people may come from the southern half, we unhesitatingly sit face to face with them.

The appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly said that the conference may be held either in Pyongyang or in Seoul, and also that south Korea may send its sports delegations or artistes' groups to the north if it wants, and we can also send ours to the south.

We, the people of north Korea, shall have nothing worth seeing in south Korea, but the south Koreans will come to realize the correctness of our activities if they come to north Korea. Because such is the situation, Syngman Rhee categorically rejects any of our proposals concerning peaceful reunification of the country. He is averse to everything because in the final analysis, he wants to give away south Korea at least to the Americans. He is openly selling south Korea, and the Americans publicly declare south Korea to be their domain. The American imperialists will not readily quit south Korea.

Today, we find ourselves in such a grave situation. Therefore, our fighting task of liberating the southern half assumes a long-term nature. Accordingly, we should never be impatient in carrying out this task. We must not fail to bear in mind that we have to wage a struggle over a long period.

Our struggle may run up against many difficulties. We should be prepared for hardships and fight on tirelessly and stubbornly.

Since we are in a grave situation and our struggle is going to be prolonged, we should show more activeness and devotion to victory in our revolutionary struggle.

Our Party will surely win in the cause of national reunification, the cherished desire of all the people and the entire nation.

Then are we capable of national reunification? Yes, of course.

As you all know, once the Japanese imperialists swallowed Korea and Manchuria and even the area down to Shanghai and Nanjing, and, in the Pacific war, seized even the Philippines. In spite of this the Korean revolutionaries fought on unyieldingly with the firm confidence that Korea could achieve her independence.

In those days, many people called those engaged in the independence movement lunatics, and many of the participants in this movement turned their coats. Fellows like Ri Kwang Su flattered the Japanese imperialists by raving about the so-called “theory of the same ancestry”, alleging that we Koreans had the same ancestors as the Japanese. Many quisling writers preached to the young people the need to be loyal to Japanese imperialism, writing that our youth should obey the mobilization orders of Japan.

When the Japanese imperialists took the Philippines and were expanding their war of aggression, many people wavered. But the Korean revolutionaries, including the communists and guerrillas, kept on fighting. They firmly believed that owing to the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states, and the contradictions among the imperialist states themselves in the scramble for raw material sources and colonies, imperialism would decline and fall, and our nation could attain its independence.

The law of social development tells us that imperialism will surely fall, and shows that our struggle can accelerate social progress.

The haughty Japanese imperialists did not last long in power and fell in the end. Hitler had planned to meet the Japanese imperialists in the Urals and divide the Soviet Union between Germany and Japan, but the Soviet Union, far from being conquered, crushed Hitler. Italy also went under. France and Britain, once rated among five or six great powers, became much weaker after they had been hit by Hitler.

Who, then, won the final victory? The Soviet Union. How is it that the Soviet Union could win? Because socialism steadily gains in scope and strength with new vigour, whereas imperialism has outlived its days and is going on the downfall.

According to this law of historical development, the tsarist Russia fell and the Soviet state was born in the First World War, and as a result of the Second World War, Japan, Hitlerite Germany and Italy met with destruction and People’s Democracies came into being in East and Southeast Europe, and the Chinese revolution emerged victorious.

At present only the United States remains in existence, but it is

doomed to ruin, according to the law of social development.

Lenin pointed out that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, in which capitalism has passed from progressive capitalism to parasitic, rotten capitalism, and that imperialism is moribund capitalism.

US imperialism is now going downhill. The Americans will surely kiss the dust in the future. Their ruin may come from the rivalry between the imperialist and the socialist camp, and also from the contradictions of imperialism itself.

We should know that the imperialists may fight among themselves.

Japan is a US colony today, but except the reactionaries few Japanese are glad about it.

Contradictions exist also between the United States and France, between the United States and Britain, between the United States and West Germany, and these contradictions aggravate day by day. We should always watch the growth of inner-contradictions of the imperialist camp and learn to take advantage of them.

If the contradictions between the United States and Japan come to a head and they clash, the Americans will not be able to look after Syngman Rhee or south Korea, and we shall get a chance of reunifying the country. Will it be right then for us to sit idle without rising up and achieving reunification? When a fight starts between imperialists and the US imperialists cannot afford to interfere on our Korean question, why should we be unable to reunify our country?

And when contradictions aggravate in the United States itself and the people fight against the ruling circles, thus keeping the US imperialists from paying attention to Korea, why should we be unable to reunify the country?

There may be another big war. When a war breaks out between the imperialist and the socialist camp, and the US imperialists cannot afford to interfere on the Korean question, why should we be unable to achieve national reunification?

The Americans will then pack up to leave Korea. We should prepare for meeting such a great event.

There can be other chances as well. The southern half of our

country has fallen into the hands of the Americans, but when all its people rise in revolt against the Americans and the Syngman Rhee clique, and fight for reunification, thus bringing the conditions for reunification to a head, should we merely sit inertly with folded arms? We, the people of the north, should give active support to the south Korean people and reunify the country in cooperation with them.

We need not be afraid of the outbreak of a war in the future. Because we already have experience of a big war, we are not afraid of any war.

We should prepare for meeting the great event that can take place internally and internationally in the future. We should surmount all barriers and fulfil the revolutionary tasks for reunification and independence of the country.

We should clearly know the present lot of the south Korean people under the oppression of the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

At present when our north Korea has a shortage of manpower due to large-scale construction work, south Korea has over 1.3 million jobless and 3-4 million afflicted people and paupers. Since factories are out of operation, Syngman Rhee cannot take steps to relieve the unemployed.

Syngman Rhee is forcing the youth of south Korea into the army, but army recruitment dodgers are increasing every day. According to the south Korean papers, there were more than 48,000 who dodged in the four months since last January.

In south Korea, every year big fires take place frequently, causing confusion and leaving numerous people shelterless. Only recently, a large fire broke out in Pusan, destroying over 20,000 houses.

Like this, south Korea has large numbers of jobless and sufferers, military service dodgers and homeless people, but Syngman Rhee is powerless to improve the people's living conditions.

After the Supreme People's Assembly issued an appeal recently, copies of this appeal were broadcast in all parts of south Korea. The masses support this appeal. Even the students, divided in two, are bickering over the appeal.

Those who were forcibly taken south from north Korea have also come to see clearly in south Korea how anti-people and treacherous is the policy of Syngman Rhee, in contrast to north Korea where they did not know unemployment and had enough clothes and lived freely eating their fill.

In south Korea the masses are rising increasingly against the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee. Syngman Rhee will never be able to save this state of affairs.

In our north Korea, factories and enterprises are in the hands of the state and the people as a result of the nationalization of major industries, and the state is run with the revenue coming from the state sector of industry. But what does Syngman Rhee do to maintain his fascist rule? Now that there are no factories and enterprises, Syngman Rhee has no alternative but to rely on taxes. In south Korea, therefore, the amount of tax levies is increasing and, accordingly, the people's burdens grow heavier. This is quite a logical process. Syngman Rhee finds himself in a scrape and is obliged to sell even what few factories he has as "enemy property" to tide over financial difficulties. Syngman Rhee has no choice but to turn to the Americans, his masters, for the upkeep of his huge armed forces. There is no other way.

In south Korea, almost all factories, mines and enterprises are bankrupt, and so there is only the countryside to turn to for support. But because rural youths are all pressed into the puppet army, even the countryside is falling into decay. The south Korean economy is going bankrupt.

As a result, the living conditions of the south Korean people are becoming more difficult daily, so their mood is further turning against the Syngman Rhee "government".

Even within the puppet National Assembly, contradictions are gradually accentuating and friction and scramble for power are aggravating.

The life presidency provided for in the "constitutional amendment" rammed through by Syngman Rhee, is nothing short of feudal monarchy. Who among the present-day youth will care for a

monarchy? What idiot will like to see the influx of foreign capital? And who will be glad at the sale of all the “enemy property” captured from the Japanese? For this reason the treacherous and ruinous policy of Syngman Rhee is meeting with opposition even in the puppet National Assembly.

We must know that if the south Korean people support us and rise against the Americans and Syngman Rhee, the Americans will have no alternative but to pull out for all their desperate efforts to stay.

During our first counteroffensive, Pak Hon Yong deceived us. He told us a lie that there were 200,000 Party members underground in south Korea. If only there were 1,000 Party members, if not 200,000, and they called for a strike in Pusan or thereabout, the Americans might not have set foot in south Korea. If all the people in south Korea fought against the Americans when the latter landed there and started advancing, the situation would have turned out differently. If at that time there had been a firm mass base and the revolutionary forces were strong in south Korea, the Americans would not have challenged us.

Therefore, we must first of all unite the south Korean people and rally all the Korean people around our Party and the Government.

To this end, we must wage a vigorous political and economic struggle.

The recent appeal of the Supreme People’s Assembly has also made suggestions concerning political struggle. Syngman Rhee may possibly reject our proposal. But the south Korean people will correctly see which side is just and who is bad.

This is why our proposal for peaceful reunification is, by all means, necessary. Our initiatives such as “Let us Koreans sit at one table and hold discussions to reunify the country”, “Foreign troops, go home!”, “Let us hold a reelection” and so on, are just.

Ours is a legitimate government elected by the people, but we are not afraid of reelection if it is for reunification. Because we always work for a just cause, we fear nothing.

But Syngman Rhee is afraid of national reunification. This is

because he will have to face the people's judgment when our country is reunified.

We should use every possible means to realize a rapprochement with south Korea. This does not mean a rapprochement with Syngman Rhee but with the people, whom we should meet and influence by explaining our views. Rapprochement is a form of political struggle, and we should unite the south Korean people through the political struggle. To do so we should ensure intensification of activities by the revolutionary party in south Korea. If the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop clique had not brought ruin on the Party in the southern half, we would have achieved the cause of national reunification long ago.

In 1946 and 1947 when the USSR-US Joint Commission met again, demonstrations were held openly on purpose in south Korea, so that the revolutionaries were all exposed and murdered. Needless to say, Pak Hon Yong and Ri Sung Yop, who were spies of the United States and Syngman Rhee, could not act otherwise.

Next in importance is to strengthen the economic struggle.

We should strengthen the democratic base, the northern half of Korea, and consolidate its economic foundation, so that we can make our country a prosperous industrial state and speedily rehabilitate the southern half after its liberation.

We should make the north and the south as different as heaven and earth, as paradise and hell. To this end we should turn north Korea into an industrial state and develop light industry and agriculture simultaneously with heavy industry to produce food, clothing and footwear in abundance so as to stabilize and improve the people's living standards, and should expand schools, hospitals, clubhouses and other cultural facilities.

If things turn out this way, the south Korean people who are groaning under the colonial rule of US imperialism will yearn for our system, follow us, unite more firmly around our Party and Government, and fight more resolutely against the US imperialists and the traitor Syngman Rhee and his clique. Only by strengthening the democratic base, north Korea, can we arouse the south Korean people

quickly and hasten reunification of the country.

That is why the Party put up the slogan of consolidating the democratic base from the first day after the armistice.

The task set forth by our Party is to consolidate the democratic base for national reunification by developing heavy and light industry, agriculture and transport.

A rich and strong country needs to have a developed industry and agriculture. So, our Party pays great attention to the development of industry and agriculture.

We are making endeavours to rid industry of its colonial one-sidedness, inherited from the days of Japanese imperialist rule, and to lay the foundation of an independent economy. We will develop fast the iron and steel and machine-building industries, build more power stations, rehabilitate and expand the chemical industry to produce fertilizer on a large scale, and, in the area of light industry, ensure that the textile industry is expanded and meat and fish canneries are built to improve the people's living conditions.

From 1957 when the Three-Year Plan will have been fulfilled, the people's life will improve markedly. In 1957 the textile industry will turn out 100 million metres of fabrics, which means ten metres per head of the population.

The development of agriculture, livestock farming and fisheries will solve the question of food. If agricultural cooperatives are formed and consolidated in the countryside, farming is mechanized and irrigation facilities expanded, we shall be able to produce 3-3.5 million tons of grain in 1957. Then we shall have food in plenty.

We plan to catch 430,000 tons of fish next year. We have boats and nets. We build ships ourselves and have the necessary material foundation, so we can catch fish as planned. In that case, 40 kilogrammes of fish will be supplied to everyone annually. It is envisaged to take 600,000 tons of fish in the last year of the Three-Year Plan, which will mean 60 kilogrammes per capita. Some foreign guests ask us if we can eat all that much fish.

This year the state sector of livestock farming alone turned out

6,000 tons of meat, and it plans 20,000 tons for next year. If the output of individuals and agricultural cooperatives is added, 50,000-60,000 tons will be within easy reach. We have prospects of easily turning out 100,000-200,000 tons of meat in the future.

With the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, the housing question will also be solved. When all the cement factories go into operation and turn out 800,000-1,000,000 tons of cement a year, and several large brickyards of the world level, with an annual capacity of 100 million bricks each, start production in real earnest and yield 600-800 million bricks every year in future, the housing question will be solved soon.

When the question of food, clothing and shelter is solved in this way, people's living standard will no doubt be stabilized.

We should advance, above all, in the direction of building factories and solving the question of food, clothing and housing. How can the people fight, eating poor food and ill-clad? We should solve the problem of food and clothing before anything else.

Another burning problem is to build schools. If we fail to educate the students for a year, the progress of our younger generation will be delayed that much. This is why even when the Party Central Committee and quite a few central bodies are still in dugouts, we have built many schools to educate the children in sunny classrooms.

Is our policy correct? Yes, of course. Recently An Jae Hong, a former "National Assembly man" of the Syngman Rhee puppet government, who is now in north Korea, saw the Mangyongdae School for Bereaved Children and an orphanage. He said, "In north Korea orphans are brought up and educated well. They are even sent abroad for study, and they are better clad and better fed than the children who have parents." I hear he was surprised and struck with admiration to see the many schools newly built in Pyongyang. We had no need to propagate our policy specially to such people.

While we were living in dugouts, we built more than 30 schools before everything else in Pyongyang alone last year.

In this way, we have paid profound attention to educational work in postwar years. As a result of our special efforts for educational work,

as many as 1.9 million out of north Korea's 10 million population are students at present. This is by no means a small figure.

During the war, too, we continued with educational work in mountains and sent hundreds of students abroad for study every year.

After visiting the bereaved children's school and other educational institutions, I hear, An Jae Hong lay in his room all day long and then lamented, "What have we done all this time up to the age of 60 or 70? If we had worked for the country and the people, our sons and daughters could study at the democratic schools and, after our death, attend the school for bereaved children." Of course, this is all too natural. Today, school education in south Korea is, from beginning to end, the colonial education of US imperialism and, to top it all, school buildings are mostly used as barracks for US troops and the puppet army. Comparing this with our reality, anyone will be surprised.

Further, after seeing an artistic performance at the Moranbong Theatre which was built recently, he is reported to have expressed admiration and said, "In the northern half of Korea, national art is being developed. The inheritance and development of our national classical art will not be realized without the Government of the Republic."

This is also quite natural, for, in south Korea, the obscene and rotten American culture and a musty art rule supreme, and the elegant and sound art peculiar to our nation is neglected.

In future, our country should take the path of industrialization.

Our grandfathers were unable to make even a matchlock and, as a result, were subjugated by the Japanese imperialists. If we work in the way they did during the Ri Dynasty when people were only keen to behave like nobles riding donkeys, the Japanese imperialists may come back again. We should make weapons by ourselves. During the war, we developed agriculture and livestock farming, and also the munitions industry. We should make an industrial state with great defensive power of our country.

As mentioned above, the northern half of Korea is developing daily, following the road of well-being and light, with the people's living

standard ever rising, whereas the southern half is turning into a land of darkness, a living hell, with poverty and starvation aggravating daily owing to the anti-people policy of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rheeites, and their ravage and plunder of industry and agriculture.

If we build the economy better for consolidating the democratic base, a more favourable situation will be created for us and the save-the-nation struggle of the south Korean people against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique will grow ever fiercer. Then, we shall be able to accomplish the cause of national reunification. Strengthening the People's Army is an important question for achieving reunification and independence of the country. Under no circumstances can we bring about reunification of the country and defend its independence and security without strengthening the army.

We certainly are waging a political struggle, adhering to the line of peaceful reunification. But the People's Army should always be ready to take action whenever the Party calls, that is, whenever its mobilization is required, because the internal and international events mentioned above have occurred. It will not do in such a situation that the army should dillydally, what with the weapons in poor shape, shortage of cadres, and inadequate preparations.

The mission of our People's Army is to liberate the southern half of Korea in the future. It will not do to try hastily to liberate south Korea at once, tomorrow or the day after.

Needless to say, the south Korean people may rise in a massive revolutionary struggle, or the international circumstances may turn in our favour or Syngman Rhee, the idiot and stupe, may act recklessly and complicate the situation. In such a case, we cannot sit idle and remain mere onlookers. Therefore, our People's Army should know clearly the tasks set before it.

Today our People's Army is confronted with a mission, first, to reinforce itself and crush Syngman Rhee's plot for "march north" and firmly defend our democratic base, and, second, to accumulate

sufficient power for the great revolutionary event of completely reunifying our country in future.

To enable it to carry out this mission, the Party has set before the People's Army the task of rearing and strengthening it into a steel-hard army, a cadre army.

Syngman Rhee is increasing the puppet army's strength to 30 divisions. But we need not fear this at all because ours is a revolutionary army, equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

As is shown by history, a revolutionary army wins not by numerical superiority. Even with a small number of troops and inferior weapons it will beat a superior enemy. This is because the revolutionary army, an army for the people, has the support of all the people. We can see this in the instance of either the Russian revolution or the Chinese revolution.

But we must know that the army of Syngman Rhee is equipped, not with pokers, but with US-made guns and tanks. We must not minimize them.

If we only mean to defend our positions, our present armed forces will suffice. But if Syngman Rhee starts on a "march north", will we remain on the defensive then, too? No, never. We should wipe out the enemy.

If we are to carry out such a task, we need more troops than now. We should increase the number of our divisions. If we are to increase their number in case of emergency, we will need a corresponding number of cadres. This is precisely why we should strengthen the People's Army, both technically and in terms of quality, and make the whole of it a steel-like cadre army.

If we only carry out this task thoroughly, we shall need not fear any enemy.

At this meeting, some comrades have asked for more guns. This is not a hard problem. This kind of requirement can be satisfied quite easily. The question is not whether we can have good weapons or not, but whether we can handle good modern weapons and combat equipment well or not, and whether we can organize concerted action

of different arms efficiently or not.

Therefore, the most important question is to train a large number of cadres versed in the regulations, expert with various kinds of weapons and capable of properly commanding units of various arms.

We must make the People's Army a cadre army without fail.

The Syngman Rhee puppet army is nothing but a mob, and it is a politically benighted army in which not only the soldiers but even the officers are not clear why they are serving the army and what they are going to die for.

But our People's Army men are equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideology and the revolutionary spirit to fight and sacrifice their lives for the Party and the working class, for the country and their power. If we give an adequate training to the People's Army to make it a cadre army, we can easily solve the question of expanding the army in case of emergency. We have any number of people who are ready to take up arms and fight. We have a million Party members and millions of Democratic Youth League members. Our factories manufacture weapons and the people in the local areas undergo military and political training, and so if we open hostilities with the enemy again, our Party members and all the people can take up arms and go to war. In such a case, one division can at once be expanded into two, three, four or five divisions if only we have the cadres.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, we had enough people, but weapons were scarce and, moreover, army cadres were short, so we were obliged to make a temporary retreat.

If our military officials learn, learn and learn, and become a stronger cadre army, they will be able to beat any enemy. We should train a far greater number of officers than now. This is essential to increase the units when necessary.

Without expanding the army in future, we cannot cope successfully with any contingency.

Therefore, all military officials should apply themselves unremittingly to combat and political training to improve their political level and commanding ability so that a private could function as squad

leader, a squad leader as platoon leader, a platoon leader as company commander, a company commander as battalion commander, a battalion commander as regimental commander, a regimental commander as division commander, a division commander as corps commander.

The existing divisions and brigades should be given good training and made fully equal to their combat duties, and all cadres should be educated to fulfil their tasks well, and simultaneously large numbers of reserve cadres should be trained. All combined units and military academies should train cadres on a large scale....

In order to enhance the fighting efficiency and combat readiness of the units, it is necessary, first of all, to intensify combat and political training. But at present the units reveal some shortcomings in giving training.

As already pointed out at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, a major shortcoming in combat and political training is that commanders and officers of all ranks fail to conduct personally lessons or take part in combat training.

If the commanding officers do not personally conduct combat training or participate in it, the combat training cannot be of a high quality and they cannot hope to make progress themselves. Further, if they do not directly guide combat training, they will not be able to find out how much fighting power their units have and know their subordinate officers.

So, the commanders should personally take part in combat training and conduct it. True, it is not so easy for a corps commander to teach division commanders, a division commander regimental commanders, a regimental commander battalion commanders, and a battalion commander company commanders. But this is something they must do without fail.

Of course, it can be difficult for first one or two months or for about half a year. But when they are accustomed to personally teaching their subordinates, they will find it easier in due course of time. Our commanding officers must foster the habit of personally training their

subordinate personnel and further temper themselves.

Some of our People's Army officers show the tendency of self-complacency and of refusing to study diligently. These people neglect their military and political studies. They think they need not study any longer because they are heroic People's Army men who routed the US imperialist forces of aggression which boasted they were the "most powerful" in the world. This is a very dangerous thought.

Experience teaches us that if a worker is intoxicated with victory and becomes puffed with self-conceit, he is invariably doomed to failure in work.

Indeed, the People's Army fought heroically and gained many an experience and also learned a great deal during the last war. But what we have experienced and learned will merely serve as the foundation for further developing the People's Army; we can never say they are a cure-all. Modern warfare is conducted with the application of achievements of the constantly developing up-to-date science and technology. So its forms and contents change from day to day. If we do not study even for a day, we shall undoubtedly lag behind that much. We cannot win a battle if we do not equip ourselves with modern military techniques but rely on an outdated knowledge of military affairs.

We must wage a relentless struggle against all bad tendencies of self-conceit, haughtiness, refusal to learn humbly and drawing only on one's experiences.

Our only task is to learn, and learn humbly.

People who do not study cannot develop, or make progress. To learn humbly and work tirelessly is the way to faithfully serve the Party and the state and is also good for one's own progress.

The commanders and officers of the People's Army should, therefore, always study advanced military science and military art, and should be versed in methods of modern warfare and up-to-date weapons.

Further, discipline and order should be tightened in the life of the units.

At present, the people in the rear are all-out for reconstruction and the soldiers in the forward areas are keyed up conducting combat training. And the south Korean people, groaning, starving and frozen to death under the enemy's oppression, are waiting for us to liberate them. We cannot forget our comrades-in-arms who fell uttering cries of regret that they had to die without achieving national reunification and independence.

When we think of these things we cannot slacken even for a moment or become easy-going, or idle away our time living a loose life.

The next problem is labour mobilization. At present the units complain about too much labour mobilization. Needless to say, there should not be too much labour mobilization. But no one can assure that there will be no labour mobilization at all in future. The question is to organize work well. Work should be organized properly so that the units mobilized for labour may only engage in labour, while those units assigned to training may undergo training.

Now is the time for construction. So, barracks should be built, training equipment made, and defence works done. And you cannot wait for some passers-by to come and do all this for you. So, the staff had better designate labour days for the units.

If troops are to be put to labour unavoidably, a battalion or a regiment should be detached and assigned entirely to the work, and other units should be put fully to training. The units mobilized for labour should be made to receive complementary training later on.

Further, the administration of units should be improved.

In the administration of a unit the daily schedule should always be observed, the unit properly controlled, and the cadres of the companies guided and helped effectively. Then there would be no accidents in the unit. If the commander takes care of his unit responsibly at all times, and shows a great concern for his men, the unit will be administered well.

Last, we should strengthen Party life and education in the units. As yet, we cannot say that Party life in our People's Army has risen to a high level. Some unit commanders are not keen to attend Party

meetings. If this practice continues, they will fall away from Party life, will be unable to temper their Party spirit, and eventually become “their own lords” in the units, “sacrosanct” beings whom nobody can dare to criticize.

Of course, strengthening of Party life and criticism does not imply permitting reckless criticism in disregard of the commanders’ one-man management system. It is important to call Party meetings with personnel of the same ranks where keen mutual criticism is offered to correct shortcomings in work.

Because Party life in the army is unsatisfactory, some army cadres are not yet free of various kinds of backward behaviour.

The present conditions call for strengthening Party life in every way in the army. Only when Party life is strengthened would it be possible to put an end to the bad habit of living in a disorderly and reckless way formed during the war. We should shed all bad ways. They cannot be rectified all by oneself. They can be corrected only through Party life.

In the past, the local Party organizations intensified the struggle for tempering Party spirit, but, in the army, this struggle has been lukewarm. We must take this into consideration. In future, we should strengthen Party life in the units and actively combat every description of evil tendency and behaviour stemming from weak Party spirit. This is not difficult at all. Correct shortcomings, and that will do. Why can’t our officials, who won the battle against a strong enemy, ever rectify their minor shortcomings and strengthen their Party spirit?

All our Party members should constantly temper their Party spirit and thus become revolutionary fighters valuing the Party more than their own selves and prizing the interests of the Party and the revolution more than their own interests.

Party ideological education is most important for strengthening the People’s Army in terms of quality. If soldiers are not equipped with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, they will not be able to look ahead into the future and see and judge things in the right light.

At present Party ideological education is insufficient for us.

We should equip the men and officers of the People’s Army with

Marxist-Leninist world outlook so that they may learn how to view and criticize things. Otherwise, they may be fooled by the enemy and may even be unable to see their way ahead. A person who is unable to see his way ahead is little short of a blind man. We should learn to look ahead into the future. We should know the right path shown by the Party and advance along it confidently.

In particular, as our country is divided into north and south and we are standing in confrontation with the enemy for a long time, it is very important to infuse the soldiers with class consciousness. Every soldier should be made to know clearly that the Syngman Rhee “government” is a “government” representing landlords and comprador capitalists, that Syngman Rhee is a quisling selling our country to American imperialists, and that our people’s government is a government of the working people with the working class at its core and a government working for the country.

Further, every soldier should be clearly acquainted with the difference between our People’s Army and the Syngman Rhee army, and with the specific features of our army. The soldiers should be instilled firmly with the class consciousness that our People’s Army is an army of the workers and peasants.

Thus, all our soldiers should be made to find their own clear answers to question: “Why am I standing sentinel here? What have I come here for? Why am I lying here on the hill?”

We should ensure that the men and officers of the People’s Army know our country’s revolutionary experiences and the prospects of its revolution, inspire them with the patriotic spirit of hating the enemy and loving their country and people, and their class, and strengthen their ideological education in internationalism. This is essential to strengthen our army and turn it into an army ever-victorious in battle with the enemy.

In order to secure victory in the prolonged struggle for national reunification and independence, we should strengthen the unity of thought and purpose in the units and further intensify education in Marxism-Leninism.

Such precisely are the basic tasks confronting our People's Army.

The question is to accomplish our country's reunification and independence which is the dictate of the Party and the people.

In order to fulfil these tasks, it is necessary, first, to strengthen the political struggle to unite all the people around the Party and the Government, second, to exert revolutionary influence on the south Korean people by building the economy, improving the people's living conditions, laying the foundation of industrialization, and consolidating the democratic base, and, third, to reinforce the People's Army in every way.

Only if we do so, shall we be able to achieve national reunification and independence without fail.

When the socialist countries grow in strength and the power of the northern half of Korea increases, Syngman Rhee will be barred from pouncing upon us and the US imperialists from acting recklessly.

If we are strong, we will be able to repulse the enemy when the latter resumes the hostilities against us.

History shows that the advanced and progressive forces always emerge victorious. It proves that nobody can check the operation of the law of social development.

Our cause is just.

The road of the country and the people is a road to victory.

We must further strengthen the People's Army to consolidate the democratic base and to bring about independent reunification of the country.

ON THE NATURE OF THE REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY AT THE PRESENT STAGE AND THE BASIC DIRECTION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 29, 1954

Correctly defining the nature of the revolution at each of its stages is of tremendous significance in successfully carrying on the revolutionary struggle and construction without any deviation. We should correctly determine the nature of the revolution in our country at the present stage and, on this basis, work out a scientific strategy and tactics. This is the way to achieve the cause of national reunification quickly and effectively accelerate the Korean revolution as a whole. In view of the importance of a correct definition of the nature of the revolution, today's meeting of the Political Committee has discussed the matter, and later the theses on the nature and tasks of our revolution will be published at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

How, then, is the nature of our revolution to be defined at the present stage?

Scholars are now putting forward different arguments on the nature of our revolution. Some people argue that our revolution is a socialist revolution in nature. Citing the example of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia in the past, they assert that the slogan of socialist revolution should be put up in the current struggle in our country, too.

They say that the working class in Russia won a nationwide victory by struggling under the slogan of socialist revolution, even though they had seized power only in Moscow and Leningrad with the revolution not yet triumphant in other areas. This argument is seriously erroneous.

What, then, are the errors in their argument? First, they identify the situation in our country today with that at the time of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Second, they fail to see the south Korean revolution as a component of the Korean revolution. If we define, as they argue, the nature of the revolution in our country at the present stage as a socialist revolution, we shall lose a large revolutionary force, especially the petty bourgeoisie and other broad sections of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic forces in the southern half. This will be a great impediment to successfully pushing forward the entire Korean revolution.

In defining the nature of our revolution at this stage, we should not ignore the south which comprises half the territory of our country and two-thirds of its population, keeping in our minds only the northern half of Korea. We should define the nature of our revolution, taking into account the fact that the south Korean revolution is a major component of the Korean revolution as a whole and that the north and the south of Korea are at different stages of the revolution.

Since liberation, different situations have been prevailing in the north and the south of Korea, and these two parts of the country have traversed diametrically opposite roads. In north Korea a people's government was established after liberation, a government based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and relying on the united front of broad patriotic and democratic forces. With the establishment of the people's government, for the first time in their history, our people became genuine masters of the country, with state power firmly in hands. Under our Party's leadership, the people's government successfully carried out the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms and opened up wide avenues for social progress. In this way the northern half of Korea carried out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal

democratic revolution and entered the period of gradual transition to socialism. The struggle of the people in the north to implement the tasks of the period of transition to socialism was interrupted by the three-year war and resumed after the war. In short, the revolution in the northern half of Korea made triumphant progress after liberation in keeping with the desire and will of the people.

Since liberation, however, south Korea has been reduced to a complete colony of the US imperialists. They occupied south Korea, rallied together pro-Japanese collaborators and other traitors to the nation and set up a reactionary puppet regime which protects the interests of the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats and implements the aggressive policy of US imperialism. By means of this puppet regime, the imperialist United States is intensifying national oppression and colonial plunder in south Korea. As a result, south Korea's industry has gone totally bankrupt, its agriculture has been ruined, and the people are suffering from immeasurable miseries and hardships.

Today our revolution is confronted with the task of driving the US imperialist aggressors out of our country, achieving complete national independence and liberating the peasants from oppression and exploitation by landlords in the south. From the viewpoint of the country as a whole, therefore, our revolution is still at the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

The US imperialist occupation of south Korea makes it imperative for us to wage a difficult and long-drawn-out nationwide struggle to bring about the revolution throughout Korea.

If we are to reunify the divided country and win a nationwide victory in the revolution, we should further strengthen the democratic base in the north, the fountainhead of the Korean revolution, politically, economically and militarily. For this purpose, we must advance the revolution in the north and proceed to socialism. By building socialism in the northern half of Korea we shall be able to strengthen the democratic base and prepare a decisive force to bring about national reunification and independence and victory in the

revolution throughout the country.

Transition to socialism in the northern half of Korea is also the lawful requirement of the development of the revolution in the north.

Some people, however, allege that building socialism in the north, when the country is divided into north and south, will adversely affect the non-comprador capitalists in the south, and that socialism should not be built in the north until the country is reunified. This is a mistaken view due to the lack of correct understanding of the political situation in our country.

The US imperialists will not withdraw from south Korea meekly. At the Geneva conference last summer, US Secretary of State Dulles declared that the United States would never keep their hands off Korea because they had suffered tremendous losses in the Korean war.

The socio-economic conditions in the northern half of Korea are ripe enough for us to advance along the road of socialism, while it will take a long time to realize the cause of national reunification. Why, then, should we put off the building of socialism in the north till the reunification of the country? Absolutely not.

Eliminating the capitalist elements and building socialism in the northern half of Korea will have a great revolutionary impact upon the people in the south and also a good influence upon the non-comprador capitalists there.

We intend to carry out the revolution to eliminate the capitalist elements in the north not by expropriating the capitalist merchants and manufacturers, but by transforming them on socialist lines by drawing them into various forms of cooperative economy. If they understand this intention of our Party, the non-comprador capitalists in the south will welcome us rather than oppose us.

If we bring prosperity to the country by building socialism in the northern half of Korea, the nationalists, too, will support us. Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik, bigoted nationalists formerly, said that the communist government was all right, when they came to the north in 1948 and saw the development here, though no spectacular progress had been made by that time. So, if we build socialism in the north and establish the socialist

system under which everyone lives in happiness, it will inspire the broad sections of the south Korean workers and peasants to the revolutionary struggle and draw the south Korean non-comprador capitalists to the united front with great magnetic force.

If we follow the erroneous assertion of certain people and refuse to build socialism in the north in spite of the urgent demand of our revolution, national reunification will be further delayed and the work of strengthening our revolutionary forces and increasing the people's class consciousness will be seriously hampered.

We must put forward the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea as the basic task of our Party and strive for its fulfilment. We must transform small commodity and capitalist economies which hold back social progress on socialist lines, to open up wide avenues for the development of the productive forces and radically improve the people's living standards.

The building of socialism in the northern half of Korea will inevitably be accompanied by a sharp class struggle. We must, therefore, intensify the class education of Party members and other working people so as to steadily increase their class consciousness.

Next, I am going to dwell on the main direction of a Five-Year National Economic Plan to be undertaken in the north in the future.

We will follow up success in the Three-Year Plan with an effort to carry out the Five-Year Plan. In the Five-Year Plan period, we will put the main emphasis on laying the foundations of socialism and on basically solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

In heavy industry under the Five-Year Plan, the factories rehabilitated or newly built during the Three-Year Plan should be renovated or expanded and many new factories and other enterprises built, in such a way as to firmly build the foundations for an independent industry.

Under the Five-Year Plan, in the power industry, the Suphung Power Station and the remaining hydroelectric power plants should be completely rebuilt or improved, the construction of the Tongnogang

Power Station which was interrupted by the war should be completed, and the construction of the Kanggye Power Station pushed forward. In this way, their generating capacity will reach 1.85 million kW in 1961, the closing year of the Five-Year Plan. This will be enough to meet the demand for electric power of the different sectors of the national economy, a demand which will increase in the Five-Year Plan period.

The coal mining industry should meet the demand of the national economy and the inhabitants for coal. To do this, it must produce 8.5 to 9 million tons of coal in the closing year of the Five-Year Plan.

During the Five-Year Plan, the ore mining industry should improve the technical equipment of mines considerably and conduct prospecting widely to develop many new mines. In particular, it must start working the Kapsan Mine earlier than scheduled and direct great efforts to developing the deposits of lead in Kaechon and tungsten in the Rangnim Mountain Range.

The metallurgical industry should plan to reconstruct and expand the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the Songjin Steel Plant by its own efforts and to install new equipment to electrolyze copper at the Nampho Smeltery and a new blooming mill at the Hwanghae Iron Works.

In the Five-Year Plan period, we must quickly develop the engineering industry so that machine tools, electrical appliances, farming and building machinery, engines and various other machines and equipment can be produced. For this purpose, the current construction projects of the Huichon Machine Factory and the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, each of which will have an annual production capacity of 1,000 machine tools, and the Pukjung Machine Factory with an annual capacity of 300 engines should be completed during the Five-Year Plan. Also, a new general electric machinery plant with an annual capacity of 18,000 electric motors and a new engine plant with an annual capacity of 700 engines should be built in the same plan period. If the Pukjung Machine Factory and another new engine plant are built in this period, we shall be able to build more than 400 ships a year.

Besides, the engineering industry should complete the construction of the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory to produce a large number of

air compressors and various other mining machines.

The Five-Year Plan should also envisage the construction of a new bearings factory. Bearings are indispensable machine parts. We must not try to depend on imports of bearings which are badly needed for the manufacture of machinery. We must build a bearings factory under the Five-Year Plan to meet the demand on our own.

The chemical industry should contemplate a radical increase in the production of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, medicines, dyestuffs and basic chemical goods. The capacity for producing ammonium sulphate, ammonium nitrate, superphosphate of lime, and nitrolime should be increased, and pharmaceutical and dyestuff factories should be built in Sunchon and its vicinity in South Phyongan Province so as to create a chemical industry base in that area.

The fuel situation in our country is very bad. A vigorous struggle should therefore be launched to use fuel economically in all sectors and at all units of the national economy. Measures should also be taken to use substitutes for automobile fuel.

An important task of the building-materials industry in the Five-Year Plan period is to adequately provide the different sectors of the national economy with required quantities of cement.

Large quantities of cement will be needed to build new factories, enterprises and ports, expand the existing ones, undertake irrigation construction and tideland reclamation, pave roads and build houses in the Five-Year Plan period. Cement will also be required to produce concrete electric poles, concrete sleepers, etc., to save timber. The existing capacity of cement production will not be able to satisfy the national economy's demand for cement, which will grow rapidly in the Five-Year Plan period. So the building-materials industry should reinforce and expand the existing cement factories and build additional ones to markedly increase cement production in this period.

Capital construction for heavy industry under the Five-Year Plan will be enormous, indeed. Perhaps some people doubt the feasibility of carrying out capital construction on such a Herculean scale by our own efforts. But there is no need for them to doubt this at all. If we get down

to the task and work aggressively, we shall be fully able to carry out the project of capital construction for this plan period by our own efforts. In heavy industry, they should concentrate efforts on capital construction in this period and also train a large number of technicians and skilled workers needed to run factories and other enterprises.

In light industry, they should place stress on developing the textile and food-processing industries and also advance other light industries quickly in the Five-Year Plan period.

The textile industry should increase the number of spindles at the Pyongyang and Kusong Textile Mills to 100,000 and produce 70 to 100 million metres of cotton fabrics annually at these two mills. In addition, the Chongjin Spinning Mill should be reconstructed so that it will start producing rayon and staple fibre in 1958, and a new flax textile mill should be planned for construction at Hyesan. If it reinforces and expands the existing textile mills and builds new ones, the textile industry will be able to produce more than 150 million metres of fabrics in 1961, the closing year of the Five-Year Plan, which means approximately 15 metres per capita. Then, the people's living standards will have improved considerably.

In the Five-Year Plan period, the leather-processing industry will be developed for the mass production of shoes and different kinds of leather goods.

The food-processing industry should build many canneries, meat-packing plants, sugar factories, flour mills and other foodstuff factories in many towns including Pyongyang to process plenty of grain, fruits, vegetables, meat, and fish produced in our country.

Without radically increasing the hauling capacity of railways, it would be impossible to implement the Five-Year Plan satisfactorily. In railway transport, the Kowon-Sinsongchon track should be electrified, more new railways built, and the technical equipment of the railways improved.

For the development of motor transport, the roads in Pyongyang, the provincial seats and neighbouring areas should be paved in the Five-Year Plan period.

In this period, agriculture should increase grain production markedly to ensure food self-sufficiency in the main; the cooperativization of agriculture should be completed, and the economic foundations of agricultural cooperatives consolidated.

In order to increase grain production, it is necessary to expand the area under cultivation by reclamation, to turn poorly-irrigated paddy fields into fully-irrigated ones and dry fields into paddy fields and actively mechanize farming. During the Five-Year Plan, more than 50,000 hectares of land should be brought under cultivation, and 600,000 hectares of land rezoned and levelled for mechanized operations. Large-scale irrigation projects including those at Kiyang and Ojidon and medium and small-scale ones should be widely undertaken to secure adequate water for irrigation, and an active struggle should be launched to turn dry fields into paddy fields so that the area of paddy fields will be increased to 560,000 hectares.

In stock farming, state crop and stock farms should be developed, and joint stock farming at agricultural cooperatives and the animal husbandries of individual peasants encouraged to radically increase the output of animal products.

The rural economy should produce 3.5 million tons of grain, 150,000 tons of sugar beet, 50,000 tons of cotton and 150,000 tons of meat in 1961, the end year of the Five-Year Plan.

These are about all the major tasks that should be performed in different sectors of the national economy during the Five-Year Plan. Of course, they are not based on detailed economic calculation. They are just the targets we must attain in the Five-Year Plan period to rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy completely and lay the foundations for socialist industrialization.

The senior officials of the State Planning Commission and all the ministries must work out in detail the Five-Year National Economic Plan in accordance with the orientation given today. If they go to production sites and discuss the matter widely among the workers and technicians, they will be able to draw up a feasible and dynamic plan in line with the Party's aims.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET IN CELEBRATION OF THE NEW YEAR

January 1, 1955

Dear comrades,

Having seen off the victorious and glorious year of 1954, and ushered in the hopeful new year of 1955, I would like, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to extend New Year congratulations to all the Korean people and all the comrades present here.

Also, availing myself of this significant occasion, I would like to send New Year greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries and other peace-loving people throughout the world who are struggling for world peace and security.

The year 1954 was a year of proud victory when our people achieved a great success in their struggle for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy, a stronger democratic base in the northern half of Korea, and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Last year, our people performed brilliant labour feats in postwar reconstruction and successfully implemented the first year's task under the Three-Year National Economic Plan. In this way, they laid solid foundations on which to carry out the Three-Year Plan ahead of schedule. They, thus, strengthened the democratic base in the north—the material guarantee for national reunification.

Last year's plan for industry was overfulfilled by ten per cent, and

many factories and other enterprises surpassed the prewar levels of production. In the mining industry in particular, they did a splendid job and topped the yearly plan by 26 per cent. This is a great success.

Last year, in the field of capital construction, they rebuilt, expanded, or newly built more than 120 large factories and other enterprises including the Hwanghae Iron Works, Kangson Steel Plant, Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, Nampho Glass Factory and Pyongyang Textile Mill, as well as many small and medium factories and enterprises and ensured their operation.

In the previous year, transport service played a great part in fulfilling the economic plan. They repaired all the damaged railways and satisfied the demands of different sectors of the national economy for transport, making a great contribution to the successful implementation of the economic plan.

The preceding year also marked a rise in agricultural output as a result of successful farming despite inclement weather. In particular, agricultural cooperatives formed on an experimental basis last year scored proud successes in their first-year farming. Grain yield per unit area in the cooperative economic sector was 10 to 50 per cent higher than in the individual one, and the cash income in the former, too, was much higher than in the latter. This clearly shows that cooperative economy is far superior to private economy.

The people-oriented measures of our Party and the Government of the Republic in the past year resulted in reconstruction of a large number of schools, hospitals and houses and changed the looks of the urban and rural districts beyond recognition.

The rapid growth of production and the repeated price reductions and wage increases for the workers and office employees brought about considerable improvement in the people's material and cultural standards. Today, our people are working and living with hope and confidence in a bright future.

Proud successes achieved in every field of the national economy last year are the brilliant fruit of our people's creative labour. Under our Party's militant slogan, "Everything for the postwar rehabilitation

and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!”, our people came forward in the struggle for postwar reconstruction and fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan in the same spirit and stamina as they had displayed in repelling the US imperialist aggressors in the Fatherland Liberation War. They introduced innovations and registered miraculous successes in production and construction, courageously overcoming all difficulties in their way.

Indeed, our people are resourceful and courageous. By their struggle last year, they delivered another heavy blow to the US imperialists who had bragged that our country would not be able to rise again even in a hundred years, and thus fully demonstrated the mettle of heroic Koreans.

I express my warm gratitude to all the people for excellently fulfilling the first year’s target of the Three-Year National Economic Plan, to which they devoted all their efforts, wisdom and talents.

We have entered the new year with the great pride of victors, and full of fighting spirit.

This year we are confronted with the tasks of laying the foundations for future industrialization in our country, restoring prewar production levels in the major sectors of the national economy and further raising the people’s material and cultural standards. All sectors and units of the national economy must work harder and overfulfil this year’s plan for a decisive advance in implementing the Three-Year Plan.

In industry this year a rapid growth in production must be ensured, making great effort to improve the existing productive foundations and reconstruct those factories and other enterprises which have not yet been rebuilt. The demand of the national economy for raw materials, fuel, machinery and equipment should thus be met and the daily necessities for the people should be produced in plenty.

The construction industry should properly define the order of priority of construction and direct efforts to important projects to ensure their operation earlier than scheduled.

In the field of transport, railway hauling should be organized rationally, and motor and water transport developed. In this way, the

daily-growing demand of the different sectors of the national economy for transport will be satisfied. This year the rural economy should markedly increase grain production and turn out quantities of animal products and industrial crops. As experience in practice shows, agricultural cooperativization is the way to develop our agriculture quickly and resolve the rural question radically. We must develop the agricultural cooperative movement on a massive scale, on the basis of the successes in the experimental stage of agricultural cooperativization.

The tasks before us this year are enormous, indeed. But nothing would be impossible for us now that we have the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people are heroic, and our economy has been reconstructed to some extent. The point is how the officials of the state and economic bodies activate the producer masses. The cadres should go among the producer masses, actively mobilize their inexhaustible power and creative resources, organize and direct production efficiently, and develop a vigorous emulation movement to increase production.

The greater our success is, the more frantic and persistent will be the efforts of the enemy. We should heighten our revolutionary vigilance in every field and in all units, and crack down on the moves of spies, subverters and saboteurs before it is too late. In particular, officers and men of the People's Army should improve their military and political training to increase the combat power of their units and defend the country stoutly.

It is nearly ten years since our country was divided by foreign forces, but another year has passed without reunification of the country, the greatest desire of our nation. The bisection of the territory and division of the nation have brought immeasurable sufferings and miseries to all the Korean people. Reunifying the divided country is the supreme task of our nation that must be performed without the slightest delay. This year, too, we must strive to implement the national reunification policy put forward by the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly. Although the US imperialists and the Syngman

Rhee puppet clique are dead set against national reunification, our country will be reunified without fail.

This year, as we have done in the past, we will make every effort to consolidate and develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with the peace-loving peoples of the world including the socialist countries and bring a durable peace to the earth.

Our tasks in the new year are colossal, but the targets of our struggle are distinct. Our people who vigorously advance to the distinct goals under the leadership of the Party will always be crowned with victory and glory.

Let all of us unite more closely around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and march dynamically for the successful implementation of this year's national economic plan and the peaceful reunification of the country.

