

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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CONTENTS

LET US OVERFULFIL THE THREE-YEAR PLAN THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTION AND ECONOMY

Speech at the New Year's Banquet, *January 1, 1956*..... 1

ON EXECUTING THIS YEAR'S STATE BUDGET ACCURATELY AND IMPROVING CONSTRUCTION WORK

Concluding Speech at the First Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *January 10, 1956* 8

ON DRAFT AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, *January 21, 1956*..... 15

RICE IS IMMEDIATELY SOCIALISM

Letter to the Chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee, *January 28, 1956*..... 24

FOR RADICAL CHANGE IN CONSTRUCTION WORK

Speech at a National Conference of Architects and Builders, *January 30, 1956*..... 26

1..... 26

2..... 31

(1) On Standardization and Specification of Designs 33

(2) On Industrializing the Production of Building Materials 36

(3) On the Mechanization of Construction..... 42

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN KAECHON COUNTY

Speech at a Conference of the Kaechon County Party Organization, <i>February 5, 1956</i>	47
1. On the Amendment of the Party Rules.....	49
2. On Party Work	53
3. On Economic and Cultural Work.....	65

ON ECONOMICAL USE OF MANPOWER AND IMPROVEMENT OF MASS POLITICAL WORK

Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>February 16, 1956</i>	74
1. On Practising Economy in Manpower in All Branches of the National Economy.....	74
2. On Improving Mass Political Work	78

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN IMPROVING CULTURAL AND INFORMATION WORK

Talk to Leading Officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information, <i>March 1, 1956</i>	84
---	----

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE FULFILMENT OF THE PLAN FOR THE REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Concluding Speech at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, <i>April 2, 1956</i>	95
---	----

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE

Speech at a North Phyongan Provincial Party Conference, <i>April 7, 1956</i>	109
1. On the Organizational and Ideological Strengthening of the Party Organization.....	110
(1) Concerning the Organizational Work of the Party	110
(2) Concerning the Party's Personnel Administration	118

(3) On Eradicating Dogmatism and Formalism in Party Work	122
2. On Strengthening Party Guidance in the Building of the Economy and Culture.....	127
(1) Industry.....	127
(2) Agriculture	139
(3) The Fishing Industry	142
(4) Education.....	143

**REPORT TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY
OF KOREA ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

<i>April 23, 1956</i>	152
I. The International Situation.....	153
II. The Internal Situation	160
1. Struggle for the Reunification and Independence of the Country and for Strengthening and Developing the People's Democratic System in the Northern Half of Korea	160
2. For the Building of a Socialist Economy in the Northern Half of Korea	186
3. For the Strengthening of the State and Social System	214
4. For the Peaceful Reunification of the Country	217
III. The Party.....	226
1. The Struggle for Consolidation of the Party	226
2. The Organizational Leadership of the Party	242
3. The Ideological Work of the Party	254

**TASKS FOR THE SOUTH HAMGYONG PROVINCIAL PARTY
ORGANIZATIONS TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISION
OF THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS**

Speech at the Meeting of the Activists of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Organizations, <i>May 17, 1956</i>	268
1. On Industry	272
2. On the Fishing Industry	279
3. On Agriculture	280
4. On Intensifying Technical Education.....	283
5. On Strengthening Party Work	285

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO ALL THE WORKERS,
TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES OF THE MUSAN MINE**

<i>June 1, 1956</i>	289
---------------------------	-----

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A CORRESPONDENT
OF THE *NAFEN* IN INDIA

June 9, 1956.....291

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A JOURNALIST OF THE *UNITA*,
THE ORGAN OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

June 25, 1956.....293

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A REPORTER OF RADIO MOSCOW

July 12, 1956.....297

ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC
YOUTH LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS

Speech Delivered before the Newly Elected Members of the Central
Committee of the Democratic Youth League, *November 9, 1956*.....300

1. On Organizational and Political Work300

2. On the Tasks of the DYL Organizations in the Field
of Economic Construction313

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A JOURNALIST OF THE JAPANESE
NEWSPAPER *YOMIURI SHIMBUN*

November 21, 1956.....323

ON SOME TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZERS AT THE PRESENT TIME

Speech at a Short Course for Party Organizers, *November 25, 1956*329

1. On Uniting the Working Class Closely around the Party331

2. On Fully Acquiring Revolutionary Viewpoint on the Masses.....336

3. On Proper Party Guidance to Production.....339

ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AT HOME AND ABROAD
AND SOME PROBLEMS TO BE CONSIDERED IN CHARTING
OUT THE 1957 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

Concluding Speech at the Tenth Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *December 1, 1956*.....344

FOR A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY UPSWING
IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea, *December 13, 1956* 352

ON SOME PROBLEMS IN IMPROVING PARTY WORK

Talk to Instructors and Senior Officials of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea, *December 17, 1956* 362

1. On Strengthening Party Organizational Work 362
2. On Strengthening Party Ideological Work 369
3. On Improving Work Style 373
4. On Economic Work 377

ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY
TO MEET THE PRESENT SITUATION

Speech at a Conference of Military and Political Cadres of Combined Units
and Higher Echelons of the Korean People's Army, *December 20, 1956* 383

LET US CREATE MANY LITERARY AND ART WORKS
REFLECTING REALITIES

Talk to Leading Personnel in the Field of Literature
and Art, *December 25, 1956*..... 396

LET US EXPLOIT INTERNAL RESERVES TO THE
MAXIMUM AND PRODUCE MORE STEEL

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Leading Officials and Model
Workers of the Kangson Steel Plant, *December 28, 1956*..... 402

LET US OVERFULFIL THE THREE-YEAR PLAN THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTION AND ECONOMY

Speech at the New Year's Banquet

January 1, 1956

Dear comrades,

Seeing the year 1955 of peace and creation out and the hopeful new year 1956 in, I wish you a happy New Year.

During the past year our people achieved great victories and successes in their effort for the prosperity and development of the country and its peaceful reunification and for the consolidation of world peace.

In 1955, the decisive year in carrying out the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, the plan for total industrial output value in the state and cooperative organizations was overfulfilled up to 106 per cent, and the Taeyudong Mine, the Suan Mine, the Sunghori Cement Factory, the Yongan Chemical Factory and many other factories and enterprises already fulfilled or overfulfilled their assignments of the Three-Year Plan by the end of last year. Blast furnace No. 1 of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, open-hearth furnace No. 2 of the Hwanghae Iron Works, the ore-dressing plant of the mine where Comrade Hong Ji Hun works, the ammonium sulphate shop of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Pyongyang Daily-Necessities Combine, generator No. 6 of the Suphung Power Station and many other workshops and industrial

establishments have been rehabilitated or newly built and put into operation.