ON SOME MEASURES TO IMPROVE RURAL WORK

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

February 2, 1955

We have discussed various questions at this meeting. I shall only emphasize a few measures to correct the shortcomings revealed in the purchase of food grains and to improve rural work.

The recent purchase of food grains gave us valuable experience and lessons which we must take into account in our future guidance of rural work. It enabled us to get to know more clearly the work levels of Party organizations and officials and the real state of affairs in the countryside. As it turned out in the purchase of food grains, there still exist quite a few shortcomings in the work of our Party organizations and in rural work.

What, then, are the shortcomings revealed in the procurement of food grains?

First, Party organizations and officials failed to do organizational and political work skilfully.

We mobilized many Party and government officials in the procurement of food grains. We did this in the hope that these officials would educate and persuade the peasants properly for voluntary participation in the procurement project.

These officials, however, conducted the procurement of food grains in a bureaucratic way, not by political methods. Instead of educating

and persuading the peasants, they ordered them bureaucratically.

More than once, we stressed the need to buy food grains according to plan from those who had surplus. Nevertheless, Party and government officials conducted the work of grain purchase without discrimination. As a consequence, the state had to return the procured food grains to poor peasants.

Bureaucratic method is an obsolete work method employed by the incompetent. Working bureaucratically is quite easy. If our Party had intended to conduct the procurement in a bureaucratic manner, it would have brought in security servicemen for the job, not Party and government officials. But we enlisted the latter rather than the former, to ensure that the procurement was done in a political manner.

This time Party organizations at different levels neglected, to begin with, the work of ideological mobilization to successfully guarantee the purchase of food grains.

In June last year, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee had discussed the question of ensuring food grain procurement and had taken appropriate measures. In September it sent many officials to the countryside on a fact-finding mission. If Party organizations at all levels had started proper political work at that time to encourage the peasants to volunteer for the sale of food grains, and if they had investigated how much surplus grains were available with the peasants, procurement would have been successful, and the shortcomings we see today would have been prevented.

Party and government workers, however, had done nothing for ideological mobilization in advance, before they suddenly set about the work of procurement in the fashion of issuing orders to the peasants. This shows that the officials are working without discriminating between priorities and without a plan. By using such a method, Party and government officials committed a deviation in food grain purchases and were unable to buy adequate quantities even at high prices.

From food grain procurement, we came to know clearly that our Party work was often done without a plan and that Party and government officials were not doing organizational and political work

efficiently, but were working bureaucratically. If they do not rectify these shortcomings as soon as possible, they will be unable to implement Party decisions and instructions correctly and, in the long run, will be unable to build a new society with success.

Second, some officials and Party members were dull in vigilance against the moves of hostile elements.

The enemy planted many spies, subverters and saboteurs in the countryside while fleeing from the northern half of Korea after temporary occupation during the last war. Even now he is infiltrating his agents into the north.

In the course of the purchase of food grains, it became clear that class enemies were lurking in no small numbers in the countryside and working cunningly to thwart the policy of the Party and Government. Some officials and Party members, however, were not vigilant against the underhand manoeuvres of class enemies and took an unprincipled “lenient attitude” towards them.

Taking advantage of the relaxed revolutionary vigilance of officials and Party members, the hostile elements lurking in the countryside tried viciously to frustrate food grain procurement. I have no doubt that they will make more frantic efforts when we have more important work to do than food grain purchases.

Third, Party members in the countryside and other peasants are not high in their revolutionary and class spirit.

At present, the class spirit of rural Party members, peasants, some hard cores of Party cells and cadres at ri, is at a very low level. This is never fortuitous.

After liberation, the Party selected quite a few people of working-class origin and sent them to the countryside as junior cadres. But these people themselves had not been tempered in a revolutionary way. Owing to specific features of historical development in our country, our working class had no opportunity to undergo training in revolutionary practice, and even its force was numerically very small. In our country, the ranks of the working class started growing quickly after liberation. At that time we did not have many qualified cadres. So

we had to assign as rural junior cadres many workers who had not undergone adequate revolutionary training; they had not been given definite training in practical work other than the three months of education at provincial cadre-training schools.

Even though rural Party members and poor peasants, too, had been oppressed and exploited by landlords before liberation, the overwhelming majority of them had not gone through revolutionary training. Because the people's government was established and the agrarian reform carried out after liberation, the peasants received land without much fierce struggle against landlords. On top of that, Party organizations did not give adequate education to rural junior cadres, Party members and other peasants to raise their class consciousness. As a result, a number of rural Party members and peasants valued a few sacks of their own rice more than the interests of the revolution, unaware clearly of the character of the revolution in our country at the present stage and its ultimate aim. This is a very serious matter. How can we say that those who treasure a few sacks of their own rice more than the interests of the Party and revolution, will not betray these interests in adversity? Nevertheless, our officials are not paying serious attention to this aspect.

Besides, some workers of state bodies are giving business licences to private merchants and manufacturers without any political consideration. In consequence, these people who went bankrupt because of the war, reopen their businesses, beginning with snack bars where noodle or rib soup is served and soon flourish as big merchants.

We should bear in mind that without raising the class awareness of our Party membership, Party work may suffer more serious consequences and, worse still, the building of socialism may not progress well.

We must thoroughly rectify the shortcomings in Party and rural work, now that we have discovered them in the course of the recent procurement of food grains before it is too late.

What, then, are the political and economic measures we have to take to correct these shortcomings?

First, we must intensify class education among Party members.

Today we are confronted with the heavy and honourable task of building socialism in the northern half of Korea and carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution on a nationwide scale, after driving out the US imperialists from south Korea. If we are to carry out this task, we must heighten the class consciousness of Party members and other working people, and give them a clear idea of the character of our revolution and its ultimate aim.

The situation in our country today requires all the more urgent intensification of class education. With the south of the Republic, half the territory of the country, reduced to a colony of the US imperialists, the north and the south of Korea have been in a state of confrontation for a long time, and our revolutionary struggle is becoming arduous and drawn out. Without intensifying class education for Party members and other working people in this context, it would be impossible to prevent daily growing infiltration of capitalist ideas and build socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea.

True, the rediscussion of the document of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee considerably increased the class awareness of the Party membership. But some Party members still lack a firm ideological determination to sacrifice themselves in the interests of the Party and the revolution. They only participate in Party meetings regularly. Strengthening class education for Party members is, therefore, the foremost task of the Party now.

In order to improve class education among Party members and other working people, it is necessary to put out and circulate a lot of educational material. The Party Central Committee should prepare educational material on the character of the revolution in our country in its present stage, the basic tasks of our Party for building socialism in the northern half of Korea, and the prospects of the First Five-Year Plan, send the material to lower Party organizations, and ensure that it is studied widely in the Party's educational network. Material for class education should also be carried extensively in newspapers, magazines and other publications.

Second, a mass movement should be launched in the countryside against spies, subverters and saboteurs.

It is important to have a correct understanding of the lenient policy of our Party in the struggle against enemy spies, subverters and saboteurs. Our Party's lenient policy means leniency towards wavering elements, not the enemy at all. Accordingly, the enemy and vacillating elements should be distinguished correctly, the handful of hostile elements struck mercilessly, and the unsteady elements kept from going over to the enemy by persuasion and education.

Third, the bureaucratic work style surviving among Party workers should be thoroughly eliminated.

Of course, much of the bureaucratic work style has disappeared among our officials since my speech in February 1952. But bureaucratism has not yet been wiped out from among the officials.

At present, some officials only regard shouting as bureaucratism, but this is a mistake. Neglect of meticulous organizational work and imposing one's subjective views on lower units without adequate knowledge of their actual conditions, are also bureaucratism.

The basic method of our Party work consists in educating the people so that they participate in all work voluntarily. Therefore, Party workers should never threaten or intimidate the people in a bureaucratic way.

Fourth, officials should discard once and for all the erroneous inclination to gather in much harvest with a little amount of state investment in agriculture.

Formerly, some agricultural officials did not make much state investment in agriculture, sophisticating that they could increase farm yields without such investment.

Carried away by the desire to seek fame, these "magicians" made higher estimate of the per-unit-area output than the actual yield in the assessment of the agricultural tax in kind and reported the total grain output based on the exaggerated figure. The fact that they had made false reports about grain output was brought to light in the course of the recent procurement of food grains. If last year's grain output reported

by the Ministry of Agriculture and the provincial people's committees had been true, grain for procurement would not have been insufficient, nor would there have been confusion in procurement.

Party and state officials need not console themselves by deceiving the state with false figures. What is the good of cheating the state and the people? That will do no good; it will only be detrimental.

Gloating over the exaggerated reports of their subordinates, agricultural officials hardly made any investment in the rural economy. They thus failed to increase grain production which otherwise would have been possible. They even neglected minor repairs of dikes allegedly to save a few tons of cement, leaving no small area of fields to be flooded every year.

They planned to produce 3.6 million tons of grains this year. I asked them if they could do it, and the "magicians" answered that it was an easy task. Who will oppose an annual growth in agricultural production? But you should not try to raise grain output only by increasing the figures at the desk just as the "magicians" did. We do not need the figures cooked up at the desk, but a real rise in the output of grains to be stored in plenty in the granaries of the peasants and the state.

Agricultural officials should correct their shortcomings thoroughly.

This year we must set the target of grain production at three million tons and strive to attain it. It will be a big success, indeed, if only we produce 2.6 to 2.8 million tons.

In order to reach this year's target, we must invest a great deal in agriculture and ensure adequate conditions for agricultural production. Development in agriculture is possible only when necessary conditions are provided.

Farming conditions now are worse than they were before the war. Take chemical fertilizers for instance. Before the war 180,000 to 220,000 tons of fertilizers were supplied annually, but now only 50,000 tons. At that time, almost every farm household raised domestic animals and so produced more compost than now. Manpower, too, was not so short as now. Although the state has organized ox and horse hire stations and agricultural cooperatives and procured quite a few tractors

to resolve the shortage of draught animals and manpower in the postwar period, it will be difficult to cross the prewar level of agricultural production under present conditions. So, we have to increase state investments in agriculture and expand the irrigation network, divert a part of building work force to the rural economy and take some other steps.

Fifth, the peasants' demand for commodities should be met.

Our failure to get commodities ready for the peasants to buy prior to food grain procurement was one of the major shortcomings of this undertaking.

Our officials did not reckon properly with the fact that the peasants who had gone through the three-year war, now required a variety of goods to build their lives. In preparing for food grain procurement, they merely calculated that the peasants needed fabric, but they overlooked the variety of their demands. As you experienced at the time of food grain purchases, peasants required not only fabric, but pans, carbide, soap, and various other goods. Had our officials made a concrete survey of these demands of the peasants, carbide, for instance, could have been supplied to them sufficiently, even if its export had to be cut a little.

But our officials conducted the procurement of food grains without a ready stock of goods to be sold to the peasants. The result was that they failed in what would have been possible. In fact, money is as good as a scrap of paper with pictures printed on it unless there are commodities. The single fact that food grain procurement was undertaken without a ready stock of goods to meet the demands of the peasants shows that our officials handled procurement without a plan and without care.

Supply of commodities to the peasants who want them will stimulate their enthusiasm for production and quicken the circulation of money from the hands of the peasants. This will also strengthen the economic ties between town and country and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

If we are to meet the demands of the peasants for daily necessities,

we must strengthen Party leadership to each ministry, each bureau and trade establishment, and enhance their role.

Sixth, a part of building work force should be reduced and sent to the countryside.

At present, there are nearly 10,000 agricultural cooperatives in the countryside. If we send one worker to each of these cooperatives, it will mean 10,000 workers going to the countryside. The workers reassigned to the countryside will get their problem of livelihood resolved and also strengthen the rural work.

Seventh, in future the procurement of food grains should be taken up by means of advance deals.

The principle that must be adhered to in this respect is that the quotas of grain purchase from the peasants should be small so that they will participate in this undertaking voluntarily.

The Food Administration Bureau of the Cabinet set next year's plan of advance food-grain procurement at 250,000 tons, but this is too much. It should be set at 100,000 tons, of which 60,000 to 70,000 tons should come from the agricultural cooperatives and 30,000 to 40,000 tons from private farmers. In case of private farmers in particular, the advance deals of food grains should be made with those who have surplus food grains.

When the contract in advance deals is made, not all the price should be paid to the agricultural cooperatives or private farmers at one time, but approximately 20 per cent of the price should be paid in summer, and the rest in autumn when food grains are delivered. In case a seller under contract suffers natural damage to his crop, he should be permitted to deliver only the amount of food grains for the money he received in advance. It would be preferable that the prices of food grains to be purchased should be the same as this year.

Eighth, the system of collecting the tax in kind should be modified partially.

From next year, the amount of the tax in kind for agricultural cooperatives should be set in advance, and this should not be changed. It should be determined on the basis of average yield for recent three

years. Needless to say, the fertility of the land should be taken into consideration when determining the tax in kind. If the amount of the tax in kind for agricultural cooperatives is set in advance in this way, the members of the cooperatives will be encouraged to greater productive zeal. This will favourably influence private farmers for participation in cooperatives.

The tax in kind for private farmers should be set by assessment as was done previously. It would be necessary to study how the standard yield per hectare can be set for private farmers and then the rate of tax in kind lowered for the produce over and above the standard.

We must pay deep attention to restrain rich farmers in the countryside.

Ninth, the struggle to economize in food grains should be intensified.

The country's food situation is very difficult now. A fairly large amount of food is short for the state. Hence, the urgent need to intensify the struggle for economy in food grains.

To this end, we must intensify ideological education among Party members and other working people. Party organizations at all levels must bring home to them the need to overcome food shortage and other difficulties and hardships in order to build socialism.

After this, state bodies should never increase the size of their staff. Every official must resolutely combat the wrong tendency to increase it without any principle.

We must pay special attention to the storage of food grains.

Today, when the enemy is bent on subversive activities and sabotage, it is very important to improve storage of food grains. Granaries should be well guarded, and the order of entry into them established rigidly so as to prevent accidents.

EVERY EFFORT FOR THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA

Theses on the Nature and Tasks of Our Revolution

April 1955

1. NATURE OF THE REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

After their liberation from the shackles of the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the Korean people came to enjoy genuine freedom and began shaping a new history for the independence and prosperity of their country.

However, from the very first moment of its landing in the southern half of our country, the US army followed a colonial policy reviving the Japanese imperialist ruling machine and whipping together the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and other traitors to the nation—the heinous enemies of the Korean people. It also suppressed the people's committees, formed spontaneously by the people right after liberation, as well as the patriotic, democratic forces and opposed the building of a unified, independent state by the Korean people. As a result, the Korean revolution has become complex, arduous and protracted.

In view of the situation in our country, our Party took advantage of the favourable conditions created by the great Soviet army and set out to build up a powerful, revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea to serve as the basis for the country's reunification.

The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power. After liberation, the working class in the northern half, under the leadership of our Party and on the basis of a firm alliance with the toiling peasants, formed a broad united front with all social strata opposing imperialism and feudalism and set up the people's government.

The people's government, formed by the people themselves, defined its basic tasks: to oppose foreign aggressive forces, exercise dictatorship over the heinous enemies of the Korean people—the pro-Japanese and pro-American elements, traitors to the nation, the landlords and comprador capitalists—and steadily consolidate the democratic system designed to ensure the freedom and happiness of the people. To this end, it had to rally around itself the patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life, with the working class, the most advanced class, as its leading force. The people's government led all the people in striving to fulfil these tasks.

Guided by our Party and supported by all social strata, the people's government liquidated the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and carried out the historic agrarian reform, confiscating the land of the landlord class that had helped the imperialists implant their influence, and distributing it free to broad sections of the peasantry. It confiscated the industries, railways, communications, banks, etc., formerly held by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, and turned them into the property of all the people. It enacted the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, the Law on Agricultural Tax in Kind, etc. It democratized the judicial bodies and educational institutions, promoted the development of a progressive national culture and art, and founded the people's armed forces.

As a result, all the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution were fulfilled in the northern half and its people entered the period of the gradual transition to socialism.

But the people's struggle for this transition was obstructed by the three-year war unleashed by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique and thus required a long time.

The war was the most severe trial for our people and the democratic system they had established.

The victory of the democratic revolution in the northern half and the achievements of the people there in economic construction constituted the great strength which made it possible for us to repulse the invasion of the US imperialists and their lackeys, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, and to safeguard the democratic base in the north, the fountainhead of the revolution in our country.

To this day, however, when the 10th anniversary of the liberation is in sight, our country has not yet been reunified, our territory and people remain divided and the southern half has been turned into a colony of the US imperialists.

The US imperialist aggressors still remain in south Korea. Implacably set against the peaceful reunification of our country, they are constantly creating tension in Korea and reinforcing Syngman Rhee's puppet army while, at the same time, prattling about "reunification by a march northward".

Under the "ROK-US Agreement on Military and Economic Assistance" concocted recently by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, the former are more openly pursuing their policy of colonial plunder.

The traitorous Syngman Rhee gang is selling out the "property reverted to the government" to foreign capitalists, comprador capitalists and profiteers, and guaranteeing free investment of foreign capital in south Korea in its "Constitution".

In the southern half today, industry is almost at a standstill and the workers are ground down by appalling slave labour and unemployment. The countryside has been devastated and landlord exploitation intensified. Prices are skyrocketing. The people are denied even the faintest semblance of freedom and are groaning under poverty and hunger.

This situation in the south, along with the division of the territory and the nation, brings the people in the southern half immeasurable misery and suffering and hinders the normal social development of the entire country.

Hence, the basic tasks of our revolution at the present stage are to overthrow the aggressive forces of US imperialism and their helpers and allies in the southern half—the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and traitors to the nation—and to free the people there from imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation, thereby achieving the country's reunification along democratic lines and attaining complete national independence.

In the southern half, the motive force of the revolution is the working class and its most reliable ally, the peasantry, and broad sections of the people of the small-propertied class who oppose US imperialism and the feudal forces. Even many non-comprador capitalists can join in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle.

The enemies of the revolution are the aggressive forces of US imperialism and the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and other traitors to the nation in the southern half who help these forces and are allied with them.

But for the interference of the United States, the chieftain of world reaction, the Korean people would have defeated the domestic reactionary forces long ago and triumphantly fulfilled the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution throughout Korea.

We cannot carry out the tasks of the revolution without driving the US imperialists out of our country, and liquidating their running dogs, the Syngman Rhee clique.

Our revolution, therefore, must carry out the anti-imperialist task of national liberation on the one hand and, on the other, the anti-feudal task of liberating the broad sections of the peasantry in the southern half still oppressed and exploited by the landlords.

In the present conditions in the southern half, particularly in view of the fact that it has been turned into a US imperialist colony, our revolution will be carried out through an arduous, protracted

nationwide struggle. We have to rally all the revolutionary forces and launch a strenuous struggle to drive out the aggressive forces of US imperialism, crush the traitorous Syngman Rhee gang that is under its thumb, and bring the revolution to victory.

The might of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism including the Soviet Union is growing daily, and its internationalist solidarity is widening and becoming invincible. The imperialist camp, on the other hand, is becoming ever weaker because of its internal contradictions and inner conflicts. The success of our struggle depends on how we organize, mobilize and strengthen our forces in order to uphold the banner of internationalism more faithfully and hasten the downfall of imperialism.

We must strengthen our Party, the people's government and social organizations, unite all the patriotic, democratic forces in the northern and the southern half more firmly around our Party and rouse them to nationwide revolutionary struggle against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee gang. We must consolidate the democratic base in the north, the fountainhead of our revolution, politically, economically and militarily, turning it not only into a force powerful enough to defend the northern half of our Republic against any aggression launched by imperialism and its running dogs but also into a decisive force for achieving reunification and independence of our country. This requires that we advance the revolution further and thoroughly carry out the tasks of building the foundations of socialism in the northern half.

The gradual transition to socialism is an inevitable demand of the social and economic development in the northern half.

To strengthen the democratic base, it is necessary to develop the productive forces of industry and agriculture rapidly and raise the material and cultural standards of the people. The small commodity and capitalist sectors that still remain in our country hinder the growth of the productive forces. In particular, the private peasant farming predominant in the countryside is a big obstacle to the speedy rehabilitation and development of agriculture. Without transforming the peasant economy and private trade and industry along socialist lines, it is impossible to ensure the growth of the productive forces, radically improve the

people's livelihood and cement the unity and solidarity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

The state and cooperative sectors, which dominate the national economy in the north, are exerting a decisive influence on the small commodity sector based on private ownership and the capitalist sector which makes up a small proportion, leading them inevitably to the road of socialist transformation.

Thus, social and economic conditions in the northern half of Korea at the present stage make the building of socialism there an inevitable requirement of social development.

Socialist construction in the north will prove a great inspiration to the people in the south, especially to the workers and peasants and to a broad section of the small-property class, and it will be conducive to the formation of a united front even with some of the non-comprador capitalists in the south.

The successes in socialist construction in the north will not only prove a decisive force in achieving reunification but will also be a strong material guarantee for the rapid rehabilitation and development of the economy in the south and for socialist construction on a nationwide scale after the country is reunified.

2. THE TASKS OF CONSOLIDATING THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC BASE AND BUILDING SOCIALISM IN THE NORTHERN HALF

(1) ECONOMIC FORMS AND CLASS RELATIONS IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA

The socio-economic structure of the north underwent a radical change as a result of the democratic reforms carried out after

liberation. At the present stage, the socio-economic forms in the northern half can be classified into three main categories:

First, the socialist economy;

Second, the small commodity economy;

Third, the capitalist economy.

The socialist economy is composed of the state and cooperative sectors. Today, it constitutes the leading force in the north and, in particular, holds an overwhelming proportion in industry. At present, the state sector is responsible for some 90 per cent of total industrial production and the cooperative sector 7 to 8 per cent.

Relations between men in the socialist economy are characterized by comradely cooperation and assistance among the working people who are freed from exploitation. They do not work for the enrichment of exploiters as in the past, but engage in free, honourable labour for themselves, for the prosperity and progress of their country, and they receive their share according to the quality and quantity of labour expended. Here the economic laws of socialism operate and production grows according to plan, serving to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the working people.

The small commodity economy is made up of the private peasant farming, which still accounts for an overwhelming proportion of the rural economy, and urban handicraft economy. At the present stage of the transition period, more than half of our population is in the small commodity sector. Small commodity production is based on private ownership of the means of production and individual labour. The petty bourgeoisie can be remoulded along socialist lines, although their dual nature causes them to waver between the two paths—the socialist and the capitalist. In particular, they benefited directly from the agrarian reform and other democratic reforms and, realizing by experience the superiority of the people's democratic system and the correctness of our Party and Government policies, are remoulding themselves voluntarily into socialist working people (either as workers or cooperative members) as the socialist sector of

the economy grows rapidly.

The capitalist economy is made up of private capitalist trade and industry in towns and the rich peasant economy in the countryside. This is the form of exploitation still remaining in the northern half of Korea. In this sector the economic laws of capitalism operate to a limited degree.

In the economy of the northern half, the capitalist sector accounts for an extremely small proportion compared with the socialist sector. Particularly in industry, the whole of private ownership accounts for no more than 2 to 3 per cent of industrial production, and even this consists mostly of small-scale enterprises limited to such secondary branches as rice cleaning, cotton-willowing, etc. As the socialist sector grows in the national economy in the north, the capitalist sector is being gradually transformed along socialist lines.

Because small commodity economy still remains in the rural districts, class differentiation among the peasantry is taking place to some extent, and rich peasants are emerging and growing. They hire either regular or seasonal labour and exploit the poor peasants by manipulating the grain market, covertly lending money and various goods at usurious rates, and by exacting heavy charges for the use of farm implements and draught animals, etc.

But their economic foothold is extremely weak in the northern half of Korea, for the agrarian reform was carried out under the slogan, "Land to the tillers!" In particular, the rapid growth of cooperatives in the rural areas is eliminating the objects of the rich farmers' exploitation. These circumstances will bring them to join the agricultural cooperatives voluntarily where they will be remoulded gradually into working peasants. Yet this cannot come about smoothly without class struggle in the countryside. It will be achieved through a fight against some resistance on the part of the enemy.

Such are the fundamental features of the economic structure of a transitional character and the objective laws of social and economic development in the northern half of Korea. This determines the policy of our Party for socialist construction in the north.

(2) OUR PARTY'S TASKS IN LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM IN THE NORTH

The basic task of our Party at the present stage of the transition to socialism is to lay the foundations of socialism on the basis of the achievements gained in the struggle for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the economy, while consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

We should expand and strengthen the predominant position of the socialist sector in all spheres of the national economy by gradually transforming the small commodity and capitalist sectors on socialist lines, and we should continue to develop the productive forces to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism.

To this end, it is necessary to rid industry of its colonial one-sidedness and technical backwardness and lay the foundations for socialist industrialization. The building of these foundations means the completion of the first stage of industrialization.

The key to socialist industrialization lies in giving priority to the development of heavy industry. Only when a powerful heavy industry is established is it possible to ensure the development of all other industries, transport and agriculture and guarantee the victory of the socialist system.

After liberation, the backwardness and distorted character of our heavy industry, a legacy of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, hampered the development of our economy as a whole and, in particular, greatly obstructed the proportionate development of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. If we do not set up a powerful heavy industry, we shall not be able to develop light industry which was originally very backward, nor provide the countryside with modern farm machinery, nor ensure that the people's life radically improves. Only the establishment of a powerful heavy industry can ensure the independence of the

economy and the independent development of the country.

In the rural economy, private peasant farming should be converted to socialist collective farming by gradually enlisting the peasants in agricultural cooperatives on the voluntary principle. Unless the rural economy is developed along the line of socialist collectivization, agriculture cannot catch up with the rapid development of industry or supply it with raw materials and labour power. This will hamper industrial development in the long run and, accordingly, obstruct overall socio-economic development in the northern half. At the same time, unless the rural economy is transformed into a socialist collective economy, it will be impossible to improve the peasants' living standard rapidly, eliminate the rich peasants and other exploiting elements that are reviving in the countryside and consolidate our Party's rural positions.

Handicrafts and small individual trade should be gradually transformed on socialist lines through the cooperative economy.

The capitalist elements still remaining in town and country will have to be restricted and utilized, and remoulded, step by step, on socialist lines.

Not only should the bond of production between industry and agriculture be strengthened, but their economic ties should also be expanded and strengthened through the market.

Along with this, the masses of the people should be educated in socialist ideology, and new technical and cultural workers from among them trained in large numbers.

In order to carry out these tasks after the war, our Party marked off three main stages for the reconstruction of our war-ravaged economy, and it has been waging a struggle to carry out these tasks successfully.

To rehabilitate and develop the economy after the war our Party worked out the following stages: six months to one year of preparations for overall reconstruction; a Three-Year Plan designed to rehabilitate completely all branches of the economy from war damage and attain the prewar level of industrial and agricultural production; and a Five-Year Plan which will lay the basis for socialist industrialization.

Our Party set ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with development of light industry and agriculture as its basic line of postwar economic construction.

During the Three-Year Plan, we are following the policy of concentrating our efforts in industry on those branches of heavy industry closely associated with the improvement of the people's standard of living, laying the main emphasis on the rehabilitation of destroyed factories and mills and, at the same time, rebuilding them on the basis of new technology, and building some new ones. It was also decided that all destroyed factories should not be mechanically rebuilt on their original sites; some should be restored where they were for the sake of speedy rehabilitation and economy but new factories and mills should be sited in consideration of their close connection with our sources of raw materials, transportation facilities and existing industries.

By 1956, the last year of the Three-Year Plan, the total value of industrial output will be 1.5 times that of the prewar year 1949, with a 1.3-fold increase in the output of the means of production and a 2-fold increase in consumer goods. To ensure this growth, 37,360 million *won* are to be invested in industry in the three years.

During the Three-Year Plan, not only will the old factories and other enterprises be restored in the northern half of Korea, but many new machine factories will be built and light industry will also be rehabilitated and developed rapidly.

By 1956, a new textile mill with 60,000 to 100,000 spindles and an annual production capacity of 40 to 80 million metres of cloth will be built, as well as canneries, meat-packing plants and many other light industrial factories.

The Three-Year National Economic Plan envisages enormous state support for the rapid rehabilitation and development of the rural economy and its socialist transformation. 5,575 million *won* will be invested, of which 2,225 million *won* will go into irrigation projects.

The rapid development of agriculture will supply the population with more food and provide light industry with more raw materials. By 1956, total grain output will surpass the prewar level of 1949 by 19 per

cent, with total rice output increasing by 30 per cent.

The rapid rehabilitation and development of industry and agriculture during the Three-Year Plan will meet the population's increasing demand for the necessities of life and create the indispensable conditions for replacing the rationing of food and manufactured goods with their free sale.

In the sphere of education and culture, conditions will be created for introducing universal compulsory primary schooling, and the number of university and college students will reach 22,500 in the period of the Three-Year Plan. National culture and art will be developed further. Theatres, cinemas and clubs with a total seating capacity of 134,000 will be restored or newly built.

By 1956, the last year of the Three-Year Plan, our war-ravaged national economy will in the main be rehabilitated and, thus, the postwar rehabilitation period in the north will come to an end. Our restored industry and agriculture will serve as a sound base for completely refashioning our economy on socialist lines.

The central task of the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, which will be worked out on this basis, is to build the foundations of socialism in our country.

In the field of heavy industry, first the iron works not fully restored in the Three-Year Plan period will be completely rehabilitated during the Five-Year Plan, so as to produce approximately one million tons of pig iron annually, and the machine-building industry will continue to be developed to produce 2,000 machine tools annually.

It is envisaged that by 1961, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, the total generating capacity will be 1.85 million kW and the output of coal 8.5 to 9 million tons.

Our chemical industry will supply the state with more than 400,000 tons of fertilizer.

In the period of the Five-Year Plan, the mineral resources of our country will be tapped in larger quantities to help build the foundations of socialism, and they will become our main source of foreign currency.

During the Five-Year Plan the necessities of life will be turned out

in great quantities for the betterment of the people's life.

In light industry, chief attention will be paid during the Five-Year Plan to the production of textiles and processed foodstuffs which are the main needs of the people. By 1961, the output of different kinds of fabric will be 150 million metres, or about 15 metres per person in the northern half of Korea, and vegetable and meat-packing plants and flour mills will be built in the vicinity of major cities.

In agriculture, grain output will reach 3.5 million tons, meat 150,000 tons, sugar beet 150,000 tons, cotton 50,000 tons, fruit 80,000 tons and cocoons 30,000 tons during the Five-Year Plan. Thus the question of food will be solved in the north, and the raw material requirements of light industry will be more fully satisfied.

During the Five-Year Plan, agriculture will be cooperativized as a whole in the northern half of Korea, thereby eliminating the roots of exploitation and poverty in the countryside and completing the socialist transformation of the rural economy.

To carry out this tremendous plan, we need hosts of cadres who are politically seasoned and have mastered advanced science and technology. By 1961, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, we must have over 130,000 highly qualified engineers and assistant engineers.

Laying the foundation of socialism in the north is a huge and difficult job. But led by the Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean people will be able to carry out this great task successfully.

Under the leadership of our Party, the political and moral unity of the broad masses is taking shape and developing on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance with the working class as its core, and socialist construction in the north enjoys the active support of the working people in their millions.

We have precious experience, accumulated during the five years of peaceful construction before the war and in the struggle for postwar economic reconstruction, and we have one million Party members and a heroic people, tried and seasoned in the bitter three-year war.

Our country also abounds in the natural resources necessary for socialist construction.

We are not only able to draw on the advanced experience of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies, but also receive enormous economic and technical assistance from them.

All these are subjective and objective conditions favourable to socialist construction in the northern half of our country.

But there are obstacles and difficulties in our socialist construction, too.

Our industry has a very short history, and it was completely destroyed in the war. Our abundant resources have not yet been fully developed and there is an acute shortage of cadres in industry.

The cultural level of our people is still low, and survivals of outdated thinking among them have not been eliminated.

Our socialist construction is proceeding under conditions in which the north, an industrial zone, and the south, an agricultural zone, are artificially divided and US imperialism, the chieftain of international reaction, still occupies the south and is making frantic efforts to disrupt construction in the north.

We must and can successfully carry out the task of building the foundations of socialism by surmounting all these obstacles and difficulties.

The Workers' Party of Korea is the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Korean people. The organizational and ideological consolidation of our Party is the guarantee for victory in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and for socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

To continue to consolidate the Party organizationally and ideologically, it is imperative to ensure steel-strong unity and solidarity in its ranks, strengthen Party discipline and promote inner-Party democracy. Inner-Party democracy can be promoted only if the work of the Party committees is improved and the collective leadership of the Party strengthened. Every Party member and leading cadre should observe the principle of collective Party leadership and resolutely combat every tendency towards individual

heroism and liberalism which runs counter to it.

All Party members should arm themselves more firmly with Marxist-Leninist theory, systematically study the history of our Party and its decisions and earnestly study and assimilate the experience gained in the building of socialism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist and Workers' Parties of other fraternal countries. They should tirelessly study the theory of economic construction, learn science and technology and improve their professional ability and cultural level.

In order to carry the Party's lines and policies into effect, we have to strengthen our state power based on the worker-peasant alliance under working-class leadership.

The US imperialists occupying the southern half of Korea, and their minions, the domestic reactionaries, are trying by every conceivable means to oppose the reunification and independence of the country and to frustrate the building of the foundations of socialism in the north.

Only by strengthening the organs of state power is it possible to rally the masses of the people more firmly around the Party and Government, thoroughly suppress the resistance of the enemies of the revolution, and carry out the building of socialism more successfully. The strengthening of the dictatorship over counter-revolutionaries, spies, wreckers and saboteurs and the promotion of democracy among the masses are important conditions for successful socialist construction.

One of our Party's most important tasks is to go on strengthening our people's armed forces.

Only by strengthening our People's Army is it possible for us firmly to defend the precious achievements our people have won with their sweat and blood and our democratic base from the enemy's encroachment and ensure the success of socialist construction. Therefore our Party should do everything in its power to train the People's Army to be a steel-strong cadre army and to intensify the aid of all the people to the army.

Our Party's lines and policies for the country's reunification,

independence and for socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, illumine the path for all the Korean people to follow.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Korean people have always overcome all difficulties and trials and won victory in their arduous struggles. United rock-firm around the Party as our people are, no force on earth can prevent them from marching towards a bright future along the path indicated by the Party.

It is certain that the Korean people, led by our Party and holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will win victory in their just struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and for socialism by strengthening their solidarity with the peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, and by augmenting their revolutionary forces.

ON INTENSIFYING CLASS EDUCATION FOR PARTY MEMBERS

**Report at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

April 1, 1955

1. THE NATURE OF OUR REVOLUTION AND THE BASIC TASKS OF OUR PARTY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Comrades,

Nearly ten years have elapsed since our country was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

Since the time the Soviet army stationed its troops in north Korea and the aggressive forces of US imperialism occupied south Korea, north and south Korea have taken two opposite paths—democracy and anti-democracy. Although the Soviet army has withdrawn from the northern half of Korea, US troops remain in occupation in the southern half. In such conditions our revolution has taken on a complex nature. Consequently, our Party's fighting tasks have been defined in accordance with the different situations in north and south Korea. In the northern half of Korea, genuine people's government representing and safeguarding the interests of the working class and all other working people has been established, the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms have been

carried out and the political unity and solidarity of all the working people strengthened on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

Thus, the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution have been completed in the northern half of Korea, with the result that the colonial, semi-feudal society of the past has been transformed into a new society of people's democracy which has entered the period of gradual transition to socialism. While carrying out the tasks of the transition period under the leadership of our Party, the people in the northern half have strengthened and developed the democratic base, the fountainhead of our revolution, politically, economically and militarily.

It was this that gave the Korean people the great strength to win a historic victory and defend our revolutionary gains from the enemy's encroachment in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists and their running dogs, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

However, even to this day, with the tenth anniversary of the liberation close at hand, the US imperialists continue to occupy south Korea, and our territory and people remain divided, with the southern half completely reduced to a US imperialist colony and military base for unleashing a new war.

The partition of the country has brought great suffering and misery not only to the people of south Korea oppressed by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, but to all the Korean people. It is the main obstacle to building our country into a rich and strong state, unified and independent.

The Korean people, therefore, are still faced with the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution—to wipe out the aggressive forces of US imperialism and the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and traitors to the nation in the south, who have brought in those forces and are allied with them, to free the people there from imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation and achieve the democratic reunification

of the country and complete national independence.

Under conditions in which US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism, occupies the southern half of our country and has turned it into a colony, we will have to wage an arduous and protracted nationwide struggle for reunification.

The motive force of our revolution is the working class, the most advanced class in Korea, the peasantry, its most reliable ally, and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie who are opposed to the forces of imperialism and feudalism. Quite a few national capitalists might also join the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

Our Party should rally around itself and the Government of the Republic all the patriotic, democratic forces in north and south Korea to isolate the reactionary forces from the broad masses, and it should mobilize the masses to wage a decisive struggle to support the people's democratic system established in the northern half of Korea and oppose the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. Moreover, we must strengthen and develop the democratic base of the northern half of Korea, the fountainhead of our revolution, politically, economically and militarily, and so make it the decisive force for achieving reunification and independence.

To strengthen the democratic base, our Party must consolidate and extend the socialist economic sector that is now dominant in the northern half of Korea as a result of the victory of the people's democratic revolution and the successes scored in building democracy, and it must tighten the alliance between the workers and peasants, thereby building socialism, step by step, in the north.

Only by building socialism in the northern half of the country will it be possible to strengthen the democratic base and promote reunification and independence. After reunification, the socialist forces in the north will serve as the leading force in rehabilitating and developing the ruined economy of the southern half and in building socialism on a nationwide scale in the future.

To carry out the tasks of socialist construction successfully in the northern half, we must bring into play the creative enthusiasm of all the

working people, who are rallied around the Party, and heighten their revolutionary consciousness.

Socialist construction in the north is attended by sharp class struggle in all spheres, and this sets us the task of intensifying class education among our Party members.

2. THE NEED TO INTENSIFY CLASS EDUCATION IN THE PARTY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Comrades,

Our revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique is a nationwide struggle for reunification and complete national independence and, at the same time, it is a sharp class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and all the toiling masses in our country.

If we are to wage an effective protracted struggle against the US imperialist aggressors for reunification and complete independence and build the foundations of socialism successfully in the north, we must arm all our Party members with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and raise their class consciousness, so making them thoroughgoing revolutionary fighters leading the working masses. We cannot build a new society successfully without arming the Party members and other working masses with the progressive ideology of Marxism-Leninism and without ridding people's minds of the ideological survivals of capitalism left over from the old society.

We will triumph in this protracted struggle only when we arm our Party members with revolutionary optimism and the revolutionary conviction that socialism will win and capitalism and imperialism will inevitably fall, only when we train them to become revolutionary fighters who can analyse all objective social phenomena scientifically.

Because of the new political, economic and cultural life created in

the northern half of our country after its liberation from the shackles of Japanese imperialist rule, and because of the education in Marxist-Leninist ideology conducted by our Party, our people have adopted the new, progressive thinking and morality which have been important factors in all our victories.

Some successes have been achieved in the ideological education conducted by our Party, but it also has a number of defects and shortcomings.

The internal and external circumstances our Party finds itself in today, and especially the task of laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea, confront us with the need to give Marxist-Leninist education in the Party a more concrete content and purpose.

First, we are building socialism under circumstances in which we have stood face to face with the enemy for a long period, and capitalist elements still remain internally and in which the enemy not only refuses to give up his attempt at armed invasion, but infiltrates rotten capitalist ideas by every fraudulent and underhand means and is plotting subversion and sabotage in various ways in alliance with the reactionary elements lurking in the north.

The historical process of the transition from capitalism to socialism entails sharp class struggle. As Stalin said, dying classes have never voluntarily quit the historical arena and history still knows no case where the dying bourgeoisie did not make last-ditch attempts to remain in existence.

The landlord class, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionary elements, who were liquidated in the northern half of Korea as a result of the democratic reforms, have not yet given up their wild dream of restoring their old positions, nor have they abandoned their true colours as exploiters.

Moreover, the survivals of the thinking, customs and traditions of the old society which were implanted in the masses of our people over a long period have not yet been completely eliminated.

All these factors are obstacles to socialist construction and inevitably

exert a negative influence in all fields of politics, the economy and culture, overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously. What is more, the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are resorting to all kinds of manoeuvres to wreck the achievements of socialist construction in the north, as the political and economic footholds of the enemy have been basically eliminated and our patriotic, democratic forces have grown more united in the north, the revolutionary awareness of the people in the south has increased gradually and the enemy has become even more isolated. In a desperate attempt to hinder socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, the enemy never stops dispatching secret agents, wreckers and saboteurs to pry out our state and military secrets, organize espionage and sabotage in factories, mills, railways and villages and resort to every conceivable means, including murder and arson.

In his subversive activities, the enemy attempts to use wavering elements who are not steadfast ideologically and those with an unclean record. The exposure and punishment of the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop gang, the hired spies of US imperialism, and of other wreckers and saboteurs brought to light the kind of despicable and sinister hostile activities which the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are conducting against the northern half of Korea.

The US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique are spreading all kinds of falsehoods and slanders, using all their information media and methods. All this means that, under conditions in which the reactionary elements in the north have not yet been completely eliminated, some backward elements in our ranks may be influenced by the enemy.

Only by intensifying class education in the Party and among all the people can we prevent our people from being contaminated with reactionary ideas and carry out socialist construction successfully in the northern half of Korea.

Second, due to the peculiarities of the development of our country in the past, class awareness is not strong enough among the workers and peasants who are the basic masses of our Party. From the first days

of its formation, the Korean working class fought in the van of the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement and, inspired by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, emerged as the glorious leader in this struggle. Especially since the August 15 liberation, the Korean working class has been carrying out its tasks splendidly in all fields of Party and state building as the leading class, the core detachment.

However, the Korean working class is still young; it has not yet been tried and steeled in large-scale revolutionary movements. The ranks of our working class started to grow rapidly following the August 15 liberation and expanded on a large scale especially in the postwar rehabilitation period, with the majority coming from the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

This state of affairs has allowed various kinds of backward thinking to infiltrate the ranks of our working class. It is by no means an accident that some workers are now found to be indolent, dissolute and lacking in discipline, and that they do not behave in a way befitting the masters of the state.

In the ranks of the peasantry, too, there has been a considerable ideological change.

Throughout the period of Japanese imperialist rule, the majority of the Korean peasants groaned under the whip of the colonial plunderers and feudal landlords. Their life was as miserable as that of the workers, for they were subjected to double or triple plunder by the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and the capitalists. Therefore, the Korean peasants, encouraged by the struggle of the working class, fought the Japanese imperialists and the landlords. It was in these circumstances that the Korean peasantry greeted the August 15 liberation. Through the agrarian reform carried out after liberation by the people's government, they were freed from the age-old feudal exploitation and given land free of charge. Broad sections of the peasantry, therefore, played a progressive role in the democratic reforms and in the great task of building democracy, giving positive support to the policies of

the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and taking an active part in the people's government, and they markedly improved their living conditions.

But with their life improving, some of our peasants have already forgotten the misery of the past when they were exploited, oppressed and maltreated in every way by the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers and the landlords. Among the peasants one often finds such manifestations as slackening their vigilance and hatred against their class enemies and placing their own personal interests above those of the state.

Our intelligentsia, too, is lacking in class consciousness. Of course, in the days of Japanese imperialist domination, a considerable number of them joined the revolutionary ranks in opposition to Japanese imperialism under the influence of the working-class movement. They have greatly heightened their Marxist-Leninist outlook since liberation, in the course of serving the country and the people and, especially, in the course of the democratic reforms, the building of democracy and the Fatherland Liberation War.

Some intellectuals, however, have not yet completely got rid of old bourgeois habits formed in the past while serving in the Japanese imperialists' economic and cultural institutions and, in particular, they have not rid themselves of liberal tendencies and dissolute habits. They are not sensitive to what is new and fail to keep up with new developments. Moreover, some of them, who have lost sight of their duty to serve the country and the people, do not work in a responsible way and have not yet completely discarded the servile mentality fostered in the days of Japanese imperialist rule.

Third, in the period of the national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism, our working people did not have a revolutionary party, their vanguard.

In our revolutionary movement in the past, there were factionalists, such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the North Wind Association, the Com-group and other groups, who over a long period committed the criminal acts of disrupting the working-class movement

and had a harmful effect upon it. Because there was no party, our working people could not become educated in Marxism-Leninism or be trained through organized revolutionary struggle.

In an attempt to numb the revolutionary consciousness of the Korean working masses, the Japanese imperialists used cruel measures to stop the spread of advanced ideas and, in particular, resorted to all manner of evil false propaganda, slander and vilification against the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and theory. Moreover, the dissemination of “Marxist literature”, intentionally distorted by the Japanese imperialists, had a harmful ideological effect on our intelligentsia. The poison of such reactionary propaganda conducted by the Japanese imperialists has not yet been thoroughly removed from the minds of the masses of our people, and some backward Party members, too, have not yet completely freed themselves from its influence.

Historically, these factors constitute the main reason why Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory were not widely disseminated among our working masses.

Fourth, we must realize that our Party has a short history and the quality of its composition is still low.

Our Party is young, only about ten years old. As conditions after the August 15 liberation were comparatively favourable for our struggle, many progressive elements of the working class, the toiling peasantry and the working intellectuals joined our Party ranks.

Our Party members were tried and tested during the five years of peaceful construction and especially during the three years of bitter war. But many fine Party members were killed in the war, and nearly 50 per cent of the Party members are new recruits admitted since then. Furthermore, approximately 60 per cent of the total membership are of peasant origin.

A large proportion of the Party members have direct or indirect connections with small commodity production. Thus, petty-bourgeois ideology stemming from these connections inevitably exerts a negative influence on our revolutionary work and on our ideological front

Owing to these circumstances, the bulk of our Party members today have not been tempered in practical work and are not fully prepared ideologically and theoretically.

Fifth, ideological and political education within the Party to heighten the class consciousness of the cadres and rank and file has in many cases been conducted perfunctorily in the past.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the growth of man's ideological consciousness lags behind economic conditions. The economic conditions of the workers and peasants have been conspicuously changed under the people's democratic system established in the northern half of the country, but their ideological consciousness still lags behind and they have not yet thoroughly rid themselves of old feudal and bourgeois ideological remnants and conventions. In many cases, however, our Party's ideological work has been conducted without any profound consideration of the actual situation, and it fails to correspond fully with the political, economic and military tasks of the present stage. Many Party organizations do not yet regard the class education of the Party rank and file as the first and foremost task, because they do not understand clearly Lenin's words that the weakening of the influence of socialist ideology means precisely the strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology. In many cases, our Party organizations have failed to explain fully to each member that the ultimate goal of our Party, a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type, is not only to reunify the country but also to build a socialist society throughout the country, and then a communist society, and they have paid little attention to educating and training Party members in the lofty socialist ideology which opposes the exploitation of man by man. On the pretext of carrying out the Party's policy on the united front, many of our Party organizations did not fully explain to Party members the tasks confronting the Party in each period and at each stage and the class character of events at home and abroad, and conducted educational work designed to raise their class awareness most inadequately.

These organizations have failed to get all their members to

understand that the democratic reforms in the northern half of Korea were carried out in the midst of acute class struggle, that the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique was the manifestation of fierce class struggle, that the socialist construction which is in progress in the north at the present stage also involves class struggle, and that all our activities for the accomplishment of the Party's tasks, without exception, reflect specific aspects of the class struggle.

The result is that many Party members do not have a clear idea of the path we have followed and the path we should take, nor do they thoroughly understand what the building of the foundations of socialism demands of them or what tasks they should perform for the Party and the state.

The conditions peculiar to the development of our country and the inadequacy of the class education conducted by our Party over the years have given rise to a number of negative manifestations in the thinking and action of some Party members and cadres, manifestations which are detrimental to the interests of our revolution.

First, some of our Party members lack a correct understanding of the nature and fundamental tasks of our revolution, its future and the methods for carrying it out.

We can see that some Party members lack confidence in the cause of reunification and independence and, in particular, are vague about the future of our revolution. There is no doubt, of course, that our struggle has taken on a protracted, complex and arduous character due to the occupation of the southern half of our country by the US imperialists, the ringleader of world imperialism. But we Marxists must not forget for a moment that imperialism is doomed and that the hastening of its fall depends on our struggle.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique can still swagger around in the southern half of our country because the Korean people are not yet completely united. If we Korean people unite as one, there will be no enemy we cannot fight and defeat.

Nevertheless, because of their low level of revolutionary

consciousness, some Party members lack firm confidence in final victory, are indifferent towards our Party's policy for achieving reunification and independence and do not take an active part in the struggle to implement it.

Second, some of our Party members attach more weight to their personal interests than to the interests of the revolution, the Party and the people.

When they joined the Party, they solemnly swore that they accepted its Programme and Rules, would go through thick and thin to carry out their duties as decided or instructed by the Party and would fight for its interests at the cost of their lives. But, in actual fact, they place their personal interests above the interests of the Party and the revolution and, worse still, they pursue their personal interests at the cost of the Party and the revolution.

This sort of thing has been manifested openly during the recent food grain procurement work. This work, done in accordance with the decisions of the Party and the Government, was an important task designed to benefit the peasants directly and to facilitate postwar economic reconstruction. Nevertheless, some rural Party members not only failed to respond actively to the Party's call, but even resorted to such intolerable non-Party, non-working-class practices as pursuing only their personal interests and besmirching the honour of being a Party member for a few bags of rice.

Third, because of their weak class consciousness, some Party members do not wage a principled struggle against exploitative practices, have not rid themselves of the outdated bourgeois attitude towards labour and are dishonest as regards state and public property.

Such Party members either do not regard the violation of labour discipline and failure to fulfil the state plans as shameful or criminal, but unscrupulously embezzle and squander state and public property and flagrantly violate state financial regulations, or do not wage an intense struggle against such practices.

Besides, rural Party members, though not many, have gone so far as to secretly hire labour or practise usury. Some officials of state organs,

because of their low level of class consciousness, grant business licences in an unprincipled way on the pretext that this will provide tax revenue, thus reviving the bankrupt middle and small entrepreneurs in the towns and, in the long run, helping the growth of the exploiting elements.

Fourth, some Party members and senior cadres do not faithfully serve the interests of the revolution and the Party, nor do they courageously struggle to uphold principle in their work. On the contrary, blinded by careerism, avarice and a desire for fame, they persist in a bureaucratic method of work by glossing over facts, flattering their superiors and ordering their subordinates about.

Thus, by loosening our Party's bonds with the masses which are the source of its strength, they lower the Party's prestige and weaken it. They are afraid of criticism and self-criticism, especially just criticism from below, and suppress it, thereby doing great harm to the work of the Party and the state.

This found glaring expression during the recent food grain procurement work. Instead of deeply impressing on the masses the political significance of this work and endeavouring to assure its success on the basis of detailed investigation and preparation, many leading cadres carried out the Party's policy by force and coercion in the style of the Japanese imperialist bureaucrats and officials. This aroused complaints and discontent among the peasant masses and resulted in alienating the masses from the Party.

Fifth, evil factional practices tending to undermine the unity of the Party and split it still exist among some Party members. They are steeped in the poison of factionalism.

The factionalists consort with their old coteries and engage in factional activities in trying to establish their influence. Outwardly they pretend to support the Party, but behind the scenes they speak ill of it. They do not take part in Party work enthusiastically, but resort to all sorts of manoeuvres to climb up to high posts in the Party or in state organs, sowing dissension among the cadres and attempting to wreck the unity of the Party. There are others who whip together discontented elements within the Party, shield people from their own localities, air

complaints and discontent among themselves and indulge in nepotism. If this continues, it will finally lead to the destruction of the Party and the betrayal of class interests.

Sixth, lack of class consciousness on the part of some Party members and cadres is seen in the fact that they are carried away by success and become lazy and slack and do not sharpen their vigilance against the enemy. Some Party members whose political consciousness is low and whose class stand is not firm, misunderstand the lenient policy of our Party and extend their “generosity” even to hostile elements with whom we can never compromise. Instead of exposing and smashing the espionage, sabotage and subversive activities of various hostile elements in good time, they connive at these activities and reconcile themselves to the hostile elements, even revealing Party and state secrets to them. Owing to their political ignorance and lack of vigilance, such Party members do not realize that they are playing into the hands of the enemy, helping the enemy and doing tremendous harm to the class interests of the workers and peasants and to the interests of the revolution.

All these things I have mentioned confront us with the urgent task of intensifying Marxist-Leninist education in our Party and raising the revolutionary consciousness of its entire membership.

3. THE BASIC DIRECTION OF CLASS EDUCATION IN THE PARTY AND MEASURES FOR CONDUCTING IT

Party organs and organizations at all levels should devote special attention to conducting class education in the Party, directed at achieving reunification and independence and the successful building of the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea—the Party’s fundamental tasks at the present stage.

The basic direction of class education in the Party should be as follows:

First, we should study the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism by linking them with the specific realities of our country, and class education for Party members should be linked with our real, vigorous life and practical struggle.

We must in no case permit such tendencies as mechanically copying the militant experience of the parties of other countries, without studying it in relation to the actual situation in Korea, and stuffing the minds of Party members with this experience.

On no account do we study Marxism-Leninism and the militant experience of other parties merely for the sake of knowledge alone. We study Marxist theory, outlook and methods and the experience fraternal parties have gained in their revolutionary struggles in order to analyse correctly the problems of the revolution and political and economic questions in our own country and use them as a guide to action in our own struggle.

However, instead of critically assimilating the militant experience of other parties, many of our Party members swallow it whole. They know how to copy foreign things intact, but not how to apply them correctly to our actual conditions. Thus their knowledge does not benefit our work and they commit dogmatic errors by applying foreign things mechanically to the realities of our country.

The political education of our Party members should not be limited to learning Marxist-Leninist theory and advanced experience merely for the sake of knowing about them. Instead, emphasis should be laid on learning to apply them correctly to the actual conditions in our country and, on that basis, to analyse the situation in our country, and to see how matters stand at present and how they will be in the future.

In order to raise the class consciousness of Party members through our real life and practical struggles, it is most important to get the entire Party membership to acquire a correct understanding of the objective laws of social development in our country, and, in particular, to enable

them to analyse scientifically the economic forms and social and economic conditions of the various classes and their mutual relations at each stage of social development.

The great Lenin taught that the essential condition for cultivating revolutionary enthusiasm among the workers is to get them to realize the economic nature and socio-political aspects of each class. We must give all Party members a clear understanding of the reactionary nature of the hostile classes by teaching them which classes oppressed and exploited the Korean people in the past and are continuing to do so at present, why these classes betray the country and the people and how cunningly they deceive the workers and peasants. We must also teach Party members who is capable of fighting for national freedom and independence in the most revolutionary way, which classes and strata can join hands with us, and on what basis, and thus give them a correct understanding of the main motive force of the revolution and its allies.

Only if we make clear the relations between friends and enemies in the revolution can our Party members know how to cooperate with their allies, how to win even the not very trustworthy allies and wavering elements over to their side so as to isolate the enemy, and how to take advantage of all possibilities and forms of struggle in order to secure victory in the revolution. Only if they are able to tell friend from foe can they clearly understand our Party's line and policies, which are based on a scientific analysis of the concrete situation and of the positions of different classes in our country, and put them into effect with revolutionary enthusiasm.

Second, we should educate our Party members in the all-conquering ideology of Marxism-Leninism, so that they acquire a dialectical materialist outlook with regard to both nature and society and are confident in the final victory of our revolution.

To this end, we should imbue all Party members with a clear understanding of the general laws governing nature and society and, especially, arm them with scientific knowledge about the essence of class struggle under capitalism, about the inevitable collapse of

capitalism and imperialism and the certain triumph of socialism and communism.

As a result of World War I, the socialist revolution triumphed in the Soviet Union, and as a result of World War II, the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies broke with the capitalist system. Thus, world capitalism is daily moving towards breakdown and ruin. Should the imperialists unleash another world war, the total collapse of the world capitalist system is inevitable.

We should teach Party members to feel a deep sense of honour and pride in taking part in the struggle to overthrow imperialism and win victory in the world socialist revolution, and we should foster in them revolutionary optimism based on a firm belief in the emancipation of the oppressed working people and the inevitable victory of socialism and communism and on awareness of the righteousness of their cause.

We Korean people are not isolated in our struggle against US imperialism. The Soviet people and progressive mankind throughout the world are all opposed to the aggressive acts of US imperialism. In Asia, in particular, the 600 million people of China stand side by side with us at the battlefield against US imperialism.

We should get every Party member to understand fully that this internationalist solidarity serves as an important guarantee for the victory of our revolution and arm him with the idea of proletarian internationalism and the lofty spirit of patriotism.

We can win final victory only by uniting firmly with the peoples of the Soviet Union and of all other fraternal countries, by tirelessly striving for the unity of all the people against the US imperialists and by struggling to build up our revolutionary forces.

Third, we must bring up and train all Party members to become indomitable revolutionary fighters and ardent political workers, who, as the vanguard of our working masses, will always be ready to sacrifice even their lives in the interests of the Party and the revolution, not only in the present stage but until the attainment of the final goal of our revolution.

All Party organizations should educate and train each member of the Party to keep his glorious title of Workers' Party member clean, to subordinate his own desires and actions to those of the Party, to regard it as his duty to implement the Party's decisions and directives and observe state laws, to match words with deeds and link theory with practice and to adhere strictly to Party, revolutionary discipline and order which are uniform and obligatory for all.

All Party organizations should help each Party member and cadre to be faithful in his Party life, to practise extensive criticism within the Party, particularly criticism from below, to rectify in good time all shortcomings and mistakes, which run counter to the interests of the Party, and to wage a stubborn struggle against flatterers and deceivers who are not frank with the Party, conceal the truth and are fond of ostentation.

All Party organizations should make each Party member realize that labour is the highest honour and an essential thing in life and should see to it that each member is guided in his daily life by the collectivist spirit of protecting public property as the apple of his eye and valuing the interests of the Party, the state and society above his personal interests. It is necessary to get all Party members and other working people to work devotedly and use their initiative in all domains of socialist construction, correct wrong attitudes towards labour through practical struggle, and fight actively for the elimination of all exploitative practices in town and country.

Party organizations should teach the Party rank and file to spot class enemies, struggle resolutely against political blindness and all manifestations of indolence and laxity, watch out sharply for enemy subversion and sabotage so as to detect and expose them in good time, and take the lead in the all-people anti-espionage struggle.

Fourth, in conformity with what I have said about basic orientation for class education in the Party, a fundamental change should be made in the methods of political education and study within the Party.

Our Party organizations have so far failed to get rid of formalistic methods of political education, such as passing on and cramming the

teaching material into the members' heads in the manner of reading a Talmudic service, using the same study programme without concretely taking into account the knowledge and political and theoretical level of individual Party members.

In Party study, emphasis has been laid on memorizing or citing unnecessary dates, phrases and theses, while making little effort to grasp essential ideas and political content. As a result, Party study has failed to provide living knowledge which can be of help in actual life, nor has it been helpful in raising the members' class consciousness.

Furthermore, some information workers in charge of Party education do not explain things in plain and simple language understandable to the masses, but reel off difficult terms and theses which they themselves do not fully understand. In many cases, our press carries poor and extremely tedious information articles and comments under headlines which all sound more or less the same, the result being that they cannot interest the readers, but rather confuse the Party rank and file so that they find it difficult to grasp the key points.

We must overcome this sort of dogmatism and formalism in Party education and see to it that our Party's lines and policies are brought home in good time to the Party rank and file and successfully put into practice.

For this purpose, the educational systems at all levels and the teaching materials should be so revised as to intensify class education. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory, especially, should be promoted among the leading cadres of the Party and state, and close attention should be paid to the selection, allocation and training of information and educational workers who are always in contact with the Party rank and file, and their political and theoretical level should be raised. Our Party publications should be decisively improved both in form and content so that the masses at large can understand them easily and find them interesting.

At the same time, Party organizations must improve their

leadership over class education within the Party. All provincial, city and county Party committees and primary Party organizations should eradicate any wrong tendency to underestimate the Party's ideological work. They should regard conducting Marxist-Leninist education among the cadres and Party rank and file as their most important task and should give systematic day-to-day leadership in this work.

A number of our Party organizations and leading cadres still do not understand that they can ensure the fulfilment of the economic tasks confronting the Party bodies by inspiring, organizing and mobilizing the masses to carry out these tasks through the Party's ideological and political work, and they fail to link the Party's political work with economic work correctly. In such Party organizations the significance of ideological work has been underrated, ideological work is given second place and relegated to the background in their day-to-day activities.

Those Party workers who are oblivious of the importance of the Party's ideological and political work and neglect to guide it, have become petty slaves to routine in that they either take the administrative work into their own hands or tail behind it, in that they do little to keep up daily contact with the masses, giving themselves only to shock campaigns and in that they are out of touch with the actual conditions in the lower units and do not grasp important problems involved in carrying out Party policy. As a result, they are blind to new experience in work, cannot foresee coming events, and thus fail to prevent shortcomings in advance.

Party organizations should conduct information work purposefully, its primary content being the basic line of the Party and problems involved in carrying out its immediate policies and the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party ranks.

From now on, Party organizations and bodies at all levels should discuss the content and methods of Party educational work at their meetings and systematically guide and check up on the fulfilment of the decisions taken at the meetings, thereby giving timely currency to good experience while removing content devoid of working-class

stand and ideology and eliminating all kinds of formalism and Talmudism in Party education.

The Party Central Committee is convinced that by intensifying education in Marxism-Leninism, Party organizations at all levels will educate and train the entire membership to become iron-willed revolutionary fighters that no force can subdue, and that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and holding aloft the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism, they will lead all the people in north and south Korea even more successfully in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country.

ON ELIMINATING BUREAUCRACY

**Report at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

April 1, 1955

Comrades,

The cardinal task of our Party at the present stage is to mobilize the broad masses to drive the aggressive forces of US imperialism out of south Korea, overthrow the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and bring about our country's reunification along democratic lines and its complete independence.

To this end, our Party is today striving to strengthen—politically, economically and militarily—the democratic base, the real guarantee for national reunification by mobilizing all the people to build socialism in the northern half of the country.

This heavy task confronting our Party makes it more imperative than ever to enhance the Party's organizing and leading role, increase its fighting capacity, tighten its bond with the masses and improve Party and state leadership over the reconstruction of the economy. A particularly important question facing our Party in this struggle is that of the methods of Party leadership and the cadres' style of work.

When the Party's line and policies are correct and proper measures are adopted for their implementation, success in work depends on what methods the officials employ and on how they mobilize the masses to do the work.

If the officials of our Party and government bodies have the wrong

style and methods of work and fail to enlist the broad masses in carrying out the Party's decisions, our Party's correct political and organizational measures will all come to nothing. Therefore, the question of improving the methods of Party leadership and the cadres' style of work is one of the most important questions facing us.

Since the first day of its founding, our Party has consistently fought against the wrong style of work in the Party and to establish correct methods of leadership on the part of its officials. This question was dealt with, in particular, in the February Speech made during the war and at a number of plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and a struggle has been waged to eliminate bureaucracy.

But the struggle has not been a systematic, day-to-day one, it has been waged mostly like a shock campaign. As a result, the cadres' incorrect style of work has not yet been rectified. A style of work which is harmful and goes against the people finds expression in various forms in Party and government bodies at all levels. This is a big obstacle both to carrying out the Party's policies successfully and to strengthening our Party's ties with the masses.

What then is the main shortcoming to be found in the work style of some officials today? It is bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is a method of government adopted by the ruling class in feudal and capitalist society to oppress the people. This is why it is a harmful style of work which can never be tolerated under our people's democratic system in which the people themselves exercise power.

Bureaucracy literally means bureaucratic action. This is a factor which divorces the Party from the masses. Therefore, bureaucratic action is utterly impermissible in the revolutionary work of our Party. Revolutionary work is for the working masses. It relies on them, defends their interests and fights to bring them liberty and happiness by crushing all the unjust systems that oppress them. How can such work be compatible with bureaucracy, a method of rule which goes back on the masses and is divorced from them, defending the interests of the handful that make up the ruling class? Revolutionary work is for the

people and bureaucracy is against the people. Therefore, bureaucracy is absolutely impermissible in revolutionary work.

Why then do some of our Party workers continue to commit bureaucratic errors? It is because they still do not know that the basis of our Party's policies is to fight for the interests of the revolutionary masses.

Since our Party fights for the interests of the masses, each member should show his Party spirit in the way he organizes and does everything from the viewpoint on the masses. Yet some Party members lack this revolutionary mass viewpoint and often damage revolutionary work through their bureaucratic actions which are detrimental to the interests of the masses and by which they divorce themselves from the masses.

Quite a few officials are oblivious of the fact that our organs of people's power and Party organs are bodies that serve the interests of the revolutionary masses and serve the people. They identify these organs with the government offices of the days of the Ri Dynasty or of Japanese imperialist rule and regard their work in these organs not as serving the people but as holding a post in a government office. This gives rise to various wrong tendencies: army officers act like old-time commanding officers, internal security men act like old-time policemen and state officials assume the airs of old-time officials, while Party workers flaunt Party authority. Persons of this sort in our Party and government bodies have failed to become genuine servants of the people; they have degraded themselves to become bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy is a manifestation of the survival of rotten and outmoded ideas left over from the old feudal system of the Ri Dynasty and from the Japanese imperialist regime. Bureaucracy is not only alien to our revolutionary work but irreconcilable with it. Nevertheless, a number of Party members commit bureaucratic acts which are alien to and in no way compatible with revolutionary work, despite the fact that on joining the Party, they vowed to fight for the interests of the Party and the revolution, devoting all their lives and property.

In what main forms, then, does bureaucracy manifest itself in the various activities of our Party and government bodies? It appears in different forms. It shows up quite often, particularly in the leadership work of people at the upper level, that is, people in higher positions. Their bureaucratic style of work finds expression mainly in a slipshod manner of work, which is incompatible with Party principle. They stand on their dignity because they are superiors. They do not study their work closely, are halfhearted about it and do not carry out their duties with a sense of responsibility to the Party and state.

Once promoted to higher posts, some officials consider themselves to be special beings and, becoming conceited, do not bother to raise their political, theoretical and professional levels, but work in a hit-or-miss way. These people do not study, they do things in a haphazard manner and merely stand on their dignity, considering it their natural right to hold the positions they occupy.

Some people do not study or analyse their work carefully, nor do they take any measures to solve problems correctly by listening to other comrades and investigating matters at the lower levels. Instead, they do their job in a formalistic way or just skimp it, sticking to their own subjective views. In the long run, this formalistic and slipshod way of doing things leads to confusion and trouble in work at the lower levels, creating conditions for the officials there to deviate from revolutionary methods of work and divorce themselves from the masses.

Still other officials, blinded by a desire for fame and rank, stop at nothing in their effort to rise to high positions; they concern themselves only with winning the favour of their superiors and have no regard for the fate of the masses. For their own fame and careers, these people habitually send in false reports saying that they have done what they have not done and are able to do what they are incapable of doing. They flatter their superiors and hold down their subordinates; they are careless in all matters and do not try to organize their work properly. Those who flatter their superiors believe that once they have succeeded

in winning favour of some influential figures by flattery, they will be able to keep their positions and fame and live under the wing of these persons for ever. Those who flatter and those who accept flattery are, in the last analysis, like two peas in a pod. Such a tendency to flatter and hang on to others instead of working, might have been tolerated under the old social systems, but it can never be tolerated under our social system today.

Our Party is the vanguard organization of the working masses, armed with advanced theory and knowledge of the laws of class struggle. It is a Marxist-Leninist party which leads the working class and all the working people in realizing the great cause of our revolution and has this as its fundamental task. Our Party can fulfil its revolutionary tasks only by breathing the same air as the masses, safeguarding their interests, rallying them around the Party and the Government and organizing and mobilizing them to take part consciously in revolutionary struggle.

However, some of our Party officials deviate from this basic Party method of work and employ the extremely harmful method of dictation and command. They behave recklessly without regard for the interests of the masses. This often leads the masses to become alienated from the Party and the Government.

Instead of carrying out their Party assignments, some foolish Party officials abuse Party authority as a substitute for Party work. These officials do not bother to find out whether the Party's policies are being carried out correctly or not, or organize work so that they are carried out correctly and rectify errors in good time. They only sit around and bluster. So their subordinates regard them not as real leading workers but as people to fear and, naturally, think it unnecessary to go to see them. Misusing Party authority, they then bark at these subordinates, accusing them of lack of Party spirit simply because they keep away from the Party organs. Only when Party officials give proper leadership will the prestige of the Party be upheld, and only then will Party members willingly go to the Party organs. As long as the Party organs are occupied by officials who do

not give effective leadership, their prestige can never be enhanced and nobody will ever visit them.

Certain Party officials, thinking that instructions issued in the name of government organs are not effective, issue Party directives at random on administrative and business matters. A Party directive deserves the name only when it orients the work of government bodies, serves to mobilize and is analytical. Merely putting the name of a Party organ instead of some other organ on a directive does not give it authority.

When organizing Party work, and especially when carrying out a checkup, some Party officials do not educate the Party members, nor criticize and correct their mistakes and give them practical assistance, but do their work by a kind of detective or police method, threaten and intimidate the Party members and punish them indiscriminately. Thus they often frighten the Party members who are undergoing a checkup and make them fear Party checkups and regard them as a nuisance. As a result, many Party members tell lies during the checkups, and Party organs are unable to find out the actual conditions at the lower levels.

Instead of considering the specific conditions surrounding their own work or studying the decisions of the Party and government bodies closely, some Party members often tend to follow blindly whatever instructions their superiors issue, no matter whether they are correct or not or whether they conform with the Party's policies and decisions or not. These persons, who have lost the independent thinking of revolutionaries and are swayed by a servile mentality, do not feel a sense of responsibility for Party and state work.

Some people, taking advantage of their positions, suppress criticism and prevent others from speaking out against the errors found in their own writings, creative works or activities. This does extremely serious harm to our Party's advance.

Some people are very fond of showing off. They pretend to know what they do not know. They pretend to be men of great character when they are paltry fellows. They are not concerned with state and

Party work, but are keenly alive to their own personal affairs. They claim credit that belongs to others. They are halfhearted in their work and at meetings, but downright enthusiastic when they get any chance to eat and drink, always being on the lookout for it.

When someone puts forward an original idea on a certain matter, some people, although they have shown absolutely no concern for the matter and have not gone into it, claim to know all about it and ignore the idea, instead of paying attention to it and putting it into practice.

Some people are simply greedy for higher positions, although they actually have no ability or enthusiasm in the work they are doing.

All these things are manifestations of bureaucracy which our Party cannot tolerate. What are the evil consequences that such a wrong style of work brings?

It leads to a distortion of our Party's policies and the undermining of its fighting capacity, seriously obstructs the implementation of its correct lines and tends to block its advance.

Bureaucracy lowers the prestige of Party and government bodies, divorces our Party from the masses and thus prevents it from fulfilling its honourable revolutionary tasks.

We cannot tolerate such things any longer. We must wage a tireless struggle to put an end to the bureaucratic style of work. We must understand the source of bureaucracy correctly, endeavor to wipe it out and thus improve the work of Party and government bodies and strengthen the ties linking them with the people, thereby rallying the masses even more firmly around the Party.

What is the source of bureaucracy?

As you all know, the public, or state, sector is dominant in our economy, and the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class is the decisive social force in all state activities. So the social source of bureaucracy has been basically eliminated. Bureaucracy springs from the influence of capitalist elements which still remain in our economic system and from the remnants of the outmoded ideology left over from the time of Japanese imperialist rule. Its ideological roots lie in

selfishness, careerism, the servile mentality typical of hirelings, etc. Not yet free from the survivals of these feudal and bourgeois ideologies many officials do not really know that the interests of the revolution and the Party stand above their own. They do not understand that the revolution is a struggle of the masses, that this struggle is aimed solely at emancipating the people and making them happy, and that the Party can carry out the revolution only by relying on the masses.

Furthermore, a large proportion of our Party cadres consists of young people who have little revolutionary experience and have not yet acquired the ability and methods of giving the masses correct revolutionary leadership. Therefore, some of them, despite their subjective loyalty to the revolution, are often careless in the conduct of their work and fail to show regard for the masses, thereby harming the work of the Party and the state.

This is partly due to past shortcomings in our Party's cadre policy. We did not originally have many veteran revolutionary cadres with long experience of revolutionary struggle. The good points of the veteran revolutionary cadres are that they overcame all difficulties over a long period of time and devoted their all to the struggle, solely for the revolution and the people. They are boundlessly loyal to the revolution and unshaken in principle and they possess the moral traits of modest and simple revolutionary workers. But even these few revolutionary cadres have not been properly placed and no attention has been paid to them under the pretext that they are "old and incompetent".

It is a good thing that many Party organs are appointing new cadres. But these organs have been so unprincipled in cadre administration as to appoint cadres without careful study and then, claiming that they are good because they are of worker origin, leave them alone without giving them any education. In selecting cadres, ideological and political qualifications have been ignored and only the practical side has been taken into account, with the result that the cadre ranks are made up of inexperienced persons with no knowledge whatsoever of

revolutionary work. This eventually gave rise to such phenomena as irresponsibility towards Party and state work and encroachment upon the interests of the masses.

As a result of the unprincipled appointment of cadres, a number of tried and tested persons who displayed heroism during the Fatherland Liberation War have been ignored and these revolutionary cadres have been excluded from some provincial, city and county Party committees. Thus, local Party committees are mostly composed of people who are politically immature.

This is one of the reasons why bureaucracy has not been eliminated, but instead has been nurtured in Party and government bodies.

Another major reason for the failure to eliminate bureaucracy is that our Party has not fought resolutely against this wrong style of work and neglected to cultivate the revolutionary work style and noble qualities in our cadres that befit revolutionaries and to help them grasp scientific, Marxist-Leninist methods of leadership.

Our leading officials at the centre have not done enough to check up on the activities of local officials and give them leadership and assistance on the basis of correctly anticipating shortcomings that might appear in the course of implementing the Party's policies. As a result, local officials have been left to continue using their wrong methods of work instead of rectifying them.

Another thing, quite a few of our Party officials engage only in campaigns on administrative work, side by side with the administrative officials, and take administrative work into their own hands. They fail to understand that Party work in the organs of people's power and the social organizations is to explain to the officials of those organizations the political aim of their work and to get them to do it willingly so that it will be successful. Hence the Party's failure to rid our officials of bureaucracy.

Comrades,

These are the main reasons why our officials suffer from bureaucracy.

We should be clear on the sources of bureaucracy and wage a

serious ideological struggle to eliminate them, while, at the same time, taking practical measures to root bureaucracy out.

First, a correct method of leadership should be established.

The important thing regarding the method of leadership is to combine general with individual guidance.

What I mean by general guidance is the Party's general appeal and guidance designed to get the masses to understand its political aim in a given undertaking and to achieve that aim. Without this general appeal and guidance, all our work would be aimless and go astray, and it would be impossible for the Party to give unified guidance.

Our work, however, does not end with general guidance. We can accomplish it successfully only when we couple general with individual guidance. Individual guidance means that when we carry out a given task we should make a profound study of the specific conditions and of the political level of the masses and the trends among them and, on this basis, take concrete, practical measures appropriate to the specific conditions. If an official emphasizes only general guidance and ignores individual guidance, his work will end in mere wordplay without results.

In implementing the Party's decisions and directives, it is only by combining general with individual guidance that we can discover forms of struggle suited to the specific conditions and acceptable to the masses, and carry them into effect in the proper order of priority, with a clear idea of the main direction of the work.

This applies to the recent food grain procurement work. If our leading officials had correctly put the Party's political aim and general principles of this work into practice (i.e., given general guidance) and had roused the peasantry to activity through concrete measures suited to the actual conditions in each locality (i.e., given individual guidance), undoubtedly there would have been no grave shortcomings and the procurement work would have been carried out more satisfactorily.

The genuine method of Party leadership is correctly to combine general with individual guidance and thus carry out the Party's policies

in the context of the actual life and struggle of the masses, provide them with conditions for using their initiative and then once more generalize the experience gained by the masses in their struggle.

Furthermore, the most important question regarding the method of leadership is to use persuasion and explanation in mobilizing the masses for any undertaking. In leading the masses, the use of persuasion rouses their boundless creativity and their initiative, strengthens the ties between them and the Party and makes it possible to fulfil tasks promptly by relying on the political consciousness of the masses.

Thus, we should correctly combine general with individual guidance, and closely link the guidance given by cadres with the needs of the masses, thereby eliminating the bureaucratic method of guidance and establishing the correct method of leadership—the scientific Marxist method.

Second, the class education of our officials should be intensified.

Style of work is, generally speaking, the comprehensive reflection of an official's thoughts and methods in his work. If you rely on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and methods, then a truly revolutionary, Party style of work will result, but if you rely on bourgeois ideology and non-Marxist methods, then bureaucracy, formalism and various other anti-people styles of work will emerge.

Therefore, style of work is not merely a question of an official's ability or character, but involves his world outlook or ideological consciousness. One of the main causes of the wrong style of work found among a considerable number of our officials is that they do not fully understand revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, and do not stand firmly on revolutionary principles or take a firm working-class position.

By strengthening the class education of Party members, we will cultivate in them the noble quality of boundless loyalty to the revolution and the will to defend the interests of the Party, the state and the masses, and to wage a resolute struggle for them. We should help Party members grasp Marxist-Leninist ideology and methods so that

they can rid themselves of their bureaucratic style of work, which is a survival of obsolete ideology, and acquire a style of work genuinely in the service of the people.

Unwavering fidelity to principle is an essential quality for our officials. They should acquire such qualities as never compromising with the slightest deviation in implementing the Party's lines and policies but always considering everything from the point of view of the revolution and the interests of the Party and the people.

Party and state officials should be boundlessly loyal to and honest with the Party and state and reach a level of ability high enough always to perform their assigned tasks with credit as highly qualified revolutionary cadres.

Third, collective leadership should be strengthened in our work.

Collective leadership prevents subjective, arbitrary decisions by any one individual and ensures the right solution for the matter in hand in all Party and state work through broad consultation and collective wisdom.

The overwhelming majority of bureaucrats are subjectivists held captive by prejudice. This is self-evident. If we always listen to the opinions of the masses and the majority in our routine work and in mass political work, we will not commit bureaucratic errors. So the strengthening of collective leadership will enable us to do away with bureaucracy, that noxious style of work still manifested by some of our officials. We must see to it that our officials adhere strictly to the principle of collective leadership in all Party and state work and thereby establish the work style of heeding the opinions of the masses and the majority at all times and of conducting their work on this basis.

We should, at the same time, promote inner-Party democracy and intensify criticism and self-criticism so as to ensure the actual conditions in which the Party rank and file can advance their creative ideas boldly.

One of the most important questions in regard to collective leadership is to increase the role of leading Party and state bodies at all

levels. However, some of our officials confine their committee work solely to the drafting and passing of resolutions and do not encourage the committee members to use their initiative. This has nothing in common with the principle of collective leadership, but is an expression of the bureaucracy I have been talking about.

One of the measures for increasing the role of committees at all levels in the Party and government organs is to improve their composition. Often, the committees do their work in a formalistic way and fail to play their role as leading bodies. One of the main reasons for this is that they are composed of people with inadequate political training and experience in revolutionary struggle. From now on, the Party should see to it that the leading Party bodies and the state organs at all levels are composed of veteran revolutionary cadres and of people who are well-grounded politically and skilled in professional work.

We will thus increase the role of the committees and promote collective leadership, thereby raising the level of work of the Party and government bodies and, at the same time, getting rid of the wrong style of work and bureaucracy.

Fourth, intensified guidance should be given to the officials in Party and government organs.

As I have mentioned, many of our officials are still immature both from the political and professional point of view. Therefore, our Party has the important task of teaching them correct methods of work by strengthening education and guidance designed to raise their political and theoretical level and their professional ability. In particular, we have to strengthen guidance and supervision over the senior local officials so as promptly to rectify their distortions of Party and state policies and their wrong behaviour towards the masses. Only in this way can we eliminate the bureaucratic methods of work found among some of the senior local officials, markedly raise the level of guidance given by local Party and government bodies and maintain close ties between the Party and the masses.

Comrades,

The question of rooting out the wrong style of work and of getting everyone to acquire a new style of work serving the people cannot of course be solved in a few days. But it must by all means be solved. We must launch a tireless and stubborn struggle to eliminate bureaucracy by improving the guidance of and checkups on our officials and by promoting criticism and self-criticism. Every Party member should put all his enthusiasm and initiative into the struggle against bureaucracy, bearing deeply in mind that this struggle is a prerequisite for successfully fulfilling our revolutionary tasks.

I am convinced that through the successful struggle to acquire a new style of work all our Party members will enhance the leading role of our Party among the masses of the people and fulfil with credit the glorious revolutionary tasks which confront it.

ON SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING PARTY AND STATE WORK IN THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

**Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

April 4, 1955

Comrades,

This April Plenary Meeting of our Party Central Committee has discussed very important questions.

They are the most important questions facing our Party at the present stage—the questions of intensifying class education, of improving the style of work in our Party and of practising economy and strengthening financial discipline in order to accelerate our economic construction.

The speakers at this plenary meeting have unanimously approved and supported the Party's policies put forward by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. And, I think, the questions raised have been satisfactorily thrashed out.

What I should like to emphasize in this concluding speech are the following points.

During our three-day discussion on the questions raised, we have noted many defects. Since these have been criticized at the meeting, some people may think that there are many good-for-nothings in our

Party, that our officials are all liars and that our work is going entirely amiss.

Needless to say, our Party has quite a few defects which require immediate rectification. But it would be a gross mistake to think that everything it has done so far is wrong. Our Party has performed many heroic feats in its work and has done great things in the past years for the motherland and the people, for the prosperity and development of our country.

Many heroic Party members fought to the last drop of their blood for the Party and the country, blocking the embrasures of enemy pillboxes with their chests during the Fatherland Liberation War. There were also tens of thousands of heroic Party members who never yielded—though captured by the enemy while fighting bravely in the enemy's rear during our temporary retreat—and who upheld their honour as Party members at the cost of their lives, shouting with their last breath, “Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Workers' Party of Korea!”

During the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War, many military and political cadres of our Party and Party officials who had been sent to the south to do political work retreated in an organized way across mountains and rivers, following our Party and Government and leading their troops out of the enemy encirclement and, in the face of heavy enemy bombing, many of our writers, professors and actors broke through the enemy encirclement and followed our Party and the Government of the Republic, travelling thousands of *ri* on foot. Such heroic deeds are rare in the war history of any other country.

All this proves that our Party has educated its members well and united them firmly, and that our Party members are ready to fight to the end and lay down their lives for the country and the people.

Our Party has now become a powerful and reliable party surrounded by the love and confidence of all the Korean people and fully capable of shaping their destiny. Through its historic struggle over the last ten years, our Party has won the active support of the broad masses of the working people and trained many political

workers, military cadres, young scientists and economic officials, writers and artistes.

These successes are by no means accidental. Our Party has achieved them in arduous struggle over the past ten years. They serve as a guarantee for the future prosperity and development of our country and signify that ample conditions have been created for leading our people to happiness and freedom.

As can be seen by this, the achievements scored by our Party in the past are great and the feats performed by our Party members—who fought and shed blood for the Party and the country—are really tremendous.

Why then should we speak so much today about shortcomings when our Party has achieved such great successes?

The reason is that our Party is determined to do its work still better in the future, to lead our country faster along the road to happiness and to achieve the reunification and independence of the country as soon as possible, and that it wants its members not to mark time but to advance farther. With this in view, we always expose every shortcoming within the Party boldly and correct it. Only by doing this will our Party be able to advance and grow.

It is entirely wrong to take our Party's admission of its shortcomings for inertness and impotence, as is alleged by certain anti-Party or factional elements. Our Party knows no pessimism; it is filled with revolutionary optimism and is convinced of its bright future.

Our Party not only fought well against the enemy in the Fatherland Liberation War, but has also achieved great success in postwar reconstruction of the national economy. The rapid reconstruction of factories, enterprises, mines and railways in Pyongyang and all other parts of the northern half of Korea after the truce was possible entirely under the leadership of our Party. This also proves that our Party will be fully able to surmount any difficulty and obstacle and build the foundations of socialism in the north.

1. ON INTENSIFYING CLASS EDUCATION IN THE PARTY

This is not the first time we have raised the question of intensifying class education in the Party. It would be wrong for any of our comrades to think that formerly all our information work was done badly, that it was an error to avoid using the word *socialism* in the past and that we are raising the question of class education in the Party for the first time today.

Our Party puts appropriate political and economic tasks in given periods on the basis of its overall assessment of the objective conditions and internal forces in our country. If the Party does not take into full consideration our people's political level and the objective conditions but acts subjectively, it will eventually commit Right or "Left" errors.

If we had made a big noise about building socialism in Korea immediately after liberation, who would have approved? People would not have come near us. For the Japanese imperialists had conducted malicious propaganda, even alleging that socialism meant sharing the same bed and eating from the same pot. If we had hung out the slogan of socialism at that time without taking all this into account, the people would have feared us and would not have come near us.

However, today when we point to the agricultural cooperatives organized in the countryside and say to the peasants that the way to socialism lies through cooperatives, they are pleased and ask us why, then, we did not build socialism earlier.

In fact, before the war we were already proceeding to carry out the tasks of the period of the transition to socialism in the north, after fulfilling the tasks of the democratic revolution, and conducting appropriate socialist education. Yet we could not launch full-scale

socialist construction under the circumstances prevailing at that time.

Taking into account the mature conditions prevailing today, our Party is more definitely and resolutely raising the question of building socialism in the north and of intensifying class education in the Party.

An instance of this can be seen in our Party Programme, which did not specify our ultimate goal. When we adopted the Party Programme in 1946, it was necessary and proper not to specify our goal in the light of the conditions then prevailing in our country.

But now it has become necessary for our Party to stipulate in its Programme not only the task of bringing about the reunification and independence of the country, but also the Party's ultimate goal of leading our country to socialism and communism. The 1946 Party Programme was not wrong; it was correct to word it in the way we did in view of the conditions prevailing at that time.

Today, however, the political level of our Party members, the level of social development and the objective conditions, in which the US imperialists have occupied south Korea for a long time, place new fighting tasks before our Party. Under these circumstances, we cannot win the protracted, arduous struggle facing us unless we intensify class education within the Party. It is proceeding from these objective conditions that we are raising the question of intensifying class education today.

However, if, just because we raise this question, an attempt were made to build socialism overnight or to wipe out all the capitalist elements in a single day, it would mean committing a "Left" error.

We must imbue our Party members and other people with socialist consciousness, gradually eliminate the capitalist elements in the northern half of Korea, increase our strength, and thus make ideological and material preparations for achieving reunification and independence and for building socialism throughout Korea in the future. This is why we are now raising the question of intensifying class education in the Party more seriously and more urgently than ever before.

I should now like to pass to the question of the method of education.

In Party education, we must emphasize the following two points:

First, in the study of Marxism-Leninism, Party members must not swallow it whole but learn to apply it to real life. In former days, the old-fashioned private schools forced the pupils to learn characters by rote. Those who were educated in this manner could only read the characters in a fixed order, but could not read them in other combinations. We must not study Marxism in this way.

It serves no purpose to learn Marxist theory by rote. We must grasp its content and essence and learn how to apply it to suit our realities. This is the main question to be solved in our Party's educational work.

We have translated many Marxist books or written them ourselves. Our situation today is different from that in 1946. In her speech, Comrade Minister of Culture and Information said that the Marxist-Leninist classics did not sell well. Since our Party members read the classics mechanically, they are not interested in them, nor do they feel any urgent need for them.

If they want to rely on Marxist-Leninist literature to give them the correct orientation when they meet with difficult problems in the course of their work or when they wish to develop their work creatively, they will naturally be interested in study and feel a keen need for the Marxist-Leninist classics. Only when they reach this level, will the books sell well.

Second, it is important to learn much about our own things in Party study. Some comrades are not willing to do this, and regard our own things as far removed from Marxism. We should know that our own things constitute living Marxism creatively applied to Korean reality.

Many of our people do not know our own history. It is therefore very important to learn it. In art, too, we should develop things Korean.

Needless to say, we must learn to tell the good from the bad among things Korean and cast off the bad. Some insist that, just because we have to know things Korean well, we should even learn things that are useless. This is quite wrong. We should discard the bad and learn only

what is good from among things Korean.

What is important in learning and studying much about things Korean is to link them correctly with Marxism. Some of our young cadres, however, know the general theory of Marxism well, but do not know our history, whereas those who are well-read in ancient books do not have sufficient knowledge of Marxist theory. You should not call yourself a genuine historian simply because you know a lot about ancient times. Only when we have a correct knowledge of Marxism and are versed in the history of our country can we correctly analyse history at each stage in a Marxist way, in other words, make a correct analysis to determine which section of society is our enemy and which section is for the revolution and to be clear on the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy at each stage of our social development. We should thus learn to analyse history in a Marxist way.

In my opinion, to learn about things Korean and study Marxism not in a Talmudic way but creatively in Party study like this must be the main emphasis in intensifying class education in the Party.

Another important question is to train all Party officials and other members to become political workers, economic officials and staunch revolutionary fighters.

If we now had hundreds of persons who had mastered Marxism and were able to analyse correctly the prospects for our country's development and all other questions, they would constitute a very great force. But we have to realize that we have not yet reached that level.

Some of our officials put on airs because they received a great deal of education in the past, while some give up studying, saying that formerly they had no opportunity to study and are too ignorant to catch up with the others. Both tendencies are wrong. Even those who have had no college education can be wiser than those who once attended college, if they study Marxism correctly today.

We should not become complacent but should always study and study modestly.

2. ON FACTIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY

Whenever factionalism is referred to in a report, some people open their eyes wide and ask who are the factionalists. They wonder how it is possible that factionalists still remain in our Party in spite of the tenacious and tireless struggle waged in the past for the unity and solidarity of the Party, and demand that the factionalists be purged.

But if we become vigilant against factionalist activities in the Party only then, it will not do. In other words, we should not fight against factionalists by heightening vigilance only when a Party meeting warns against them and relaxing our vigilance at other times. For Party unity and solidarity, we must be vigilant at all times against the factionalists who may split it.

I will now speak once more about factionalism inside our Party and its sources.

In our country conditions existed in the past for the birth of factional elements. But today there are no factions in our Party, though there are individuals engaged in factional activities.

What then gives rise to the formation of factions and to the factional activities?

The first is the fact that after the Communist Party of Korea, founded in the 1920s, was destroyed because of strife between various factions, the working class had no vanguard until our country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

If the Communist Party of Korea, which was organized in 1925, had not been destroyed by the manoeuvres of factionalists and saboteurs, but had continued in existence, our Party would have greeted the August 15 liberation as a party with its own organizational system, and its leading core would have been solid from the first days of the liberation.

The disruption of the Communist Party in the 1920s was the result,

among other things, of its failure to root itself deeply among the broad masses of the working people. At that time, it only had an upper structure and had not organized cells in factories and rural districts. In other words, it had failed to become a mass-based political party. Moreover, there were no genuine Marxists in the Party who had correctly grasped Marxist-Leninist theory. The communists of those days had an imperfect mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and were not steadfast in ideology or class stand. On top of this, the Japanese imperialists had smuggled their agents into the Party to undermine it.

As I said, because its “leaders” were not well-versed in Marxism and the Party had no deep roots among the masses, it fell apart in the end. At that time, various factions appeared in the working-class movement of our country—the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the North Wind Association, etc. They did not struggle for communism, but under the signboard of communism were totally engrossed in factional strife for hegemony in the Party, which inevitably resulted in its destruction.

Those factionalists should regard it as a grave crime that they destroyed the Party and did great harm to the working-class and revolutionary movements in our country by their factional strife. But, on the contrary, they think they have done much for the revolution and are even now attempting to secure high Party posts.

In our Party, there are now persons who formerly belonged to or even were “leaders” of the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the North Wind Association, the Com-group and various other factional groups. We do not mean to arraign them or kick them out of the Party for their former participation in factions. We only expect them to drop their bad factional habits of the past and become good Party members. Today, they only have to realize their errors to the full, not repeating their evil tricks, and always act sincerely in the interests of the revolution and the preservation of the Party’s unity and solidarity. But if they carry on such activities even today, we will not tolerate them.

Not a few people who once participated in factional strife often talk about the “unity of the Party” and say, “I’m for the Party,” and so on and behave with propriety at times. But, not having entirely given up

their old habits, these old factionalists often get together for sly tricks whenever the chance presents itself. Some who were “leaders” in factional conflicts in the past are still filled with individual heroism and try to seize any and every opportunity to form factions again. Instead of tirelessly working for the revolution, they continue their sly tricks to muster around them old factionalists and those who were once under their influence, for the purpose of securing high positions. This is exactly what Pak Hon Yong did in the past.

In playing their sly tricks the factionalists are just like rats. As you all know well, a rat makes mischief, sneaking all over the house when people are asleep, but disappearing the moment it is shouted at. As long as the rat is running about and gnawing on old rags, we can tolerate it, but we get very upset when it starts gnawing on a good chest of drawers. If we do not catch the rat in good time, it multiplies, makes holes here and there and possibly ruins the house in the end.