The number of schools and hospitals restored or newly built in 1955 is over 170, and the floor space of houses constructed for the factory and office workers exceeds a million square metres.

A remarkable success has been achieved in agriculture, too. The total agricultural output in 1955 was much greater than in the previous year. In particular, the Government of the Republic made an enormous additional investment in the second half of last year and thus expanded irrigated land by tens of thousands of hectares. This laid the firm basis for rapid increase in agricultural production this year.

In the past year, more than 135,000 peasant households joined agricultural cooperatives, and at present the peasant households in these cooperatives amount to more than 45 per cent of the total farm households. This shows that the rural economy of our country is rapidly undergoing socialist transformation.

Last year, the Government of the Republic took a series of measures to improve the people's material living standards. As you all know, it reduced the state retail prices of consumer goods again, adopted a new Income Tax Law lowering the income tax rates for the population, and allowed exemptions from the agricultural tax in kind and delivery of cereals on various accounts in arrears due for payment by 1954. It also granted exemptions from the repayment of a large portion of the loans given by the Peasant Bank by 1953, and took various important measures including the adoption of a new Law on Agricultural Tax in Kind.

These few instances are enough for us to understand what a great success we achieved last year.

These achievements are entirely due to the fact that all the working people and patriots of our country gave full play to their creative enthusiasm and patriotic devotion, braving all hardships and difficulties, united firmly around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

Once again I highly appreciate the fact that our heroic people led by

the working class are fully displaying lofty patriotism, unexcelled devotion and perseverance for the country's prosperity and development in the postwar struggle for reconstruction, just as they did during the Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism and its stooges.

Last year, our leading personnel at all levels correctly mobilized the masses for the huge reconstruction work in full support of the line and policy of the Party and the Government. Their active role and efforts are one of the important factors that enabled our great success last year.

The fraternal material and technical aid by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies contributed considerably to our people's great success last year.

During the past year the officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army not only guarded firmly the defence line of the country while ceaselessly raising their fighting efficiency, but actively participated and greatly assisted in the postwar reconstruction. The people highly appreciate this.

Last year, with all its great achievements, our economic construction work had many shortcomings, too.

Major shortcomings in economic work were the lack of careful calculation, plan and foresight, and feeble effort for tapping internal resources and economizing in all branches. These shortcomings are now being corrected by appropriate measures taken by the Party and the Government.

All the working people and cadres must strive to put an end to such shortcomings which greatly impede our advance.

Last year, we made vigorous efforts for the country's peaceful reunification. The stand of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the question of national reunification has been clarified time and again through official statements and speeches, and also at many international conferences.

Last year, too, we put forward a number of reasonable proposals for contacts and economic and cultural exchanges between north and south of Korea for peaceful reunification. But all these proposals were

rejected by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

No amount of desperate attempts on their part can check the just struggle of our people for national reunification.

Today, the general situation at home and abroad is developing in our favour. The economic might and the united political force of the people of the northern half of Korea, the reliable base for the country's reunification, are gaining in strength as the days go by. The number of people supporting us in south Korea and the world over is increasing. In contrast, every traitorous and criminal act of the quisling Syngman Rhee and his ilk is brought to light and the people's wrath against them is towering higher.

Last year is also characterized by the fact that great success was achieved in the struggle of the peace-loving people the world over for consolidating world peace and easing the international tension.

The summit conference of the four powers, the Bandung Conference of the Asian and African Countries, the conclusion of the state treaty with Austria by the positive efforts of the Soviet Union, the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and a number of European countries, and the further strengthening of the friendly relations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China with the Southeast Asian countries including India last year were international events of great significance in opposing imperialism and colonialism, consolidating world peace, alleviating international tensions and strengthening friendship, cooperation and mutual trust among nations. These events represented a great victory for the peace and progressive forces of the world, and, at the same time, a heavy setback for imperialist aggressors who are pursuing, as ever, the policy of cold war and of strength.

Dear comrades,

Looking back on the successes and achievements in 1955 with great satisfaction, our people have confidently entered the new year with a firm resolve to bring about greater victories and successes.

1956 is of great importance in the development of our country as

the last year of the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy.

Last year was a decisive year for carrying out the Three-Year Plan and this year is an important year for fulfilling it. The entire people must strive to fulfil or overfulfil all indices of the Three-Year Plan both in quantity and in quality by further keying and stirring themselves up this year.

We must always be careful in organizing everything, work with scientific foresight and plan and concrete calculations, and actively tap and put to use all reserves and potentialities.

Today, when factories and enterprises are increasing rapidly in our country, the question of manpower is assuming great importance. Therefore, only those who are good at organizing work and save manpower will be the officials who solve one of the most important problems in our country.

In order to solve the question of manpower, mechanization should be introduced widely and work organized in a more rational way in capital construction and all other branches of the national economy. Along with this, a high degree of ingenuity should be displayed so as to make effective use of the capacities of machines and equipment and steadily raise labour productivity.

There can be no accumulations without practising economy, and the economic strength of the country cannot be rapidly boosted without increasing accumulations. In all areas of the economy, raw materials and supplies, funds and food grains should be saved to the utmost.

The Government of the Republic is planning to make large investments for the rapid development of agriculture this year, as it did last year. But such investments can bear good fruits only when the officials and the working people make positive efforts to use them effectively.

In agriculture it is necessary, above all, to complete the irrigation projects, river-dike projects, and land rezoning work already under way within the set time so as not to interfere with this year's farming. The factories, enterprises and other production establishments should

timely manufacture and supply various machines and equipment and accessories for agriculture.

In order to reap a good harvest this year, preparations for farming should be finished before spring ploughing, whether in the cooperative sector or in private farms.

An important duty facing our Party and the Government of our Republic is to improve the people's living standards and consolidate the economic foundation of the country. To this end, the entire people should wage a vigorous struggle to fulfil or overfulfil the Three-Year Plan.

At present, the labouring people throughout the country are working with great enthusiasm to greet more jubilantly the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea which will be of great significance in the life of our people. We should properly mobilize the high spirits and zeal of the entire working people for the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan.

We should strengthen the ideological education of the working people in every way to further consolidate the political and ideological unity of our people.

Political and ideological unity is a prerequisite for all our victories and successes. We should wage a vigorous struggle against the manifestations of all hues of reactionary bourgeois ideas among Party members and working people, and tirelessly conduct class education and education in socialist patriotism. We should thus strengthen the ideological cohesion of the working people and unite the masses of the people closely around our Party.

In the new year, we should make greater endeavours to strengthen the unity of the whole nation for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Without national unity we cannot achieve the country's peaceful reunification. Firmly uniting the patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life to strengthen national unity of our people is an important guarantee for peaceful reunification.

By expanding the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea

and improving its work this year, we should further strengthen national unity of all patriotic people in north and south Korea, irrespective of their political views and religious beliefs.

Dear comrades,

On the hopeful New Year's Day, I, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, extend warm congratulations and greetings to the entire workers, peasants, working intellectuals, patriotic figures, officials of government organs, political parties and social organizations, officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army, and technicians and specialists from fraternal countries who are faithfully discharging their internationalist duty in our country, and propose a toast for a greater victory and success in the new year, for our heroic people and for the health of all comrades present here.

ON EXECUTING THIS YEAR'S STATE BUDGET ACCURATELY AND IMPROVING CONSTRUCTION WORK

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

January 10, 1956

Today's meeting discussed the 1956 state budget and many other problems.

I would like first to speak about this year's state budget.

I think the budget has been properly framed in general.

The puppet government of south Korea is constantly in the red in carrying out the budget. But last year we had a large excess of revenue over expenditure in the execution of the state budget, which we carried over to this year's account, while increasing the spendings for development of the national economy and improvement of people's living standards. This year, too, we expect to obtain a large revenue surplus and carry it forward to next year. Only by doing so every year can we continue to run and keep the economy going, avoiding deficits even in a year when the state revenue falls off.

As you know, some time ago we lowered the agricultural tax in kind and the people's income tax with a view to making the population better off. Despite a decrease in the state revenue compared with last year owing to the reduction in tax for the people, it is envisaged that this year the state budget will ensure the fulfilment of the national

economic plan and augment the appropriations for public welfare, culture and health service. This year we plan to increase the expenditure for these by 10 to 15 per cent over last year, while undertaking huge construction works and carrying over a large sum of money to next year's account. This testifies to the correctness of our financial policy.

This year's expenditure on construction works is somewhat smaller at face value than last year's. This is because in 1954 and 1955 this outlay exceeded the estimates due to extensive construction works. If these excesses are added to the expenditure allotted for construction this year, the sum will be above the figure earmarked for it this year under the Three-Year Plan.

This year's state budget has allotted funds of 1,500 million *won* for price cuts. True, this is smaller than last year's figure--3,400 million *won*. But, in fact, it is well worth 3,400 million, since we have drawn up this year's budget in terms of the reduced prices of the future.

This year's state budget has been compiled correctly. The question is how to carry it out.

To do it properly, we need, above all, to carry out thoroughly the production plan on all indices in all branches of the national economy.

In our country most of the revenue in the state budget comes from the accumulations of state-owned enterprises. The income from these enterprises accounts for over 70 to 75 per cent of the state budgetary revenue. Therefore, in the state enterprises and all other sectors of production it is necessary to fulfil their plans on all indices without fail by increasing labour productivity and mechanizing production processes, thus ensuring that this year's state budget is executed correctly.

Large quantities of commodities should be turned out for supply. Without commodities, no price cut will be of use, nor will there be an increase in the state's revenue. It is also necessary to produce large quantities of commodities for the state purchase of surplus grain from the peasants. If a bumper harvest is reaped this year, the peasants' purchasing power will increase and they will demand large quantities

of merchandise. The Ministry of Light Industry must therefore turn out commodities in plenty and keep a reserve of goods worth 7,000 to 8,000 million *won* this year as against last year's 6,000 million *won*.

If the state budget is to be correctly executed, it is also essential to tighten financial discipline and establish proper order in work.

In financial sphere, discipline is still loose, and order is lacking in work. Nowadays, squandering and misappropriation are incessant; this is due to frequent drinking bouts. If people often get together and have drinking bouts, they will become libertine and dissolute and will squander state property and funds in violation of financial discipline.

Ex-Minister of Communications Pak Il U led a dissipated life and squandered the minister's fund. Minister's fund should be used in case his subordinates have fallen ill or a misfortune happens. But he did not do so; he squandered it at random as he pleased. In future it would be better to set aside such a fund under the name of relief money.

In the Ministry of Culture and Information, the cadres used up the money gained from the sideline economy on various pretexts such as New Year's banquet, May Day feast, August 15 party and what not. It has now become an established usage to have a feast after a commemorative report meeting and the like, and wastage of state funds by giving unnecessary banquets has frequently been noticed.

Financial discipline should be thoroughly established to eliminate wastage of state money. In future dissipation of money for feasts and other needless things should be eradicated in state organs and enterprises. The social and cultural funds should on all accounts be used for such mass physical training and cultural work as sports games and art activities. Banquet given in honour of foreigners should also be simple, and the Cabinet should refrain from arranging banquets frequently.

Quite a few wasteful practices are apparent among the population at large. The Koreans have the bad custom of preparing plenty of dishes on family ceremonial occasions, only to waste them. I hear that a certain family is hard up for food because they used up in a wedding provisions enough to last them for three years.

We must get rid of the outdated custom of setting a luxurious table on ceremonial occasions. It goes without saying that an outdated custom cannot be broken by forcible means. To start with, the Workers' Party members should set an example of austerity on such occasions.

An energetic struggle for economy should be waged as a movement of the Party and society as a whole. As I emphasized at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee some time ago, what is important in carrying out this year's national economic plan is to intensify the struggle for economy. State funds must be used economically and saved to the utmost in all units and fields of the national economy.

Now I pass to the question of improving work in the building industry.

We carried out a great deal of construction during the three years after the war. But this is simply an initial success. In the process of construction work by now, we have just gained some experience and know-how. In our country large-scale construction work will start from now.

We have built a good deal in the past period, but many shortcomings have been revealed in construction work which still falls short of the people's demands.

What counts is to build beautifully, cheaply, functionally for the people, a great deal, and yet quickly. This is the demand of our people. But what is built these days is neither beautiful nor functional, and the tempo of construction is not high either. Although our ancestors took thousands of years to build our country, we cannot do so. We must build it splendidly in a short period of time.

A great change should be brought about in the building industry. To this end, the production of building materials must be industrialized, building operations mechanized, and designs standardized. Since everything has been destroyed, the application of these new advanced methods is the only way to quicken construction work. It is impossible to ensure speedy construction by old manual methods employed by our forefathers. The industrialization, mechanization and standardization

of construction work will enable us to save manpower and increase its quality and speed.

In order to effect a change in construction work, building-materials production should be industrialized first of all. Many building-materials factories should be erected and their production industrialized. Thus, building materials should be mass-produced at a high speed.

Mechanization of construction work is also of importance.