Likewise, though there are no factions in our Party at present, if we are not on the alert and vigilant against those elements engrossed in factional activities, they may form a group by rallying their coteries from previous factional strife or other unsound elements and, what is more, they may attempt to undermine the Party. Therefore, we must always guard against a factional tendency so as to prevent them from playing such tricks.

Second, the revolutionaries in our Party today are made up of those who came back from the Soviet Union, China, the southern half of our country and various other places, and those who carried on the struggle at home. Factionalists often try to use this for their factional purposes.

Among those who came from the south are persons who profess to represent the people from there. As soon as they rise to high positions, they behave as if they were the ones who gave jobs and a living to the people from the south and decided their destiny, aiming to use them as cat’s-paws in their own manoeuvres. This is how Ri Sung Yop once got some comrades from the south under his thumb.

Of the people back from the Soviet Union, we can take Ho Ka I as an example. He behaved as if he were the representative of those who

had returned home from the Soviet Union.

As for the people who came back from China, we can take Pak Il U as a typical example. He considers himself their representative and stealthily schemes to gather around him comrades whose class consciousness is weak, alleging that “Comrades who returned from China are not promoted to be cadres,” or that “People back from the Soviet Union do not agree with the way those from China live.”

There is a saying: “In ten years even mountains and rivers will change.” Has there not been any change in the thinking or way of life of Party members during the ten years since liberation? Needless to say, there has been change and even new moral traits have been formed. Moreover, since people have breathed, worked and received education in one and the same place for ten years now, there can be no excuse for them to be talking about a difference in their ways of life and styles of work, no matter where they may have returned from. Yet, these elements indulge in talk about this sort of thing, because they have ulterior motives.

Pak Il U thinks nobody knows about his underhand tricks. But this is a gross miscalculation. In fact, nearly all the comrades from China, adhering to Party principles, regard him not as a figure representing people back from China but, on the contrary, expose him as an anti-Party element.

For instance, Comrade Kim Chang Dok is a man with strong Party spirit. Since he was from China, Pak Il U tried to entice him to his side. But this comrade fought resolutely against Pak Il U’s iniquity, stating that he had returned home from China with faith in the Party, the country and the people, not Pak Il U.

Pak Il U and his ilk always look for unsound elements—grumblers and malcontents—and try to pull them over to their side in an attempt to carry out their plots. Pak Il U exploited the discontent and grumbling of Pang Ho San. After he was criticized by the Party for his blunders in battle during the closing phase of the war, Pang Ho San began to vilify the policies of the Party and the Government behind the scenes. Pak Il U capitalized on this to win him over.

As I said previously, these people babble such things as “People from the Soviet Union are different from those from China,” “Those who have returned from China are not appointed to high positions,” and “The Party does not trust you because you once took part in factional activities.” In the last analysis, they say these things because they have ulterior motives.

We do not tolerate such actions on the part of people suffering from individual heroism. We cannot permit them to pose as some sort of representative figures and behave in defiance of Party organization. For this kind of action can disrupt Party organization.

Let us take a person like Kang Mun Sok, for example. Having become a member of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, he styled himself a representative of the southern half of the country. He called in people from the southern half and said, “What difficulties do you have?” “I will solve problems for you.” Thus he has gone outside of organization in a manner alien to a Party worker. When a man who is from the south approaches you with a request, you should not try to solve the matter for him personally, but teach him that the correct way is to go through organizational channels to solve it.

Those who came from the Soviet Union, China or from the southern half of our country, no matter who they are, must all bear in mind that they are now members of the Workers’ Party of Korea. The selection and allocation of cadres should not be decided according to the subjective views of any individual, but always on Party principles. Those who lack Party spirit, who have no enthusiasm to work for the Party and the revolution and who think themselves outstanding figures, are of no use to our Party, whether they returned from the Soviet Union, China or even from Heaven. You must be clear on this.

Our Party members should rely on the Party and the organization in their work, have a strong Party spirit and constantly raise their level. If one relies on an individual and tries to settle one’s problems through his help or by currying favour with him, he is not taking the principled stand of a Party member, and this will in the end be exploited by those afflicted with individual heroism.

All cadres and other members of our Party must sharpen their vigilance against the activities of the factionalists.

Now, I should like to touch upon the ideological survivals of localism. We can take, for example, O Ki Sop who tried to form a group with people from the Hongwon region in South Hamgyong Province. It cannot be said, indeed, that all sectional activities in the years of Japanese imperialist rule were wrong. But what was the result of the sectional activities of those years? The absence of a united party and unified leadership from the centre based on the principle of democratic centralism allowed O Ki Sop to act as the biggest figure in the region, and the local people, in their ignorance, believed him to be the greatest person in the world. O Ki Sop attempted to use this to extend his influence.

That was ten years ago and his attempt was foiled at that time. Though, of course, there are no local separatists today, their ideological survivals still persist.

During the past ten years, our Party has been educated and steeled in the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and has grown into a mass political party deeply rooted among the masses. Hence, today our Party cannot be equated with the one of the 1920s.

However, we must not leave people who are captivated by bourgeois ideas and individual heroism to play sly tricks inside the Party. We must always be vigilant against them. Whenever we find people engaged in factional tricks in the Party, we should give them a Party warning, demand their immediate rectification and keep them under supervision to prevent them from repeating such activities, and we should educate them according to the seriousness of their actions. Those whose misdeeds are serious should be exposed before the masses without delay so that they can be placed under mass supervision. Only by doing this can we save those under their influence and prevent others from being badly influenced by them.

It is necessary to intensify the activities of the Control Commission of our Party. This body should always keep the factional elements who undermine Party unity under strict control and supervision, and it should launch an implacable struggle against any and every action

taken outside of organization. In this way, we will always preserve the purity of our Party ranks and sweep away bad elements. Just as we have to get rid of rats when, not content with sneaking about, they start making holes, so we must make a clean sweep of the bad elements who do not heed our warnings.

Experience shows that sly tricksters in the Party will become more rampant if they are left alone. As for Pak Hon Yong and the like, we might have detected them even earlier if we had been more critical in the Central Committee meeting at the time of the merger of the Workers' Parties of North and South Korea. This clique claimed that "The people from the south are all good" and appointed them to influential positions and played sly tricks. Eventually they attempted to subvert our Government in collusion with the US scoundrels and sell out our country.

We must draw a lesson from past experience and always sharpen our vigilance against factional activities. We should particularly bear in mind that when the individual heroes and factional elements are frustrated in their attempts to carry on their activities within the Party, they will degenerate into spies and saboteurs and do all sorts of despicable things.

The unity and solidarity of our Party is the source of its strength. Therefore, each Party member should always fight to preserve Party unity as he would his life and remain vigilant against any factional elements and individual heroes to prevent them from weakening our Party ranks.

3. ON INTENSIFYING ECONOMY AND FINANCIAL CONTROL

An overall analysis of the extravagant practices existing in our state and economic institutions reveals that the greater part of them (about

70 per cent) results from the inability of our officials in these institutions to run factories and enterprises properly. Of course, there are cases of impure elements worming themselves into state and economic institutions and intentionally embezzling state property. But the losses caused in this way are not much bigger than the economic losses resulting from mismanagement. The wasting of our state finances is due, in most cases, to the mismanagement of enterprises by our officials and to the lack of order in state organs and enterprises.

The important thing, therefore, in intensifying economy and financial control and stepping up the struggle against misappropriation and waste is as follows:

First, leading officials in our state and economic institutions should improve their ability to manage and operate enterprises.

In view of the present conditions in our country, efficient management of enterprises is, in fact, a difficult matter. Historically our country was short of cadres. At the close of the Ri Dynasty there were no cadres to manage industry, because capitalism had not developed. The situation remained the same after our country was turned into a Japanese colony. In running factories and enterprises, the Japanese imperialists occupied the posts of manager, chief engineer and engineer, while Koreans served under them. There were very few skilled workers among the Koreans, the majority of them doing unskilled labour. Take the railways, for example. When Korea was liberated, we had only a few Korean locomotive drivers. The Japanese had almost exclusively held even the job of locomotive driver and assigned Koreans only the job of stoker.

Because we were so cruelly exploited by the Japanese imperialists during their nearly 40 years of rule, immediately after liberation we had very few cadres even coming from the propertied class, not to mention those of working-class origin. Right after liberation, there were only a few score technicians with a college education in the northern half of Korea. It was under these circumstances that we took over the factories and enterprises the Japanese had destroyed when they quit. Despite such difficulties, we have been able to run the

factories and enterprises up to now, and this is a big achievement. But we must not rest content with this.

We have quite a few big factories now. They include iron works, steel plants, chemical factories, power stations and many other big factories which can serve as the foundations for socialist industrialization. They are very large in scale. But with our lack of experience and shortage of cadres, it is quite difficult to run them.

For communists armed with Marxism-Leninism, however, there is no fortress that cannot be conquered. If only we are determined and organize things properly, we can certainly run these large factories. What is more, we have assistance from the great Soviet Union, China and the other People's Democracies.

As you know, when we set about establishing our first university in 1946, there was much discussion about whether we could do it or not. We were not even able to compile textbooks at that time. As we see, our country had practically no cadres.

For the past ten years, however, we have trained large numbers of cadres by persistent efforts. As a result, we now have hosts of our own university graduates plus those who have returned from study in the Soviet Union and many intellectuals and scholars who came from the south because they supported our system.

After liberation we embarked on tremendous economic construction without enough cadres and, therefore, had to fill the cadre ranks with workers, peasants and working intellectuals who had had no personal experience in running factories and enterprises. This means that our cadres have not yet attained a level high enough to run industry.

Our officials commit errors in the course of economic construction not because they are all bad but because they lack sufficient knowledge and ability to manage industry. So, it is of prime importance for cadres to acquire knowledge and ability for industrial management.

Nevertheless, some of our officials quite often pretend a knowledge of economics, despite the fact that they are ignorant about it; for instance, they do not know what makes up production costs. Pretending to know while not knowing is a grave malady with us.

When we do not know, we should not pretend to know but should learn with an open mind. Learning is by no means a shameful thing.

Some managers think they are “born” managers and they behave arrogantly and just idle away their time every day instead of striving to learn. This is very wrong. If we are to remove shortcomings in the management of enterprises, all cadres must acquire sufficient knowledge to operate industry and must manage enterprises efficiently.

Second, strict discipline and order should be established in state and economic institutions in order to intensify economy, financial control and the struggle against misappropriation and waste.

We have just laws and regulations enacted by the state. The thing is that our officials must execute these laws and regulations correctly and not violate them.

In the army, even a sentry is posted in accordance with the garrison regulations. How, then, can we run a big factory or enterprise without observing regulations? There must on all accounts be discipline and order.

If regulations are observed and discipline and order are firmly established in the enterprises, impure elements will not be able to commit theft and nothing will be stolen. You should not be bent only on catching thieves, but should concentrate your attention on the establishment of strict order and discipline in factories and their faithful observance. Experience shows that where there is no order and discipline, theft, embezzlement and waste cannot be prevented. Furthermore, even such dishonest practices take place as making false reports to higher organs stating that production plans have been fulfilled when they have not. That is why the establishment of discipline and order is of the utmost importance in the management of factories and enterprises.

Third, to intensify economy and financial discipline, stress should be placed not on throwing embezzlers and squanderers into a house of correction but on carrying out a campaign to get them to confess. But we should not forgive those who have pilfered state funds on many

occasions. While laying emphasis on the confession campaign, we should follow the line of punishing by law those embezzlers and squanderers whose crimes are very serious.

After the confession campaign, it is important to prevent those who confessed from committing crimes again. We should intensify economy and financial control by stepping up educational work within the Party so that the officials in our state and economic institutions learn to manage enterprises efficiently and firmly establish discipline and order.

4. ON IMPROVING THE STYLE OF PARTY WORK

Now I should like to emphasize the question of improving the style of Party work.

The important thing here is, first, to see that correct assistance is given by the higher organs to the lower levels, ranging from the Party Central Committee down to the Party committees. Nothing can be settled if we work in a peremptory manner, giving no help and education to those in lower units, but only heaping abuse on them for their poor work.

To give correct assistance to the lower levels, the Organizational Leadership Department and all other departments of the Party Central Committee should first give day-to-day education to those at the lower levels. They should summon provincial Party committee workers and hear their reports to see how they are doing their work and what their thinking is and, at the same time, they should take measures to rectify provincial comrades' mistakes when they have done things wrong.

The senior officials should not give guidance by driving around in a car and hurling abuse, but must personally go down to the lower levels and stay there for a long period to assist the officials there in the actual work.

A practical and systematic checkup on the fulfilment of tasks is an essential condition for improving the style of work in the Party. But when such a checkup is made in a formal, bureaucratic manner, it will be fruitless. At present, quite a large number of our Party officials conduct checkups to flaunt their authority and not to assist the lower units in their work and assure the correct implementation of Party and state decisions. Many officials still conduct checkups in the manner of a policeman or a detective and give guidance to the lower levels in a bureaucratic manner. As a result, those at the lower levels are afraid of checkups and cowed when they undergo one. After conducting checkups in police fashion, these officials indiscriminately scold those at the lower level for their failures, with the result that the latter acquire the bad habit of trying to evade checkups and hide their defects and of making false reports to the higher organs.

Some officials, when they go down to the lower units to conduct checkups, pay no attention to good things, but simply pick on flaws, exaggerate and make a big noise about trivial things and unnecessarily find fault with people. Such checkups do our work no good at all. Our officials should learn to go down to the lower units and assist the comrades in their work, solve knotty problems through consultation and help them rectify their shortcomings if they have any. Only in this way can we replace the old style of work, still to be found among us, with a new, serve-the-people style of work.

You cannot expect any success if you send down Party decisions and various directives and only go about shouting at people to carry them out willy-nilly.

The bureaucratic style of work is still much in evidence in our Party. Our Party has repeatedly laid stress on eliminating bureaucracy and has also waged a struggle against it, but this harmful style of work still persists to a considerable extent.

We should launch a decisive struggle to do away with the bureaucratic style of work once and for all. In the struggle against bureaucracy, emphasis should also be placed on the higher level

assisting the lower. All Party, state and economic bodies should work in such a way that the higher levels give assistance to the lower levels. Only this will inspire officials at the lower levels to activity and initiative in their work.

If each Party cell has a healthy, active and military cell life, strengthens its ties with the masses and works vigorously to bring the initiative of the masses into play in the struggle to carry out the Party's policies, an even bigger stride will be made in our work.

Second, it is important to strengthen the education of the cadres and other members of our Party in the spirit that overcomes difficulties.

As we well know, the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the people's democratic revolution in China and the revolution in other countries have all emerged victorious only through arduous struggle. If a revolution could be carried out easily without hard struggle, the world revolution would already have triumphed.

Our country is now engaged in the revolutionary movement under very favourable conditions.

We underwent many difficulties during the three years of the bitter Fatherland Liberation War, but we fought with the active support of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies. Even in wartime we fought without knowing hunger. Even during the difficult period of the war, we never reduced the food rations of our factory and office workers, and nobody went in rags.

In fact, we are now providing factory and office workers with much more textiles than we did before the war. This means that so far in the revolutionary struggle we have not met with great difficulties. For this reason, if we do not teach officials to overcome difficulties, they may be unable to persevere in surmounting hardships in the future, but succumb to them instead.

In anticipation of great events to come, we should increase our state accumulation and educate Party members and cadres in the spirit that defies difficulties. It is also important, I think, to give the Party members a clear view of the broad vistas lying ahead of our country and imbue them with revolutionary optimism.

5. FOR THE SUCCESSFUL FULFILMENT OF THE CURRENT NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

This is the most difficult year of the Three-Year National Economic Plan and the fulfilment of this year's plan is highly important. We must fulfil it under all circumstances.

If we fail to carry it out because of hardships, we will remain in a difficult position. It is only by surmounting all hardships and building factories that we will be able to solve the problems of food and clothing satisfactorily.

Therefore, to improve the people's living standards as quickly as possible and make our country prosperous, we must overcome difficulties, organize the work well, turn every possibility to good account and carry out the Three-Year National Economic Plan successfully.

If we are to improve the people's standard of living, we must have various plants such as textile, foodstuffs, daily necessities and machine-building factories. To expect good results while sitting idle without building factories, would be like the Christians praying to "God" for a blessed life. Our freedom and happiness cannot come from Heaven. They must be won by our own efforts and struggle.

The most important thing in fulfilling this year's national economic plan is to see that all the officials of the Party and state organs and economic agencies assist each other in close cooperation and fight unyieldingly with a deeper sense of responsibility towards the work assigned them by the Party and the state.

When you cannot fulfil your plan, you should honestly say so and not make false reports. Whenever you encounter difficult problems in carrying out the plan, you should inform your superiors in good time and

take steps to break through the difficulties. Everyone should fight for the fulfilment of the plan in the manner befitting a revolutionary. It is wrong to waver in the face of trivial difficulties, and it is also wrong to make a false report out of a desire for fame when the plan is not fulfilled.

I should now like to speak about this year's agricultural production plan. In short, it seems to me that the plan was not correctly drawn up. The reasons for this are, on the one hand, incorrect reports from below and, on the other, incorrect calculations at the higher level. As a result, the agricultural production plan was set too high for the actual conditions. It is by no means an accident that the plan itself was worked out incorrectly in this way.

Some say grain output last year was 2,800,000 tons, and others say 2,700,000 tons.

Now let us calculate last year's actual grain output. According to statistics, we produced 2,790,000 tons of grain in 1949. As for the grain situation at that time, there was a lot of grain on the market, quantities of grain were used as raw materials in industry and as much as 100,000 tons were exported, and yet the peasants lived in abundance. The price of rice was 170-180 *won* per half a *mal* at that time. In every village the peasants' living standards rose. Peasants built houses and bought furniture. They were nearly self-sufficient in food, without receiving grain loans from the state. Thus, with a grain output of 2,790,000 tons, the life of the peasants was improved and we even exported grain, while the state stored 50,000 tons of rice as the annual reserve.

Last year's plan was to produce 3,000,000 tons. It was first reported that 2,900,000 tons had been produced, but the final figure given was 2,800,000 tons. This means that we produced more grain than before the war. Why then is there a shortage of food?

Last year, no grain was exported, but, on the contrary, 220,000 tons were imported from the Soviet Union and China. What is more, our population decreased during the war.

Where on earth, then, has all the 2,800,000 tons of grain gone? The only explanation is that last year's grain output was inaccurately calculated.

It appears that last year we turned out only about 2,300,000 tons of grain, minus the losses caused by the flood in North and South Hamgyong Provinces. Convincing proof of this is provided by our present food situation.

Nevertheless, some of our provincial people's committee chairmen and leading agricultural officials have no intention of drawing a lesson from their past work. Even this year they claimed that 4,100,000 tons of grain could be produced. The report to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee said that it was planned to turn out 3,600,000 tons this year. The Political Committee did not agree with this and cut the grain production target sharply.

This was because we took into consideration the following points:

First, the area of land under cultivation has shrunk greatly as compared with the prewar period. Our cultivated land diminished because land was left idle as a result of the shortage of labour, was devastated in wartime, or was used for road construction, and for other reasons. Therefore, the assertion that we can harvest more grain than in prewar times is at variance with the reality.

Second, the countryside has a smaller labour force than before the war. The greater part of the rural labour force is now made up of old people and women. In conditions where overall mechanization has not been realized, how can we compare the countryside of today with the prewar countryside which had many young people? After all, women are different from men when it comes to labour, because they have to take care of children and do house work.

Third, fertilizer also is short compared with the prewar period. At present, we supply only 50,000 tons of chemical fertilizers to the rural areas, whereas before the war we used to supply 180,000-220,000 tons. Reports say that compost is being applied in large quantities, but there is much false reporting here.

All this being the case, how is it possible to produce more grain than before the war? No analysis provides grounds for claiming a larger output.

In 1952, I asked Comrade Minister of Agriculture how it was possible to turn out so much grain. He told me that more grain could be produced by close planting of rice crops in small clusters. I believe we would not be able to produce so much grain even if we introduced “close planting in big clusters”, let alone close planting in small clusters.

We should work out an accurate plan for agricultural production this year. Let there be no such thing as forcing the lower units to do what is simply beyond their power and thus making them submit, for the sake of winning fame, false reports saying that they have done what they have actually failed to do. I think it necessary for the chairmen of the provincial, city and county people’s committees and the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Commission to reexamine this year’s plan for agricultural production. It is good to examine it and rectify its defects.

A correct plan for agricultural production will also have a great influence on the development of the agricultural cooperatives which are now being organized in the countryside. Therefore, the chairmen of the provincial, city and county people’s committees should personally go out to the agricultural cooperatives and pay special attention to helping them map out accurate production plans. They should help them work out plans correctly by basing themselves not on the target figures which were previously sent down but on their actual harvests and the new targets which will be given later.

The assessment of the actual harvests should be made, as much as possible, in consideration of the opinions of the inhabitants of the locality concerned and based on an analysis of the harvests before, during and since the war. Then, on this basis, the tax in kind should be fixed.

This year, per-hectare yields in each locality should be assessed accurately after weighing the actual crop got in at the agricultural cooperatives. The cultivated area should also be correctly estimated. Underestimation of it causes a loss to the state, whereas overestimation puts heavy burdens on the peasants.

If you deal with everything from the viewpoint of the revolution, nothing will go wrong.

Now, I should like to say a few words about forestry.

Forestry is one of the most important links in the reconstruction of our national economy.

Today our country is engaged in large-scale construction. Our reconstruction work is on a very big scale. We are carrying out not only rehabilitation but also new construction, and we are rehabilitating roads, bridges and reservoirs, while building houses. The Anju irrigation project, in particular, is a large one which envisages the digging of hundreds of kilometres of waterways, including tributary canals. There is an acute shortage of building materials for such a huge construction project.

For rebuilding factories, railways, bridges, etc., destroyed in the war, the question of building materials, above all, acquires vital importance. For this reason, we must give a lot of help to cement production and the timber industry. Our Party should mobilize manpower for them, teach the officials in these fields to surmount hardships and provide them with adequate working conditions.

Party organizations, in particular, should mobilize raftsmen now in the rural areas and send them back to the timber industry. At present raftsmen are not allowed to leave the countryside on the grounds that the land would be left idle if they did. They say there is land left unplanted due to the labour shortage in the rural areas, while the cities have great difficulties in assigning jobs to demobilized army men and to those who have been released from their work as a result of simplifying the state apparatus. These phenomena all arise from the failure of our officials to organize their work well. We should know how to organize things properly.

In carrying out the vast plan for postwar economic rehabilitation and development, our officials should not work in an irresponsible manner or laze about. Leading officials of our Party, state and economic bodies should devote all their talent and creative zeal to the fulfilment of the state plan. Only in this way can we build a new society in our era.

We should consolidate politically, economically and militarily the democratic base in the northern half of Korea, which is the firm guarantee for the reunification and independence of the country. To this end, we should carry out the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy successfully.

Comrades,

This April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee is of historic significance for our Party's advance.

I am convinced that just as they boldly eliminated the defects noted at the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee, so will our Party members rectify as soon as possible the shortcomings pointed out at this April Plenary Meeting, correctly accept and carry out the Party's policies set forth at this meeting and, firmly rallying around the Central Committee of our Party, march forward more vigorously for the attainment of reunification and independence and for the realization of the cause of socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

LENIN'S THEORY IS OUR GUIDELINE

**Article Published on the Occasion
of the 85th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth**

April 15, 1955

On April 22 the progressive people throughout the world will greet the 85th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great genius of revolution, the leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world.

Lenin's name is immensely precious to all people. His theory reflected the urgent demand of human society and the interests, hopes and aspirations of the exploited and oppressed masses of the people, showed them the way to succeed in their struggle for liberation and inspired them to wage the decisive struggle for national and social emancipation.

On the basic propositions of Marx and Engels, Lenin put forward the scientific theory on the national and colonial questions in the era of imperialism, in the new historical situation. It holds an important place in Leninism.

Lenin clarified that linking the liberation struggles of the dependent nations with the proletarian revolution was an important condition for the triumph of this revolution and the only correct way to free peoples from imperialist oppression.

He attached great significance to the growing national-liberation struggle in Asian countries. As early as 1913, analysing the Asian peoples' struggle, he said: "Everywhere in Asia a mighty democratic

movement is growing, spreading and gaining in strength. Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, light and freedom.... What delight this world movement is arousing in the hearts of all class-conscious workers, who know that the path to collectivism lies through democracy!"

The events of Asia in the past scores of years turned out as foretold by Lenin. The existence of the Soviet Union and its daily growing power and authority became a major factor in the revolutionization of Asian peoples' liberation movements.

As a result, more than half the Asian population which exceeds a billion is now free once and for all from the cursed colonial oppression and subjugation and is advancing confidently on the road of building a new life of freedom.

The Chinese people won a historic victory in the many years of national-liberation struggle against the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction. This victory tipped the balance of forces between the two camps in favour of socialism and progress and to the disadvantage of imperialism and reaction both in Asia and the rest of the world. The founding of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people's transition to the building of socialism mean the triumph of the great Lenin's theory and its embodiment.

Today, the peoples of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are scoring great successes on the road of building a new life on the basis of Lenin's invincible theory.

The evil designs of the American, British, French and other colonialists on India, Indonesia and Burma are also being frustrated, and the peoples of Asian countries who have already cast off the yoke of colonial slavery are defending their hard-won national independence.

In those Asian countries which are still in the grip of colonial subjugation by foreign imperialists, the liberation struggle front is gaining in scope and strength, and the peoples are shouting louder and louder, "Colonialists, hands off Asia!"

The significance of Lenin's theory in the Korean people's national-liberation struggle is immeasurable.

The Korean people suffered from colonial oppression at the hands of most vicious Japanese imperialism for nearly 40 years.

Already at the close of 1920, defining the characteristics of the then situation in Korea, V. I. Lenin said, "Take the two imperialist countries, Japan and America. They want to fight and will fight for world supremacy, for the right to loot.... Japan will fight so as to continue to plunder Korea, which she is doing with unprecedented brutality, combining all the latest technical inventions with purely Asiatic tortures."

In these circumstances, a national-liberation movement began to develop in Korea, which in its initial period was characterized by spontaneity and lack of organization.

With the formation of the modern proletariat and its emergence on the arena of struggle in the 1920s, the Korean people's national-liberation struggle gradually assumed a political and class character, embracing broader sections of the working masses.

The Korean national-liberation movement in those years, however, had not the organizing and guiding force capable of correctly leading the movement to victory. Only a new type of party armed with an invincible, progressive theory—Marxism-Leninism—was to perform such a role.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a great impact on the liberation struggle of our people. The victory of the October Revolution marked a turning point in the rapid spread of the revolutionary thought of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Korea's fine patriots began to delve into Lenin's theory. Lenin's

words became inspiring power to them and guideline to their righteous struggle to liberate their people.

Illegal groups for the study of Marxism-Leninism began to be formed among workers and progressive intellectuals in the industrial centres of our country. Through these study groups, the Marxist-Leninist theory was disseminated among the broad masses of the workers and peasants and at last became the solid ideological basis of our people's national-liberation struggle by overcoming the petty-bourgeois nationalist tendency within the struggle.

Lenin's cogent arguments on the fundamental questions of strategy and tactics of liberation struggle and the correctness and purposefulness of his theory animated the hearts of Korea's true patriots and produced a large number of ardent supporters and followers of Leninism. At the same time, our people's liberation struggle made a new progress, and Lenin's theory strengthened the political character and purposefulness of the struggle.

Under the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, this struggle was directed not only against the colonial rulers of Japanese imperialism, but also against their collaborators—the reactionary landlords, capitalists and other traitors to the nation at home. The working-class movement within the country was closely linked with the peasant movement in the struggle to liberate the country from colonial oppression and win democratic state power.

The class consciousness and political awareness of the Korean working class, peasantry and intellectuals grew, and this resulted in the birth of the Korean Communist Party, the inspirer of the national-liberation movement in our country, 30 years ago, that is, in April 1925. The foundation of the Communist Party was followed by widespread organized workers' strikes and peasant uprisings in different parts of the country.

The Korean communists had to fight in very difficult conditions where the network of Japanese police, detectives, spies and terrorists was spread throughout the country. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals and opportunists of all hues were entrenched in the ranks of the Communist

Party and its leadership. Japanese imperialist repression and police terrorism intensified. These factors greatly weakened the Party ranks and its leadership and kept the Party from striking deep roots among the broad masses of the people and from giving revolutionary leadership to our people's struggle. In consequence, the Korean Communist Party ceased to be an organized force in 1928, three years after its birth.

Nevertheless, stalwart communists went on with the arduous struggle at the head of the national-liberation movement of our people. With the beginning of the 1930s a fresh force developed the struggle into an overt armed struggle on a new scale.

In many parts of our country and northeast China, the Korean communists began to organize anti-Japanese guerrilla units. They became the hard core of the guerrilla forces and played a decisive role in organizing and leading the armed struggle to success.

The source of the anti-Japanese guerrillas' strength consisted in their close ties with the people. The people saw devoted champions of their happiness in the guerrillas and supported them with all their efforts and by every means.

The Korean communists waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle both in Korea and northeast China. In their struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples, they developed close militant friendship and solidarity with the Chinese people's revolutionary armed forces. The joint struggle which was launched when our national-liberation movement was at its height, laid the solid foundations of internationalist friendship and solidarity between the two peoples of Korea and China.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle played a great part in the history of our people's national-liberation movement. The armed struggle showed that the Marxist-Leninist ideology had penetrated deep into the broad masses of the workers and peasants in our country and that Marxist-Leninist principles were correctly applied to Korea's specific conditions. The struggle was a link in the international revolutionary movement and in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries in the world.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle which started and developed in the most difficult years in our country, opened up a new stage at which our people's national-liberation movement against Japanese imperialism advanced from a passive form of struggle to an active one.

In spite of rampant terrorism and persecution by the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers, their most shameless, slanderous propaganda against the champions of the freedom and independence of the country and all sorts of their crafty manoeuvres to disrupt the ranks of our national-liberation struggle, Korea's steadfast patriots upheld the banner of national-liberation struggle and fought bravely, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, by winning sympathy and support from the masses of the people.

While carrying on the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the Korean communists attached great significance to rallying all patriotic forces in the homeland behind the national united front. For this purpose, they formed the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland in May 1936. The Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland put forward the tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle and urged that the broad masses of the people should participate in the struggle to carry out the tasks.

The political line declared and implemented by the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland was in accord with the fundamental national interests of the Korean people. For this reason, the association had a tremendous impact on the masses. The fact that hundreds of thousands of people in all walks of life joined the association only in a matter of few months clearly shows what a deep trust and prestige it won from our people.

The Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland played a great role in explaining the aim and tasks of our national-liberation struggle among the broad masses and in mobilizing all the patriotic forces of Korea in the struggle to liberate the country.

In this way, the Korean communists kept on fighting for national liberation, democracy and the happiness of the people, using different forms and methods of struggle, till Korea became free in August 1945.

The great Lenin said:

“...the hundreds of millions of Asian working people, has a reliable ally in the proletariat of all civilized countries. No force on earth can prevent its victory, which will liberate both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia.”

Lenin’s idea of proletarian internationalism is of great significance in all our people’s struggle and its success.

With the termination of the Second World War and the defeat of Japanese imperialism, our country was liberated from the long-drawn-out colonial oppression, and the road of a free, new life opened up before the Korean people.

The Communist Party of Korea which was founded after liberation, merged in 1946 with the New Democratic Party to become the Workers’ Party of Korea. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, the Workers’ Party of Korea invariably followed the policy of reunifying the country peacefully on democratic principles, of carrying out democratic reforms in north Korea and of consolidating the people’s democratic system. In the five-year period that followed liberation, our people under the leadership of the Workers’ Party of Korea achieved a considerable success in building democracy.

The US imperialists and their stooges, however, ignited a war against our people in an attempt to subjugate our country, suppress the national-liberation struggle of Asian peoples and unleash a new world war. This interrupted our peaceful construction.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the Workers’ Party of Korea mobilized all forces of the nation in the struggle against the occupiers, and its members played a leading and inspiring role both at the front and in the rear.

The whole world already knows the peerless heroism our people displayed and also the sacrifices and losses they suffered in the three years of grim war in defence of the freedom and independence of their country and the people's democratic system. Our people emerged victorious in the Fatherland Liberation War with the aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other brotherly countries and also with the sympathy and support from the honest-minded people the world over.

The lesson of the Korean war patently proves the validity of Lenin's words to the effect that no force can ever defeat a people who stand up to defend the freedom and independence of their country and that a people struggling in a just cause will enjoy the support and aid from the working peoples of all lands.

The peoples in the lands of socialism and People's Democracies who have been educated in Lenin's idea of patriotism and proletarian internationalism and united with the unbreakable bonds of brotherhood, are safeguarding their freedom and social systems with vigilance. They will never tolerate imperialist encroachment on the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, which is the greatest achievement mankind has ever attained, and the hope of all oppressed and exploited masses.

3

In the postwar years, the Workers' Party of Korea is organizing all the working people for the struggle to rebuild and develop quickly the national economy devastated in the war.

Our people are successfully pushing ahead with postwar reconstruction. In industry, more than 120 major factories and other enterprises have already been rebuilt or newly built and put into operation. The rural economy, too, has scored notable successes.

Science, culture and arts are also making headway, and the people's material and cultural standards are improving.

Korea, however, still remains divided artificially because of the US ruling circles and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique. The southern half of our country has been reduced once again to a colony of imperialism. In place of the Japanese predecessors, the American imperialist colonial rulers are reigning there and have established a fascist order. The division of the country and the predatory colonial policy pursued by US imperialism in south Korea have cut off the economic ties between north and south Korea and brought immeasurable miseries and poverty to the south Korean people.

In the postwar years, too, the Workers' Party of Korea has followed consistently the policy of peaceful national reunification. This policy has won the enthusiastic support and approval of all sections of the people in north and south Korea. Our Party will mobilize all the patriotic forces of the country and continue the all-people struggle to effect the withdrawal of the US imperialist occupiers from south Korea, isolate the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who are acting against the people, and reunify the country by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and on a democratic basis.

In the struggle for peaceful national reunification, for Korea's advance on democratic lines and a happy future of our people, success depends on consolidating the democratic achievements in the northern half of Korea and further strengthening the political and economic power in the north.

The Workers' Party of Korea has put forward the task of laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea and is striving for its fulfilment. The decisive factors in this effort are to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under working-class leadership, develop the socialist relations of production and advance the country's productive forces, on the basis of the success already achieved in the postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

Of the three socio-economic sectors now existing in the northern half of Korea—the socialist sector, the small commodity sector and the

capitalist sector—the socialist one (consisting of the state-owned and cooperative economies) is predominant in the national economy. The socialist sector accounts for some 98 per cent of industrial production in our country. In our countryside the cooperative economy now holds some 32 per cent of the total peasant households and approximately one-third of the total area under cultivation.

Leninism teaches that laying material and technical foundations is indispensable to build socialism and that a large-scale machine industry alone can serve as such foundations. Our people are confronted with the task of effecting industrialization in their country to provide a solid groundwork for the development of all branches of the national economy, to improve the people's material and cultural standards and to increase defence power.

Socialist industrialization in our country is proceeding in an international environment quite different from the one in which the Soviet Union carried out industrialization single-handed in the capitalist encirclement. We are now in far more favourable conditions. We are a member of the powerful socialist camp and are receiving brotherly aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies. Economic cooperation with the fraternal countries constitutes a powerful factor in accelerating socialist industrialization in our country.

V. I. Lenin taught that the building of socialism is impossible without transforming agriculture on socialist lines and that the only correct way to the socialist transformation of agriculture lies through its cooperativization.

The Workers' Party of Korea is paying great attention to agricultural cooperativization in our country. The Party is consolidating and developing the already formed agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically by giving them every possible state assistance and ensuring correct guidance to them. The Party is also helping private farmers, convincing them of the advantages of cooperative farming by explanation and practical example and enlisting them in the cooperative economy strictly on voluntary principle.

Building of socialism in our country makes it imperative to root out the survivals of Japanese imperialism from the minds of people and further intensify the political and ideological education of the workers, peasantry and intellectuals. Doing this is essential to ensure success and greater speed in socialist construction.

Quite a few difficulties stand in our way ahead. But we have every condition to overcome these difficulties. We have plenty of resources, our people's firm determination to achieve the prosperity and progress of the country and assistance from the peoples of fraternal countries.

The Korean people are headed by the Workers' Party of Korea which organizes and inspires them from victory to victory.

The Workers' Party of Korea is in monolithic unity with the masses. It pursues the policy of strengthening the Government of the Republic and cementing in every way the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea which embraces all the progressive political parties and social organizations in our country. All the Korean people ardently support and approve the policy of the Workers' Party of Korea for the prosperity of the country, for the improvement of the people's material and cultural standards and for the strengthening of internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the countries in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

The name of V. I. Lenin, the leader and teacher of the working people throughout the world, is cherished deep in the hearts of the Korean people. By penetrating the dark clouds of colonial rule which hung heavily over our land in those years, the idea of the great Lenin lit the road for our people to win their national and social emancipation. His theory is our guideline to building a brilliant new society in our country, a society to the cause of which he dedicated all his shining life and genius.

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO ALL THE
WORKERS, TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE
EMPLOYEES WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE
PHYONGNAM IRRIGATION PROJECT**

April 25, 1955

The large-scale Phyongnam irrigation project, which is of great significance for the development of agriculture in our country, was interrupted by the war unleashed by the US imperialist invaders. The major facilities which had been built were devastated. But after the armistice, the project was resumed, and the first-stage project has been finished ahead of schedule by your ardent patriotic devotion and tireless creative labour, and thousands of hectares of land has already been brought under irrigation this year.

Today, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the irrigation system, I would like, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to express high praise for your brilliant achievement and extend warm congratulations and thanks to you.

I am firmly convinced that you will carry out the second-stage project successfully by acquiring advanced technique and displaying a higher degree of creative zeal and patriotic enthusiasm, without being content with the success you have already scored, and thus contribute greatly to the development of our agriculture and to increased grain production, and live up to the expectations of the country and the people.

I wish you a more brilliant success and victory in your struggle to strengthen the democratic base and win peaceful reunification and independence of the country.

OUR PARTY'S AGRARIAN POLICY IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD AND TASKS OF HEADS OF RURAL DEMOCRATIC PUBLICITY HALLS

**Speech at the National Meeting of Heads
of Rural Democratic Publicity Halls**

June 27, 1955

Comrades,

In the name of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic I would like first to extend my profound thanks and warm greetings to you heads of rural democratic publicity halls who, as active information workers of our Party policy, performed great exploits in your efforts to strengthen our rural positions and restore the devastated agriculture despite all difficulties during the Fatherland Liberation War and postwar reconstruction.

Since the tasks before the heads of rural democratic publicity halls in the future were detailed in the report of Comrade Minister of Culture and Information, today I am going to speak only about our Party's agrarian policy and some problems arising in your work.

As you all know, our country, divided into north and south, has not yet been reunified. Reunifying the partitioned country is the most important revolutionary task facing our Party and people at present.

In order to do so in a peaceful way, we should first strengthen the democratic base, the northern half of Korea, in every way by building the foundations of socialism successfully. Only by consolidating the

economic basis and improving the people's livelihood in this part, through the successful building of the foundations of socialism, can we prove to the south Korean people in practice that the road followed in the north is the most correct road the Korean nation should follow and can the northern half play a leading role in achieving the country's reunification and independence.

What is important in laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea and strengthening the democratic base is to quickly restore the war-ravaged agriculture and stabilize and improve the peasants' living conditions.

The three-year war ignited by US imperialism played havoc with our agriculture. The enemy's bestial bombings destroyed the dwelling houses, the means of existence and farm implements, and decreased draught animals considerably. Therefore, the peasants are short of food, clothes, farm implements and draught animals. In addition, the countryside is short of work forces because many young and middle-aged people went to serve in the army. At present only old people and women are left in farming villages. Besides, there are numerous difficulties in the countryside.

Only by restoring agriculture quickly and developing its productive forces is it possible to solve the problem of the peasants' living conditions and to further improve them for all the people. That is why our Party advanced the rehabilitation and development of agriculture as a most important task for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy and, at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee held last November, took some measures for restoring and developing agriculture rapidly.

Though our agriculture was damaged severely by the war, we have ample possibilities and conditions for restoring and developing it speedily.

We have the priceless experience in restoring and developing agriculture and improving the people's livelihood during the period of peaceful construction after liberation. Also, we have the heroic people tempered in the harsh struggle during the Fatherland Liberation War

and the Workers' Party of Korea which has led our people to victory.

Therefore, we can vigorously step up the rehabilitation and development of agriculture with confidence.

Solving the food problem is the foremost task in the rehabilitation and development of agriculture.

At present, our food situation is very difficult. Originally, the northern half of Korea was a zone short of food. Following liberation, however, it turned into a zone with food enough and to spare as the agrarian reform was carried out and the peasants who became masters of land strove to increase production with a high degree of zeal. Before the war we could have plenty of food in reserve and even exported the surplus while supplying the people with sufficient provisions. The war severely damaged agriculture in the northern half of Korea which had become self-sufficient in food, so that the food situation became difficult.

Solving the food problem has now become a cardinal task in stabilizing and improving the life of the people and expediting the building of socialist foundations. During the Fatherland Liberation War we fought under the slogan: The struggle to increase food production is a struggle for victory in the war! Today we must fight under the slogan: Let's produce more food for the building of the foundations of socialism!

Only by solving the food problem can favourable condition be created for the peaceful reunification of the country.

In order to solve this problem we should first restore the ruined arable land as well as expand the area under cultivation.

During the last war the arable land dwindled a great deal. We built many airfields and roads and set up many military installations along the coastal belts and in the frontline areas. Tens of thousands of hectares of farmlands were damaged by the enemy's bombings, and quite a few of them suffered from natural calamities. During their long occupation of our country the Japanese imperialists did not build any river embankments, with the result that we lost a vast area of land under cultivation because of flood every year. Furthermore, a

considerable area of land was left idle because of the shortage of labour forces during the war.

The arable land shrank greatly, whereas the newly reclaimed area is not very large. As for the farmlands expanded through reclamation during the war, we only developed the Paengmu Plateau to set up Integrated State Farm No. 5 and reclaimed a few thousand hectares of land in Osudok, Jagang Province.

As the cultivated area dwindled in the wartime, grain output decreased and the nation's food situation became acute.

Unless we restore the devastated farmlands and increase acreage under crops, we cannot produce more food grains. We must restore the damaged farmlands and reclaim more land at all costs, thereby expanding the cultivated area to the prewar level and more.

We restored 30,000-odd hectares of arable land this spring. We must not rest content with this but continue to strive to increase the arable land.

Works should be conducted actively to expand the irrigated areas. At present our country has more than 100,000 hectares of rain-dependent and poorly irrigated paddy fields. We must carry out irrigation projects and get all of them fully watered. And, as paddy fields yield more than non-paddy fields, we should conduct a struggle to turn non-paddy fields into paddies so as to increase the area sown to rice.

River-embankment projects should be undertaken effectively to prevent the arable land from being damaged by flood and a campaign launched to restore the arable land damaged in the past.

At present, other countries reclaim virgin lands on a large scale to increase grain output. But we cannot apply such a method in our country since we have no such lands. We must increase grain output by means of rehabilitating the devastated arable land, utilizing all the wastelands, increasing irrigated area through large-scale irrigation works and protecting land actively.

In order to increase agricultural production advanced methods of farming should be introduced actively.

Some people now are opposed to old farming methods, alleging

that they are all outworn. This is wrong. Not all the old farming methods are bad; there are good ones among them. Among the conventional farming methods bad ones should be discarded and good ones be applied continuously. Some others try to introduce foreign farming methods blindly, regarding them as advanced. This is also wrong. Not all foreign farming methods are good. Some of them are good but some others do not suit our conditions. Therefore, we should introduce good farming methods that bring high yields and should not accept bad ones, regardless of old or foreign farming methods. We should apply wide-row planting or close planting in small clusters or seedling-planting with a wide space between every two rows whichever is good.

In order to increase grain output we should plant high-yielding crops and introduce two-crop farming extensively. In the zones where double-cropping is possible we should plant barley or wheat as first crop and maize as second crop, thereby increasing the utilization of land. Only then can we grow more crops from a small area of land.

In such regions as North Hamgyong, Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces which suffer from frost damage, we should sow such crops as can resist the cold.

In farming it is important to select seeds properly and plant high-grade strains. Only then can the seeds thrive, crops grow well and rich harvests be gathered.

To increase agricultural production we should produce fertilizers in large quantities.

Since fertilizers are important in grain production the Party and state have directed great efforts to restoring chemical fertilizer factories and increasing their production. Next year we are going to produce about 130,000 tons of fertilizers at a rebuilt chemical fertilizer factory. We are planning to supply the countryside next year with 150,000 tons of homemade and imported chemical fertilizers, which is more than twice as much as this year.

But this alone is not sufficient to raise grain production up to the prewar level. In the prewar years we supplied some 220,000 tons of

artificial fertilizers to the countryside. Therefore, we must supply at least the same amount now also.

A large amount of compost should be prepared in order to cover the shortage of chemical fertilizers. True, there may be hardships in producing compost because of the shortage of labour in the countryside at present.

But we must clearly realize that without compost we cannot increase grain output, and must strive to produce it.

At the same time we must actively search for substitutes for fertilizers. Carbide ash is a good fertilizer. If you spread carbide ash over acidic lands, you can improve the soil. At present, hundreds of thousands of tons of carbide ash is piled up at factories, which should be used as fertilizer. Peat and silt, too, can be good fertilizers. A widespread struggle should be carried out in such areas as South Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces to dig up peat or silt, in the areas where there is plenty of it.

If we expand the arable land, introduce advanced farming methods and supply more fertilizers in this way, we can raise grain output rapidly and solve the acute food problem.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic which always pay keen attention to stabilizing and improving the peasants' livelihood will continue to take necessary measures in the future, too.

The state plans to amend the system of agricultural tax in kind partially.

Agricultural tax in kind now in force in our country is a good system. In the course of putting it in practice, however, there have appeared some irrationalities. For example, there are cases in which the tax in kind is not applied correctly because the estimated harvests are assessed either higher or lower than the actual results. In addition, the rate is set evenly, irrespective of good or bad lands. The rate of paddy fields is fixed as 27 per cent regardless of fully or poorly irrigated paddy fields and that of non-paddy fields as 23 per cent regardless of good fields in the plain or bad ones on the slope. Already in the period of the war we had found some irrational points in the Law

on Agricultural Tax in Kind and had planned to amend them, but have failed to do so to this date. Therefore, we intend to amend them slightly this year.

First of all, we are planning to fix the amount of tax in kind taking the average annual harvest as the standard. For example, if a hectare of field yielded a ton of maize in a year and 1.6 tons in another year, then for purposes of taxation we will estimate 1.3 tons as the average annual harvest. Also, we are going to vary the rate according to the fertility of the land. We intend to lower it from 27 per cent to 25 per cent on the poorly irrigated rice field and from 23 per cent to 15 per cent on the poorly yielding field in the highlands and mountain areas.

If we fix the amount of the tax in kind and lower its rate in some cases like this, we shall increase the peasants' zeal for production and improve their livelihood.

Also, the state plans to exempt the impoverished peasants from the payment of the Peasant Bank loans which were issued until 1953 and have not been paid off yet.

In order to encourage the peasants' sideline farming and increase their income, the state has decided to provide agricultural cooperatives with sheep, pigs, ducks and other domestic animals and birds at low prices. Recently it has also lowered the price of chemical fertilizers by 20 per cent, and is going to bring down the prices of daily necessities, including cotton cloth and rubber shoes, and school items in the future. This will increase the purchasing power of the peasants considerably.

We are also going to take measures to cover the shortage of manpower in the countryside and raise the cultural and technical levels of the peasants.

Today the countryside is short of manpower and there are not many learned people. Therefore, the state plans to discharge some old servicemen from the People's Army and send them to the countryside and keep the graduates of rural junior middle schools at their villages.

In the People's Army they learn politics as well as military skills every day, so those who have served in the army for three or four years have the standard of the junior or senior middle school graduate and

upwards in political and theoretical as well as cultural and technical attainments. Those who have served in the tank unit know how to drive tractors and lorries; those in the signal unit are versed in electricity; and those in the artillery and other technical arms possess different kinds of technical knowledge. So, if demobilized soldiers go to the countryside, they will play a big role not only in solving the manpower problem but also in raising the cultural and technical levels of the localities.

The question here is to get them to settle down in the countryside and do their job well. At present some discharged soldiers, oblivious of their past life in the countryside, are unsettled and anxious to go to towns and even reprove their wives for their low cultural standards, because they have visited many places during their service in the army and have certain cultural attainments. Party organizations, heads of democratic publicity halls and information workers in the countryside should intensify their education so that they settle down and work well and become nuclei in the countryside.

Also, they should actively help the junior middle school graduates who are unable to go to higher schools to work well in the countryside. Therefore, it seems advisable to open refresher courses at junior middle schools for these graduates to learn agro-technique for a year or so.

In order to solve the problem of draught animals the state plans to increase farm machine hire stations and send more tractors to the countryside. In the prewar days there were only a few hundred tractors in our countryside, but we have 1,800 at present. The state has supplied 1,000-odd tractors to the countryside this year, and is planning to send more in the future. In addition, we intend to send 1,800 horses which have been used in the army to agricultural cooperatives this autumn.

All these measures taken by our Party and the Government of the Republic will make a great contribution to speedily rehabilitating and developing the devastated agriculture and stabilizing and improving the peasants' livelihood.

What is important next is to consolidate the newly organized agricultural cooperatives.

We have already achieved a great success in the work of

transforming agriculture along socialist lines. Now, 43 per cent of the total peasant households belong to agricultural cooperatives, which is by no means a small figure.

An important problem confronting the agricultural cooperativization at present is to direct more efforts to consolidating the organized agricultural cooperatives qualitatively rather than increase their number. This will demonstrate the advantages of the cooperative economy to the peasants, play an exemplary role in the agricultural cooperativization and become a firm basis of the socialist rural economy. This will also be tantamount to preparing a dependable asset for developing the movement for agricultural cooperativization on a large scale in the future. In a military sense this is like fortifying the already occupied height to capture another. Continued attack without consolidating the already secured positions might cause a setback. Likewise, if we continue to organize agricultural cooperatives only, without consolidating the already formed ones, we might fail in the movement for cooperativization. Therefore, we must direct our efforts to consolidating the already formed ones to bring their advantages into full play.

In order to prove to the peasants the advantages of the cooperative economy over the private peasant economy the economic foundations of agricultural cooperatives should be strengthened.

We cannot bring home to the peasants the advantage of the cooperatives only by claiming that they are good. At present the overwhelming majority of the members of cooperatives are poor peasants and the families of those who fell in battle or were killed by the enemy or are now in the service of the People's Army. In this way agricultural cooperatives are formed with rural nuclei and activists, but their economic foundations are very weak.

Therefore, active efforts should be made to rezone, expand and improve the land. Boundaries of paddies and ridges between non-paddy fields should be rearranged, wastelands brought under cultivation and the soil improved and, where necessary, pumping machines should be set up and wells sunk to increase the irrigated area.

In order to make up the shortage of draught animals cooperatives should strive to buy them by their own efforts.

Farm implements should be improved as well. It is necessary to make an extensive use of animal-drawn sowers and weeders, instead of the backward ploughs, big and small, which were used in the days of individual peasant farming. The state plans to set up many farm machine hire stations in plain areas so that tractors do farm work such as ploughing, weeding and harvesting for cooperatives.

Agricultural cooperatives must farm in a planned way and actively introduce advanced farming methods. They must also raise pigs, cattle, sheep, bees and fish. This will be effective in increasing their members' income far more than that of the private peasants.

Only by consolidating the economic foundations of agricultural cooperatives and increasing their members' income, is it possible to prove to all the peasants the advantages of the cooperative economy and convince the cooperative members of them in practice.

In order to reinforce agricultural cooperatives it is important to intensify the education of their members.

Efforts should be made to enhance their socialist class consciousness.

We should bring home to them that the work of remoulding individual peasant farming along socialist lines aims at eliminating exploitation in the countryside. We carried out the agrarian reform after liberation and thus emancipated the peasants from the landlords' exploitation and oppression. But there still remain some exploitative practices in the countryside. This is because individual peasant farming exists. If we are to eradicate exploitation completely in the countryside we should effect the cooperativization of individual peasant farming.

We must increase the class and political awareness of cooperative members, pioneers of the agricultural cooperative movement, so that they play an active and central role in the struggle to transform individual peasant farming along socialist lines and oppose exploitative practices.

We should also educate them to love labour and participate in it voluntarily.

We must bring home to them that labour is a sacred and honourable duty not only to make themselves well-off but also to create the wealth of the state and society. Meanwhile, the socialist principle of distribution should be applied correctly. This is not just equalitarianism in which everybody gets equal share irrespective of the amount of work done, but a fairer principle of distribution in which one is remunerated according to work done. We must intensify the ideological education of cooperative members and, at the same time, implement a strictly socialist principle of distribution. Only then can we make all of them participate in labour honestly and prevent the practices of loafing on the job.

We must also strengthen education to encourage cooperative members to take loving care of state and public property as their own.

In managing agricultural cooperatives it is important to observe democratic principles strictly. All the members should be made to participate in the management of their cooperatives with equal rights so that they criticize negative phenomena, and supervise and control the management of cooperative property and the bookkeeping activities on a mass basis. Only then is it possible to eliminate misappropriation and waste, spot in good time the irregularities of idlers and moves of undesirable elements, and develop cooperatives on a sound basis.

If we are to strengthen agricultural cooperatives we should consolidate them not only politically and economically but also organizationally.

Party and social organizations today are not built up at cooperatives. If we are to consolidate them organizationally we must build up the Party organizations, enhance the class awareness of their members, appoint able people as Democratic Youth League chairmen and other leading officials of social organizations and enhance the role of these organizations. Meanwhile, we should build up cooperative management boards with good people to prevent idlers and bad

elements from infiltrating them. We are short of cadres capable of running cooperatives. So the state should train large numbers of bookkeepers and other management cadres and agro-technicians.

Now, I should like to dwell on some tasks facing the heads of rural democratic publicity halls.

They should, first of all, convince the peasants clearly that producing more grain is an important task for the building of socialist foundations and is a guarantee for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Only by producing large quantities of grain can we enrich the life of the people in the northern half of Korea, instil hope in the minds of the people in the southern half and encourage their struggle. When the people in the northern half of Korea become affluent, the south Korean people will yearn for the north and come out actively in the struggle against the puppet Syngman Rhee clique in order to enjoy as happy a life as the people in the north. Only when the south Korean people are awakened politically and rise up in the struggle, can the country's peaceful reunification be achieved speedily.

We should intensify the class education of the peasants so that they may not forget the past when they were exploited and oppressed.

At present there are no landlord class and landlordism in our country. But we must continue to strengthen the class education of the peasants so that they hate the landlords and oppose landlordism. The intensified class education will enhance the class awareness of the peasants and bring their patriotism into full play.

In the past, our peasants led a miserable life, harshly exploited, oppressed and maltreated by the landlords under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. If we neglect their class education, they might forget their oppression and exploitation in the past and, in the long run, might have the thought of loafing away by exploiting others, as their present life becomes bountiful, now that there are no landlords. Therefore, we should explain to the peasants how vicious the landlords were and how miserable their life was under landlordism, and should make them fully realize why the exploitation of others is bad. This will

lead all the peasants to hate the landlord class and exploitative system and fight against them relentlessly.

We should bring home to the peasants how they could become masters of land.

Our country's history shows that there were many peasants' struggles against feudal exploitation and oppression in the past. But, for a long time they failed to rid themselves of the landlords' exploitation and oppression and become masters of land. On the worldwide scale, too, the peasants shed their blood in protracted struggles for land, but there are many countries whose peasants have not yet become owners of land.

The people's power established in the northern half following liberation proclaimed the Agrarian Reform Law and confiscated the landlords' land and distributed it to the tillers, with the result that the peasants became owners of the land without the need of waging a harsh struggle. Our peasants should always remember that they could become proud masters of land thanks to the people's power and must have boundless love for this power and fight devotedly to strengthen and develop it.

It is important to make the peasants have a clear understanding of the people's power. The Government of the Republic is a genuine people's power which represents and defends the interests of the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the toiling people. Our people's power wrested lands and factories from the landlords and capitalists and turned them into the people's property and deprived them of their rights. It is composed of representatives of the workers, peasants and other working people, and among the deputies to power organs of all levels there are no landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation. In our country the working people have a say and they are masters of power.

On the contrary, the puppet Syngman Rhee regime of south Korea is an anti-people "regime" representing the interests of the landlords and capitalists. Its "National Assembly" is composed of representatives of the landlords and capitalists and there is not a single

representative of the workers and peasants in it. In south Korea the workers and peasants have no right at all. The Syngman Rhee puppet regime is a “regime” defending the interests of the landlords and capitalists. This is fully proved by the fact that during our temporary retreat in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War the landlords who had fled to south Korea soon after liberation accompanied US and puppet army troops here and wrested again the distributed land from the peasants and even tried to get the farm rent which they failed to collect over the five years after liberation.

The heads of democratic publicity halls must get the peasants to know clearly about the popular character of our government and the reactionary nature of the south Korean puppet regime so that they deeply realize that if they are to prevent the revival of landlordism, they should fight stubbornly against the reactionary regime of south Korea and for our people’s power.

We should conduct information work effectively to cement the worker-peasant alliance.

In order to do so we must convince the peasants as to who is the genuine ally of the peasantry. As all facts prove, it is the working class that fights for the interests of the peasants standing on their side. It is the working class that fought in the van to emancipate the peasants and all the rest of the people from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism. It is the working class that actively supported and assisted the peasants in their struggle to confiscate the landlords’ land and distribute it among them in the period of the agrarian reform following liberation. Last, it is also the working class that provides the peasants with fertilizers, farm machines, fabrics and other daily necessities.

The workers and peasants are the same working people, with the only difference in occupation according to the social division of labour. The peasants are the working people who produce rice in the countryside and the workers are the working people who manufacture goods at factories. If they form a firm alliance, there is nothing impossible for them; they will be successful in the struggle to topple the old society and in the building of a new one. During the Fatherland

Liberation War our workers and peasants fought in firm alliance and unity, with the result that they could safeguard the people's power, people's democratic system and democratic base of the northern half and dependably ensure our victory in the war.

Today the alliance of the workers and peasants has strengthened as never before. In spite of the difficult situation where everything is destroyed and in short supply, they are working energetically to rebuild factories and increase the production of food grains, overcoming all of difficulties. We must further strengthen this alliance and thus step up postwar reconstruction and the laying of foundations for socialism.

Along with cementing the worker-peasant alliance it is also important to increase solidarity between poor and middle peasants in the countryside.

Poor peasants are the semi-working class in the countryside. While like the working class they too live by their own labour without exploiting others, at the same time they are petty proprietors also in that they have some patches of land and instruments of production.

They are the basic nuclei on whom our Party relies in the countryside. If we are to carry out the Party's agrarian policy and materialize successfully the socialist transformation of agriculture in the countryside, we must rely firmly on poor peasants, while at the same time allying with the middle peasants. Like poor peasants, middle peasants live by their own efforts without exploiting others. The only difference between poor and middle peasants is that the latter have more means of production and are a little better off than the former. So middle peasants are poor peasants' ally who can fight in unity with the latter. Moreover, most of our middle peasants are those who became middle peasants as a result of the improvement of their livelihood after they had been given land through the agrarian reform. Therefore, the information workers in the countryside should conduct a good information work to cement solidarity between poor and middle peasants.

If the heads of democratic publicity halls are to carry out their tasks satisfactorily as information workers of the Party policy, they

should set examples in all aspects.

If they are not exemplary in their actual deeds, the masses will not believe in them, however well they may propagate with good materials. The heads of democratic publicity halls should be exemplary in their conduct, in their work and in keeping their homes. Only then can they have a say before the masses. If they fail to set an example in all aspects, they are stung by conscience and cannot ask others to work well and, in the long run, they fail to fulfil their tasks as Party policy information workers.

Information work at farming villages is more difficult and complicated than at factories. The workers work collectively at factories and are strongly organized. But the peasants work in a scattered way and, accordingly, are not as strongly organized as the workers. The workers have a strong revolutionary spirit because they have no private property, whereas the peasants are not high in revolutionary awareness because they have their own property and have bad tendencies to increase their property and live in idleness. Moreover, they are very obstinate and conservative. Therefore, they are reluctant to believe in others before they confirm things with their own eyes, however well they may be said. These outworn ideas and habits of the peasants cannot be eliminated in a day or two because they have been formed over thousands of years and, accordingly, their education is very difficult and assumes a protracted character.

The heads of rural democratic publicity halls should be patient in conducting information and educational work among the peasants and apply various methods taking into consideration the rural customs and habits while adhering to Party and class principles at the same time. Particularly, under the circumstances where many peasants are still engaged in the private economy and work and live in a scattered way, they should not try to conduct their information work only at the democratic publicity halls, but do it in the fields while working with them or during breaks. And they should speak informally in plain words taking into consideration the preparedness of the peasants. Only then can the information work be successful.

Last, I will touch on some questions raised by you.

You asked for a chance to study at schools so as to raise your qualifications as heads of democratic publicity halls. It is a good idea. In our country everybody has the right and duty to study. We had better open a course for heads of democratic publicity halls in provincial cadre-training schools so as to enable them to study there.

There was another question as to how those heads of democratic publicity halls who are concurrently agricultural cooperative members should do their work. It is natural that the head of democratic publicity hall should become cooperative member. In this case he should do his work well as head of democratic publicity hall and be exemplary in cooperative work as its member. Of course, it may be difficult to do both the jobs well. But if he tries to do only one job, he would be wrong. Only when he conducts information work, while working together with cooperative members at the same time, can he do it well. We should certainly guarantee proper work conditions for the heads of democratic publicity halls. If they are going to attend meetings or training courses, cooperatives should ensure them necessary time.

You suggested that you should be provided with papers, dyestuffs and carbide necessary for information work and that the peasants should be enabled to see movies regularly. All these problems can be solved in the future.

This time the Party and state have decided to give a suit of clothes to each head of democratic publicity hall. The authorities concerned must make organizational arrangements so that all of them return home in new clothes.

Requests were made to provide you with gramophones for your information work and lay electricity in farming villages. All these problems will be solved gradually according as the country's economic situation improves.

You should clearly understand our present economic situation and the prospect of its future development. Our country is not in a position to manufacture gramophones now. So, if we are to provide you with them, we must spend a large sum of money to import them. And we

need a lot of materials to lay power lines to all the villages. But we are short of money and materials. We are now in the stage of rebuilding the economy totally ravaged by the US imperialists. During the Three-Year Plan period we have to restore the destroyed economy to the prewar level. It is no easy job to restore in the three years what our ancestors built over a few thousand years.

We must channel money and materials at our disposal first to rebuilding the demolished factories. Their speedy rehabilitation will enable us to produce necessary things by ourselves and improve the people's livelihood rapidly.

At present the peasants want us to lower the prices of goods. But, unless we restore factories and normalize production, we cannot do so. If we are to reduce them and improve the people's livelihood, we must build many factories and produce large quantities of goods.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists did not build many consumer goods factories in our country. They plundered us of our raw materials and processed them in Japan into goods which they brought back to Korea to sell at high prices. Therefore, our country produced large quantities of ores and iron but could not manufacture even enamelware by itself. The Japanese imperialists built a very small number of textile mills in our country, and most of them were in the southern half and only a few in the northern half. In the past, therefore, only 14 centimetres of fabrics were annually allotted per head of the population in the northern half.

Now we are rehabilitating many factories to produce for ourselves what is needed for the people's livelihood. The Songjin Steel Plant is being rebuilt and expanded. When this project is completed, we will be able to produce on our own thin sheet iron needed for the production of daily necessities. And we will increase the number of spindles to more than 70,000 in order to solve the clothing question during the Three-Year Plan. Then we will be able to produce quantities of fabrics and lower their prices.

Our nation's economic development has a very good prospect. If all the people make redoubled efforts with hope and courage, they can

overfulfil the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy and attain the prewar level in all fields of the national economy during the plan period.

The heads of democratic publicity halls should widely explain to the peasants the prospect and possibility of the rehabilitation and development of our national economy, so that all of them strive with great hope and confidence to increase agricultural production and contribute actively to postwar reconstruction and the building of foundations for socialism.

ON SOME TASKS FOR IMPROVING STATE AND COOPERATIVE TRADE

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

June 29, 1955

Promoting state and cooperative trade is of great importance at present for stabilizing and improving the people's living standards. Only by developing it can we provide facilities for the people in their everyday life, promote their well-being steadily, and bring about closer economic ties between town and country.

Work in the field of trade, however, is not going on well now.

Officials of the Ministry of Commerce and the Central Committee of the Consumers' Cooperatives suggested that the turnover of goods this year should be cut by 2 billion *won* and that the commodity turnaround time should be prolonged by 5-7 days. This is entirely due to poor work in this field in the past.

The said officials neglected to organize and guide the work to overfulfil the goods distribution plan, pleading objective conditions as their excuse for poor showing in trade, and they failed to give substantial education to trade workers. As a result, state and cooperative trade is now lagging far behind the other fields of the national economy, failing to keep abreast of the developing reality.

At present, workers of both state and cooperative stores are lacking in the spirit of service. They are also wanting in cultured practices. In this respect, they are worse than private tradesmen. These latter keep

their goods clean and display them attractively for sale, whereas the former sell goods covered with dust and arrayed haphazardly. Our saleswomen are unkind to customers and lack sincerity in catering to their wishes.

Besides, this field has many shortcomings including an improper distribution of trade networks.

The shortcomings revealed in trade should be rectified as soon as possible, and trade improved decisively in keeping with the developing reality.

For this purpose, the education of trade workers should be strengthened, first of all, so that they may have a high sense of honour and responsibility for their work.

Many of our officials belittle and despise trade. Some trade workers regard their job as menial and do not work actively and creatively. This is very wrong.

This tendency has appeared among the trade workers because they have a poor understanding of the essential difference between our trade and capitalist trade.

Our trade is fundamentally different from the capitalist trade which cheats and exploits the working people. Ours is not a means of squeezing them. Our work is correct distribution and supply of goods to them. Trade in our country is a most honourable work serving the end of promoting the working people's material and cultural welfare. If they correctly know the importance of their duties and have a high sense of honour towards their work, the trade workers will offer better service to the working people and will display activity and initiative for their convenience.

We should intensify the education of trade workers so that they acquire a greater sense of responsibility towards their task, and work with devotion for the people with a pride in their sacred service for the people's well-being.

System and order should be thoroughly established in trade.

They say that at present the state and cooperative stores do not even have an elementary rule to correctly calculate and collect statistics of

their daily sales. An intense struggle should be waged against this indiscipline.

All the leading officials of the Ministry of Commerce, the Central Committee of the Consumers' Cooperatives and other trade institutions should establish system and order in business activities, and intensify guidance and supervision over trade networks.

For improvements in trade, the networks should be rationally distributed.

Stores and eating-houses should be set up in new workers' districts and trade networks expanded in mining areas. And foodstuff booths, manufactured goods stalls and beverage stands should be set up and run widely, and more hotels, barbershops and other public service establishments should be opened.

Goods should be well kept and cared for.

When nice goods are poorly kept, they get spoilt and lose their value.

If commodities are to be well kept and cared for, the responsibility and role of trade workers should be enhanced and, at the same time, facilities for their storage should be provided. Because some stores now have no warehouses or cold storages, goods are left outdoors in heaps and exposed to rain, and foodstuffs are spoiled. But officials of the State Planning Commission and local people's committees do not take measure to tackle this problem.

Warehouses and cold storages required by the Ministry of Commerce and the Central Committee of the Consumers' Cooperatives should be built. The building of these facilities for commercial use should be regarded as important as the building of industrial production facilities. The State Planning Commission should see to it that these warehouses and cold storages are built over and above the capital construction plan. And local people's committees should, as far as they can, strive to set up warehouses and cold storages for themselves. If it is hard to build them for permanent use right now, temporary buildings should be erected for the present to keep commodities properly.

Commodity packing should also be improved. At present, officials of the Ministry of Light Industry and other ministries in charge of production pay little attention to packing. This will not do. Packing is important for guaranteeing the quality of goods. In packing, neatness and durability should be ensured, so that commodities look attractive and, at the same time, are not damaged in the process of storage and transportation.

Commodities should be purveyed well.

In order to ensure a smooth supply of goods to stores, wholesale trade should be improved. Goods should be distributed evenly to meet the requirements of all inhabitants in cities, workers' districts and mountainous areas.

For a better supply of goods, the Ministry of Commerce should maintain close touch with the Ministry of Light Industry and other ministries in charge of production. The former should find out the kinds and amounts of goods wanted by the population and ask the latter for their production. Then the ministries concerned should turn out in time and in good quality what the Ministry of Commerce requires.

State and cooperative trading organizations should take steps for stocking commodities on their own.

At present, the people badly need vegetables, fruit, condiments and seafood. However, trade workers do not take measures to satisfy these needs on their own in the hope that the state may supply all of them. They should not try to meet the requirements of the population only with commodities provided by the state. If trade establishments purchase agricultural produce and seafood and sell them to the people, the latter's needs for foodstuffs will be met to a considerable extent. The trade establishments should stock commodities on their own as far as possible through efficient purchases.

To improve trade, local people's committees should enhance their role. Guidance of trade is one of the important jobs they should firmly take in hand. From now on, provincial, city and county people's committees should control trade and guide it in a responsible manner.

The training of commercial cadres should be improved.

Cadres in this area are insufficient in number even today, and will be still more so in the future when trade networks are expanded. Therefore, cadre training should be speeded up. The Ministry of Commerce and the Central Committee of the Consumers' Cooperatives should train cadres in a far-sighted way, and, for the present, organize short courses to fill up their shortage quickly.

A monthly magazine should be published to help trade workers raise their political and business level.

In the field of trade, special attention should be paid to improving consumers' cooperatives.

As an important sector of trade in our country, cooperative trade is responsible for commodity supply for the peasants. Improving it, therefore, is of great importance in raising the living standards of the farming population.

To improve cooperative trade, its networks should be extended to rural villages. At present, the networks of consumers' cooperatives are largely distributed in cities and county seats, but they are scarce in the villages. State trade agencies should take care of commodity supply to provincial, city and county seats and workers' districts, while cooperative trade organizations to rural areas. This principle should be strictly observed.

Only when consumers' cooperatives are staffed with excellent cadres, can cooperative trade be improved. These cadres should be selected from among disabled soldiers, families of the war-dead, bereaved families of the patriotic martyrs, dependents of the People's Army men and other good persons, though their business level may be rather low. And the existing Rules of the Consumers' Cooperative should be examined and so revised as to establish system and order in trade. The organizational system of the consumers' cooperatives should be well regulated from the grass roots to county, city, province and the centre.

The new Rules of the Consumers' Cooperative should fully ensure democracy in the activities of cooperatives and thoroughly serve the interests of their members. In particular, the rules should stipulate that

the senior cadres of cooperatives shall sum up their work regularly before the members. Only then will they be controlled by the members and prevented from committing irregularities, and will the members be well informed of how matters stand in their cooperative and show enthusiasm and creative initiative to develop its work.

Cooperative stores should properly conduct the purchase work. This will enable the peasants and fishermen to sell their private products in good time and buy necessary manufactured goods. It will help stir up their zeal for production and enable trade agencies to secure a great deal of foodstuffs and daily necessities for sale.

Consumers' cooperatives should conclude purchasing contracts with the peasants and lose no time in buying their sideline products. At the same time, the transactions for purchased goods should be well organized. The items purchased from the countryside should be sent to state stores in towns, and cooperative stores should also mutually accommodate commodities on the principle of meeting each other's needs. In this way, economic relations between town and country and between regions should be strengthened, and the requirements of the population be met.

Next, I would like to dwell on increasing capital investments in agriculture.

Rehabilitation and development of agriculture pose a very important problem at present. Its rapid restoration and development are indispensable to solve the problem of food and industrial raw materials and to ensure a high rate of growth in the national economy as a whole.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic took a series of measures to build up agriculture while developing heavy and other industries in accordance with the basic line of postwar economic construction.

Keeping a correct balance between industry and agriculture, the two major sectors of the national economy, is one of the principles that must be upheld in drawing the economic plan.

The State Planning Commission, however, does not observe this principle in working out the national economic plan nor does it

accurately implement our Party's basic line of economic construction. In formulating national economic plans in recent years, it has allocated poor capital investments in agriculture and industries serving it. As a result, agriculture is relatively behind industry which has been rapidly restored and developed in the postwar years and, consequently, there has developed a state of affairs in which the growing demand for food and industrial raw materials is not well satisfied.

If we are to restore and develop agriculture quickly, we should increase capital investments in this domain. At the last plenary meeting of the Cabinet, therefore, we decided to allot additional a billion *won* and more for agriculture in the second half of this year. As it is hard to increase the total capital investment, we should readjust the funds which have already been allotted to industry and other fields of the national economy so as to appropriate more for agriculture.

Even if we do not allot additional funds for agriculture, it is necessary to reexamine and to some extent readjust this year's plan for capital construction. The plan is too huge to be feasible, in view of the actual conditions for guaranteeing its implementation.

Various shortcomings have been revealed in carrying out the capital construction plan for the first half of this year. Such important building materials as cement, bricks and timber have not been produced as planned, nor designs prepared in good time. This has impeded the normal conduct of work at construction sites. Now, a great deal of manpower is wasted. It is because the officials of construction projects are perfunctorily employing as many labour force as planned without taking into consideration the possibility of material supply to the given projects. This is a very serious phenomenon in view of the present conditions when the labour and food situation is acute.

It cannot be said that some plans for production and capital construction this year have been worked out with full consideration of the actual possibilities. The production and capital construction plans for the second half of the year should be readjusted in parts to suit the existing possibilities. This is essential to eliminate the waste of manpower and establish a rigid discipline of planning in different

areas of the national economy.

We gave directions to the officials of the State Planning Commission to reduce this year's capital investments in many fields of the national economy except agriculture by some 1,500 million *won*, and they worked out a readjusted plan for cutting down 1,465 million *won* in consultation with the officials of the ministries, bureaus and provincial people's committees concerned. It seems to me that the cut is rather small, but it should be put into effect as planned. Only then can the capital construction plan of this year be fulfilled and at the same time agriculture built up. If the capital construction plan is readjusted, no small construction projects for which manpower has already been allocated will be dropped. This may create difficult problems to the ministries, bureaus and provincial people's committees. But we should be bold enough to readjust the capital construction plan. With a plan which is not feasible without material supplies for its implementation, we cannot eliminate waste of manpower, and will only have many unfinished construction projects at the end of the year to be carried over to next year.

Manpower released by readjusting the capital construction projects should be allocated properly. The surplus manpower released through readjusting the capital construction plan should be diverted to rural construction in an organized way. The Ministry of Labour and other ministries, bureaus and provincial people's committees concerned should carry out thorough political work among the released workers and technicians who are to leave for rural construction, and should arrange adequate working and living conditions for them.

Last, I am going to touch upon some problems arising in education work.

It is said that this year many primary and junior middle school leavers will be unable to enter higher grade schools. For them supplementary classes should be opened at primary and middle schools.

It will be a good idea that for those leaving primary school and unable to go to middle school, a one-year primary supplementary class

should be opened to teach them the first-grade basic subjects of junior middle school. For those who finish the middle school but cannot go on to a higher grade school, a one-year technical supplementary class should be opened to impart some technical knowledge and skills concerning industry or agriculture to them.

The technical supplementary class subjects should be decided in keeping with the specific features of the given area. The agricultural supplementary class should teach general technical problems of agriculture—knowledge of manuring and cultivating crops, of soil, agricultural chemicals and damage by blight and noxious insects, as well as how to use farm machinery. The industrial supplementary class should also give lessons in general technical problems of industry.

The Ministry of Education should compile and provide teaching programmes for the supplementary classes in keeping with the demands of the realities and publish textbooks in good time. Ministries, bureaus and provincial people's committees should take measures so that the facilities of factories, enterprises and crop and stock farms under their jurisdiction may be used by the students of technical supplementary classes for laboratory and practical training.

For the organization of supplementary classes, the Ministry of Education should increase relevant teaching staff at the schools where such classes are to be instituted, and the ministries, bureaus and provincial people's committees concerned should appoint those on the active list who are qualified for teachers of technical subjects of the supplementary classes.

You need not erect new buildings for supplementary classes. It will be enough to attach a primary supplementary class to a primary school and a technical one to a middle school.

Measures should be taken for cadres and working people to raise their level of knowledge, both general and of natural science.

If the cadres are ignorant, they cannot manage the developing socialist economy correctly, and if the working people fail to raise their technical and cultural levels, they cannot ensure production

properly at factories and enterprises which are being equipped with up-to-date technology.

Since most of our cadres are of worker or peasant origin, they were denied an opportunity of education in the past. Therefore, correspondence courses and evening schools for cadres should be opened to educate them on the job, so that they acquire the knowledge of the higher middle school graduates.

Working youth schools should be opened in major production enterprises to enable the working people to study while working, and evening middle schools should be set up in newly-liberated areas. Thus, the working people's level of general knowledge should be raised further still.

ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

**Talk with the Faculty Members and Students
of Kim Il Sung University**

July 1, 1955

Availing myself of this opportunity of meeting you today, I would like to dwell on some problems arising in strengthening the work of education and scientific research at colleges and universities.

The University and other institutes of higher learning have so far trained quite a few technicians and experts and sent them to the different spheres of the national economy. But we cannot rest content with this.

Today we are confronted with weighty tasks of forcing the US imperialist aggressor troops out of south Korea to reunify the country, rehabilitating the war-ravaged national economy and laying the foundations of socialism. If we are to carry out these tasks with success we need a large number of excellent cadres of our own. At present cadres are needed everywhere. If we have a lot of able cadres we can do everything by our own efforts.

The position and role of the University is very important in resolving the problem of our own cadres. The University is the highest seat of learning in our country and a reliable centre to train Korean cadres. It should train a larger number of excellent cadres armed firmly

with our Party's ideology and equipped with advanced science and technology, so as to contribute positively to the successful implementation of our revolutionary tasks.

1. ON STRENGTHENING EDUCATIONAL WORK

In order to arm the students firmly with our Party's ideology and train them to be excellent cadres equipped with advanced science and technology, the educational work of colleges and universities should be improved to meet the demands of developing realities.

What is important in this work is to closely combine theory and practice. Only by doing so can we develop the students to be worthy revolutionary personnel equipped with both theoretical and practical ability. Those who only know theory but are unable to translate it into practice are of no use however many they are. Colleges and universities must not turn out cripples who only know theory but do not know how to put it into practice.

Experimental practice is one of the main links in closely combining theoretical and practical education. This is an important form of education to consolidate the knowledge acquired at lectures and foster the ability to apply it skilfully in practice.

But some teachers attach more importance to lectures and neglect practical training. If you regard it as secondary and do not do it adequately in educational work, you cannot give the students living knowledge which they can apply in practice. At colleges and universities you must eliminate the tendency to make light of practical work and carry it out only as scheduled in the curriculum. Profound attention should be paid particularly to experimental work on the natural science subjects.

This training should be conducted in such a way as to get the students to acquire general theory about their specialized fields of

science and skills to solve pressing problems in developing our national economy.

For the students of the faculty of physics and mathematics stress should be laid on giving them profound knowledge of physical phenomena of nature and fostering practical abilities to apply it to the advancement of our science and technology and the development and utilization of natural resources. Today I saw the students of this faculty making analytical experiments on rare metals with spectroscopes. It is good to conduct a lot of such experiments. If they are conducted effectively it will be of great help in developing and utilizing rare metals which are abundant in our country.

Many experimental practices should also be conducted in electricity. As for the radar, the students should not be taught just the fundamentals of its operation, but made to handle it in practice. During the last war our People's Army used many radiolocators in fighting enemy planes. It is very important to have a knowledge of electricity in view of our experience in the Fatherland Liberation War and the postwar reconstruction.

For the students of the faculty of chemistry it is necessary to afford them a deep theoretical understanding of the chemical nature of matter while at the same time developing their ability to produce new chemical products by using our country's rich raw materials. We should also see that they have a full grasp of the production processes at our chemical factories and their fundamentals.

For the students of the faculty of biology, the emphasis should be on studying and analysing physiological features of our fauna and flora. Our country has *insam* and many other medicinal herbs and good grass which can be used as fodder for domestic animals. If these herbs and grass are investigated and utilized, it will do much towards the improvement of the people's health and solve the meat problem as well.

You should improve the practice for the students of the faculty of geography. I saw a geological map of Korea prepared by them in their practical training, but the area on the upper reaches of the River Tuman

was marked incorrectly. Along this river there is a very rich deposit of coal. A correct geological map should be drawn after a thorough survey and study so that there can be a full-scale development of this area in the future.

For a successful experimental training it is necessary to make good preparations. Because the experiment needs scientific accuracy, success cannot be achieved in a slipshod manner, without meticulous preparation.

What is most important in all this is the teachers' preparedness. They should make a deep study of reference literature before they work out the course of instruction and perfect it through collective discussion. After that they should conduct experiments prior to drawing up a specific experimental training programme. Teachers should first make preliminary experiments at the testing bench. Then they will be able to give instructions on experiments with confidence and to be demanding of the students. And the teachers should guide the students to carry out their practical training after the latter have fully studied the instruction and got their knowledge tested.

In order to raise the qualitative level of experimental work it is essential to raise the teachers' qualifications, as well as making adequate preparations. At present the qualitative level of this training falls short of developing realities. The main reason lies precisely in their low qualifications. Teachers must strive to raise their academic level.

Adequate conditions for laboratory work should be provided at colleges and universities.

If apparatuses and facilities are not provided properly, the students cannot conduct experiments well—both in scope and depth. In former days when we attended middle school, we had no apparatuses and facilities. So we could not even make a test on the fundamentals of the operation of a hand pump. So the teacher drew it on a sheet of paper and taught the students. The Japanese imperialists did not even provide schools with simple apparatuses and did all they could to prevent Koreans from learning technology.

We should provide ample apparatuses and facilities for the students to conduct laboratory work to their heart's content. In the wartime we could not equip college laboratories well, but things are different now. There is the armistice and, further, quite a few factories and enterprises have been rehabilitated. Therefore, once we decide and set to work, we will be quite able to manufacture whatever is needed by the colleges. The Nampho Glass Factory should produce glass apparatuses, reagent bottles and the like. Special apparatuses and equipment which cannot be manufactured in our country should be imported.

Colleges and universities must not depend on the state alone for all their requirements but must fabricate their own apparatuses and equipment. Of course, it is not an easy task. Yet, you need not regard it as something mysterious. The University did acquire a lot of experience in this field during the Fatherland Liberation War. They should utilize this experience and fabricate whatever they can.

Scientific instruments and equipment used in experiments should be maintained with great care. However good they are, they cannot ensure scientific accuracy if they are not kept well. Further, if they are handled carelessly, they would not be of benefit for the education of the students either. The students should get used to handling apparatuses with great care even from their school days. Then they will take good care of state property after they have gone into the world. Colleges and universities should inculcate among the students the habit of taking good care of all equipment.

The University is short of laboratory apparatuses and equipment, so they should avail themselves of the use of facilities at the Academy of Sciences.

Biology hall and geography museum should be well arranged to serve both education and scientific research.

Before the war I had visited the biology hall. It seems to me that now the zoological and botanical specimens are not better arranged and their variety is somewhat less than then. It should have all specimens of fauna and flora existing in our country. You should bring in not just one kind of rice but every variety that is raised in our

country, as well as all varieties of maize. Our country grows a lot of maize but the yield is not high. It is mainly because the seed is not productive. If we are to improve the seed to get high-yielding strains, we should bring in and study every variety of maize growing in our country. The biology hall should also have all the specimens of our fish and birds. In short, the University's biology hall should have the widest collection of specimens of plants and animals in our country.

Our country abounds not only in fauna and flora but in mineral resources. It also has very beautiful scenery. So, since olden days it has been called a golden tapestry of three thousand *ri*. If we are to exploit the mineral resources and make effective use of them, we should know where they are and what they are. The University should put its geography museum in good shape and display there specimens of minerals found in our country. This will be effective for the education of the students.

The libraries of colleges and universities should be well furnished and used widely.

You should get back quickly the books evacuated during the war and stock the library with them, and should also properly mend the books damaged by enemy bombings. The library should have Party documents and other books on social and natural sciences. It should acquire a stock not only of books printed in our country after liberation but also of books published before liberation and foreign publications on science and technology. It should collect as many books as possible lest the teachers and students feel inconvenience in teaching and study because of the shortage of reference books.

The reading rooms, too, should be well maintained. Desk lamps should be put on the reading tables and carpets laid on the floor, so that the teachers and students using the library do not feel any inconvenience. In the future a modern science-library should be set up separately at the University.

What is next in importance in strengthening educational work is to teach the students well.

Unless we educate the students properly, we cannot develop them

to be revolutionaries loyal to the Party, the revolution, the country and the people. Therefore, colleges and universities should always pay profound attention to the education of the students. In the first place, we should educate the students in the spirit of loving the people ardently. Our students are not sons and daughters of the landlords and capitalists like those in capitalist countries; they are sons and daughters of the workers and peasants. Therefore, our students should be the people's students who serve the people. Colleges and universities should educate the students to serve the people and share life and death, sweets and bitters, with them, always remembering that they are sons and daughters of the workers and peasants. Meanwhile, the noble trait of loving the people, which is being brought into full play among the students, should be popularized widely.

At present, I was told, there is a drive for each of the University students to save 30 grams of rice a day for the peasants who are facing natural calamities. This is praiseworthy, indeed; it is an expression of the lofty feeling to love and help people. Other colleges and universities should nurture among the students such a laudable trait as a model.

We should imbue the students with the spirit of loving labour. In our society labour is the most sacred and honourable duty. All our material wealth is created by labour and all our work is designed for the eternal prosperity of the nation. Colleges and universities should see that the students participate in labour too. Labour brings forth a will to endure difficulties and a collectivist spirit, and it is also good for health. Recently the University's students worked well in the road construction in front of the West Pyongyang Stadium. Colleges and universities should enthuse students to take part in the building of the capital in a planned way and create in them fondness for work.

The students should be brought up in the spirit of overcoming difficulties. Those who hesitate or waver in the face of difficulties cannot be our cadres. We need people who fight on stubbornly without hesitation in any adversity. At present we are faced with many difficulties. They are temporary, of course. When we have fulfilled the

Three-Year Plan, the national economy will surpass the prewar level in all fields, and the people's living standards will rise markedly. Colleges and universities should clearly put before the students the country's situation as a whole and its bright future, so that they put up with the temporary hardships of today. The internal and external situation facing our Party today, particularly the building of the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea, demands that we further intensify the class education of Party members and other working people. Therefore, the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held last April put forward the basic orientation and specific tasks of class education at the present time. According to this colleges and universities should intensify the class education of the students.

Colleges and universities should instil into students the revolutionary habit of study and of working hard.

Study is the main task for the students. They should study hard. Before liberation our people could not get education however much they wanted it, but now everybody is able to learn to his heart's content. Although the country is not so well-off, we let them study, even offering them scholarships. Students should study hard in their university days and prepare themselves politically and ideologically, scientifically and technically, so that they can do much work for the Party and people in the future. To this end, they should study the Party's policy well and strive to acquire scientific knowledge on their special subjects, and also study hard to master foreign languages.

In order to study well and keep healthy, the students should take part in physical culture regularly. Colleges and universities should provide all facilities for this. The students of the University should be model for all the students throughout the country in physical culture, too. Students should be guided to live their life properly. Colleges and universities should make sure that they live frugally at all times, as befitting the people's students, and are dressed neatly and behave politely.

There are quite a few demobilized soldiers among the University's students. Comrades who fought bravely at the front during the war

come to study at colleges and universities. This is very good. The Party expects much of them. It may be a little difficult for them at first. But studying is not so mysterious. If they buckle down to it with the same spirit as they had in fighting the US imperialist aggressors at the front, they will make good. The point in question is how much efforts they can put in. Colleges and universities should see to it that the teachers give them good guidance.

Training the demobbed at institutes of higher education is part of our Party's policy of cadre training. From now on, colleges and universities should give priority to enrolling and training them. If many of them are enrolled at colleges and universities, the composition of the students will improve.

2. ON CONDUCTING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WORK EFFICIENTLY

Ours is an age of science and technology. Without developing both we cannot make effective use of the country's natural resources for the development of the national economy and for the people's well-being. Developing science and technology has become a matter of special importance in our country which was underdeveloped in the past owing to Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

Today we have conditions and possibilities of developing them rapidly. We have made strenuous efforts and created some necessary conditions for scientific and technological advancement and have trained many scientists. More than half of the University teachers are young people we trained after liberation. If the old-timers and young scientists pool their energy and wisdom, they will be able to solve many problems in scientific research work.

The University should intensify research work, so as to solve the scientific and technical problems arising in rehabilitating the damaged

economy and accelerating the country's industrialization and boldly enter new fields of science.

In the field of physics, researches on supersonic waves should be intensified. Our country, seabound on three sides, is abundant in fish. We should increase the catch in order to raise the people's nutritional standards. Therefore, we should spot shoals of fish by scientific methods. To do this, supersonic waves should be turned to account. The University had better study this problem.

In the field of biology, research on the problem of fodder for domestic animals has to be done. In this connection it is important to explore the feasibility of using wild grass as fodder. This will enable us to develop stockbreeding rapidly without spending much money. Our country, nearly 80 per cent of whose territory is mountainous, abounds with vegetable resources. Effective research work will enable us to find plenty of good pasturage for domestic animals. From ancient times our forefathers bred animals with the grass growing in our mountains and plains. Fruitful researches should be conducted on wild grass, in order to check and find grass available for fodder and seek the methods of cultivating it.

Research work should be intensified also on wild edible greens and herbs, and literature on useful plants in the country should be produced and widely disseminated.

It is also necessary to study the problem of developing sericulture, both for making clothes for the people and for earning foreign currency. It is said that at present a foreign country is raising a great many silkworms on castor leaves. This method of growing silkworms should be studied at the University.

Investigation and research should also be conducted on our soil. Our country has large tracts of acidic soil. We must find out ways to make the whole area fertile. As our arable land is limited, it is important to ameliorate the existing lands and increase their utilization, while seeking out new lands. Effective investigation and analytical work should be conducted on our soil and rational ways and means found to improve it.

In addition, there are many other problems, such as developing fish culture, that need to be studied.

In the field of geography, the problem of reclaiming tidelands should be studied. This plays a very important part in increasing arable land. On the west coast there are plenty of tidelands which can be reclaimed and used as farmlands. I was told that if the sea between Cholsan Peninsula and Sinmi Island in North Phyongan Province is closed up, 10,000 hectares of new lands can be obtained. It is a tremendous thing to secure that much new land at once. The faculty of geography should seek out easy ways and means to keep off the sea from the tidelands. Then we can use them as farmlands after desalinating them. There may be different ways to drain the salt off the tidelands; we may apply a chemical method or the method of washing it away or planting reeds for several years. We should study which method is rational to remove salinity.

Researches should also be carried out to bring wastelands under cultivation in the northern alpine region.

In the field of natural science, research work should be conducted to explore new domains in a far-sighted way.

Needless to say, this is not an easy job. To do this, teams of scientists should be prepared and material conditions provided. But we cannot just sit and wait until all conditions are at hand. When we started setting up the University right after liberation, we did not have all necessary conditions. Once scientists are determined and set to work, they will be quite able to find new areas of science.

At present it is important to strengthen research work on atomic physics in exploring new scientific fields. I think it is high time that we set about researches on atomic energy in our country, too. While conducting researches in nuclear physics the University should train scientists for this field systematically.

The University should also carry out research work on electronics and automation. Besides these, there is a lot of work to be done in opening up new avenues of science. Since the University is the highest seat of learning it should act as pioneer in opening up new fields of science.

In the field of social science, stress should be put on studying the heritage of national culture. During the war I visited Paeksong-ri and assigned the University teachers with the task of conducting researches on the subjects relating to Korea. But it seems that there has been no success worth mentioning. We must study the nation's cultural legacy so as to discard what is reactionary and retain and develop what is progressive, in keeping with the realities of today. The University should replenish teachers needed in the study of subjects concerning Korea and make good organizational arrangements, and thereby achieve success in the research in this field.

Last, I am going to touch briefly on improving the maintenance of colleges and universities and welfare supply services.

Good care should be taken of the premises of colleges and universities. The classrooms, laboratories and all other facilities should be arranged methodically and kept neat and tidy. You want to have another building. True, the present building is not spacious enough, but you should put up with it for the time being. In the future, when our country becomes better off, we can erect large buildings equipped with modern facilities on both sides of the main building.

Apart from taking good care of the buildings, you should have sufficient instruments and equipment necessary for teaching. You should not try to have everything at once, but begin with those things badly needed for teaching, such as desks, chairs, blackboards, experimental benches, specimen rooms and so on.

There is a proposal to move the University to some other place, but it is unnecessary. It is better for the University to stay on here. In future we should remove the dwellings around the University to other places gradually and build up the surroundings into a nice university campus. A lot of trees should be planted around the University and tended neatly.