For it, building machines must be produced in large numbers. To this end, the Machine Industry Bureau under the Cabinet should see to it that the Ragwon Machine Factory is rebuilt quickly and gradually switched over to a factory specializing in the production of building machines. Every ministry, too, should strive to produce building machines on its own. The ministries which have repair shops and various factories under them are capable enough to produce building machines for themselves.

The cadres of the Ministry of Electricity have made up their minds that the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant shall manufacture building machines on its own in excess of its original production plan by saving working hours and tapping reserves. If the leading officials of ministries bestir themselves like this, building machines can be turned out while the production assignments are fulfilled.

In my opinion, all the productive ministries, like the Ministry of Electricity, can help the mechanization of construction work. Nothing will be impossible for one who organizes work well.

The factories with lathes should make at least some trolleys necessary for construction work. We should thus turn out machines for the mechanization of construction work on our own. In the meantime, measures should be taken to import building machines from abroad.

Mechanization of construction work should begin with small objects rather than big ones. As we are unable to mechanize everything at a time, we must mechanize simple and small objects at the outset, and then go over step by step to complex and large ones.

Designs should be standardized to effect a change in construction. Only then can the production of building materials be industrialized.

Therefore, a great effort should be directed to the standardization of designs.

If construction work is to be improved, a contracting system should be adopted and the business-accounting system actively introduced in this branch. In future, an independent civil engineering and construction enterprise should be set up in a field where many construction projects are undertaken and the business-accounting system introduced there. But there is no need to create such an enterprise in fields where construction is in a small way.

Further, inspection, supervision and control over the work in the field of construction should be tightened to improve it. As I told the leading officials of the State Planning Commission some time ago, for the present we should check that the plans for construction and manpower are properly carried out in the field of construction.

Manpower should be economized in this field.

At present, upwards of 160,000 workers are engaged in construction. So many workers in construction will cause a shortage of work force in other fields. More labour power will be needed in industry with the construction of many new factories and enterprises in the future. Yet, we cannot recruit manpower needed for industry from the countryside. At present the countryside is also short of work hands.

The solution of the problem of present labour shortage is one of the most important factors making for success in building socialism. For this purpose manpower should be saved in all branches of the national economy, including the building industry.

There are now great reserves for economy in manpower. We will save a great deal of manpower in construction work if only the production of building materials is industrialized. I think if we industrialize and mechanize construction work, 60 to 70 per cent of labour power can be spared by the building industry. If we do this between 1956 and 1957, we can release 80,000 to 90,000 workers and divert them to other branches of industry. The question is how our officials strive to economize labour power.

These days, however, they do not endeavour in this direction.

At present bricks are carried from the Kangnam Ceramic Factory to the construction sites in Pyongyang, and in this course much manpower is wasted. They carry bricks made at the factory on human backs to the wharf and onto boats; ship them to Pyongyang; and then again on human backs discharge and load them on trucks to bring them to the construction sites. Brick loading and unloading on human backs several times wastes a great deal of manpower.

So, I told the officials concerned to make iron baskets to carry bricks and mechanize loading and unloading. But the minister of Construction and the chief of the Motor and Road Bureau under the Cabinet defaulted in this task.

Now we can say that he who saves more manpower is a man of a high Party spirit and a reliable Party and state worker. We must size up the performance of officials not only in the building industry but in other fields as well according to the amount of manpower they have saved.

When we check up on the work of factories and enterprises in future, the central concern should be how they are economizing in manpower. The inspection of factories and enterprises should proceed from studying how much manpower they have spared and how many kinds of manual labour they have mechanized. In conducting inspection, the state control organizations should also pay attention to labour economization.

Newspapers should carry articles and the radio should give broadcasts about the need of economy in labour. At the same time, steps should be taken to give bonus to the factories and enterprises which have economized a large amount of manpower. In this way the movement for economy in labour power should be pushed ahead vigorously on a nationwide scale.

Late in January this year we are going to hold a national conference of architects and builders. At this conference the decision of today's Cabinet meeting should be made known and sectional committee meetings should be held to debate and clear up various problems arising in the field of construction.

ON DRAFT AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

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

January 21, 1956

Today the Political Committee has discussed the newly-formulated draft amendments to the Rules of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Amending the Party Rules in keeping with the requirements of the development of the Party and the revolution is of great significance in further consolidating the Party, increasing its fighting capability, and successfully carrying out its tasks. For a party engaged in revolution, there can be no immutable mode of activity and rule of conduct; the party's organizational form and mode of activity must be developed to cope with the progress of the revolution and the new tasks confronting the party.

Since the foundation of the Party, we have amended and complemented its Rules on two occasions to meet the requirements of the development of the Party and the revolution. The Party Rules adopted when the Workers' Party of North Korea was founded in August 1946 were amended and complemented partially at its Second Congress in March 1948, and at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee in November 1951.

Today's changed situation calls for another amendment of the Party Rules. The draft amendments worked out this time will be considered

and adopted at the Third Party Congress this year.

Debating on the draft amendments today, I would like first to speak briefly about the situation at the time when the Workers' Party of North Korea was founded in August 1946 and about the Party Programme and Rules adopted at that time.

As you all know, the situation in our country was very complex right after liberation.

As soon as our country was liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, many political parties came into being and tried to draw the workers and other working people, each to its side.

In north Korea, not only the Communist Party, but also the Democratic and Chongu Parties were organized at that time. The number of Communists was small, but the Democratic and the Chongu Parties admitted people at random and thus increased their membership rapidly. As a result, when the membership of the Communist Party was no more than 20,000 to 30,000, that of the Democratic Party was as many as 300,000. Meanwhile, the New Democratic Party was founded and it expanded at a great pace to comprise a large membership. The existence of several political parties like this might have split the working class and other working masses.

Immediately after liberation, the suppression of the Communist Party by the US imperialists was intensified in south Korea. While arresting, imprisoning, and murdering the leaders and members of the Communist Party en masse, the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges attempted to disorganize it from within. Additionally, the sectarian feud of the factionalists was vehement in the Communist Party of South Korea. Such being the situation, the Communist Party was in danger of being split and disintegrated in south Korea.

Under the situation of those days, the continued existence of our Party as the Communist Party was not helpful for guaranteeing the development of the Party and the unity of the working masses. In order to ensure this unity and rally the democratic forces, it was necessary to found the Workers' Party, the only vanguard of the working people which would lead them in a unified way. Further, the activities of the

Communist Party under the new name of the Workers' Party would deprive the enemy of the condition and pretext for openly suppressing our Party in south Korea. So we decided to found the Workers' Party, a mass political party, by merging the Communist and other parties whose programmes were similar.