The dormitories should be taken care of. They should be furnished with necessary facilities and fixtures so that the students can lead hygienic and cultured lives.

A rest home for the faculty members and students should be built as

well as a hospital with enough beds.

As we often stress, welfare supply services are an important political work. When these services are done well, the faculty members and students can put their heart and soul into education, scientific researches and studies.

The students' dietary standards should be improved. More cooking oil and fish should be supplied to them, as well as plenty of vegetables. If the University runs the sideline farm properly, it will be able to supply the students with plenty of cabbage, radish, cucumbers, tomatoes and the like.

School uniforms should be made for the students. We should make nice summer clothes of a colour suited to the students and also supply them with working clothes separately.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic always pay profound attention to and spare nothing for the training of the nation's cadres. We will supply anything to the colleges and universities on a priority basis if it is necessary for their educational work.

Our Party and people expect a lot from the University. I hope the faculty members and students will conduct education, scientific researches and studies satisfactorily, and come up to the expectations of our Party and people.

ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

July 11, 1955

Now I am going to deal with some matters arising in strengthening the work of the Ministry of Transport.

As was pointed out in the report and debate, some successes were achieved in the work of this ministry, but quite a few shortcomings were also revealed in the past.

The most serious shortcoming was that the leadership personnel of the ministry and management bureaus were bureaucratic and did not conduct guidance work to good effect.

The ministry and bureau officials did not give specific, prompt and effective guidance to the lower units; they substituted their guidance by issuing orders and directives recklessly. At the Ministry of Transport, bureau and office directors and section chiefs prepared and sent down the same instructions already issued by the Minister. By issuing many unnecessary papers like this, they caused confusion in the work of the lower echelons.

Instead of studying their work deeply and taking concrete steps to conduct it, quite a few officials of the ministry and management bureaus take delight in shouting commands to their subordinates, putting on airs.

The officials of the political bureau of the Ministry of Transport,

too, did their work unsatisfactorily.

The main task of the ministry's political bureau is to set the Party organizations and members in motion to ensure the successful carrying out of tasks assigned to the ministry. However, the officials of this bureau did not conduct their work well; they did political work in a perfunctory way.

They substituted their work by calling meetings frequently and laid stress only on the activities of amateur art circles. They did not work properly to get the policies, decisions and instructions of the Party and the Government known to Party members and other workers and, instead of persuading and educating Party members to do their jobs well, they worked in such a way as to inflict penalties on them. That is why, of late, the number of penalized members has increased considerably in the Party organizations under the Ministry of Transport. At the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held last April the problem of eliminating bureaucratism was discussed and appropriate measures were adopted; nevertheless, our officials work not by persuading and educating Party members but in bureaucratic and penalizing ways. This is wrong. You cannot solve the question by inflicting penalties on Party members. The political bureau and the political departments under its jurisdiction also failed to keep close ties with local Party organizations.

Because officials of the ministry and management bureaus and the political bureau worked bureaucratically and did not give efficient guidance, they have failed to solve the problem of improving the living conditions of the employees in railway transport; they have also failed to tackle other problems which could be solved on their own. So, various negative phenomena have appeared one after another.

In the sphere of railway transport, accidents and thefts have not vanished, and the freight haulage plan is not fulfilled regularly. Theft of state property has not been eliminated from the railways. This is a very grave matter. So far the minister and the director of the political bureau have not reported these facts promptly to the Party Central Committee, nor have they taken steps to do away with thefts. Instances

of stealing state property occur in the railways because outdated ideas still remain in the minds of people, but, more importantly, because education is neglected and discipline and order have not been thoroughly established in railway transport.

What, then, is to be done to improve the work of the Ministry of Transport in future?

First of all, the bureaucratic work style persisting among cadres of the ministry and management bureaus should be eradicated and their sense of responsibility and role enhanced.

Without discarding bureaucratism, the work of the Ministry of Transport cannot be improved nor can the Party's policy on transport be implemented correctly.

From now, improving the work style of its leading officials should be regarded as an important matter by the Ministry of Transport. It should make vigorous efforts to remove bureaucratism from among them and establish a popular work style. Leading ministry and management bureau officials should often go to lower units to get acquainted with the details of the actual conditions, give effective guidance accordingly, and unravel knotty problems in good time.

Leadership personnel of the ministry and management bureaus should display the admirable quality of helping and pulling each other by the hand, and vice-ministers, in particular, should raise their sense of responsibility and give substantial help to the minister in his work. The minister cannot manage the work of the ministry satisfactorily by himself. Only when the vice-ministers give effective assistance to the minister in his work, will the work of the ministry go well. To help the latter in his work is an important duty of the former. At present, however, the vice-ministers of transport do not help their minister well in his work. A certain vice-minister is dissatisfied with his post and does not work as he should, saying that he is a stranger to the railways. It is mainly because of the vice-ministers' irresponsible work attitude that in railway transport today discipline and order are lacking, and decisions and directives of the Party and Government are not executed to the letter. In future, the Ministry of Transport should take steps to

enhance their sense of responsibility and role.

It is necessary to raise the role of the directors of railway management bureaus. This is important for improving the work of railway transport and strengthening the whole work of the railways. It is of special importance in the present situation when they fail to play their role adequately. The Ministry of Transport should always pay profound attention to raising their role and sense of responsibility. Meanwhile, the role of ministry bureau directors, too, should be enhanced.

Next, the work of the political bureau of the Ministry of Transport should be improved.

Today, the Party's forces in transport compare quite well with those in the People's Army. Its political workers have relatively rich work experience, and the composition of the employees as well is good. However, political work does not go well at the Ministry of Transport. The main reason is that the people of the political bureau work not by Party methods but in a bureaucratic way.

They should bring Party and Government policies, decisions and directives home to the Party members and other employees and intensify their political and ideological education so that they fulfil their duties satisfactorily. The political workers must always work by explaining and persuading and must not simply try to punish Party members who have committed errors; they should tirelessly persuade and educate them to become aware of their errors, correct them quickly and work well.

In order to enhance the role and sense of responsibility of Party organizations in railway transport and strengthen the work in this sphere, the Party organizations under the political bureau of the Ministry of Transport should be subordinated to local Party organizations. This will enable the former to be assisted and directed by the latter and strengthen Party work in railway transport. It will also strengthen the ties of the railways with the people as well as with different branches of the national economy, and ensure success in railway haulage. In future, the political bureau of the Ministry of

Transport should confine itself to the political and ideological education of Party members and other employees.

Next, rigorous discipline and order should be established in railway transport.

If discipline and order in railway transport are to be as strict as in the army, the railways must have regulations. In the army, all work is conducted according to the regulations. Where many people work together, unity of action can be guaranteed only when there are regulations. Needless to say, railway transport has some regulations on work. The Ministry of Transport should examine the existing regulations and supplement them or prepare new ones, if necessary.

The question lies not in making regulations, but in getting them known to and strictly observed by the employees. Just as the People's Army educates the recruits to voluntarily abide by military discipline and regulations, so in railway transport they should educate the new employees to abide strictly by the discipline and regulations. This will make everybody from the minister down to workers observe the regulations of their own accord. At the same time, supervision should be intensified so that all the employees keep fast to discipline and regulations.

To proceed. The technical and skill levels of cadres and workers in railway transport should be raised.

This is the only way to guarantee railway haulage successfully.

For this purpose it is necessary to strengthen technical education. It should be given to all employees—from cadres of the ministry and management bureaus to workers. The technical schools should not only educate new employees but also re-educate cadres on the active list.

The Ministry of Transport should make a detailed study of the system and plan of technical education and reform them, and make a good education programme to suit the preparedness of the cadres and workers. In addition, enough material for study should be prepared. In future, the Ministry of Transport should set the technical education of cadres and workers as an important task, and conduct it actively.

Further, an end should be put to wastages, and the struggle for economy should be intensified.

At present, a large amount of valuable state property is being wasted, because all officials of the Ministry of Transport—from cadres in the ministry to workers in management bureaus—have little interest in the struggle for economy and do not observe the state's regulations to the letter. Some officials spend randomly the coal imported with valuable foreign currency, and others only ask for equipment and materials but they do not know how to tap and utilize those scattered everywhere around them. This is so because efforts by officials in railway transport are lacking for meeting the requirements of the Party's policy on intensifying the struggle for economy.

The Ministry of Transport should conduct a vigorous mass movement for economy and put an end to the prodigious waste of valuable equipment and materials. They should not merely expect the state to supply them with the equipment and materials, but should actively explore and use the latent reserves. They should particularly save plenty of imported coal. From now on, the ministry officials should pay special attention to the economization on foreign currency.

Next, the living conditions of the employees should be well looked after.

The engine drivers should be given better treatment and provided adequate conditions for rest. Since they drive locomotives, their duty is very important. That is why we have more than once emphasized the need for treating them well. However, their present living conditions are not so good. They must not be treated in the same manner as ordinary workers. They should be provided with good dining and sleeping rooms of their own, and also fully guaranteed conditions for rest so that they do not feel inconveniences in the least. It will be also a good idea to give better treatment to the railway dispatchers.

The Ministry of Transport should have consultations with the organizations concerned and raise the employees' wages somewhat, reduce the present prices of clothes by 15-20 per cent, and supply more goods to the workers and office employees.

Also, dwellings should be built for the employees. Houses for railway workers should be constructed next year for which local materials should be used as much as possible. The dormitories for unmarried people should be better organized and run by the ministry.

The Ministry of Transport should efficiently conduct the work of deeply studying the war experience, amassing and sifting the data. A detailed plan should be drawn to this end.

I believe that transport officials will correct the defects revealed so far as soon as possible, and decidedly improve transport, so as to contribute positively in solving the nation's tense haulage problem.

REPORT AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST 15 LIBERATION

August 14, 1955

Dear comrades,

We are now celebrating the tenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation, our national holiday, amidst vigorous efforts of labour for postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

Ten years ago, our nation was liberated from nearly 40 years of colonial slavery. Since then the Korean people have enjoyed national freedom and independence and set out on the road to creating a new history.

The Soviet people not only sacrificed blood to help our people in their liberation struggle against the Japanese imperialist marauders, but are also giving them material and moral aid.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation today, on behalf of all the Korean people, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to express profound thanks and regard to the Soviet people, who are the intimate friends of our people, and to the Communist Party, Government and army of the Soviet Union.

I also express deep gratitude and regard to the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Volunteers, as well as the Chinese people who waged a long-drawn-out struggle jointly with the Korean people against

Japanese imperialism; who sacrificed blood for us by sending to the Korean front the Volunteers formed with their best sons and daughters, under the banner of “Resist US aggression and aid Korea” in the most difficult period of the Fatherland Liberation War waged by the Korean people against the US imperialist aggressors; and who continue to aid our people in postwar reconstruction.

I offer warm greetings to all the Korean people who repelled the invasion of the US imperialists, defending national freedom and independence, and who are making devoted efforts for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy and the peaceful reunification of the country.

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Dear comrades,

Under Japanese imperialist rule, the Korean people had no political rights and liberties, but were subjected to harsh feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation. The development of the national economy suffered a severe setback; the education, culture and customs of the Korean nation were trampled underfoot. The Japanese imperialist rulers imprisoned and slaughtered hundreds of thousands of our patriots who rose up in the anti-Japanese struggle in order to save the nation from ruin.

With the defeat of Japanese imperialism which had occupied our country, the road to regeneration lay open before the Korean people.

The liberated Korean people were faced with the task of destroying the colonial ruling machinery of defeated Japanese imperialism and of building an independent, democratic state.

The masses of the people showed great revolutionary energy and enthusiasm in suppressing the pro-Japanese elements, betrayers of the nation, landlords, comprador capitalists and other reactionary forces,

and organized people's committees, a new type of organ of people's power, throughout Korea. The working class which played the leading role in establishing people's power, allied itself firmly with the peasantry and formed a united front with broad sections of the people opposed to imperialism and feudalism, and thus set out to fulfil the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

But the US imperialist aggressors embarked upon a predatory colonial policy from the very first day of their presence in the southern half of our country. They dissolved the people's committees which were organized by the people of their free will, restored the colonial ruling machinery and set up a puppet government by marshalling the pro-American and pro-Japanese elements, quislings and other reactionaries. The US imperialist occupiers and their lackeys repressed all the patriotic and democratic forces in south Korea with bayonets and doggedly opposed the building of a unified, independent and democratic state in Korea.

Our country was thus artificially divided into two, and fundamentally different situations came to exist in the north and the south.

Taking advantage of the favourable conditions in north Korea, our Party set forth the task of building a revolutionary democratic base which would serve as the foundation for national reunification, and mobilized all patriotic forces for its implementation.

This task which our Party put forward was in full accord with our national interests; it enjoyed the wholehearted support of all the people.

Under the leadership of our Party, the people's government introduced democratic reforms with the unreserved support of people from all walks of life.

By enforcing agrarian reform, the people's government fulfilled the centuries-old desire of the labouring peasants to own land. This put an end to the feudal relations of exploitation in the countryside, rapidly improved the material and cultural standards of the peasants, and put our agriculture on a new road of progress.

The people's government also confiscated and nationalized all the industries, banks, railways and other means of transport, communications and cultural establishments owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation and thus smashed their economic base in the country.

With the major industries nationalized, socialist relations of production were established in the northern half of our country.

The working class who were freed from exploitation and became the genuine masters of the country, displaying great enthusiasm and creativity, launched a drive for increased production for their own welfare and national prosperity.

The people's government took measures to ensure democratic rights and liberties for the people in all fields of social life.

Factory and office workers were provided with the right to work, rest and study, and women with completely equal rights with men in the social and political spheres of life. The colonial slave education system was abolished and a popular system of education was introduced; democratic national culture and arts began to develop. Democratic changes were made in the political, economic and cultural fields. Our Party consistently educated the masses in Marxism-Leninism so that progressive ideological consciousness and new morals were formed and developed among them. Political unity and solidarity of all the people, proletarian internationalism based on patriotism, infinite fidelity and devotion to the Party and the Government, love for labour—these are the main features of the change that has taken place in our people's political consciousness and moral traits over the past ten years.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948 was an epoch-making event in the history of our country. The Republic established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and appeared on the international arena as a member of the socialist camp.

During the five years of peaceful construction after liberation, our people registered great successes in different areas of nation-building.

The output of major industries and agriculture at the end of 1949, surpassed the level of pre-liberation year 1944. Educational, cultural and health facilities increased several fold, and the people's material and cultural standards improved markedly.

Rapid development of the national economy in the northern half of Korea exerted an inspiring influence on the people in the southern half, while causing great uneasiness in the minds of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

The US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique intensified fascist police rule in south Korea and suppressed the people's resistance movement. In June 1950, they launched the invasion they had long prepared for with a view to occupying the northern half of Korea and enslaving all the Korean people.

The three-year long Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders and their stooges was the severest ordeal our people had to face.

All the Korean people, determined not to be colonial slaves again, rose unitedly in the just struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of the country and the people's democratic system.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, our people and their courageous armed forces, the People's Army, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, underwent trying ordeals with credit, displaying peerless heroism and patriotic devotion at the front and in the rear. The reactionary allied forces of 16 countries led by US imperialism suffered an ignominious defeat at the Korean front and were compelled to sign the Armistice Agreement. This was a historic victory for our people.

The victory of our people in the Fatherland Liberation War demonstrated to the whole world the advantages and inexhaustible vitality of the people's democratic system established in the northern half of Korea. This was a victory not only for the Korean people but for the camp of peace, democracy and socialism; it also showed that no force can match the strength of the people united under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Internationalist aid to our people by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal People's Democracies during the Fatherland Liberation War constituted an important factor in our victory. The Chinese people, in particular, conducted the movement to resist US aggression and aid Korea, and sent the Volunteers to help us at the cost of their blood. This was a new example of proletarian internationalism. The immortal exploits performed by the Chinese People's Volunteers and the internationalist aid given us by the fraternal peoples in the joint struggle against the US imperialist invaders and their lackeys, will be remembered for ever in the history of the Fatherland Liberation War of our people.

The Korean war showed that the time was past when the imperialists could conquer and plunder weak nations at will and that if the people fight bravely, arms in hand, to the last against the aggressors, they will be able to defend their national independence and freedom.

The war toughened our people, increased their trust in the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and strengthened their political-ideological unity.

With the ceasefire they were confronted with the urgent and difficult tasks of speedily restoring and developing the war-ravaged national economy and stabilizing and improving their deteriorated lives.

With a view to tackling these tasks, the Party and the Government formulated the postwar Three-Year Plan and mobilized all the people for its implementation.

The Three-Year Plan envisages the restoration of the national economy to the prewar level in order to stabilize and improve the war-ravaged livelihood of the people and solidify the country's economic foundations. It also envisages the creation of conditions for socialist industrialization of the country through the elimination of the colonial lopsidedness of industry.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our people participated as one man in

reconstruction work to carry out the postwar Three-Year Plan in the same spirit with which they had fought against the enemy during the war.

Thanks to the creative efforts and devoted struggle of our people, the assignments for 1954, the first year of the Three-Year Plan, were fulfilled successfully, and this year's assignments, crucial for the implementation of the plan, are being carried out with credit.

In the first half of 1955, capital investment in industry increased 4.7 times compared with the corresponding period of 1953. As a result, in the two years after the ceasefire, nearly 290 big and small industrial enterprises in the mining, engineering, iron, building-materials, textile and many other industries were newly built, or completely or partially restored and expanded, and started functioning.

In the first half of 1955, the gross industrial output value of state and cooperative sectors increased 2.5 times as against the same period of 1953.

In particular, big strides were made in heavy industry. In the first six months of 1955, the generation of electricity rose 3.4 times and the output of coal 6 times compared to the corresponding period of 1953. The engineering industry produced metal-cutting machines, friction presses, vessel engines, direct-current generators and many other items which could not be made before. This is indeed remarkable success in the development of our industry.

In the first half of 1955, compared with the same period of 1953, light industry produced twice as much cotton fabrics and four times as much silk fabrics, and the quantity of fish caught was larger by 3.3 times.

Railway transport made big progress, too. In the first half of 1955, the railway freight turnover showed an 84 per cent increase over the same period of 1953, and at present its monthly average is higher than the level of the prewar year 1949.

In agriculture, too, great achievements were made. In the two years after the war, war-damaged farmlands were largely restored and many irrigation facilities including dikes and pumping stations were

constructed, bringing nearly 40,000 hectares more of land under irrigation.

The extensive organization of agricultural cooperatives marks a milestone in the development of our agriculture in the postwar period. More than 10,000 cooperatives have already been formed with the participation of some 44 per cent of the peasant households.

Such rapid progress in the agricultural cooperative movement shows that the peasants saw the advantages of agricultural cooperatives organized on a trial basis in some areas during the war and that they keenly realized that cooperativization was the only way to make up the postwar shortage of manpower and draught animals, to quickly rehabilitate the foundations of agricultural production and to improve their lives.

The Government of the Republic has disbursed lots of funds for the strengthening of the material foundations of agriculture. In the first half of 1955, capital investment in the rural economy rose 3.6 times over the same period of 1953.

Because the Party and the Government paid great attention to increasing farm machine hire stations, their number increased 2.6 times and that of tractors more than doubled after the war, and many ox and horse hire stations came into being in different places.

With a sharp growth in the production of daily necessities, the Government cut down their prices on three occasions in a short space of time after the war. As a result, in the first half of 1955, the price level in state and cooperative trade dropped by some 55 per cent compared with the same period of 1953, benefiting the population by more than 11 billion *won*. Thanks to the fourth postwar price cut effected on August 1 this year, our working people got an additional benefit of 3.4 billion *won*.

With a lowering of prices and an increase in wages, the real incomes of factory and office workers rose considerably.

In the postwar years the state built houses with a total floor space of over two million square metres for workers and office employees.

The Government of the Republic has given enormous state

assistance to the peasants as well. It exempted them from the payment of irrigation fees and the arrears in taxes in kind and the repayment of bank loans, lent out hundreds of millions of *won* to help them in farming, and provided them with necessary seed grains, provisions and chemical fertilizers. Some time ago it also reduced the rate of tax in kind to a certain degree. All these measures are a clear expression of our Party's and Government's unfailing concern for the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants.

In the postwar years, many successes were achieved in the fields of culture and health, too. Even under the difficult wartime conditions, all schools were run without interruption, and after the armistice the educational establishments were rapidly expanded and strengthened. At present, our country has more than 4,800 primary and secondary schools, 72 specialized schools of different kinds and 16 institutions of higher learning.

Health facilities have been rehabilitated and expanded to a considerable extent. During the two years after the ceasefire, the number of hospitals and clinics increased to more than 400, and that of doctors by approximately 49 per cent.

In urban reconstruction, too, we have done a great deal of work. Thanks to the devoted work of all builders and the patriotic labour efforts of government employees, students and servicemen, severely damaged cities are being rehabilitated so that they have new appearances. In the two years after the ceasefire, we built large numbers of houses, schools, hospitals, theatres, cinemas and other public establishments.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our people registered brilliant achievements in the reconstruction of the national economy in a short period of time after the armistice.

Our achievements, however, are still at the initial stages. We should continue to make strenuous efforts to fulfil or overfulfil the Three-Year Plan, and then to develop the national economy further.

Our Party envisages going over to the First Five-Year Plan after the

fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan. We must plan for laying the foundation of socialist industrialization to accelerate technical reconstruction in all domains of the national economy, and directing great efforts to the production of agricultural and consumer goods and to housing construction to improve the living conditions of the people during the First Five-Year Plan period. The fulfilment of this task will further strengthen the democratic base, the guarantee for national reunification. It is, of course, not easy to carry it out.

At present, we face many difficulties in our work of economic construction.

Damages caused by the war were so serious that we could not but build almost everything from scratch.

During the Three-Year Plan, we are not merely restoring the dislocated national economy to the prewar level, but are reconstructing it on the basis of up-to-date techniques and building anew some hitherto non-existent industries. With the progress of postwar reconstruction, therefore, profound fundamental changes are taking place in all areas of the national economy. Our factories and enterprises are now being rebuilt not by means of outdated techniques left behind by the Japanese imperialists but by using up-to-date techniques. Our cities are being reconstructed from old sprawling, decadent ones to new, modern ones. It is quite difficult to satisfy the needs of this vast construction work for various equipments and materials.

We are also short of native technical personnel. During the ten post-liberation years we have trained a large number of technical cadres, but ten years is too short a period for our country, once a backward colony, to raise enough technicians to build a new society. Furthermore, we lost many technical cadres in the war. That is why we are very short of technical personnel to meet the requirements of the national economy which is rapidly recovering and developing.

We also have many shortcomings in our work. Our construction work proceeds in a desultory and hasty way. It lacks in concrete estimates and planning. As yet, little consideration has been given to

the improvement of its quality. And many shortcomings are also revealed in the utilization of unused materials and tapping inner resources, in saving manpower, making a rational use of equipment and keeping and taking care of state and public property.

But these difficulties and shortcomings can be overcome.

We should bravely pull through all difficulties and boldly correct the shortcomings.

We will have to work harder and endeavour more devotedly to make our country prosperous and more beautiful and to raise the standard of living of the people.

We should continue to explore the rich natural resources of the country and make steady efforts to develop heavy industry, the basis of overall development of the national economy, so as to effect, step by step, the socialist industrialization of the country.

In building heavy industry we will concentrate our efforts on the sectors closely linked with the people's lives. While giving priority to the growth of heavy industry we will have to simultaneously and quickly develop light industry.

We should pay special attention to the rehabilitation and development of agriculture. The solution of the food problem is one of our most pressing tasks at present. The damages due to flood and frost in some areas of our Republic last year made our food situation somewhat strained. We must make every effort to increase grain production and thus solve the food problem satisfactorily.

The Government of the Republic has decided to spend in the second half of this year alone, more than a billion *won* of funds over and above the original plan for the development of agricultural production and to supply materials on a preferential basis for irrigation projects. It envisages the allotment of more funds and manpower to agriculture next year.

The Five-Year Plan to be drawn up soon will have to provide for various measures to consolidate the material foundations of agriculture, such as large-scale irrigation projects, reclamation of more land and increased production of chemical fertilizers and farm machines.

In order to fulfil all these tasks successfully and develop the productive forces of agriculture, we should step up the socialist transformation of agriculture and strengthen guidance and assistance by the Party and the state to the existing agricultural cooperatives to render them more solid organizationally and economically.

All the working people should steadily increase labour productivity in all domains of the national economy, reduce the expenditure for construction and costs of products by enforcing a strict system of economy and improve the quality of goods.

In all fields of the national economy and all enterprises, the working people should handle state and public property with great care, and sharpen revolutionary vigilance to defend it from the enemy's encroachment.

We should thus fulfil or overfulfil the postwar Three-Year Plan to bring about another great upswing in the country's economic development in the near future.

2

Comrades,

During the ten years since liberation, in the northern half of Korea where the people are the masters of state power, all kinds of outdated institutions that had long impeded our country's development have been destroyed, and great progress has been made in the political, economic and cultural fields, whereas conditions in the southern half under the rule of the US imperialists and their stooges are deteriorating with each passing day.

North and south Korea were liberated simultaneously in August 1945. However, given the international situation prevailing at the time, American troops were stationed in the zone south of 38 degrees north latitude.

With the aim of perpetuating Korea's division, the US imperialists set up a puppet regime in south Korea, pursuing a predatory colonial policy and frustrating attempts to build a unified, independent and democratic state. Thus our fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in the south were subjected to sufferings under the yoke of US imperialist occupation and the tyranny of the puppet regime.

As a result of the US imperialist policy of aggression in Korea and the traitorous anti-people policy of the Syngman Rhee clique, the national economy in south Korea was thrown off the rails and the lives of the people were filled with misery.

The Korean war unleashed by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rheeites plunged the south Korean economy into a still more deplorable state. The war played havoc with its industry and agriculture.

Nevertheless, even today, two years after the armistice, nothing worthy of mention has been done in the way of rehabilitation in south Korea.

In 1954 south Korea's production of consumer goods was much lower than at the time of ceasefire. In the first half of 1954, compared with the same period of 1953, the output of coal dropped by 28 per cent, rubber shoes by 68 per cent and soap by 37 per cent. According to the newspaper *Seoul Sinmun*, in the same year, many textile mills in south Korea suspended operations.

The United States promised to give south Korea 200 million dollars of so-called "aid" in 1954, 60 per cent of which was to be invested in industry. But the fact is that only a very small portion of the "aid" was actually given to south Korea, most of it in the form of US surplus consumer goods. In 1955, the United States further promised considerable "economic aid" to south Korea, but by the end of last February surplus consumer goods amounting to five per cent of the promised "aid" only had arrived.

It is clear that the US monopoly capitalists, who are only keen on investing capital in and selling surplus goods to south Korea, have no interest in the development of its national industry.

The traitor Syngman Rhee made a fuss about drawing up a “rehabilitation plan” in 1954 and 1955, pulling wool over the eyes of the south Korean people. Since more than 90 per cent of the funds for this plan are to come from US “aid”, it is no more than a house of cards, as the south Korean press has put it.

Besides industry, agriculture has also been devastated in south Korea.

Owing to the puppet government’s fraudulent “agrarian reform”, agriculture has become more fragmented and a majority of the peasants have been reduced to slaves burdened with heavy debts.

After the “agrarian reform” south Korea’s crop area further dwindled; in 1953 it had reduced by more than 15 per cent compared to 1945. Grain output continues to decrease; in 1954-55 south Korea went short of more than 4.3 million *sok* of food grains.

Starving peasant households numbered some 460,000 at the end of April 1955, and peasants’ debts amounted to a total of 20 billion *hwan* at the end of 1954.

Due to such circumstances, in 1954 alone tens of thousands of peasant families gave up farming and left their villages.

With the bankruptcy of industry and agriculture, the number of unemployed people in south Korea has been registering sharp increases year after year. According to the south Korean press, the unemployed number some two million at present.

Although the national economy is devastated and the people are in distress, the Syngman Rhee clique are making more desperate efforts to expand armaments. A few days after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, that is, in August 1953, the south Korean puppet regime concluded the so-called “ROK-US Mutual Defence Pact” with the United States. In violation of the Armistice Agreement, the US imperialists introduced large quantities of weapons into south Korea to reinforce the puppet army, and the Syngman Rhee clique are forming new divisions by forcing students and other young people into military service, to unleash another fratricidal war.

The direct military expenditure in 1954 was 72 per cent of the

puppet government's total budget.

Despite terrorist suppression by the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique, the resistance movement of the south Korean people against the US imperialist policy of aggression and the puppet regime's traitorous anti-people policy is gaining momentum.

Between January and September in 1954 alone, the south Korean working people went on strike on more than 100 occasions. These strikes involved tens of thousands of workers including dock workers in Pusan, Kunsan and Masan and more than 7,000 miners of the "Taehan Coal Company".

The peasants, too, come forward more frequently to take part in the struggle against plunder by the landlords and the exacting taxes and levies of the puppet government. According to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of the puppet government, only 56 per cent of the planned delivery quotas of the autumn harvest of 1954 could be met by mid-February this year, owing to opposition by south Korean peasants.

A trend against conscription is increasingly seen among the south Korean youth. In 1954, 31 per cent of those who belonged to the conscription age in south Korea evaded military service and, recently, 80 per cent of college graduates did the same.

No amount of terrorist suppression by the Syngman Rhee clique can break the spirit of the south Korean people who rise in the struggle for the freedom of existence and democratic rights.

Comrades,

The division of our country and its people brings unbearable sufferings to the people in south Korea, and it is a great misfortune to all the Korean people. Therefore, the peaceful reunification of the country stands forth as the greatest task before the Korean people. All our work must be subordinated to this lofty end.

In the ten years since liberation, we have made sincere efforts for the peaceful reunification of our country. Indeed, our people's history after liberation has been a history of struggle for national reunification and independence.

The decision adopted at the Three Foreign Ministers Conference at Moscow in December 1945 on the Korean question was a correct one, aimed at providing conditions for the peaceful reunification of Korea and her future progress.

In spite of sincere efforts made by the Soviet side and the unanimous demand of all the Korean people for carrying out the decision, the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission got bogged down and the implementation of the decision was sabotaged by the perfidious American imperialists and the traitorous acts of the Syngman Rhee clique.

Such being the situation, our Party and the Government of the Republic adhered to their stand that the question of Korean reunification should be solved by the Koreans themselves, by means of mutual understanding and negotiations.

On the initiative of our Party, the historic Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea was held in April 1948 and the Consultative Meeting of Leaders of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea was convened in June the same year. These meetings were the first practical steps towards attaining national reunification through discussions among Koreans.

The Joint Statement of Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea issued after the April joint conference pointed out that the withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from Korea would be the right step to provide favourable conditions for settling the Korean question under the then prevailing situation, and set forth concrete ways of establishing a unified democratic government in Korea.

The appeal of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, issued in 1949 and 1950 respectively, were clear evidence of the consistent efforts of our Party, the Government of our Republic and the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea representing all patriotic forces of north and

south Korea, for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

Patriotic individuals and other people in north and south Korea who desired national reunification, independence and freedom warmly supported our policy for peaceful reunification and took an active part in the struggle for its realization.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, however, doggedly opposed Korea's peaceful reunification. They repressed with bayonets the movement of patriots and other people in south Korea for the peaceful reunification of the country, and finally responded to our proposals for reunification with an attack against the northern half of Korea.

All our efforts for the settlement of the Korean question by convening a political conference and a conference in Geneva after the armistice met with failure owing to the aggressive, treacherous manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the south Korean rulers.

Then, the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sent an appeal to the "National Assembly", political parties and social organizations, armed forces and all the people of south Korea, proposing once again to discuss the questions relating to the reunification of Korea; the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, various organs and organizations of our Republic proposed time and again to their counterparts and other organizations of south Korea to take a series of concrete measures for economic and cultural exchanges between the north and the south with the aim of implementing the appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The appeal enjoyed the widespread support not only of the people of north Korea, but also of the south Korean people, and even some members of the "National Assembly" and the puppet army in south Korea.

However, all our just and reasonable proposals have been rejected by the Syngman Rhee clique.

Although ten years have passed since liberation, the reunification of the country, the unanimous desire of all the Korean people, has not yet

been achieved; the country and its people still remain divided.

The root cause of these national sufferings and misfortunes is the US imperialist occupation of south Korea.

Since we are up against the US imperialist army of occupation, the most aggressive in the world, our struggle for national reunification cannot but take an arduous and protracted nature.

Our principle and position regarding the country's peaceful reunification is clear. The question of Korea's reunification should be settled by the Koreans themselves. To this end, all foreign forces should be withdrawn from Korea, and the people of north and south Korea should sit together to discuss the Korean question and set up a unified democratic government of their own free will. This is the unanimous desire of all the Korean people; it is the only correct way to the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

The American imperialists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, are desperately opposed to our stand of peaceful reunification of the country. The Syngman Rhee clique still clamour for "march north for reunification", perpetrate provocations along the Military Demarcation Line and commit violence against the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. Of late, the south Korean puppets are speaking out openly about seizing Kaesong, Ongjin and the northern shore of the Han River estuary.

If anyone takes our claim to reunify the country peacefully through negotiations as a sign of weakness, he is foolish, indeed.

It is because we do not want a civil war that we maintain our demand for the reunification of the country by peaceful means. It is also because we wish to relieve the Korean people of the sufferings brought upon them by the territorial division of their country, at an early date.

We hold that the barriers between north and south Korea should be pulled down and free economic and cultural exchange take place between them, so that the people in the south may make use of the electricity, iron and steel, copper, lead, chemical fertilizer, carbide, soda, cement, coal and the like which are abundantly available in the north.

In order to reunify the country peacefully, we should first convert the armistice into a durable peace and create conditions for a rapprochement between north and south Korea.

Negotiations should take place between the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the south Korean "National Assembly", people should be allowed to travel without restriction, and economic, cultural, scientific and art exchanges should be conducted so as to strengthen the relations between the people of north and south Korea and create a climate for mutual understanding.

All this is a task incumbent on us Koreans. No force can come in the way of this desire of the Korean people.

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country, stable peace in Korea must be guaranteed. Those nations interested in the Korean question should be entrusted with the duty of preventing any provocative acts that would jeopardize the preservation of peace in Korea. We would like the governments of the nations concerned to call, with a view to settling the Korean question peacefully, a Far Eastern conference with broad participation of the Asian countries, to work out measures for Korea's peaceful reunification.

Since the continued presence of foreign forces in Korea constitutes an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea, those countries which have sent their troops to Korea must immediately take steps for pulling them out of Korea.

And we propose that in order to eliminate the existing distrust and tension, the north and south Korean authorities declare before the people of Korea and the rest of the world to refrain from any use of arms against each other, to undertake the obligation of settling the question of Korea's reunification only through peaceful means, and that they cut down the strength of the armies of north and south Korea to the minimum with an eye to reducing the burdens of military expenditure on the people and allocating non-productive labour to peaceful construction.

Taking into account the aspiration of all the Korean people for

closer contact and negotiations between north and south Korea, we also demand that a conference of representatives of the north and south Korean authorities be called as soon as possible in order to discuss the question of national reunification.

Many difficulties and obstacles stand in the way of our people's struggle for the country's reunification and independence.

The Korean people should overcome all these obstacles and continue to struggle persistently for the achievement of their cause.

It is most important to further expand and strengthen the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea which comprises all sections of the population. We will gladly embrace and negotiate with anyone who sincerely desires the unity of the nation and the reunification of the country, irrespective of his political view, religious belief or material status. Even if he has committed crimes against the state and the people in the past, we will welcome him and negotiate with him if he repents his past doings and comes out in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Comrades,

The present international situation is changing in favour of our people's struggle to reunify the country peacefully. This is due, to a certain degree, to the tireless struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries, and peace-loving people the world over.

The ceasefire in Indo-China, the Bandung Conference of Asian and African Countries, and the World Congress of Representatives of the Peace-Loving Forces in Helsinki were significant events in the struggle against aggression and war, and for world peace and peaceful coexistence among nations with differing systems.

The Soviet Union's conclusion of the state treaty with Austria, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the closer relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and India and other events are a great contribution to world peace.

In particular, the summit conference of the four powers held recently in Geneva was an important event paving the way for

international detente and the cause of world peace. The Korean people, together with the peace-loving people all over the world, warmly welcomed this conference, and hope for the satisfactory implementation of its decisions.

We will continue our strenuous struggle for lasting world peace and the peaceful reunification of our country, while further strengthening friendly ties with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies, and the peace-loving people throughout the world.

Comrades,

Today our people are summing up with great satisfaction the results of their efforts and struggle during the ten years since liberation, and are confirming their resolve to endeavour devotedly for greater success and victory in the future.

Let all of us Korean people unite more closely around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and vigorously march forward towards a fresh triumph in socialist construction and the peaceful reunification of the country!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Long live the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea!

Long live the unbreakable internationalist friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism!

Glory to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our beloved motherland!

ON SHORTCOMINGS REVEALED IN DRAWING UP THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN AND SOME TASKS FOR RECTIFYING THEM

**Speech at a Meeting of Leading Officials of Party
and Government Bodies**

October 21, 1955

This meeting today was held to discuss a number of problems arising in the course of the implementation of the 1955 national economic plan and some tasks in mapping out the 1956 national economic plan.

Members of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party went down directly to the lower units and acquainted themselves with the specific conditions there; for nearly 20 days from late September to mid-October they held discussions with the people in charge, managers and chief engineers of major enterprises engaged in the machine-building, metallurgical, chemical, coal-mining, electric, building-materials, timber, light and fishing industries and railway transport, on the carrying out of this year's national economic plan.

Through these firsthand inquiries the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party acquired a deep understanding of what shortcomings there are in the formulation of the national economic plan and in the production and capital construction of enterprises, what the causes of the failure to fulfil the plan are and how it should be drawn up in the future. The Political Committee deemed it necessary to sum up these important problems and inform you of them. Only when

you have a clear grasp of these problems, can you carry out next year's production and construction properly. If you are unaware of the shortcomings in the implementation of the national economic plan and draw up next year's plan randomly at your desk as you did this year's plan, you cannot escape subjective errors and would hamper production and construction, thereby committing a grave crime against the state and the people.

Today, I am going to tell you about these problems, dividing them into three categories. First, what are the shortcomings revealed in the formulation of the 1955 national economic plan and what are the causes for these; second, to what problems should attention be paid in formulating the 1956 national economic plan; and third, what are the problems that need to be solved in order to draw up a correct plan and direct the economy efficiently.

1. ON SHORTCOMINGS REVEALED IN THE FORMULATION OF THE 1955 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN AND THEIR CAUSES

What are the main shortcomings that manifested themselves in drawing up this year's national economic plan?

First, our officials mapped out production and construction plans unsuited to the actual situation at the lower levels, sitting at their desks and without studying the objective conditions.

I have been informed that the State Planning Commission and all the ministries made slapdash plans, divorced from the masses, without estimating correctly various objective factors such as the production equipment of factories and enterprises and their capacities.

The main cause for the present failure of many enterprises in fulfilling their production plans is not that their officials are irresponsible but that the authorities at the state level mapped out

fundamentally wrong plans and imposed them on their subordinates in a bureaucratic way. We cannot say that the officials or workers at our enterprises are not zealous. Although they were given difficult plans unsuitable to the conditions at the lower levels, they have worked hard up to now in an attempt to fulfil them. But, because the plans themselves were fundamentally wrong, they have not been able to fulfil them although they worked with their hearts and souls in the job. This makes it evident that the State Planning Commission, ministries and management bureaus are ignorant of the situation at the lower units; it shows that the drawing up of plans is conducted in a very perfunctory manner.

I will touch on these problems by citing specific examples.

First of all, it is a grave shortcoming that plans are made without a correct calculation of the capacity of equipment at enterprises.

In quite a few instances enterprises are assigned with high production quotas difficult to carry out because plans are drawn up without closely assessing the capacity of their equipment.

The Ministry of Metal Industry has a low productivity of steel ingots and rolled goods but it was assigned very ambitious tasks in the plan. When this year's plan was mapped out, the Kangson Steel Plant was assigned a steel ingot production quota of 30,000 tons, although its electric furnace had only been partially restored, just because it had produced 16,000 tons of steel ingots a year before the war. It is wrong to impose a quota of 30,000 tons on them at a time when they have not yet completely recovered from war damages; they just about managed to produce 16,000 tons before the war. The plan was so inconsistent with the actual situation that during the recent discussions the comrade chief engineer of this factory said: "How can we produce this? We can barely manage to produce 20,000 tons this year if we make desperate efforts." To my mind, if the Kangson Steel Plant produces just 20,000 tons of steel ingots, they are doing a good job.

The same is the case with the Hwanghae Iron Works. This factory was given a large quota of 80,000 tons for steel ingot production, without correctly calculating the capacity of the charging equipment or

the equipment of the roughing shop, solely because the open-hearth furnace had been restored. It is estimated that the Hwanghae Iron Works will barely manage 55,000 tons if they do their best.

Difficult plans for production of bricks were imposed on brickyards taking into account only the capacity of the kilns and not their lack of all the other conditions for production such as transportation facilities, drying ovens and raw-clay mixing yards. So it is obvious that the plans cannot be carried out. I was told that this year, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation the brickyards barely managed to fulfil their production plans for July because the workers, office employees and their families were all mobilized to work.

Similar instances can be found in the Ministry of Fisheries and the Forestry Bureau.

In this way excessively difficult production tasks were given on the basis of a random calculation of the capacity of production equipment, thereby preventing the workers from fulfilling the production plans however hard they tried, decreasing their zeal to work, dampening their spirits and, furthermore, hampering the work in other fields of the economy which are supposed to receive the goods produced at the factories.

Whereas large production quotas are allotted to those whose production equipment and capacity are limited, in some instances excessively small quotas are given to enterprises which have adequate production facilities and are capable of producing much more.

One such instance is that of the machine-building industry, where, in making out the plans the production quotas were set much lower than realizable levels, without estimating the newly-built factories and the capacities of the highly efficient machines newly installed.

In fact, it is in the machine-building industry that we should have special concern for using the capacity of the equipment to the maximum. As you are all aware, if we are to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the national economy in our country, we should first lay stress on enhancing the production of the machine-building industry. The war severely destroyed our national economy and towns and villages.

Therefore, we must develop this industry first if we are to rebuild and develop factories and enterprises and agriculture as soon as possible and reconstruct towns and farming villages. How can we build factories, enterprises and towns without producing machines and spare parts and how can we go ahead with irrigation in the countryside without manufacturing water pumps and electric motors?

We should direct great attention to maximizing the rate of operation and capacity of the equipment at all machine factories and also formulate plans in this direction.

However, leading officials of our state and economic bodies did not endeavour to make the maximum use of the capacity of equipment at machine factories. This is eloquently proved by the case of the electromotor repair factory at Phyongchon-ri. The workers of this factory called it a “private factory”. Nobody but a vice-minister knew about this factory. Its workers manufactured electric motors of their own accord, and then called on the vice-minister and asked him to give them a production plan now that their factory had made motors. Initially the State Planning Commission had not known such a factory had ever existed and even after the factory people asked for a production plan, they did not visit the factory. The commission officials sat in their office and without any calculation, asked them to try to produce a hundred or so motors, instead of going to the factory to closely check the productivity and providing them with materials and funds for increased production of valuable motors. But, in spite of this, the factory produced 1,200 motors. I think the manager of this factory is an excellent model worker. Our country will not develop if it does not have such people. We must realize that because we have such patriots, such labour heroes, we build up our country, despite the fact that the higher bodies are greatly affected by bureaucratism and that some officials fail to work well.

Apart from giving quotas far below capacity, it is also a mistake to fail to provide adequate manpower and equipment, making it impossible to utilize production facilities to the maximum.

We visited the Ragwon Machine Factory, Pukjung Machine Factory

and many other machine factories, and found that almost all of them had such defects. If we provide the machine factories with a little more manpower and expand their casting shops, we can operate the machines and equipment to full capacity and more than double the present production. Therefore, long ago the Party had instructed that in order to raise the rate of operation of machines and equipment they should be provided with enough manpower to work on two or three shifts and that the casting shops should be enlarged where necessary. But this instruction of the Party has not yet been properly carried out. So, at the Ragwon Machine Factory they managed to operate the machines only on 1.6 shifts though it would have been possible for them to do three shifts. As a result, they failed to carry out the joint decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Cabinet on additional production of water pumps for the rural economy. On receiving the plan for increased production, the Party members and other workers there strove to fulfil it with a high degree of enthusiasm, but, since the conditions for production were not provided, they failed to fulfil the plan after all. The same is true of the Pukjung Machine Factory.

Because of this incorrect calculation in planning the capacity of the production equipment of enterprises, on the one hand they either distributed small production quotas to enterprises with adequate production capacity or did not provide them with the conditions for making full use of their production capacity and, on the other, they imposed difficult quotas on enterprises with insufficient production capacity. This made it impossible either to produce what could be produced or to fulfil plans because they were too difficult. We cannot develop our industry quickly this way. So we must regard it as a serious matter.

In formulating production plans it is also a shortcoming that an accurate calculation is not made of the date of commissioning of enterprises and the period of test manufacturing.

In order to fix the commissioning date for a construction project, a number of objective conditions should be precisely calculated, such as when to commence the construction, through what stages to push ahead

with the project, how to provide manpower, equipment, materials, etc. But this is not done and, in many cases, the date of commissioning is fixed at random, the motivation being sheer subjective desire. In addition, in quite a few cases tasks for production are given on the very first day of the commissioning of a construction project without estimating the time and technical conditions necessary for setting up the production process and producing test goods after the commissioning has been guaranteed. The comrade chief engineer of the Kangson Steel Plant complained that even children should be given time to practise how to spin a top a few times before they get used to it, and making steel ingots and running the rolling machines are far more complicated jobs which require a high level of technique; but they are not given time to make a test run. Just because the furnace has been rebuilt, they are assigned production tasks and ordered to start production from the next day. It is good that our officials are anxious to produce more but, since they impose plans which require that the impossible be done right out, it is obvious that they cannot be carried out.

If even a correct estimation of the commissioning date is not made and the time for a test run is not given not only will their sense of responsibility for keeping to the date of commissioning decrease but it will also be impossible to guarantee the quality of the construction work and the products.

Another shortcoming in drafting production plans is that no consideration is given to the quality and standards of products. In many cases, indices for the quality and standards of products are not fixed properly and they are uniformly priced. At present the prices of cement, fertilizers and bleaching powder are the same irrespective of their quality. Therefore, every enterprise, either cement or chemical factory, does not work hard to produce goods of high quality. People in the fishing industry catch fish from the sea and dump it ashore, and claim that they have caught so much fish, not caring whether the haul gets spoilt or not. They are concerned only with catching fish and do not pay any attention to the fact that the fish rot. That is how matters stand. So the quality of the goods produced by factories and enterprises

cannot improve. This failure to raise the quality of products is evidence of a grave shortcoming in planning, and of the fact that our officials lack the consciousness that they are masters of the nation's economy.