Right after liberation, we also reorganized the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League to prevent the split in the youth movement and unite the young people into a single organization. Because our country had, for 36 years in the past, been a colony of the Japanese imperialists, who had widely conducted malicious propaganda against communism, our young men and women lacked a correct understanding of communism. Under these circumstances, we could not have developed the youth movement in our country on a mass basis if we had admitted exclusively those young people who supported communism into the Young Communist League. That was why we dissolved this league and organized the Democratic Youth League around which we rallied the broad sections of young people.

In working out the Party Programme and Rules at the time of founding the Workers' Party of North Korea, we gave serious considerations to the fact that our country was divided.

In order to drive out the US imperialist aggressors and reunify the country we had to win over not only the working class but petty bourgeoisie as well, and unite even the non-comprador capitalists behind our Party.

The non-comprador capitalists of our country were different from those of other countries. They had lived under the Japanese imperialist oppression for 36 years in the past. They had been subjected to national contempt, and their economic activities restrained. Therefore, they stood against the subordination to and national contempt by the Japanese imperialists. If we were to drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and achieve the cause of national reunification, we had to unite the non-comprador capitalists, too, around the Party.

Therefore, we specified in the Party Programme that our Party represents and defends the interests of the Korean working masses and

aims at building a prosperous, independent and sovereign democratic state. We stipulated the fighting goal of the Party like this in its Programme with a view to closely uniting the broad sections of the toiling masses including the working class.

Although we worked out the Programme and Rules of the Workers' Party of North Korea hurriedly in a few days, they were formulated in full accord with the situation in our country and the requirements of our revolution at that time. It has been amply proved in the course of revolutionary practice since then that the Party Programme and Rules were prepared correctly.

The new draft amendments to the Party Rules worked out this time are much more advanced than the Rules adopted at the time of founding the Workers' Party of North Korea. However, this does not mean that our Party's character and organizational principle, laid down when the Workers' Party of North Korea was founded, have changed. They have not changed even today. The new draft amendments to the Party Rules have only confirmed further the Party's character and organizational principle on the basis of the valuable experiences accumulated by our Party in its practical struggle over the past period, and further developed the standards of inner-Party life and mode of activity in keeping with the requirements of the new situation. You should not fail to take this into consideration in studying the new draft.

What we kept in view in working out the draft this time was the fact that our country is not reunified yet.

Since our country is divided into north and south, we should always give the first thought to the question of national reunification. How can we communists, struggling for the world revolution, forget south Korea, a half of our own country? We can never do so.

Our Party is a party which represents and defends the interests of the entire Korean people. Therefore, it cannot think of the northern half of Korea alone, disregarding the southern half where our 20 million compatriots live. In formulating the Party Rules when our country is not yet reunified, we should not put forward too high-flying requirements by mechanically copying the rules of the fraternal parties. In particular, we

should not fix high standards for admission to the Party.

In future, when the country is reunified and the lawful activity of our Party is guaranteed in the southern half of Korea, we should admit a large number of people to the Party in the south. But, if this is not taken into consideration and the standards for admission to the Party are fixed high only with the northern half of Korea in view, the need may arise for revising the Rules again after the country is reunified. The standards for membership in the Party should be such that many people can be admitted to it.

At present, our Party is one million membership. This is by no means a large number; compared with our entire population, it is still a small number. Some people say that one million membership is large enough and that the Party's door should be closed or that the Party should be purged. In no way should we do so.

Because we have not yet fulfilled the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, we should not shut the Party's door or purge it. If a purge is carried out, those ousted from our Party will join other parties. This will hinder the work of strengthening the Party and rallying the democratic forces around it, and will make it impossible to carry out successfully the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

Moreover, there is no reason why we should close the door of the Party or purge it. Today the ideological preparedness of our Party members and workers is at a comparatively high level. Foreigners, too, speak of this.

The head of state of a fraternal country who paid a goodwill visit to our country some time ago, said at a banquet that the working class of our country is admirable, and added that his country has not got a working class as good as ours. Since our Party members and workers are at a high level of ideological preparedness, there is no need for closing the Party's door or purging it.

We should neither shut the door of the Party nor purge it, but should rear a large number of Party hard-core elements through an intensified education of Party members.

The Workers' Party is not joined only by those who are already full-fledged communists, nor is every Party member equipped with communist ideology. Those who are not yet fully developed as communists also join the Party and, even when they have become members their minds retain a good deal of outdated thoughts. Our Party consists overwhelmingly of those with the worker or peasant status, and even those of worker status are mostly former peasants, handicraftsmen or tradesmen. Therefore, not only members of peasant status but also people of worker status retain petty-bourgeois ideology in their minds to a considerable measure. So the training of hard-core elements is a very important question. Even when the Party ranks are expanded, we can equip all members with our Party's line and policy and lead them to communism, the ultimate goal of our revolution, only if we have core elements in the Party. So, Party organizations at all levels should rear well the hard-core elements.

The new draft amendments to the Party Rules have been so worked out as to accept a large number of people into the Party in the southern half of Korea when the country is reunified in a peaceful way. However, some provisions of the draft including the question of recommenders of applicants for Party membership, seem a little too high-flying. But we cannot set out the requirements of the Party Rules as low as those of the social organizations. I consider the draft amendments to have been worked out comparatively correctly, in line with the actual conditions of our country.

I would like to further touch on some problems in the draft amendments to Party Rules.

Article 21 of the draft stipulates: "Party members shall obey the Party organization; the minority, the majority; the lower Party body, the higher Party body; and all Party organizations, the Party Central Committee without reservation." It is advisable to insert the word "obey" to each clause as this: "Party members shall obey the Party organization; the minority shall obey the majority; the lower Party body shall obey the higher Party body; and all Party organizations shall obey the Party Central Committee without reservation." Only then will

all Party members be clearly acquainted with our Party's discipline of democratic centralism, and unorganized tendencies will be prevented within the Party. The democratic centralist principle of our Party should not be a mere appeal; it must be an iron rule in the activities of Party organizations and members.

Article 24 of the draft stipulates: "The highest bodies of Party organizations at all levels are the general membership meeting (with the primary Party organization), the conference (with the provincial, city–district–and county Party organizations), and the congress (with the entire Party)." In this context the conference should be changed to the congress of representatives. In our Party the congress has not so far been distinguished from the conference, but from now they should be distinguished from each other. In future, therefore, the meeting of a nature of congress of the provincial, city (district) or county Party organization should be called the congress of representatives instead of the conference.