From now on, when we give out production plans we must give specific instructions with regard to the quantity of goods, their standards and quality. If rough plans are given, goods might be produced which do not satisfy the needs of the users and cannot be used effectively for economic construction and by the people and, in the worst cases, might be discarded as useless.

A drawback in planning capital construction is that the major efforts are not concentrated on important sectors; the projects are scattered all over and investments are made evenly.

This year's capital construction plan was made in such a way as to undertake all construction projects at once without taking into account the relative importance of the sectors or the relative priority of projects with regard to time, and to make investments on a uniform basis. This is ascribable to the fact that our leading officials do not know well on which sectors emphasis should be laid and where efforts should be concentrated in building our nation's industry. Had our officials been well aware of this and concentrated investments on important sectors such as the machine-building industry, we would have already solved many difficult problems. We could have produced large quantities of pumps, engines, motors and many other machines and spare parts badly needed by factories, enterprises and farming villages and rebuilt many factories.

If we had concentrated investments on enterprises such as the Ryongsong Machine Factory, we could have produced more machinery and spare parts and rebuilt and reequipped the broken machines of many factories and enterprises. The Kusong Mining Machinery Factory has not yet been constructed so that valuable machines are left idle; if we had provided this factory with more cement and concentrated manpower on it, it would have been completed by now and produced plenty of mining machines. Some time ago I visited the Ragwon Machine Factory myself and talked to the manager. He said that a little amount of investment would enable his factory to produce construction machines,

turret cranes, automobile cranes, conveyers, and mixers. But our officials do not pay attention to this. Two or three million *won* and a million bricks would suffice to build a casting shop for the Ragwon Machine Factory which would in turn satisfy many of the demands of ministries for machines and spare parts, but this was not done. The responsibility for this rests not only with the State Planning Commission but also with the Ministry of Metal Industry and the Machine Industry Bureau. Since they distribute production quotas on an egalitarian basis, sitting at their desks, they fail to solve even such problems as could be solved with a little investment.

As they make investments for capital construction indiscriminately, without taking into account the relative importance of the sectors, without any correct calculation of the scale of the projects, at one enterprise there are neither funds nor materials so that the workers idle away their time, while at another enterprise they need manpower so badly that they cry for more hands; hence the great disparity between the planned figures and the actual results of production. The amount of investment on capital construction for the Chonnaeri Cement Factory this year was envisaged as 1,500,000 *won*, but, actually, capital construction took place on a tremendous scale, involving an expenditure of 56,000,000 *won*. There is a great difference between these two figures—the envisaged amount of state investment and the amount actually spent on the construction.

The egalitarian tendency in construction is manifested also in the fact that the location of the site of construction is not even considered. The construction cost is regarded as being the same whether a house is built in a remote mountain area such as Koksan or on flat land, near a railway line. This is wrong. Koksan cannot be reached by train; distance of several hundred *ri* has to be covered by car or by cart. How can the expenditure on a housing project there be the same as that on a project in a plain area with favourable conditions? If the construction costs are divided in such an egalitarian way, people working at remote mountain areas with unfavourable conditions will not be able to carry out their capital construction plans. This is obvious.

The above-mentioned are the shortcomings revealed by the State Planning Commission, ministries and management bureaus in drawing up this year's industrial and capital construction plans.

Second, there is a shortcoming in the drawing up of the manpower plan.

In many cases, when formulating the manpower plan, necessary conditions such as the object of operation, technical outfits and the workers' technical and skill levels are not assessed correctly and extremely difficult plans are mechanically sent down taking for granted that work efficiency is greater than the previous year, or fixing work norms and labour productivity at a higher level than the prewar years or the highest level in a certain year.

With regard to this, some officials of the State Planning Commission claim that since higher-ups ask them to produce more with less manpower, there is no alternative but to raise the norms accordingly. This is wrong. The manpower we allotted is by no means small. If the manpower in different fields of the national economy is readjusted and used properly, it is quite possible to guarantee production and construction with the existing manpower. If you comrades first properly take into consideration the relative position of enterprises in the national economy and their productive capacity and also distinguish important from less important sectors and factories with high productivity from those with low productivity and provide manpower to suit their respective situations, you would be able to eliminate the waste of manpower and increase production quickly.

But, how do matters stand now? Less important sectors and factories with low productivity are provided with a large amount of manpower which is wasted, whereas important sectors and factories with high productivity are given little or no manpower, so as to prevent production. Since work is conducted this way, balance in manpower is not guaranteed and manpower is not adjusted and allocated properly; instead an attempt is made to mechanically achieve a balance in manpower, resulting in the practice of imposing high norms in a bureaucratic way.

Let me cite the manpower plan of the Forestry Bureau as an example. When drawing up the plan this bureau did not envisage the improvement of production facilities and the introduction of mechanization and fixed the 1955 log production plan as 115 cubic metres per employee, which is 135.3 per cent of the actual output of the previous year. As for the transport of timber by ox-driven sleigh, the average daily amount of timber carried per driver was 0.8 cubic metre in 1954, whereas in 1955, 1.2 cubic metres were given as per-capita quota without taking any measures to facilitate transportation. On the basis of this calculation the Forestry Bureau was allotted 2,800,000 cubic metres as this year's log production quota, which is a million cubic metres more than the output of last year; the bureau was not given any supplementary production equipment or work force this year. It goes without saying that the quota is impossible to attain. Therefore, we decided in the second half of the year to reduce the figure by 300,000 cubic metres.

The same is true of the manpower plan of the Building-Materials Industry Bureau for the production of bricks.

In 1954 the enterprises under this bureau expended 13 man-days in producing 1,000 bricks and 11 man-days this year. But the State Planning Commission envisaged in the plan 4.5 man-days in producing 1,000 bricks. This plan does not conform with the actual situation; the difference between 4.5 man-days and 11 man-days is too large. Nine man-days or twice as much as 4.5 man-days might be tolerated, but 4.5 man-days are too absurd. The Taesong and Kangnam Ceramic Factories under the Building-Materials Industry Bureau are not situated very far from here. On their way somewhere by car the officials can drop in at these factories briefly to acquaint themselves with the situation there. Moreover they visit these factories frequently to guide them, so it should have been possible for them to get familiar with the actual state of affairs by talking to the workers. But they gave such a preposterous figure with regard to man-days. We cannot but think that even when they visit the factories, our officials do not talk to the workers or make any kind of serious study in order to improve their

work but just give them a good scolding and return.

There are similar instances in the coal-mining industry. Though 14-15 man-days are actually needed to tunnel one metre of a pit, only 10.5 man-days are given per metre when the quotas for pit tunnelling are allotted to coal mines. This prevents the basic tunnelling from being carried out as planned.

We must plan and conduct all work in keeping with our capacity. Only then will it be possible to eliminate the waste of manpower, raise the workers' zeal for production and carry out plans properly.

There are quite a few contrary instances in which man-days are set according to extremely low work norms, resulting in the waste of manpower. At present, the countryside is short of manpower and they are unable to conduct weeding on time, whereas in the field of capital construction the manpower plan is drafted according to very low work norms, so that they say there are tens of thousands of people who get paid without doing any work.

Even now the State Planning Commission or ministries do not try to correctly allot manpower to the enterprises in accordance with accurate work norms. If they do not rectify this work method in drawing up next year's plans, production will not increase on the one hand and there will be wastage of rice, a lot of working clothes and wages, on the other.

In drafting the manpower plan, an accurate calculation of the amount of labour required by increasing production capacities is not made either. As for the increase in manpower as a result of the commissioning of a new project, it is considered as augmented on the very date of commissioning and the manpower to be expended on the production of trial goods before the commencement of normal production is entirely ignored. Nor is a calculation made of the number of trainees needed for the commissioning of newly built and expanded factories and shops. This prevents the enterprises from conducting the test runs of their equipment and making proper use of the facilities which have been commissioned.

In formulating the manpower plan it is also wrong to fix the number of technicians in the pool allotted to the enterprises proportionate to the

number of employees. Some officials claim that this pool should be fixed because if there are many technicians the number of office workers will also increase, and it is fixed at 7 per cent of the number of employees. But through our recent discussions with managers and chief engineers we have come to know that it is unnecessary to fix the number of technicians in the pool. Suppose we have built a furnace. If all the people working at it become technicians, it would be better. It is not necessary to decide that only one engineer and two assistant engineers need be used. If the workers raise their levels of skill in the process of production, they can all become assistant engineers, and if all our workers reach the level of the assistant engineer, our work will improve. But by fixing the number of technicians in the pool, unnecessary confusion has been caused.

Third, it is a shortcoming that the supply of materials is not planned properly.

At present ministries do not pay great attention to the supply of materials. Therefore, as I mentioned at the last Cabinet meeting, the standards of material consumption fixed by the State Planning Commission are different from those fixed by the Construction Commission and also from those fixed by the people who use the materials in practice.

And what is serious is that timing is not precisely calculated in the supply of materials. Because the supply plans are mapped out without proper calculation of the duration in which imported and domestic materials reach the hands of the users, there are quite a few cases where materials are not supplied in time and thus production and capital construction are thrown into confusion. The Ministry of Foreign Trade particularly fails to guarantee punctual delivery of imported materials so that every now and then enterprises have to keep idle the workers, whom they have been allotted. This inflicts very great losses on the state, as well. Though ministries only distribute production quotas without guaranteeing materials, they blame enterprises for failures in production. We must not work in such an irresponsible manner but must endeavour to guarantee punctual delivery of materials.

In addition, we must keep an accurate check on the quality and standards of materials. We must not supply bad materials for the building of good houses and bad cement for building reservoirs or dikes. At present, however, we just force on them any cement available, giving no thought to the needs of the different construction projects. As a result, those who have received bad materials waste time in exchanging the materials with good ones, and the State Planning Commission spends precious time in settling such matters, failing to do the work it is supposed to do. Another shortcoming in formulating the material supply plans is that the necessity of having reserves of materials is not kept in mind and plans are apt to be drawn up in such a way as to use them up. Since there are no reserves, materials cannot be provided in case natural calamities or accidents occur, thus hampering production in other fields. An accident in one field inevitably causes an accident in another field, and this obstructs work in still another field and, in the long run, brings about confusion in the development of the national economy as a whole.

Last, it is a problem that proper timing is not ensured in mapping out the plans and sending them down. Because the State Planning Commission and ministries and bureaus fail to send production plans to the enterprises promptly, it is not infrequent that the plans reach them long after their work has begun. In a few cases, production quotas are supplemented in the second half of the year but subsequent manpower quotas are not given, so that production is hampered.

Why, then, have these shortcomings been revealed in planning?

The main reason lies in the bureaucratic work style of the State Planning Commission, ministries and management bureaus.

As you all know, the State Planning Commission is a body that plays the role of army staff in economic construction. If it is to play this role, it must be completely familiar with the situation at lower echelons just as one is with the palm of one's hand; and if they have any difficult problem, it must make sure that measures are taken to solve it by bringing the matter to the notice of the Cabinet or the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party. However, in spite of

the fact that they are not familiar with the situation at lower levels, the officials of the State Planning Commission continue to remain seated at their desks and map out and send down plans which are inconsistent with reality. As a result, the agricultural plan which had already been sent down had to be revised at the beginning of this year and the plans for forestry, fishing and chemical industries had to be changed after the first half of the year.

Let us see how the State Planning Commission functions at present. They draw up plans on the basis of the highest result in a unit of production and impose this figure on all the units. Therefore, managers say, "We are afraid of producing in plenty. If the State Planning Commission knows this, they will give us a hard time."

Though it is their natural duty to help enterprises map out correct plans, the officials of the State Planning Commission regard it as a nuisance; they are happy only when ministers or vice-ministers frequent the commission; if they do not, they even criticize the latter saying that they are not zealous enough. Then, do they mean that ministers should go to the Planning Commission officials every day and kneel down and beg before them? This cannot be done. The ministry is a state body under the direct jurisdiction of the Cabinet, not under the State Planning Commission. But I was told that vice-chairmen of the State Planning Commission have become so haughty that they would not even receive telephone calls from ministers. They have been severely criticized at the Cabinet meeting held recently to sum up the plan for the first half of the year.

Moreover, they say, the State Planning Commission even meddles in affairs beyond the limits of its work and tries to rule the roost; but it is authorized only to map out the national economic plan, supervise its implementation, and trace failures in fulfilling the plan and report these to the Cabinet.

The officials of the State Planning Commission are greatly affected by bureaucratism; however, they would not find faults with themselves but as far as possible attempt to shift all responsibilities to ministries or management bureaus or enterprises. Everybody should look for the

cause of a shortcoming first in himself instead of in others. That is, they should first find fault with themselves and then with others. But, as they do not do so, they cannot rectify their shortcomings and, accordingly, the State Planning Commission fails to do a good job.

Apart from the State Planning Commission, the ministries and bureaus are also affected by bureaucratism to a considerable extent. A great deal of bureaucratism is seen in the State Planning Commission, but we cannot consider that the commission only is to blame for mapping out bureaucratic plans which do not conform to actual conditions. Even if the State Planning Commission imposes plans upon them in a bureaucratic manner, ministries and bureaus can have them corrected if they submit their views in time. But ministers, vice-ministers or management bureau directors sit with arms folded without raising an objection even when the State Planning Commission forces infeasible plans on them. This is apparently because the officials of ministries and management bureaus themselves are unfamiliar with the situation at the enterprises. As they are ignorant of the actual conditions below, they cannot but agree even to wrong plans and in turn impose them on the enterprises in their charge.

Pretending to know what one does not know is most dangerous. If they are ignorant, they should not pretend to know but should go down and learn frankly from the masses and pay heed to their demands and views. Of course, when people at lower units raise wrong opinions, you should give them a full explanation until they are persuaded, and create every condition for them to advance creative proposals. But I was told that when people at the enterprises call the attention of ministries to bottlenecks in their work, they only scold them and do not pay heed to them.

The second reason for the shortcomings is that departmentalism remains rooted deep in ministries and bureaus.

At present matters are in such a state that departmentalism makes it impossible to solve even the problems which can be solved through mutual consultation between ministers, and every problem is solved only by routing it through the State Planning Commission or to the

vice-premiers. In many cases, therefore, work gets complicated and problems that are raised are not solved on time and smoothly. If existing work regulations are wrong, they should be revised to provide ministers with conditions for exercising their authority and working effectively. Meanwhile, since ministers are members of the Cabinet, responsible for their work to the Party and state, they should not practise departmentalism but respect each other's opinions and solve problems in the spirit of cooperation.

The third reason for the shortcomings is that Party supervision over state and economic bodies is inadequate.

The shortcomings would have been prevented if there had been strict Party supervision over whether the officials of ministries and the State Planning Commission were firm in Party position or whether they carried out the Party's policies correctly. However, the Department of Industry and the Department of Commerce, Finance and Cooperative Organizations of the Central Committee of the Party have so far exercised inadequate Party supervision over ministerial bodies.

The departments of the Central Committee of the Party are in such a state that they tail after ministerial bodies regardless whether things go well or otherwise at these latter. Therefore, neither the Department of Industry nor the Department of Commerce, Finance and Cooperative Organizations has submitted valuable opinions on work to the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party.

Party bodies should not tail after administrative bodies or encroach on their work but should find out opportunely whether state and economic bodies execute the Party's policies correctly, why not, if they do not, and what kind of Party measure is required, and should give specific guidance to these bodies so that they organize and conduct their work in strict accordance with Party line.

Local Party organizations do not conduct proper Party supervision over the sphere of industry, either. Provincial and county Party committees do not sufficiently study how to strengthen industries in their respective localities. If local Party organizations have at all given leadership to enterprises, it has been confined to obtaining electric

motors or timber for them; they have not done work such as finding out whether the production plans of the enterprises under their jurisdiction have been drafted properly and what are the shortcomings in their execution and taking measures to correct them; and they have reported very little on these problems to the Central Committee of the Party.

The Party is like the army staff that leads state and economic bodies. Our Party bodies are well organized and conduct activities in all spheres, whether it be of industry or of agriculture. Through the Party organizations it is possible for us to hear the opinions of workers, technicians or office employees. It is one aspect of our Party's strength that it respects the opinions of the masses and relies firmly on them in its work.

But, because Party bodies work divorced from the masses at present, they fail to receive their opinions and sum up the situation down below and, therefore, are unable to draw up scientific plans consistent with reality. Comrade chairmen of the provincial Party committees fail to voice valuable views on the correct drafting of the national economic plan at Cabinet meetings or meetings of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party and do not care whether the plan is right or wrong. In other words, we can say that our Party organizations do not as yet know even the ABC of leadership with regard to industry. As a result, they fail to help state and economic bodies rectify the defects in their work on time.

2. ON SOME PROBLEMS TO WHICH ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID IN DRAWING UP THE 1956 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

We must draft next year's national economic plan so as to eliminate the shortcomings revealed in the course of the implementation of this year's plan.

First, the plan should be mapped out on a correct calculation of objective conditions.

We should first make it a principle to formulate the capital construction plan in accordance with our capability. Even if we are overcome by a subjective desire to complete capital construction in a single day, we can never do so. We wish we could accomplish the revolution in a day and achieve communism, but it is an unrealizable illusion. We must not be captive to subjective desire but must draw up the capital construction plan taking into consideration our capacity and on the basis of an assessment of all the objective conditions.

What does working in accordance with our capacity mean? It means to organize work in keeping with a scientific calculation of manpower, equipment, materials, funds and technical conditions. If we do not estimate these conditions and work only with subjective desire, it would bring great obstacles in the way of production.

The report delivered by Comrade Chairman of the State Planning Commission at the Cabinet meeting on the draft plan for 1955 was quite pleasing to hear. But the plan envisaged in his pleasing report has proved unrealizable now. Wherein lies the reason? It lies in the fact that the plan does not conform with reality because it was mapped out at the desk without an accurate assessment of every objective condition and possibility.

The agricultural plan is eloquent proof of this. How nice it would be if we could produce 3.3 million tons of grain as planned! If we are to produce this amount of grain, we must expand the arable land, build a large number of facilities for irrigation and guarantee an adequate number of fertilizers, farm implements and manpower. It is absolutely impossible to produce 3.3 million tons of grain solely by the method of planting paddy saplings closely in small clusters.

Our officials described 1955 as a decisive year for the Three-Year National Economic Plan in order to fulfil the 1955 national economic plan which had been formulated in a bureaucratic manner, at the desk without assessing actual conditions. In fact, if things go as planned, it may be a decisive year, but, since it is a plan not supported by the

conditions which guarantee its success, it is now losing its “decisive” significance. If next year’s national economic plan is mapped out in such a bureaucratic manner, it is likely that 1956 will not be decisively significant, either.

We must get rid of this shortcoming manifested in the planning process in 1955 and draft the 1956 plan in accordance with our capacity on all accounts. The amount of investment for this year’s capital construction was envisaged as 18.9 billion *won*, but only 15 billion *won* has been invested so far. Complete statistics are not yet available, but there is no possibility of exceeding a maximum investment of 16.5 billion *won*. Therefore, the preliminary opinion of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party on the capital construction investment for 1956, in the light of this year’s actual situation, is that it should be between 16.5 billion *won* and 17 billion *won*. If we do not draft the plan in keeping with our capacity, manpower will only be wasted. It seems viable to invest in the neighbourhood of 16.5 billion *won*, provided we draw up an accurate plan for the supply of materials, define the order of priority correctly and organize manpower well.

Needless to say, carrying out capital construction in keeping with our capacity does not mean that we may not even tap potentialities that exist, thereby slackening the speed of construction. On the contrary, since our national economy was severely destroyed by the war, we must tap every possibility and increase the speed of reconstruction.

But, in view of this year’s experience, the biggest problem in capital construction is the shortage of building materials. We are short of steel most of all. I was told that the Ministry of Metal Industry is going to produce 95,000 tons of steel this year, but the Machine Industry Bureau alone needs a supply of 50,000 tons of steel a year. The balance is 45,000 tons, with which we cannot carry out many other construction projects. We need bricks as badly as steel.

The situation in the sphere of construction has greatly changed now compared with the past.

Next year, we must build many large factories which need large

quantities of bricks, iron and cement.

Such being the case, we cannot rely solely on the building materials produced by centrally-run industries for capital construction. Therefore, some cultural and irrigation facilities must be built with local building materials.

We should provide the population with funds and allow them to use a lot of local materials and designate forested areas to them to acquire timber for themselves. Of course, this may be a bit difficult in plain areas such as South Hwanghae Province where forested areas are located far away, but they can easily acquire a lot of timber themselves in North and South Hamgyong, North Phyongan and Jagang Provinces and some parts of South Phyongan Province. Where there is no cement, peasants should be mobilized to make slaked lime as a substitute for cement.

Along with local materials we should also tap and use a large number of idle local manpower for construction work. As for skilled workers such as carpenters, it would not be a bad idea to give some funds to local authorities for them to use private carpenters if it is difficult for the state to provide them.

In this way we must make sure that schools, hospitals, bathhouses, clubhouses and dwelling houses are built locally at all the county seats through an all-people movement, by using local materials and idle manpower. As for irrigation facilities we must not try to set up only big projects at state expense, but should give state assistance to the local population so that they may carry out many small-scale projects. We had better provide them with some funds and materials to take care of small construction works at least. This will make it possible to step up construction at a much faster rate than when relying only on the state for everything.

I have discussed this matter with some county Party chairmen, and they say they can carry out many construction projects through social movements if the state provides them with the funds. Therefore, it would be better to formulate the capital construction plan so as to fix the amount of state capital construction investment at 16.5-17 billion

won and loan a fund amounting to approximately 1-2 billion won for projects to be undertaken locally through social movements.

Next, we should allocate investments preferentially to only important and urgent branches of construction. We do not as yet have the conditions for undertaking many large construction projects. So, the most important task at the present stage is to concentrate investments so as to equip ourselves with the facilities that will enable us to conduct many large-scale construction projects in the future.

Then, on what branches should we concentrate investments? If we are to build many factories and houses, we need large quantities of architectural materials such as iron, steel, cement, bricks and timber, and machines for construction. In addition, in order to completely restore factories and raise their productivity, we must manufacture the necessary machine parts in large numbers. Therefore, the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party has arrived at the conclusion that we must exert ourselves, first and foremost, to develop the building-materials, chemical and metal industries and also the machine-building industry, which can produce and supply construction equipment and materials.

So, we must invest a great deal in the building-materials and chemical industries. Brickyards should be mechanized to raise efficiency in production and artificial and natural slate factories provided with conditions necessary for production. We should not just make a noise about the lack of cement but should guarantee conditions for the Ministry of Chemical Industry to produce it.

In order to develop the building-materials and chemical industries, we should produce and supply on time machines and spare parts needed by these branches. To do this, we should also make a large amount of investment in the machine-building industry so that machine factories can guarantee that their equipment is operated at a hundred per cent efficiency. As you all know, we imported machinery from the People's Democracies for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy. It is important to install and operate these

machinery quickly and produce a lot of machines and spare parts needed by every field of the national economy, so as to create conditions for reconstructing the factories speedily.

However, the question is not solved by merely increasing investments in machine factories. In order to develop the machine-building industry, we should produce and supply lots of iron and steel, and, therefore, we should increase investments in the metal industry also. In order to concentrate investments on urgent and important branches, we must reexamine and reduce the number of construction projects assigned to non-productive ministries such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture and Information. We must make sure that investments are concentrated on major productive construction projects even if we stop, for the time being, non-productive construction projects such as colleges, the general government building and cinema-houses. If we do not work in this direction, we cannot push ahead with the tremendous task of construction in our country in a far-sighted way.

We must decide the order of priority in importing foreign plants, too; I think it would be all right to more or less postpone the date of delivery of the factories which are not needed right away and which are not very necessary for the people's livelihood. For instance, the date of delivery of the machine factory to be imported from Hungary can be postponed. The same applies to the Ryongsong Meat Combine and Sinpho Cannery which are to be imported from another country. Today we cannot eat meat and fish because we do not have them, not because we cannot process them. It is not as though our people today lead poor lives because they have no canned food. Though we are unable to can fish, it is quite possible to improve the people's dietary standards if we prevent it from rotting and preserve it well with salt. Therefore, we cannot put off other urgent construction projects in order to build processing factories which we do not need right away.

As I mentioned above, by fixing the order of priority we must begin with the construction of projects urgently necessary for the people's livelihood and include the construction of factories which

are not so urgent in the next Five-Year Plan.

Even in constructing the projects necessary for the people's livelihood we have to fix the order of priority and begin with those which we need to have immediately.

At present, some officials try to rebuild projects which can be postponed claiming that they are construction projects necessary for the people's livelihood, instead of concentrating on those which we must undertake immediately. The manager of the Pukjung Machine Factory complains about the lack of a clubhouse. But what his factory needs badly is, in fact, not a clubhouse but houses for the workers. Less than one half of the workers have been provided with houses; whereas the existing democratic publicity hall can be reequipped well and used as a clubhouse. This single instance is enough to show how important it is for ministers and management bureau directors to decide the right order of priority in construction. We must rectify practices such as mapping out investment plans by the rule of thumb without studying specific conditions or, on the contrary, approving requests made at lower levels without examining them at all.

Second, we must formulate accurate manpower plans.

The Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party instructed the State Planning Commission not to use more than 880,000 people as manpower for the national economic plan this year. The estimation of next year's balance of supplies for food grains and materials does not allow us to raise the limit of manpower higher than this.

At present there is a wide gap between the increase in the number of workers and the speed of housing construction. Can we only keep increasing the number of workers and make them work while forcing them to sleep in the open, without building houses for them? We cannot. If we increase the number of workers, housing will be a problem, so too food supply. We cannot regard the food situation in our country as being satisfactory, because we have suffered great losses in the agricultural crops this year as a result of a dry spell. All these circumstances demand that we save manpower and map out

correct manpower plans so that a lot of work can be done with a small amount of labour.

We should first revise the work norms which were set irrationally. Fixing work norms accurately is of great significance in improving the planning of the national economy. But there still remains a shortcoming in this work, which must be rectified, namely that planning officials set as a norm the highest record achieved unexpectedly by an individual branch while carrying out its plan, and impose it on all branches. If we do not map out our plans in accordance with correct work norms, we shall commit the error of bureaucratism again.

Let me cite an example. I was told that when giving out production plans to ore mines our planners just ask them to dig “treasure-troves”, bluntly imposing the quotas on them only taking into consideration their respective gold content. As a result, the workers of the mines concentrate on trying to dig “treasure-troves” containing a large quantity of gold and, in the long run, destroy their mines. So the planners must not send down random plans but make them scientific by setting the fixed amount of work or work norms on the basis of a minute calculation of various factors such as the technical equipment and the workers’ skill levels.

Next, in formulating plans it is necessary to envisage a state reserve of materials. Quite a few defects were revealed in the course of carrying out the 1955 national economic plan because it had been mapped out envisaging the maximum possible use of materials without keeping some reserve for the state. From next year on we must envisage a state reserve even if we cannot carry out many capital construction projects and must provide conditions also for ministries to have reserves.

It is also important to draft properly the plan for the production and distribution of materials. At present people in this sphere do not estimate when the materials will be turned out and the demand for different materials; they issue delivery slips to enterprises in advance with a view to supplying the materials required for a quarter or even for

a whole year at once. Therefore, the people at the enterprises take these slips to timber mills, cement factories and brickyards, and give them a hard time asking for materials. This is a phenomenon that should not be seen in a country where the economy is run in a planned way.

3. ON SOME PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED QUICKLY IN PLANNING AND ECONOMIC GUIDANCE

I would like to stress some problems which are essential for the improvement of planning and economic guidance.

First, we must further strengthen the work of the State Planning Commission.

The State Planning Commission should lay stress on the work of mapping out plans and supervising and controlling their correct implementation in all fields of the national economy and enterprises, and we should free it from other work. If it has had a heavy burden of work because of wrong regulations, they should be reexamined and revised, and if the commission has laid its hands on and monopolized everything, it should not continue to do so. Only then can it formulate correct plans, grasp and study the situation at the lower units in good time, make a precise analysis of the causes of the shortcomings manifested in the carrying out of the plans and inform the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party or the Cabinet about this. If it does not do so, the State Planning Commission cannot perform its role as the army staff in economic construction.

On the other hand, comrade ministers should realize that ministries are not subordinate to the State Planning Commission but that they are bodies directly under the Cabinet. If comrade ministers have any opinions concerning work or problems to solve, they should approach the vice-premiers. As they do not observe this system strictly, some

comrade vice-premiers have nothing to do but scurry about on the one hand, and the State Planning Commission which monopolizes every affair, on the other hand, only keeps itself busy without solving any of the problems that are raised, in good time.

While dividing up work correctly, it is necessary to promote and assign excellent people with experience in production to the State Planning Commission. Young people without any experience in production should not be made to wield authority haughtily over ministerial bodies; work cannot progress well as long as there remains this work style of making pronouncements without knowing the situation down below. Ministries should help allocate comrades with experience in production to the State Planning Commission. Particularly, the Party should guarantee this. Meanwhile, the State Planning Commission should send the comrades with no experience in production directly down to the places of production so that they can gain experience.

Second, the work of the Cabinet should be strengthened.

To do this, it is necessary first to enhance the role of vice-premiers and Cabinet councillors. This will prevent the State Planning Commission from disposing of affairs at random beyond the limits of its function. In addition, a system should be established under which all problems raised by ministries are solved by the Cabinet.

Third, ministers should be given more authority and be provided with conditions which enable them to work actively.

Because the State Planning Commission has so far been in charge of distributing all materials, ministers have had no authority at all. From now, they should be given some authority to dispose of the materials produced by the enterprises in their charge.

Fourth, we should strengthen Party leadership of ministries and enterprises.

In order to tighten Party supervision over whether ministries and enterprises execute the Party's policies correctly or not, it is necessary, as was discussed at the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party, to reorganize some departments of the Central

Committee, so as to strengthen guidance to production. It would be a good idea to reorganize the Department of Industry and the Department of Commerce, Finance and Cooperative Organizations as the Department of Heavy Industry, the Department of Light Industry and Trade and the Department of Construction and Transport respectively.

In addition, local Party organizations should always study and get acquainted with the sphere of industry and strengthen their leadership of it.

Party organizations should not tail after administrative bodies nor should they neglect their leadership of factories and enterprises relying only on the primary Party committee chairmen assigned to them. Party organizations should study and grasp details of industry, give help to state and economic bodies and enterprises, assist them in rectifying errors in good time and improve the work of informing the Central Committee of the Party or the Cabinet of opinions about and bottlenecks in work. Only when all Party organizations strengthen their leadership of industry in this way, can we bring about a great improvement in our work.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY INDIAN JOURNALIST V. V. PRASAD ON BEHALF OF A NUMBER OF INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

October 27, 1955

Question: What policy and measures do you propose for Korea's reunification?

Answer: I have already clarified this problem time and again on different occasions.

Of late, the international and domestic situation is developing in favour of the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Korea's reunification must be achieved peacefully by the Korean people themselves. In other words, Korea should be reunified by means of establishing a unified central government through north-south general elections based on free expression of the will of all the Korean people. The character of state system must also be decided in accordance with the will of all the Korean people so that one side does not impose its will on the other.

In order to attain this objective, it is necessary, first, to make joint efforts to contact and reach agreement between north and south Korea, and to guarantee freedom of political activity to wide sections of masses of the people. It is also necessary to force all foreign troops to withdraw from the whole of Korean territory speedily and reduce the armed forces of north and south Korea to the minimum so as to stabilize armistice in Korea and convert it into a durable peace.

The Korean people demand the solution of the Korean question by

themselves and, at the same time, value international discussion on this question.

The Korean people are desirous of convoking quickly a Far Eastern conference of countries concerned with broad participation of Asian nations, and hold that the conference should discuss the Korean question. The Indian Government supports this actively. We also deem it necessary for countries concerned with the Korean question to endeavour for a peaceful solution and assume the obligation of ensuring peace in Korea.

Question: How is reconstruction going on in Korea?

Answer: After the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement in July 1953, our people rose as one to restore quickly the national economy destroyed by the atrocities of the aggressors. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea mapped out the Three-Year Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy for 1954-56 and set it as the goal to regain the prewar level in all fields of the national economy during this period. This plan is now being carried out successfully.

As already announced, in two years after the armistice 230 large and small enterprises have been rebuilt completely or partly and are producing goods in the heavy and light industrial spheres, including the ore-mining, metal, machine-building, chemical, building-materials and textile industries; and over 60 enterprises of different sizes, fully equipped with modern technique, were newly built and have started working. The machine-building, building-materials and textile industries are already manufacturing much larger quantities of goods than before the war. During this period, the state and cooperative organizations built houses for workers and office employees with a floor space of approximately two million square metres, and individuals, too, built many houses. Schools, hospitals and other public buildings were restored or built in large numbers, and agriculture is also being rehabilitated rapidly.

The Three-Year Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy will be fulfilled, or overfulfilled as a whole, ahead of schedule.

As for the major factors which enabled us to achieve such successes in postwar reconstruction, the first is that our people display a lofty patriotic spirit in this work and that our country abounds in natural resources, and the second is that we receive unselfish aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and many other friendly states.

Question: What policies did your Government carry out for agrarian reform and what successes were achieved?

Answer: In north Korea agrarian reform was carried out in the spring of 1946 by the people's power which had been established by the people after the liberation of Korea from Japanese imperialist colonial rule in August 1945. In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the lands owned by the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, the pro-Japanese collaborators, and traitors to the nation as well as the landlords who had exploited the peasants, were confiscated and distributed free of charge to the peasants directly engaged in farming according to the number of their family members and workers.

As a result of the agrarian reform, our working peasants were given gratis lands totalling nearly a million hectares. Thus, in north Korea they became owners of land, and feudal relations of exploitation were eradicated in the countryside.

After the agrarian reform the incentive of the north Korean peasants for production rose unusually high and their living standards improved quickly. In about five years, from liberation to the outbreak of the last war, nearly all the poor peasants in the north Korean countryside reached the level of the middle peasants. But the war inflicted tremendous sufferings and losses on our peasants.

In our country today, the peasants are carrying out a lot of irrigation

projects with active assistance of the Government in order to rehabilitate agriculture quickly, and are striving to expand the arable area and introduce advanced farming techniques and methods. Therefore, our country's agricultural production will reach the prewar level at an early date.

Question: What is your country's plan for industrialization?

Answer: Our country has advantages for industrialization because it is rich in natural resources. But it had no industrial foundations for the development of the national economy because it had long remained a foreign imperialist colony. For five years after liberation the people's power carried out a considerable amount of industrial construction to develop national industries, but it was destroyed almost completely by the war. Therefore, a relatively long time is needed for industrialization in our country.

During the Three-Year Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, preparations will be made to lay foundations for industrialization, and during the Five-Year Plan which begins in 1957 the foundations of industrialization will be built.

Question: What are your views on India's foreign policy and your impressions about Prime Minister Nehru?

Answer: Our people are greatly satisfied that the Indian Government is pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy based on the five principles already widely known to the world and that it is particularly devoting great care and effort for the peaceful solution of the Korean question. Our people harbour a feeling of friendship towards the peace-loving Indian people.

I deeply admire and respect Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru for his activity as an outstanding leader of the Indian people in their struggle against colonialism and for the consolidation of national independence. He is an ardent champion of the cause of peace.

THE ESSENCE OF EDUCATIONAL WORK AT THE PARTY SCHOOL IS TO TEMPER THE STUDENTS' PARTY SPIRIT

**Address to the Faculty Members and Students
of the Central Party School**

November 6, 1955

I had intended to visit the Central Party School immediately after it was resettled in Pyongyang, but I could not find time until today. You have taken much trouble to manage the school for yourselves and conduct educational work.

Just now, teachers have advanced many constructive ideas on improving educational work at the Party school. Taking your views into account, I would like to deal with a few problems concerning this.

The essence of educational work at the Party school is to temper the Party spirit of the students. In a word, Party spirit implies infinite loyalty to the Party.

Intensifying the tempering of the Party spirit of its members is one of the most important tasks now facing our Party.

Our Party's history is short and its qualitative level is not yet high. Of course, the history of our revolutionary struggle is long but it is not long since our Party was founded. Before liberation our people could not receive Marxist-Leninist education because there was no working-class party. It was not until the foundation of our Party after liberation that Marxism-Leninism spread rapidly among the masses in our country.

Before liberation, Marxism-Leninism did not spread widely among our people and, to make matters worse, the Japanese imperialists had viciously slandered Marxism-Leninism and conducted false propaganda against it for many years. The virus of this reactionary propaganda has not yet been eliminated completely from the minds of our people, and some Party members still remain affected by it.

As our Party developed into a mass political party through the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, there was a great influx of people not fully tempered ideologically and theoretically into the ranks of the Party. It was like putting too many things in a small basket. Over the last ten years, we have made great efforts for the ideological education of Party members but failed to assimilate all of them. Therefore, the qualitative level of the Party's ranks is not high as yet. This situation urgently demands raising high the Party spirit of the membership.

Furthermore, strengthening their Party spirit is necessary for eradicating the survivals of factionalism and consolidating the Party's unity and cohesion in ideology and will.

In the past our communist movement had factions such as the M-L group, Tuesday group and Com-group. They were so many that you could hardly memorize their names. The factionalists disrupted the working-class movement with their sectarian activities and did great harm to the advance of our communist movement.

Even after liberation they continued their factional activities and hampered the development of our revolution and our Party.

When Korea became free our Party had quite a few people from the Soviet Union, China, south Korea and many other places and the factionalists tried to use them for their factionalist purposes. We can cite Pak Hon Yong, Pak Il U and Ho Ka I as representative figures. Pak Hon Yong styled himself as representative of people from south Korea, Pak Il U of those from China and Ho Ka I of those from the Soviet Union. And they tried in every way to gang up people around them. The last three-year war offered an important opportunity of testing people. The true colours of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary

factionalists were laid bare in the course of the war.

Pak Hon Yong said that in south Korea there were hundreds of thousands of Party members although he had destroyed Party organizations there after liberation. This was a lie to deceive the Party. Lest his criminal acts committed in south Korea after liberation should be exposed, Pak Hon Yong had the Party members there arrested and detained in cellars and killed outrageously during our first southward advance. We did not tolerate his schismatic acts; we revealed his true colours and purged him of the Party ranks.

While holding a high post in the army during the war Pak Il U indulged in dissipation instead of doing his job well, and openly slandered the Party and Government and tried to form a faction by rallying grumblers around him.

During the temporary retreat Ho Ka I stayed in the rear at Kanggye but did not fulfil the Party task of restoring necessary facilities to ensure radiobroadcasting, and led a fast life. In the years of the war when our Party had to be expanded and reinforced, he obstructed the work to increase the Party membership by resorting to closed-doorism and expelled or punished many Party members without justifiable reason. The long and the short of it is that Ho Ka I worked to disorganize our Party rather than strive to strengthen it.

We coped in time with these developments within the Party. We convened the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee where we took steps for correcting the tendencies to closed-doorism and penalization. The steps taken by our Party were quite justified. If we had not rectified promptly the deviations manifested in Party organizational work at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, it would have entailed extremely serious consequences.

Taking advantage of the Party's criticism of Ho Ka I, the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop clique started opposing the people from the Soviet Union, and Pak Il U, openly supporting this move, clamoured that it was necessary to join hands with Pak Hon Yong.

Needless to say, these machinations of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists like Pak Hon Yong, Pak Il U and

Ho Ka I could not undermine the unity and cohesion of our Party. Our Party is not like the Communist Party organized in our country in the 1920s. It is a powerful mass party which is rooted firmly in factories, villages and the people.

But we cannot say that the manoeuvres of the factionalists had no adverse effect at all on the development of our Party. Their ideas still remain in our Party and they hinder our Party's advance to a certain extent. The Party spirit of its members must be tempered constantly to eliminate the factionalist remnants and further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks in ideology and will.

The strengthening of the Party spirit of the members is being raised as an important problem at present also because we have been confronted with the enemy for a long time and obsolete ideas survive in the minds of our Party members.

The US imperialists and Syngman Rhee puppet clique are now resorting to every possible means to infiltrate corrupt capitalist ideologies into our ranks. Moreover, there are some Party members, who are infected with antiquated ideologies, do not work hard nor are vigilant against the enemy but seek indolent lives. It is this that brings in capitalist ideology. We cannot prevent the enemy's ideological penetration unless we root out the remnants of outdated ideologies in the minds of Party members through the tempering of their Party spirit.

It is essential to intensify their Party spirit also in view of our economic sectors.

The small-commodity and capitalist economic sectors still remain in our country. They will exist for a definite period of time. As long as they continue to exist, it is impossible to escape the corrosive action of old ideas. Therefore, we must not neglect the tempering of the Party spirit of its members even for a moment.

All activities of the Central Party School should be towards the tempering of the Party spirit of the students. It should become a blast furnace to temper their Party spirit. It should train the students to be Party officials with a strong Party spirit just as a steel plant melts pig iron to produce steel. Only by doing so, can the Central Party School

perform its duty as a Party school.

What, then, should be done to train Party officials with a strong Party spirit?

First of all, a good educational programme should be worked out and hours allotted rationally for different subjects.

Some teachers suggest that more time should be given to Korean and subjects of natural science such as mathematics because the students' elementary knowledge is poor. But it is not necessary to do so.

The level of the general knowledge of these students should be raised, of course. We felt keenly the need for doing so among Party officials during the last war. At that time we encountered considerable difficulties because of their low level of general knowledge. Even now it is not much higher than that of working people. As we have found out, there are over 1,000 workers in the Ragwon Machine Factory, 40 per cent of whom have passed junior middle school or above. Among the more than 900 workers at a machine plant in Jonchon, 50 per cent have passed the junior middle school or above. This explains that the level of general knowledge of our working people has risen as never before. When universal compulsory secondary education is enforced in the future, their intellectual level will rise much higher than at present. Unless Party officials enrich their general knowledge, it is impossible for them to educate working people properly and give satisfactory Party guidance to socialist construction.

They should have deep scientific knowledge also in order to acquire a revolutionary world outlook. Since this outlook is based on the scientific cognizance of nature and society, Party officials cannot have it unless they are equipped with scientific knowledge. So, the Party school should impart some knowledge of natural science to the students.

At present their levels of general and scientific knowledge vary. Some are primary and middle school graduates, and others have acquired one of these standards by self-study. Those who graduated from primary school or who acquired the equivalent standard through self-study may not fully grasp what is taught on the subjects of natural

science because of their poor education. Therefore, it will be better to give them elementary knowledge essential for self-study after graduation and a knowledge applicable in practice. As to mathematics, for example, it will be enough to teach them to calculate percentages of composition or growth. Therefore, it is not necessary to devote more hours for the subjects of natural science.

Foreign language is one of the most difficult subjects for the Central Party School students. You should consider whether it is necessary to continue to teach a foreign language to the one-year-course students, though the case with the three-year-course students is different. A few lessons are not enough to enable them to translate books or speak in a foreign language. To my mind, it is not necessary to waste time to give language lessons to the one-year-course students.

The Central Party School should work out the educational programme with the main emphasis on tempering the Party spirit of the students, and allocate more hours to such subjects as our Party's history and political theory. Party spirit is closely linked with some theoretical understanding. The Party school should devote more time and earnestness in teaching these two subjects so that the students are properly equipped to temper their Party spirit continuously. In other words, all the students should be fully prepared ideologically and theoretically to analyse and assess things and phenomena from the Party standpoint, combat wrong practices without discarding Party principle under any circumstances and continue to steel themselves politically.

In order to temper the students' Party spirit, it is also necessary to tighten Party organizational life and combine it closely with education.

Tightening Party life is an important means of tempering the Party spirit. Criticism and self-criticism should be intensified among the students, and Party cell sessions and meetings to review the Party members' ideology should be conducted on a high political and ideological level. Thus the students will root out even the obsolete ideas they had before entering the school.

The teachers' role is very important in strengthening the tempering of the Party spirit of the Party school students.

The Party school teachers are both educationists and social workers. Only by playing their role properly, can they train the students as Party officials equipped with a strong Party spirit.

Whatever they teach should be conducive to the tempering of the students' Party spirit. They should not mechanically dictate or convey the contents of lecture plans or teaching materials but should conduct education in context with the tempering of their Party spirit. Also, the teachers should give substantial guidance to the students in their Party life.

If the Party school teachers are to conduct educational work satisfactorily, they should equip themselves firmly with our Party's policies and acquaint themselves in detail with our country's reality and actual Party affairs.

The Central Party School should set up a system of dissemination of the Party's policies among the teachers and promptly make them understand the Party's new policy set forth in each period. It should also organize seminars on the Party's policies regularly. In future, whenever the Party Central Committee explains to its instructors a Party policy, it should let Party school teachers be present also. And it is a good idea that directors and deputy directors of departments of the Party Central Committee often go to the Party school to convey the Party's decisions and notices to the teachers.

The Party school teachers should be intimately connected with actual Party work. To this end, they must be made to take part in inspections organized by the Party Central Committee. This will enable them to know the extent of the political preparedness of Party officials at present and what measures and methods are needed to temper the Party spirit of the members.

In order to bring the teachers close to actual Party work, their number should be increased so that they can observe and study the actual state of affairs by rotation. At present the nation needs a lot of manpower, but that does not mean that we should cut down the number

needed for training Party officials. It is a good idea to add some 20 teachers more to the Party school.

The Party school students must not complain about their failure to learn in the past but study hard. Knowledge is strength. You cannot work well without knowledge. The students should study our Party's policies deeply and learn Marxist-Leninist principles zealously. This will enable them to build up a theoretical basis on which they can do any work skilfully in the future.

While at school the students should exert main efforts to temper their Party spirit. Otherwise they will degenerate ideologically. An important means of tempering Party spirit is to participate in Party organizational life honestly. The students should take an active part in this life and wage an implacable struggle against harmful practices.

Among the one-year-course students there are many who participated in revolutionary struggles before. They, in particular, should lead Party life honestly. They must not put on airs about their past participation in the revolution and always behave in a way worthy of true revolutionaries.

The teachers and students of the Central Party School should always be well informed of our country's reality and inner-Party situation.

Two years have already elapsed since our people embarked on postwar reconstruction. The summing up of the work of the past two years shows that many successes were scored, but there were quite a few shortcomings, too.

In the past, efforts were not concentrated on urban construction, but I think it correct to say that this was an inevitability rather than a shortcoming.

We are not yet in a position to lay emphasis on urban construction. If this work is to be conducted extensively, large quantities of steel structures, cement and building machines should be produced by rehabilitating and developing the metal, engineering and building-materials industries. So far we have not been able to do so. That is why we cannot push forward urban construction.