It was suggested in the debate that the draft Rules should be amended so that only the names of those expelled from the Party are brought out in Party publications with the approval of the Central Committee. But even when the names of those penalized, not only those expelled, are printed in the press, they should all be subject to the approval of the Party Central Committee, irrespective of the kind of penalty. Unless such a system is established, local Party organizations may indulge in reckless personal libels. Although we should establish a system under which the names of the penalized are published in the press with the approval of the Party Central Committee, we should refrain from specifying this in the Party Rules.

I am told that if the city (district) and county Party committees convene their plenary meetings more than once every other month, they will find it difficult to make preparations for the meetings, but they must do so. The executive committees of the city (district) and county Party committees, like the former standing committees, should cope with the problems that come up between the plenary meetings. Therefore, from the viewpoint of both strengthening the system of

collective consultation and educating and training cadres, it is good to call plenary meetings more than once every other month.

What we should discuss seriously is Chapter 1 of the new draft amendments to the Party Rules. Other chapters are spelt out in the articles, and so there is no special problem about them. But since Chapter 1 defines the character of our Party, we should hold adequate discussions about it.

The question of pro-Japanese elements is raised in Chapter 1. The pro-Japanese elements are unpardonable national betrayers who in the past served Japanese imperialism as stooges. After liberation, they turned pro-American and are betraying the country and the people as lackeys of US imperialism. So it goes without saying that we should struggle against the former pro-Japanese elements.

Since the former pro-Japanese elements turned pro-American after liberation, it is important to fight the pro-American elements. Both the US and Japanese imperialists are enemies of the Korean people, but the first target of struggle today is US imperialism. The US imperialists occupying south Korea now are watching for a chance to invade even the northern half of Korea. Therefore, we must direct our main effort to the struggle against US imperialism and must fight the pro-American elements who actively help the US imperialists in their colonial enslavement policy as their lackeys.

We should also be vigilant against Japanese militarism reviving under the aegis of US imperialism. We should improve the relations with the Japanese people and give positive support to them in their democratic movement. If the democratic movement develops in Japan, and its society is democratized, favourable international circumstances will be created for the achievement of our country's reunification and independence. So we should actively support the Japanese people's democratic movement and prevent the US imperialists from staying in Japan.

We should modify part of the new draft amendments to the Party Rules in this direction.

The draft amendments to the Party Rules should be discussed

throughout the Party. The Party Rules are a standard of conduct for the Party organizations and members; they reflect the will of the entire Party membership. We should have discussions on this draft throughout the Party, so that the will of all members is fully reflected in the Party Rules. This discussion should start on the coming February 10.

The draft amendments to the Party Rules should be printed quickly and sent to the local Party organizations and published in newspapers too, so that they may be discussed in full. Newspapers should carry explanatory articles on the draft.

With the conclusion of the discussion of the draft at the provincial, city (district) and county Party congresses of representatives, the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea should be convened towards the end of April.

RICE IS IMMEDIATELY SOCIALISM

**Letter to the Chairman of the South Phyongan
Provincial Party Committee**

January 28, 1956

I have been informed that you comrades are now holding a plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

I am attending the National Conference of Architects and Builders and so cannot participate in your meeting, although I wish to.

Therefore, I hope you will convey my opinion to the meeting.

An important question in increasing grain output this year is to unhesitatingly plant maize in a wide area of dry fields. So, it is necessary to stress this matter. Maize is a highly viable crop which is well resistant to drought and weed. It is also a high-yielding crop and its stalk is best for livestock fodder. South Phyongan Province needs to cultivate this crop on a decisively large scale.

I think it advisable to encourage this province and stress the need to grow maize in more than 50 per cent of its dry fields.

And I want you to emphasize at the meeting the necessity of completing ahead of the set time the irrigation projects started last year in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, and laying out paddy fields to put every inch of land to effective use where irrigation works have already been finished. The reason for this is that only by carrying out irrigation projects can all rice fields be safely irrigated. Why should we not lay out paddy fields when there is a possibility of bringing them under safe irrigation? We

must bend efforts without fail to produce even a few tons more of rice by laying out paddy fields.

You should call upon all comrades to push forward with a firm determination.

Rice is immediately socialism. We cannot build socialism without rice.

I want everyone to strive to increase grain production in response to the call of the Party Central Committee.

I expect that your meeting will be a success.

I would like you to report to me the results of the meeting after it has been concluded.

FOR RADICAL CHANGE IN CONSTRUCTION WORK

Speech at a National Conference of Architects and Builders

January 30, 1956

1

Comrades,

This National Conference of Architects and Builders, which has been in session for several days, is of tremendous significance for advance in building work because, above all, it can contribute to radically changing our construction work by introducing new methods. This is exactly what I want to impress on you at this conference.

Why is it necessary for us to radically change construction work by introducing new, advanced methods now?

First, because the volume of our construction will not remain at the present level, but will continually increase as the economy develops. At the same time, everything we are now building is different in quality from what it was in the past.

As you know, we have been rebuilding our war-ravaged economy for three years since the war. In this time we have done a tremendous amount of work. Indeed, our achievements are indescribably great. The blast and open-hearth furnaces at our major plants, such as the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the Songjin Steel Plant, have been restored and are turning out pig iron and steel.

Scores of machine factories, including Machine Plant No. 11 and the Pukjung and Ragwon Machine Factories, have been rehabilitated or constructed and put into operation. The Hungnam Fertilizer Factory has been partially rehabilitated and is now capable of turning out over 100,000 tons annually. Many new light industrial factories, such as the Pyongyang and Kusong Textile Mills, have been built and are producing daily necessities for the people. In Pyongyang and other major cities a considerable number of working people's dwellings and cultural and educational establishments have been erected. The railways have been restored and the transport service ensured. Quite a few irrigation projects, including the Phyongnam project, are under way in various localities to help the development of agriculture.

Needless to say, these great achievements have not been attained without difficulty. They have been accomplished because our workers, technical personnel, office workers, leading Party and state officials and the entire people have thrown all their talents and enthusiasm into action, courageously overcoming all difficulties and hardships. These achievements serve as a basis for us to undertake larger-scale, modern construction today.

This success, however, is only a first step when viewed in the light of what we are going to do in the future.

What our ancestors built over thousands of years was reduced to ashes in the barbarous destruction wrought by the enemy in the three-year war. We should not only completely and rapidly restore what was destroyed but build more, and build in a more attractive and grand way. In view of this task, our successes so far are only initial ones.

By now we have rehabilitated or built many factories and enterprises, but only partly. We cannot regard them as completed yet. In order to finish them and complete the construction of those projected, we still have a lot of work to do.

In the metallurgical field, for example, the blast furnace at the Kim Chaek Iron Works has been rebuilt, but its by-products shop, coking oven, etc., have not been rebuilt yet. The revolving furnace at the

Chongjin Steel Plant needs to be rebuilt, a project partly accounted for in this year's plan.