Our failure to step up urban construction in real earnest is also due

to the nation's shortage of manpower. In order to carry it out side by side with industrial construction, we need a very large labour force. Increasing manpower for urban construction precisely means depleting it in the countryside. Though we have made no little investment in agriculture in the postwar period, agricultural production has not yet attained the prewar level. This is because of shortage of adult manpower in the countryside. If we divert the rural work forces to urban construction when agricultural production is not mechanized, we shall be compelled to import provisions. That is why we cannot transfer the labour force in the countryside to urban construction.

We must therefore confine ourselves to building working people's houses for the present. The Central Party School, too, should not try to build new buildings but repair and maintain existing ones with care.

We must continue to direct great efforts to rehabilitating and developing industry and agriculture next year.

First of all, we should develop the industrial sector rapidly. Especially, we should restore and develop the metal, engineering and building-materials industries quickly.

The engineering industry should turn out many transformers, electric motors and water pumps to meet the home demands. Only then is it possible to develop agriculture speedily and conduct urban construction successfully. This is why we give primary attention to rebuilding and developing the engineering industry.

The building-materials industry should quickly increase the output of cement and brick. At present, we have many large factories such as the Kangnam and Taesong Ceramic Factories. But these are not operating to full capacity because some production processes are not completed. We should reequip and reinforce existing factories and enterprises at an early date.

We should develop agriculture rapidly and increase grain output radically so as to attain self-sufficiency in grain.

In 1957 our industrial foundations will be laid to a certain degree and many technical cadres of our own trained. Then our construction work will go at a faster rate.

There are still quite a few shortcomings in our Party work, too.

The greatest shortcoming is that organizational work is unsatisfactory.

Organizational work means organizing and guiding the Party life of the members. At present, some Party units confine themselves to preparing minutes of meetings or registering Party members; they do not organize and guide the Party life of the members properly.

Some time ago, the Party Central Committee inspected the work of Party organizations in South Hwanghae Province, and it was found that many officials from provincial to ri levels misappropriated and squandered state property. This shows that all Party organizations there did not organize and guide the Party life of their members correctly. On the contrary, if they had intensified the tempering of their Party spirit, these practices would not have been manifested.

There are quite a few shortcomings in the work methods of Party officials, also. We can say that there are two kinds of defects: One is that Party officials take over administrative affairs upon themselves and the other is that they tail after administrative officials. Instead of giving Party guidance to administrative and economic affairs, they take up the work of administrative officials or follow in their footsteps, solving problems of materials and the like. These practices have nothing to do with our Party's work methods.

We must eliminate quickly the shortcomings in Party work.

Last, I must stress once again that the Central Party School should conduct educational work, regarding the tempering of the Party spirit of the students as the most important task.

THE WORKERS OF THE KANGSON STEEL PLANT MUST BECOME FORERUNNERS IN THE FULFILMENT OF THE THREE-YEAR PLAN

**Talk to the Leading Officials and Workers
of the Kangson Steel Plant**

November 15, 1955

Today's is my second visit to the Kangson Steel Plant since the armistice. When I came here earlier, right after the ceasefire, the smoke of the battle was still hanging over our country. But today, all the Korean people have healed the war wounds and are concluding victoriously the second year of the Three-Year Plan, braving all difficulties and obstacles in hearty response to the decision of the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

When I was here last time, everything was destroyed and I could not step into the plant. That day I had discussed with you the orientation of postwar reconstruction under the poplar in the yard. Then you had resolved to rebuild the plant on modern lines yourselves come what may. Your resolve is being realized splendidly.

Today I looked round the production and reconstruction sites and found that the progress you have made is tremendous.

You workers have done all that is necessary to rebuild and start the operation of electric furnaces Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the steel shop and the 650-millimetre rolling mill of the blooming shop and have secured the capacity of producing over 200 tons of steel ingot on the average daily. Right after the armistice, you erected the casting shop on the

debris and turned out the plant's equipment, accessories and trial rollers. You also reconstructed the gas generator in a modern way and introduced mechanization so that you can do your work with ease. Further, you have rebuilt the youth maintenance shop and are manufacturing spare parts needed for the rehabilitation of the plant's equipment for yourselves.

The three-stage and double heating furnace was also reconstructed splendidly. In the years of Japanese imperialist rule, the rated capacity of this heating furnace was not more than 30,000 tons but, now, you have increased it more than three times. This is not an easy job to do without replacing the equipment of the heating furnace. You have laid out the streets and railways around the factory very nicely, and have filled up almost all the bomb craters. Thanks to your vigorous efforts, the Kangson Steel Plant that was utterly devastated during the war is being built now into a modern plant.

The plant is also carrying out successfully its steel production quota under the Three-Year Plan.

Indeed, the working class of Kangson has done a great deal of work in a short period, a little more than two years after the armistice.

Today I was greatly moved by the achievements you have made. I feel confident and invigorated to see your results.

Today we are especially pleased at the fact that the electric furnaces, blooming mill, and roughing equipment have been rebuilt not as they were before but still more magnificently and in a modern way and are in operation, and the fact that all employees of the plant without exception are making great efforts to fulfil the Three-Year National Economic Plan far ahead of schedule. You have displayed again the great might of the heroic Korean working class to the whole world.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic and on my own, I would like to extend warm gratitude to all the Party members and employees of the Kangson Steel Plant who have risen as one for the successful fulfilment of the militant tasks facing the plant and also to the housewives who have given active help

to the reconstruction of the plant.

Your successes are by no means accidental. They were possible thanks to the wise leadership of our Party and because the Party's policies were carried out by the working class at Kangson with the same spirit and stamina as they had displayed in fighting the US imperialist aggressors during the war. I again highly estimate you Kangson workers who carry the Party's policies through to the end without reservation.

The successes you achieved in the reconstruction will be a precious asset for the development of the national economy. But you must never be carried away by what you have achieved. No matter how great they may be, they are merely an initial step in view of what we have to do.

We have more things to do than we have done so far. We must reconstruct the destroyed national economy quickly and fulfil the Three-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule and develop our country to be a powerful industrial state in the near future. Therefore, we have to do more work than others. We have got to take ten steps when others take one; we must take a hundred steps when they take ten.

You workers of the Kangson Steel Plant should continue to do a good job to be pioneers in the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan. Of course, it is not an easy task. But we are confident that you will be able to do so without fail. It was you who immediately after the armistice built the electric furnaces on the ruins with your bare hands and had the honour of being the first to teem and who reconstructed the blooming mill devastated beyond recognition and were the first to produce rolled steel. If you exert yourselves with the same spirit as you displayed in rebuilding the factory and securing the production, you will be able to have the honour of being forerunners in the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, too.

The Kangson Steel Plant holds an important place in our country's economic construction. Only when you workers here are in the forefront of the struggle for the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan and produce steel in large quantities, can the ravaged economy be

reconstructed rapidly and the plan fulfilled ahead of schedule. In the final analysis, whether or not you produce plenty of steel will have a great effect on postwar rehabilitation and the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan. You should therefore make energetic efforts to turn out more steel, deeply conscious of the importance of your duty.

In order to increase the production of steel the existing production facilities should be modernized and better reequipped and reinforced, and the production facilities not reconstructed as yet should be reconstructed completely by using all inner reserves and technical forces.

First of all, the electric furnaces should be modernized and the smelting time reduced by actively introducing advanced methods, and a drive should be made to turn out 30 tons of steel each time. At the same time, the production capacity should be increased to turn out more steel ingots.

The blooming shop at the plant is very important. You should build up this shop, reequip and reinforce the blooming mill to operate it to the full and maximize its capacity.

If we are to produce various sizes of steel materials in large quantities, it is essential to have small and medium rolling shops. These shops should be built at the Kangson Steel Plant. I was told that you will build a wiredrawing shop; that is a good idea.

It is important to strengthen your repair and maintenance facilities in reconstructing the plant and increasing production. You should build up the youth maintenance shop to produce on your own the spare parts you need.

The rollers should be mass-produced quickly. Because we are short of them now, we cannot expand our rolling facilities, and cannot produce more rolled stock. In the future, the plant must satisfy the national demands for rollers.

Not only rollers. We should also produce other equipment and spare parts necessary for our country with our own efforts, materials and technique, instead of relying on foreign countries. This is a policy pursued consistently by our Party in economic construction. Only by

producing on our own what we need, in keeping with our Party's policy, can we develop the national economy rapidly.

One of the important problems we intend to solve is to make arduous work easy through mechanization of production processes. The plant has a good experience in rehabilitating and mechanizing the gas generator to make the work easy. You should apply this experience and actively mechanize production processes so as to increase productivity while working with ease.

You say you will reconstruct all facilities not yet reconstructed by April of next year. You must do so. The plant should set a good example to the whole country in the work of rehabilitation, too. You should finish rebuilding the roads in the compound and arrange the interior of the plant neat and tidy.

As factory equipment is modernized and the production increases, the raising of the workers' technical and skill levels comes up as an important question. Unless these levels go up, it is impossible to run modern machines and equipment and increase steel production. At present there are not many veteran skilled workers at the plant, the overwhelming majority are the recently demobilized soldiers and newcomers from farming villages and schools. So it has become a very urgent matter to raise the workers' technical and skill levels. The plant must take up this work as an immediate struggle task and push it ahead vigorously. You should intensify the technical education of the workers so that they understand the working of the machines and are able to handle them skilfully. In particular, you should assign good people as operators of the blooming mill and direct deep attention to improving their technique and skills.

To raise the workers' technical and skill levels, you should set up at the plant a school where they study while on the job. This will raise the technical and skill levels of the workers considerably.

When the plant is expanded in the future, it will require a large labour force. But the country is short of workhands, so the manpower needed by the plant cannot be replenished with only young and middle-aged men. The plant should boldly employ many housewives.

This will make it possible not only to solve the problem of shortage of manpower but raise the workers' living standards markedly. Drawing housewives into productive work is of great importance also from the social point of view. If you are to employ many housewives at the factory, you should expand the nursery, kindergarten, laundry, dining room and grocery, and ensure proper conditions for protecting the women at work. Only then will the housewives work without any worries.

The great potentials for increasing production lie in the efficient performance of work among the people, that is, work among the workers and technicians. They are the masters of the plant and it is they, and none other, who operate machines and turn out products. If they take part in the efforts for production willingly and with great zeal, production will soar up. The leading officials of the plant should educate them to work with high revolutionary enthusiasm and a sense of honour and pride that they are defending the nation's steel height.

The Party committee of the plant should work well among the Party members so that they play a leading role not only in production but also in raising their technical and skill levels and adopting advanced technology and working methods.

Welfare supply services for the workers should be improved.

What is most urgent in guaranteeing living conditions for the workers is to solve their housing problem. The war caused a shortage of dwelling houses. On top of that, a great number of demobilized soldiers and new workers have recently come to the plant, which has made the housing problem more acute. As winter is approaching, you must solve this problem quickly.

Today I saw the houses you built with adobes; they are cosy and clean. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we built and lived in log cabins, but the adobe houses are much better than log cabins. When we produce plenty of steel materials, cement and bricks in the future, we will build good multi-storeyed houses, but, for the present, we must solve the housing problem by building one-storeyed houses even with adobes. Their construction will make it possible to build many houses

easily without a large amount of timber and bricks. These houses should be built here in plenty as a social campaign. Housing construction should be kept ahead of productive construction in the future.

You should build more dormitories. Service facilities should be built up and proper arrangements made to meet the workers' conveniences.

The workers' needs for a cultural life should be satisfied. This plant is situated near Pyongyang, so it should set an example to the whole country not only in production but in organizing a cultured life for the workers.

Supply of consumer goods should be improved to meet the workers' demands, and vegetables, bean curds and other non-staple foodstuffs supplied adequately. If the leading officials of the plant make good organizational arrangements, such non-staple foodstuffs will not be in short supply.

Last, revolutionary system and order should be established and vigilance sharpened at the plant. The greater our successes, the more viciously the enemy manoeuvres. You must never forget this.

I hope you workers of Kangson will become frontrankers in the fulfilment of the Three-Year National Economic Plan.

ON ELIMINATING DOGMATISM AND FORMALISM AND ESTABLISHING JUCHE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Speech to Party Information and Motivation Workers

December 28, 1955

Today I want to address a few remarks to you on the shortcomings in our Party's ideological work and on how to eliminate them in the future.

As you learned at yesterday's session, there have been serious ideological errors on the literary front. It is obvious, then, that our information work also cannot have been faultless.

It is to be regretted that it suffers in many respects from dogmatism and formalism.

The principal shortcomings in ideological work are the failure to delve deeply into all matters and the lack of Juche. It may not be correct to say Juche is lacking, but, in fact, it has not yet been firmly established. This is a serious matter. We must thoroughly rectify this shortcoming. Unless this problem is solved, we cannot hope for good results in ideological work.

Why does our ideological work suffer from dogmatism and formalism? Why do our information and motivation workers only embellish the facade and fail to go deeply into matters, and why do they merely copy and memorize things foreign, instead of working creatively? This offers us food for serious reflection.

What is Juche in our Party's ideological work? What are we doing?

We are not engaged in any other country's revolution, but solely in the Korean revolution. This, the Korean revolution, determines the essence of Juche in the ideological work of our Party. Therefore, all ideological work must be subordinated to the interests of the Korean revolution. When we study the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the history of the Chinese revolution, or the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, it is entirely for the purpose of correctly carrying out our own revolution.

By saying that the ideological work of our Party is lacking in Juche, I do not mean, of course, that we have not made the revolution and that our revolutionary work was undertaken by outsiders. Nonetheless, Juche has not been firmly established in ideological work, and this leads to dogmatic and formalistic errors and does much harm to our revolutionary cause.

To make revolution in Korea we must know Korean history and geography as well as the customs of the Korean people. Only then is it possible to educate our people in a way that suits them and to inspire in them an ardent love for their native place and their motherland.

It is of paramount importance to study and widely publicize among the working people the history of our country and of our people's struggle.

This is not the first time we have raised this question. As far back as the autumn of 1945, that is, immediately after liberation, we emphasized the need to study the history of our nation's struggle and to inherit its fine traditions. Only when we educate our people in the history of their own struggle and its traditions, can we stimulate their national pride and rouse the broad masses to revolutionary struggle.

Yet, many of our officials are ignorant of our country's history and so do not strive to discover, inherit and carry forward our fine traditions. Unless this is corrected, it will lead, in the long run, to the negation of Korean history.

The mistakes made recently by Pak Chang Ok and his kind are due to their negation of the history of the Korean literary movement. They closed their eyes to the struggle waged by the fine writers of the

“KAPF”—Korea Artista Proleta Federacio—and to the splendid works of our progressive scholars and writers. We urged them to make a profound study of excellent cultural heritages and give them wide publicity, but they did not do so.

Today, ten years after liberation, we possess all the conditions for collecting material on our literary legacy and putting it to full use. Nevertheless, our information workers remain wholly indifferent to this.

At the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee it was decided to publicize the history of our people’s struggle and our precious cultural heritages, but workers in the field of information failed to do so. They did so much as forbid the newspapers to carry articles on the anti-Japanese struggle of the Korean people.

The Kwangju Student Incident, for example, was a mass struggle in which scores of thousands of Korean students and other young people rose against Japanese imperialism. It played a big part in inspiring broad sections of Korean youth with the anti-Japanese spirit. Information workers should have publicized this movement widely as a matter of course, and educated our students and other young people in the brave fighting spirit displayed by their forerunners. While they have failed to do this, Syngman Rhee has been making use of this movement in his propaganda. This has created the false impression that the communists disregard national traditions. What a dangerous thing! If we go on working in this way, it will be impossible for us to win over the south Korean youth.

Up to now, such publicity and education work has been dropped and laid aside, though no one has ever given instructions to this effect. Newspapers do not write about it, nor is any meeting held to commemorate it. Events like the Kwangju Student Incident ought to be taken up by the Democratic Youth League. This incident is an excellent example of the struggle waged by our students and other young people against imperialism.

The same must be said of the June 10 Independence Movement. This was another mass struggle in which the Korean people rose up

against Japanese imperialism. It is true that the struggle was greatly hampered by the factionalists who had wormed their way into it. Considering that even after liberation, the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop spy clique crept into our ranks and wrought mischief, it goes without saying that in those days the factionalists were able to carry on subversive activities more easily. But, even so, was the struggle itself wrong? No. Although it ended in failure because of a few bad elements who had wormed their way into the leadership of the organization, we cannot deny its revolutionary character. We should learn a lesson from that failure.

No publicity has been given either to the March 1 Movement. If you work in this way, you cannot expect to lead progressive people with a national conscience along the right path. The lack of Communist Party leadership was the principal cause of the failure of the March 1 Movement. But who can deny that it was a nationwide resistance movement against Japanese imperialism? We ought to explain the historic significance of this movement to the people and use its lessons to educate them.

Many revolutionary movements in our country ended in failure because of the scoundrels who managed to get themselves into the leadership, but no one can deny the people's participation in those struggles. The masses of the people always fought courageously. Pak Chang Ok may have taken upon himself to deny this, but no true Marxist-Leninist dare deny the people's exploits in these struggles.

When I asked Pak Chang Ok and his followers why they rejected the "KAPF", they answered that they did so because some renegades were involved in it. Did they mean to say then that the "KAPF", which had as its very core prominent proletarian writers, was an organization of no importance? We must value the achievements of the struggle of the "KAPF" highly.

What assets do we have for carrying on the revolution if the history of our people's struggle is denied? If we cast aside all these things, it would mean that our people did nothing. There are many things to be proud of in our country's peasant movements of the past. In recent

years, however, no articles dealing with them have appeared in our newspapers.

In schools, too, there is a tendency to neglect courses on Korean history. During the war, the curriculum of the Central Party School allotted 160 hours a year to the study of world history, but very few hours to Korean history. This is how things were done in the Party school, and so it is quite natural that our officials are ignorant of their own country's history.

In our information and motivation work, there are numerous examples where only things foreign are extolled while our own are slighted.

Once I visited a People's Army rest home, where there was a picture of the Siberian steppe on the wall. Russians probably like that landscape. But we Korean people like the beautiful scenery of our own country. There are beautiful mountains such as Kumgang and Myohyang in our country. There are clear streams, the blue sea with its rolling waves and fields with their ripening crops. If we are to inspire in our People's Army men a love for their native place and their country, we must display more pictures of our own landscapes.

One day this summer when I dropped in at a local democratic publicity hall, I saw diagrams of the Soviet Union's Five-Year Plan on show there, but not a single diagram illustrating our own Three-Year Plan. Moreover, there were pictures of huge factories in foreign countries, but not a single one of the factories we are rebuilding. They do not even put up any diagrams and pictures showing our economic construction, let alone study the history of our country.

I noticed in a primary school that all the portraits on the walls were of foreigners, such as Mayakovsky and Pushkin, but there were none of Koreans. If children are educated in this way, how can they be expected to have national pride?

Here is something ridiculous. Foreign ways are aped even in attaching a table of contents to a booklet, for it is put at the back. We should learn, as a matter of course, from the good experience of other country's socialist construction, but why on earth is there a need to put

the table of contents at the back of a booklet in foreign style? This does not suit the taste of Koreans. As a matter of course, we should put it at the front of the book, shouldn't we?

In compiling schoolbooks, too, material is not taken from our literary works but from foreign ones. All this is due to the lack of Juche.

The lack of Juche in information work has done much harm to Party work.

For the same reason, many comrades do not respect our revolutionaries. At present more than 100 comrades who took part in revolutionary struggle in the past are attending the Central Party School, but until recently they were buried in obscurity.

We sent many revolutionaries to the Ministry of the Interior, but many of them were dismissed on the ground that they were incompetent. At the Central Party School, I once met a comrade who had taken part in revolutionary activities, yet he had been left in his post as chief of a county internal security station for eight years. This attitude towards revolutionaries is entirely wrong.

Today our officials have become so insolent that they show no respect for their seniors. They have been allowed to fall into such a habit, in spite of the fact that communists naturally have a higher moral sense than others and hold their revolutionary seniors in high esteem.

In our People's Army, a vigorous struggle has been waged to uphold revolutionary traditions and, as a result, most of the people who once took part in revolutionary activities have become either regimental or divisional commanders.

If we had not organized the People's Army with old revolutionary cadres as its core, what would have been the outcome of the last war? It would have been impossible for us to defeat the enemy and win a great victory under such difficult conditions.

During our retreat, certain foreigners predicted that most of our army units, trapped by enemy encirclement, would not be able to get back. But we were firmly convinced that all of them would manage to come back. In fact, all of them except those who were killed returned.

The foreigners were greatly impressed by this and said there were few armies like ours in the world. How did this come about? The explanation is that our army cadres were comrades who had taken part in guerrilla warfare or in local revolutionary movements in the past. That is precisely why our army is strong.

Ten years have passed since our Party was founded. Therefore, Party members should naturally be taught the history of our Party. If our officials are not taught the revolutionary history of our country, they will be unable to carry our fine revolutionary traditions forward, nor will they be able to know which direction to take in the struggle, or show enthusiasm and initiative in their revolutionary activities.

We should study our own things in earnest and get to know them well. Otherwise, we shall be unable to solve new problems creatively in keeping with our actual conditions, problems that crop up one after another in practice.

As a matter of fact, the form of our government should also be suited to the specific conditions in our country. Does our people's power take exactly the same form as that in other socialist countries? No. They are alike in that they are based on Marxist-Leninist principles, but the forms they take are different. There is no doubt, too, that our platform is in keeping with the realities of our country. Our 20-Point Platform is the development of the Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. As you all know, this association existed before liberation.

Our officials often commit errors because they do not clearly understand these matters.

Some people even think it strange that our agricultural cooperative movement is progressing rapidly. There is nothing strange about this. In the past, the Korean peasantry's economic base was very weak. Under Japanese imperialist rule, the peasant movement grew and the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry ran very high. What is more, the peasants were tempered politically through the building of democracy after liberation and during the bitter years of war. So, it is natural that the agricultural cooperative movement should be making

rapid progress in our country today.

Pak Yong Bin, on returning from the Soviet Union, said that as the Soviet Union was following the line of easing international tension, we should also drop our slogan against US imperialism. Such an assertion has nothing to do with revolutionary initiative. It would dull our people's revolutionary vigilance. The US imperialists scorched our land, massacred our innocent people, and are still occupying the southern half of our country. They are our sworn enemy, aren't they?

It is utterly ridiculous to think that our people's struggle against the US imperialists conflicts with the efforts of the Soviet people to ease international tension. Our people's condemnation of and struggle against the US imperialists' policy of aggression against Korea are not in contradiction with, but conducive to the struggle of the peoples of the world to lessen international tension and defend peace. At the same time, the struggle to ease tension on the part of the peace-loving people the world over, including the Soviet people, creates more favourable conditions for the anti-imperialist struggle of our people.

Pak Chang Ok was ideologically linked to the reactionary bourgeois writer Ri Thae Jun in that he did not study the history of our country and our realities. Besides the remnants of bourgeois ideology in his mind, he was conceited enough to think he knew everything, without even studying the realities of our country. Consequently, things went wrong. The harm he did to our ideological work is very serious.

After liberation, he and his ilk said that since Ri Kwang Su was a talented man, it would be proper to give him prominence. But I pointed out it would be wrong to do so. Ri Kwang Su wrote a novel, *A Revolutionary's Wife*, in which he insulted revolutionaries let out of prison. He used to rave that the Korean people and the Japanese imperialists came from the "same ancestry". Therefore, I told them that it was absolutely unthinkable and impermissible to give prominence to such a man.

Some comrades working in the Information Department of the Party tried to copy everything mechanically from the Soviet Union.

This was also because they had no intention of studying our realities and lacked the true Marxist-Leninist approach to educating the people in our own merits and revolutionary traditions. Many comrades swallow Marxism-Leninism raw, without digesting and assimilating it. It is self-evident, therefore, that they are unable to display revolutionary initiative.

Information workers have so far failed to take proper measures to study our history and national culture systematically. Ten years have passed since liberation, yet they have failed to tackle the matter energetically. They have conducted it only in a hit-or-miss way. We had few cadres before, but now we have scholars, funds and material, and sufficient conditions for doing it. It is quite possible if only you make a good study and organize the work. Every effort should be made to discover and promote our national heritage. True, we should energetically learn from what is progressive internationally. But we should develop the fine things of our own while introducing advanced culture. Otherwise, our people will lose faith in their own ability and become a spineless people who only try to copy from others.

Hearing us say that it is necessary to establish Juche, some comrades might take it in a simple way and get the wrong idea that we need not learn from foreign countries. That would be quite wrong. We must learn from the positive experience of socialist countries.

The important thing is to know what we are learning for. Our aim is to turn the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to good account in our Korean revolution.

During the war, Ho Ka I, Kim Jae Uk and Pak Il U once quarrelled stupidly among themselves over how to do political work in the army. Those from the Soviet Union insisted upon the Soviet method and those from China stuck to the Chinese method. So they quarrelled, some advocating the Soviet fashion and others the Chinese way. That was sheer nonsense.

It does not matter whether you use the right hand or the left, whether you use a spoon or chopsticks at the table. No matter how you eat, it is all the same insofar as food is put into your mouth, isn't it?

Why need one be fastidious about “fashion” in wartime? We do political work to strengthen our People’s Army and win battles, and any method will do so long as our aim is achieved. Yet Ho Ka I and Pak Il U squabbled about such a trifle. This only weakens discipline within the Party. At that time, the Party centre maintained that we should learn all the good things from both the Soviet Union and China and, on this basis, work out a method of political work suitable to our actual conditions.

It is important in our work to grasp revolutionary truth, Marxist-Leninist truth, and apply it correctly to our actual conditions. There should be no set rule that we must follow the Soviet pattern. Some advocate the Soviet way and others the Chinese, but is it not high time to work out our own?

The point is that we should not mechanically copy the forms and methods of the Soviet Union, but should learn from its experience in struggle and from the truth of Marxism-Leninism. So, while learning from the experience of the Soviet Union, we must put stress not on the form but on the essence of its experience.

In learning from the experience of the Soviet Union there is a marked tendency merely to model ourselves on the external form. If *Pravda* puts out a headline “A Day in Our Country”, our *Rodong Sinmun* carries the same title: “A Day in Our Country”. What is the point of copying this sort of thing? The same is true of clothing. When there are very graceful Korean costumes for our women, what is the point of discarding them and putting on clothes which are unbecoming? There is no need to do this. I suggested to the Women’s Union officials that our women dress in Korean costumes as far as possible.

Merely copying the forms used by others instead of learning the truth of Marxism-Leninism does us no good, only harm.

In both revolutionary struggle and construction, we should firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist principles, applying them in a creative way to suit the specific conditions and national characteristics of our country.

If we mechanically apply foreign experience, disregarding the

history of our country and the traditions of our people and without taking account of our own realities and our people's political level, we will commit dogmatic errors and do much harm to the revolutionary cause. This is not fidelity to Marxism-Leninism nor to internationalism. It runs counter to them.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action and a creative theory. So, Marxism-Leninism can display its indestructible vitality only when it is applied creatively to suit the specific conditions of each country. The same applies to the experience of the fraternal parties. It will prove valuable to us only when we study it, grasp its essence and properly apply it to our realities. But if we just gulp it down and spoil our work, it will not only harm our work but also lead to discrediting the valuable experience of the fraternal parties.

In connection with the question of establishing Juche, I think it necessary to touch on internationalism and patriotism.

Internationalism and patriotism are inseparably linked with each other. You must realize that the love Korean communists bear for their country does not conflict with the internationalism of the working class but fully conforms with it. Loving Korea is just as good as loving the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and, likewise, loving the Soviet Union and the socialist camp is just as good as loving Korea. They constitute a complete whole. For the great cause of the working class knows no frontiers and our revolutionary cause is a part of the international revolutionary cause of the working class throughout the world. The supreme goal of the working class of all countries is to build a communist society. The only difference, if any, lies in the fact that some countries will do this earlier and others later.

It is wrong to stress patriotism alone and neglect internationalist solidarity. For the victory of the Korean revolution and for the great cause of the international working class, we should strengthen solidarity with the Soviet people and with the peoples of all the socialist countries. This is our sacred internationalist duty. The Soviet people, on their part, are doing all they can to strengthen solidarity not only with the countries of the socialist camp but also with the working

class of the whole world, both for the building of communism in their own country and for the victory of the world revolution.

Thus, patriotism and internationalism are inseparable. He who does not love his own country cannot be loyal to internationalism, and he who is unfaithful to internationalism cannot be faithful to his own country and people. A true patriot is necessarily an internationalist and vice versa.

If we cast aside all that is good in our country and only copy and memorize things foreign in ideological work, we will certainly bring losses to our revolution, and thereby fail to fulfil our obligations to the international revolutionary cause properly.

In the report to the Second Party Congress, I quoted the following passage from the statement of the Commander of the Soviet army, published on the day the army entered our country: “Korean people!... You hold your happiness in your own hands!... Koreans must create their own happiness themselves.” This statement is perfectly correct, and if we fail to act accordingly, we may lose broad segments of the masses.

The formalism of our information workers also finds expression in exaggeration in information work. For example, such bombastic expressions as “all have risen,” “all have been mobilized,” etc., have long been in fashion in speeches and articles.

We advised Pak Chang Ok more than once against it. Pak Chang Ok made mistakes because he could not break away from this “all” type of bombast he had created. Later, he took a fancy to the superlative of the Chinese ideograph “great”, and used this adjective everywhere. I do not know whether this practice was due to his ignorance of Chinese ideographs or to his erroneous ideological stand.

When information work is conducted with such empty exaggeration, it will lead people to be carried away by victory and to become easy-going. This bad practice is also responsible for the false reports handed in by junior officials.

The use of an adjective may seem a simple matter, but its wrong use may spell failure in our work. In future, this practice should be completely stopped.

Now, I should like to refer to a few other immediate problems in ideological work.

The Party Central Committee has issued written material on the nature and tasks of our revolution, to help in the study of the documents of its April Plenary Meeting. So, I will not make any further comment on this.

I would just like to stress once more the prospects of our revolution. Our revolution has two prospects. One is the peaceful reunification of our country, and the other is its reunification in circumstances in which the forces of imperialism are drastically weakened by a big war.

We, of course, have been striving with all our might to realize the first prospect.

Our struggle for peaceful reunification boils down to two points—to carry out construction successfully in the northern half of the country and direct effective political work towards the southern half. If we strengthen the democratic base by promoting socialist construction in the north and rouse the people in the south to struggle for liberation through effective political work directed to the south, peaceful reunification can be realized.

Political work directed towards the south means strengthening the influence of the north on the people in the south and getting the broad masses there to support us. To this end, socialist construction in the north should be carried out successfully. The living standards of the people should be raised and the economic base strengthened in the north through successful economic construction, and all the people should be rallied around our Party. Then, no matter how desperately Syngman Rhee may try, he will never be able to dampen the fighting spirit of the people in the south, who are constantly inspired by socialist construction in the north.

A man who came over from the south some time ago said: “Syngman Rhee says in his propaganda that the north has a population of only three million and there is nothing left of Pyongyang but a heap of ashes. But I have seen here that the bridge over the Taedong River has been rebuilt and Pyongyang is being built into a much more

beautiful city than before. Syngman Rhee has told a blatant lie.” This is what will happen when we carry out construction successfully.

In 1948, when a joint conference of political parties and social organizations from north and south Korea was held, we in the north did not have much to our credit in construction. But all the right-wing personalities of south Korea came to us, with the exception of Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su. The joint conference was of very great significance. Many of those who came to the north at that time remained here. This is what Kim Ku said: “I have found north Korea to my liking. I have seen many communists both in Shanghai and in south Korea (if he met any, they must have been those of the Tuesday group or the M-L group), but north Korean communists are different. I thought before that communists were narrow-minded and evil people, but I have found here that you are broad-minded and generous with whom I can cooperate fully. I will cooperate with you in every way. I am old now and have no desire for power. If I do not go back to south Korea, Syngman Rhee will certainly claim I have been detained. I want to go back and make known the fine things I have seen here. So I must at all events go back. Do not think that I am going to collaborate with the Yankees. When I come back here later, please give me an apple orchard, for I want to live in peace in the countryside for the rest of my life.” Kim Kyu Sik, too, spoke in the same vein. Afterwards, Kim Ku fought against the Yankees.

As you all know, Kim Ku was a nationalist. From the beginning he was against both imperialism and communism, and he came to us with the intention of negotiating with the communists. In view of the fact that even Kim Ku, who once regarded communism as an inveterate enemy, changed his ideas of our endeavours to build up the country, it is quite easy to imagine what workers, peasants and public figures with a national conscience in south Korea will think once they come and see the northern half of the country.

Before liberation, merely to hear that in the Soviet Union the working class held power and was building socialism made us yearn greatly for that country where we had never been. How then can the

people in the south not yearn to see the socialist construction in the north carried out by our people who are of the same stock as them?

That is why successful construction in the north is more important than anything else.

Thus, when the people in the south are roused to action against US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee regime through successful socialist construction in the north and effective political work directed towards the south, peaceful reunification can be brought about.

This is the internal factor which makes peaceful reunification possible.

The external factor conducive to peaceful reunification should likewise be taken into consideration. If we succeed in maintaining peace for a five to ten year period, China with her population of more than 600 million as well as the Soviet Union, will grow incomparably stronger and the power of the whole socialist camp will be even greater.

Parallel with the growth of the might of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries has constantly been intensified and many countries have won national independence. The peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma and other independent states in Asia and the peoples of the Arab countries are fighting for peace and against imperialist aggression.

All this constitutes a telling blow to imperialism, especially US imperialism. As the forces of peace, democracy and socialism grow stronger, the US imperialists will finally be compelled to withdraw from Korea.

Of course, the struggle for the peaceful reunification of our country is an arduous and protracted one. But when we grow stronger and the international forces of peace, democracy and socialism become more powerful, we will be able to achieve peaceful reunification. This is one prospect for the development of the revolution in Korea and for reunification.

The problem of reunification might also be solved by war, not by

peaceful means. If the imperialists unleash war on a worldwide scale, we will have no alternative but to fight, and then it would be quite possible for us to defeat the US imperialists in Korea by our own strength. Although it would be rather hard for us to fight against US imperialism single-handed, we should be able to defeat it relatively easily if it is compelled to disperse its forces all over the world. In that case we would sweep the forces of US imperialism from Korea and achieve the reunification of the country. This is the other prospect for the development of the Korean revolution and for reunification.

But we do not want this prospect. We desire the first prospect, that is, reunification by peaceful means, and we are struggling to achieve it.

No matter which prospect for the country's reunification comes about, the most important thing of all is to strengthen our Party and steel the members' Party spirit.

In case negotiations start between the north and the south, then the barriers between them are torn down and we go to work among south Koreans, what will things be like if our Party is not strong? Only when our Party is strong, can it take advantage of such a favourable situation.

The proportion of our Party membership to the population is now one to ten, as we have a million members out of a population of 10 million. This is indeed not a small proportion. But, when compared with the 30 million population of Korea, one million is by no means large.

In south Korea the growth of the Party cannot help but be seriously limited because the underground movement there is carried on under extremely difficult circumstances.

After reunification, it will be difficult to carry on our work with a small number of Party members, although the number will grow in south Korea, too. What is wrong if we train a large number of Party members in the northern half from now on and assign them to work both in the north and the south after reunification? Nothing. Yet, at the time of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, Ho Ka I insisted that the Party close its doors in spite of the fact that it had no more than 600,000 members. The Party criticized his view at

the time, and has continued to increase its membership.

The point now is to educate our one million Party members well. Among our members there may be some who lag behind the non-Party masses. But even so, these people must not be expelled from the Party. They must be kept in and educated. If they are expelled, our Party might be weakened. This is all the more so since ours is not the only party.

It is our consistent organizational line to constantly train the core of the cells while building up a mass-based party. By the core we mean those Party members who know communist truth and can follow the road of revolution without vacillating. It is difficult to arm the one million Party members overnight with an equal degree of communist thinking. We must follow the line of training the core elements first and then gradually raising the political level of all Party members.

Our line is to educate Party members with the help of core members. So, since the Fourth Plenary Meeting, the Party has put special emphasis on the question of training the core members of the cells. It will be all the more gratifying if their number increases from five today to ten tomorrow so that all Party members become core elements. But even if only 50 per cent of the Party membership does so, it will be a good thing.

The merging of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was of great significance in turning our Party into a mass political party. As a result of our correct organizational line and energetic struggle to win over the broad masses of the working people, our Party has now become a mass political party embracing one million members. This success was by no means easy; it was achieved through extremely hard struggles.

We fight for democratic rights and freedoms in south Korea—freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association—which are prerequisites for the peaceful reunification of the country. We aim at securing conditions for our own free activities in the southern half, while allowing political parties of south Korea to conduct political activities freely in the northern half.

When a situation is thus created in which political struggle in the north and the south is free, whoever wins more of the masses will win the day. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance to strengthen our Party and the Party spirit of its members.

In order to steel the Party spirit of our members, we should get all of them to make a constant and deep study of the documents of the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee.

Our comrades must direct more effort to the organizational and information work of the Party, instead of being engrossed only in economic campaigns. Party cells must be built up well and Party members educated by the cell core. It is particularly necessary to temper the Party spirit of those members who hold leading posts—ministers, vice-ministers and bureau directors. Throughout the Party, vigorous educational measures should be taken to fortify the Party spirit.

The composition of our Party is very complex. All sorts of people have joined it—those who once belonged to the Tuesday group and the M-L group, those who joined the Toiling People's Party after liberation, and others. Many had been under the influence of the factionalists. These people are to be found both among senior cadres in the central organs and among the members of the Party Central Committee.

Are all of these people worthless? No. Education will make them all useful. But their education must not be conducted in a short-term campaign. Prolonged, patient education and criticism are needed.

We must wage a determined struggle to arm every Party member firmly with our Party's ideology and eliminate the remnants of bourgeois ideology which persist in the minds of Party members and other working people. Our members' Party spirit should be steeled until their shortcomings are overcome and their ideological maladies completely remedied.

We were too late in criticizing Pak Chang Ok and Ki Sok Bok. If they had been criticized at the time of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, things would not have gotten into such a

mess. Therefore, it is especially important to remould the thinking of those leading cadres who were influenced by Ho Ka I or Pak Il U and help them arm themselves with the Party's ideological system. The Organizational Leadership Department and the Information and Publicity Department of the Party must take up this work.

The important thing in educating Party members is to get them, especially the cadres, to establish a correct viewpoint on the masses. Because this is lacking, bureaucracy continues. This is a grave shortcoming in our Party work.

In order to achieve our lofty aim of reunifying the country and building socialism and communism, we must win over the masses. We must be clear on what great losses bureaucracy will cause to the revolution.

Listening to the voice of the masses and championing their interests is an entirely different matter from basing one's work on misleading opinions heard in the street. The latter has nothing in common with the revolutionary viewpoint on the masses. By the masses we mean the working masses we rely on—the workers and the peasants, and our allies who support and follow us. We should listen to them and defend their interests. Everyone, whether a Party worker, an administrative worker or an official in a social organization, must work consistently in the interests of the revolution and the masses.

How was it possible for the anti-Japanese guerrillas to hold out for such a long time? Why was it that the Japanese failed to destroy us even though they had a formidable armed force? Because the guerrillas had the correct viewpoint on the masses and the support of the masses. When guerrillas were wounded and entered a village, the peasants took care of them as though they were their own sons. They managed to get rice, which they could hardly afford for themselves, and cook it for them. Even the peasants living inside the earth walls of the concentration villages set up by the Japanese, managed to send food to them outside the walls.

The masses supported and protected us in this way because we had always defended their interests and fought for them at the risk of our

lives. All Party members must learn from the guerrillas' attitude towards the masses.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule everything was imposed upon us by force—compulsory military service, compulsory labour, compulsory delivery of farm produce, etc. We are resolutely opposed to such practices.

A party divorced from the masses is like a fish out of water. With whom can the party carry out the revolution if not with the masses? A party divorced from the people not only cannot bring the revolution to victory, but will eventually find its very existence endangered.

It is solely for the purpose of protecting the interests of the masses that the party puts forward its programme and seizes state power. Therefore, would it not be against the aims of the party and the revolution to encroach on the interests of the masses?

It is beyond dispute that our laws and decisions are excellent. But they will all come to nothing if, in putting them into effect, our officials harm the interests of the masses. You comrades must bear this in mind and intensify educational work among Party members so that they can liquidate bureaucracy and acquire a correct viewpoint on the masses. If only 50 per cent of all Party members acquire this viewpoint, it will mean a great change in our Party.

At the moment quite a few Party members are not firmly equipped with the correct viewpoint. The situation is especially bad among the cadres. Whether a Party member has a correct viewpoint on the masses or not also depends on his Party spirit. So, tempering Party spirit is of decisive importance in this respect, too.

Further, it is important to imbue the Party members with faith and optimism regarding the prospects of the revolution. Whatever the circumstances are, we must have firm faith in the final victory of our cause and optimism regarding the future of the revolution. Otherwise it will be impossible to overcome the difficulties one inevitably encounters in the course of revolutionary struggle.

In order to make our Party members indomitable fighters who are always optimistic about the future of the revolution, it is necessary to

intensify their Marxist-Leninist education. Without a clear understanding of the laws of social development and the inevitability of the triumph of socialism and communism, one can neither have faith in victory nor have the lofty spirit and combativeness to withstand any difficulty.

Let me give you an example of vacillation and defection in the revolutionary ranks that was caused by a lack of knowledge of the laws of social development and of a clear understanding of the trend of developments in a complex situation.

When the defeat of Japanese imperialism was in sight, some people in the guerrilla detachments lost faith and deserted. This was partly because of certain formalistic defects in our information work at the time. In those days information about the Soviet Union was of special importance, and it was propagated in the guerrilla army that “A big clash is bound to occur some day between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states, because fundamental contradictions exist between them. Then, Japanese imperialism will perish and our country will attain independence.” That was wrong. Though it was right to propagate about the contradictions between the socialist state and the imperialist countries, the truth about current developments was not explained. As a result, when a non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Hitler Germany was signed and a treaty of neutrality was concluded between the Soviet Union and Japan in 1941, some elements in the guerrilla ranks lost hope in the future and faltered. These waverers deserted our ranks, saying that after ten years with the guerrillas they only saw a dark future, uncertain whether they would have to spend another 10 or 20 years fighting. So we explained the revolutionary situation and the truth about the revolution fully to the guerrillas. After that, there were no more deserters.

There is no doubt that sooner or later we shall see the great revolutionary event come about. That event, as I have already said, may either occur peacefully or non-peacefully. Whatever form it takes, we must always be prepared to meet it.

In order to meet this great revolutionary event, the members’ Party

spirit should be steeled. They should be educated to have a correct viewpoint on the masses, faith in victory and optimism regarding the future of the revolution.

Another important thing is to struggle correctly against every anti-Party tendency. If we had not had the experience of fighting the “Minsaengdan” in Jiandao in the past, we would not have been able correctly to lead the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries in Korea after liberation, especially during the war.

The Japanese set up a counter-revolutionary espionage organization called “Minsaengdan” and infiltrated agents into the revolutionary districts of Jiandao. Then they resorted to the vile trick of alienating the Koreans from the Chinese and inciting strife among the Koreans. For a time those in the revolutionary camp fell victim to the enemy’s crafty scheme, going to the length of killing one another. As a result, many people were killed without any justifiable reason.

This experience proved very useful when we dealt with the case of the Pak Hon Yong clique. We adhered strictly to the principle of drawing a sharp distinction between spies and non-spies. We emphasized this many times in the Political Committee. If we were not vigilant we might play into the hands of the Yankees and ruin many persons.

Of course, the struggle must be relentless. Otherwise, some spies may escape punishment. But the struggle must always be carried on as an ideological one.

Those who were influenced by Pak Hon Yong cannot all be his ilk or spies. But his ideological influence still remains in their minds. We must fight against this.

The experience acquired in the struggle against the Pak Hon Yong clique and in the counterespionage campaigns should be made fully known to the Party members so that they may wage a rigorous struggle against espionage agents and correctly distinguish the spies from others. If you do not do this, but suspect everybody, in the end you will find yourselves suspicious of your own shadow.

In order to disintegrate our ranks from within, the enemy always

plots to make people distrust one another and set them at odds. You must learn to discern clearly and combat such plots and slanders concocted by the counter-revolutionaries. Party members should be educated in such a way that they can spot spies, waverers, nepotists, parochialists and factionalists.

Such a struggle can be conducted properly only when the cadres and all members of the Party have a high political level. Without attaining a high level of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, Party members cannot properly carry out such a difficult task. In order to enable them to fight skilfully against the counter-revolutionaries, it is necessary to intensify their Marxist-Leninist education and, at the same time, acquaint them with our extensive experience in the fight against the counter-revolutionaries.

Further, information and motivation should be stepped up among the broad masses. Education of the masses in socialist ideology should be the main content of our work of information and motivation. The most important thing in this connection is to make the workers and peasants, especially the workers, clearly aware that power is in their hands. When they are highly conscious of this fact, the workers will act as the masters in everything—take good care of their places of work, machinery and equipment, work hard, maintain good discipline and effectively combat counter-revolutionaries.

The same is true of the peasants. If they realize that the working class is not only their ally but also their leader, and that they too hold power in their hands, they will work their land well, take good care of their implements and willingly pay the tax in kind.

Everyone will show enthusiasm when he realizes that he is the master. When we were engaged in revolutionary activities in the past, who could have got us to do so for money? We fought without sleep and forgot our hunger because we realized that by making revolution we could not only carve out our own destiny but save our country. The workers will likewise throw all their energy and zeal into their work when they are clearly aware that their labour is for their own happiness and for the prosperity of society.

Prolonged, persistent education is needed to get all the working people to become as politically conscious as this. We must patiently educate the masses and unite them more closely around our Party.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks about our newspapers. Our papers still do not fully discharge their duties.

The central task of the *Rodong Sinmun*, our Party organ, is to educate the Party members through day-to-day explanation of the Party's lines and policies and their fighting tasks. The central task of the *Minju Joson* is to mobilize the masses to put state policies into effect by fully explaining the laws and regulations of the organs of people's power and the policies of the state. The papers of the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Democratic Youth League, and other organizations should likewise be edited in accordance with their respective characteristics and tasks.

Our newspapers have no specific features which distinguish one from another. This is a big failing. Whether this is because they are all furnished with material by the Korean Central News Agency or because some of them are limited in space, I do not know.

Here, too, much formalism and dogmatism can be noted. I think it necessary for you to look into this matter seriously.

I have so far touched upon some problems arising in the ideological work of our Party. I hope you will take note of them, eliminate the shortcomings revealed and strive to raise our Party's ideological work to a higher level.