The most urgent thing for us now is to produce more pig iron and structural steel. But even at the Hwanghae Iron Works only a few rolling mills and open-hearth furnaces are operating and the blast furnaces have not yet been rebuilt. The Kangson Steel Plant also needs further expansion.

In the power industry, the Suphung Power Station has been partly restored, but full-scale repair work has not yet started. The Jangjingang and Pujongang Power Stations have also only been partly rebuilt and preparations for their overall restoration are now under way.

The chemical industry also has a lot of work ahead in order to completely restore the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Pongung Chemical Factory, dyestuff and pharmaceutical factories, and so on.

The same applies to the machine industry. The Pukjung and Ragwon Machine Factories should be expanded, and Machine Plant No. 3 and the Phyongchonri Integrated Works should be constructed. In the future, the Tokchon Automobile Repair Works should be built into a complete plant with its own assembly shop.

As can be seen, our tasks in the field of heavy industry alone are tremendous.

In light industry, too, many things have to be done in order to increase the production of daily necessities. We must build dye factories, continually expand cotton and silk mills, and put up new factories for turning out daily necessities.

As for urban construction, work has just been started in Pyongyang and Hamhung, while the rehabilitation of other major cities is in the preparatory stage. A considerable number of houses for working people, clubhouses, theatres, hospitals, creches, bathhouses and public dining rooms have been built, but they are still far from meeting the requirements of our working people.

As we see, we have done a great deal of work in the past period. Yet, in view of our future tasks, this is just the beginning. That is why we have no right whatever to be complacent, nor do we have any

grounds for arrogance. We must not be carried away by our initial successes, but build more from now on.

It is impossible to fully guarantee such a huge amount of construction with the methods we are using at present. We must radically change our work with new methods. It is precisely this question which you have been discussing for several days.

Moreover, our future construction should be of high quality. Until now we have only rebuilt destroyed factories. The number of new factories is as yet small. The building of new factories is about to begin. As for the housing question, most of the housing built so far is intended as temporary or semi-permanent dwellings. From now on, however, modern three-to four-storey blocks of flats should be built in towns. This means that our building must undergo a qualitative change. It also implies that since we are engaged in the building of socialism, all facilities should be well suited to the needs of the working people—the builders of socialism.

It is therefore imperative that we introduce new building methods.

Another reason for employing new methods arises from the labour situation. We need to take new organizational measures to economize on labour power. This is an important matter. Never before in the history of our country has the question of economizing on labour power been so important as today.

When the Japanese imperialists ruled our country as a colony, national industry could not develop and swarms of unemployed roamed the towns and villages. So, the Japanese imperialists did not feel a labour shortage in building their colonial industry in Korea. They could get as much cheap labour power as they wanted. Therefore, they did not need to modernize production facilities in Korea and worked us Koreans like slaves by barbaric methods of exploitation. The Japanese neither felt it necessary to introduce mechanization in production and building nor were they capable of doing so.

During the five years of peaceful construction following the August 15 liberation, we only rehabilitated the factories destroyed by the Japanese imperialists and did not build many new ones. Because little

war damage was caused to factories, cultural establishments and dwellings, the need for construction was not so great as today and, accordingly, the question of labour power did not come to the fore. It could be said that labour power was sufficient to keep abreast of the building tempo at that time.

However, we lost a large number of workers in the recent war and, moreover, since we are merely in a state of ceasefire at present, with a lasting peace not yet achieved, and since the US imperialists and their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, are going all out to unleash a new war, we must continue to assign the necessary number of young and middle-aged men to national defence. Since we are going to rebuild our war-ravaged economy rapidly under such conditions, we inevitably feel the shortage of labour. We must be absolutely clear on the importance today of this question of labour power.

The question of labour power has become even more serious this year. For a certain period following the armistice, labour power was concentrated mainly on rebuilding factories. But today, when many factories have already been rehabilitated partly or completely and have started production while reconstruction continues, the demand for labour power is increasing. In other words, until recently the major emphasis as regards the use of labour was put on reconstruction. But now, with production added to this, a huge amount of labour has to be allocated to production as well.

Thus, a great deal of labour is required to meet the needs of the rapidly developing economy and the steadily expanding scale of construction. But our sources of labour are extremely limited.

Let us take a look at the situation in the rural areas which should supply labour power for the growing industries. The countryside, which has to meet the country's food needs, finds itself very short of labour, let alone supplying industry.

That is why the Party and Government are increasing investments in agriculture, and, paying close attention to the socialist transformation of agriculture, they started last year to direct demobilized soldiers and a considerable number of other people to

work in the countryside. These are important measures for ensuring the balanced development of our industry and agriculture.

But this alone will not fully solve the shortage of labour in the rural areas today. This problem will be with us for a considerable time and will be solved only when socialist cooperativization is extended, the organization of labour is improved and mechanization—though of an initial character, i.e., small-scale mechanization—is widely introduced in agriculture.

As you see, the countryside is not in a position to supply the labour power needed in industry. The only way out lies in economizing on labour, particularly in the field of building, by rationally organizing it and introducing mechanization, and diverting the manpower thus released to rapidly expanding production and new construction. Otherwise, production and construction cannot be accelerated, nor can the development of the economy be guaranteed.

Mechanization in building is essential not only to ensure modern construction and make up for the labour shortage but to ease the hard toil of the workers and bring their working conditions to higher standards. We can no longer rely on hard manual labour but must free ourselves from it as soon as possible. This is the path to socialism.

Can we cope with this problem? Certainly. We can and we must. The Party and Government have already concretely pointed out the importance of the problem, and at this conference you have put forward many proposals for solving it.

2

In connection with this problem, I would like to remind you of the question I posed to you already at the conference of builders in March 1954. At that time we called for the introduction of advanced experience in building—the standardization and specification of

designs, industrial methods for the production of building materials and mechanization in building, etc.—all basic to achieving a faster tempo and better quality.

In its resolution the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea set the mechanization of building as an important task.

However, we have so far failed either to master such advanced methods thoroughly or to introduce them. At that time we called upon the builders to learn. So, of course, some learned, but some did not, with the result that advanced methods could not be actively introduced.

But today we must not just shout a slogan about learning, we must learn energetically and act energetically too. The active introduction of advanced experience in construction accumulated by fraternal countries is the way to economize on labour power and use it rationally, the way to cope successfully with the increasing volume of construction, step up its tempo and raise quality. Can we do this? Of course we can. Some organizations have already introduced the standardization of designs, industrial methods for the production of building materials and mechanization in construction partially and in rudimentary form, though not perfectly.

You have said in your speeches that it is expedient to put up buildings according to standardized designs, that in multi-storeyed buildings it is advantageous to use staircases, trusses and beams made by industrial methods according to standardized designs, and to mass-produce standardized doors and the like. You have also said that it is good to bring scattered woodworking shops together and good to lay tiles by assembly-line methods. This experience demonstrates that we are fully able to standardize designs, industrialize the production of building materials and mechanize construction.

And we are now fully capable of applying advanced building methods not only because we have gained experience but because the material conditions have been created to a certain degree. In 1953 or 1954, it was impossible for us to use advanced methods in construction, however hard we might have tried. We were then very

short of bricks, cement and steel reinforcement. We were also seriously lacking in machinery. But now we have machine plants, and bricks, steel reinforcement and cement are being turned out.

In addition to this, we are receiving aid from the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries and learning advanced building methods at first hand in the course of building many factories and cities with their technical assistance.

What, then, should we do in order to introduce advanced building methods effectively—the standardization and specification of designs, industrial methods for the production of building materials and mechanization in building?

(1) ON STANDARDIZATION AND SPECIFICATION OF DESIGNS

Why is standardization and specification of designs necessary?

This makes construction easier, saves labour power and makes it possible to use industrial methods for the production of building materials. In the past, for example, the carpenter had to measure the door frames for every house and fit the doors into them. But today when designs are standardized and specified, the only job left is to produce doors of the same size in large quantities and install them. This makes it possible to raise the quality of buildings, increase the speed of construction and do a big amount of work with fewer skilled workers.

Except for individual factories and special buildings, standardized and specified designs can be used equally for the construction of many types of buildings, above all, housing, public buildings, clubhouses, schools, clinics, hospitals, theatres and auxiliary factory facilities. This is now done in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We should be active in introducing these methods. In our country where we are short of designers and there are few persons with rich experience in construction, the standardization and specification of designs becomes all the more essential. It acquires particular

importance in the light of the tremendous scale of construction we have undertaken. How can we draw up a design for each building when we are short of designers? It is impossible.

We, therefore, should consider the use of standardized and specified designs to be the rule in building. Otherwise, we cannot raise the tempo or the quality of construction.

Moreover, this is the way we can possibly reduce building costs and build more with limited funds.

We should therefore begin by standardizing designs in order to industrialize construction.

Further, we should do our utmost to give the designs a socialist content. Advanced architectural science requires that designs be national in form and socialist in content.

What do we mean by socialist content in architecture? In a word, it means showing concern for the people. This means that all buildings should meet the requirements of the working people.

We are now engaged in socialist construction in the northern half of Korea. All the housing and public buildings now under construction will be used by the builders of socialism. So, how can we furnish the working people with buildings which are void of socialist content?

But many of our designers fail to embody socialist realism in their designs. Some of our construction personnel still pay only lip service to socialist realism in construction and do not, in fact, make designs in accordance with socialist realism in architecture. In many buildings we find the stoves do not burn well in winter, not much sunlight is admitted and ventilation is poor, causing the working people considerable inconvenience.

Such things can be explained by the fact that some of our designers do not have a firm working-class ideology. In other words, some of them have fallen for outdated bourgeois ideology and have not rid themselves of the non-working-class attitude that anything is good enough for the workers. A relentless struggle should be waged against such ideas.

Another serious problem is that bourgeois formalism finds

expression in architecture. Buildings which are ostentatious but not very practical are something like the folk saying: A wild apricot is showy but does not taste good. This is bourgeois formalism. A vigorous struggle should also be waged against this tendency.

We are socialist and not capitalist builders. We need socialist buildings which are good to look at, practical, comfortable and durable. All our builders, as befitting builders of socialism armed with socialist ideology, should build to suit the requirements of the working people. So, the designing of housing should not be done carelessly as it is now, but should always be done in such a way as to make life convenient for the working people, conform with Korean customs and taste and ensure good lighting, ventilation and heating. Thus, we will provide all the working people with houses which have good sanitation and are convenient and safe to live in.

Some officials even seem to be inclined to think that such buildings are too good for our working people. This is absolutely wrong.

The same is the case with public buildings. I went and saw many of those we are building and found them very poorly equipped. The public buildings we build ought not only to satisfy the working people, but have an educational value so that they help remould the working people along socialist lines.

But some of our public buildings look like garages. Quite a few of them just have huge porticoes but are entirely impractical. As they are working in this way, certain people think it easy and not much of a job to build a theatre or a clubhouse. It is clear that such buildings cannot make things convenient for the working people, let alone having any educational value for them.

Another important question in construction is to build a large number of service establishments such as public dining rooms, laundries and creches so as to enlist women in socialist construction. It is of tremendous importance to create conditions for everybody to live in a way worthy of a socialist builder, remould his thinking along socialist lines and serve socialist construction.

Things are still not going well as regards the building of factories,

either. Our factories are schools for the working people, vital places where they, and their descendants, will spend their lives in creative labour. Our builders, however, do not yet pay much attention to this. To be such places, factories should have good lighting and ventilation and be provided with sanitary facilities and safety devices. But some of our factories lack these conditions.

Still another important question is that of combatting waste in designing. In capitalist architecture much material and money is wasted on extravagant external features. We cannot do things that way. Our designs should reject formalism and proceed from the standpoint of economy. This is the way we can erect more and better buildings and provide good living conditions for the working people.

In city planning, also, emphasis should be put on convenience for the broad masses of the working people.

(2) ON INDUSTRIALIZING THE PRODUCTION OF BUILDING MATERIALS

The industrialization of the production of building materials is an important question in construction. If we are to introduce new building methods using standardized designs, we must also industrialize the production of building materials.

Present conditions require that we start with simple things rather than big ones in this respect. Let us start with doors and door frames, among other things. By using reinforced concrete, we can also industrialize the production of staircases, beams, inter-floor slabs and trusses. This, at least, will be industrializing the production of building parts and elements.

In their speeches, many comrades referred to industrializing the production of building materials and to the question of installing machinery in building-materials factories. Of course, their suggestions are good.

But first, instead of trying to install big machinery all at once, we

should bring scattered factory equipment together and gradually replace handicraft methods by industrial methods.

It is possible to supply construction sites with building materials in large quantities and guarantee quality construction only by industrializing the production of building materials. We have already tried this. Several enterprises in Pyongyang have tried it in a simple, modest way with good results.

We must build a large number of plants for producing reinforced concrete. As a matter of fact, there is nothing novel in reinforced concrete plants. We can and must build them in the future.

But under present conditions, it is important to start with small ones rather than big ones. If we even use small-scale methods to produce building materials in a concentrated way, instead of placing our hopes only on the construction of big reinforced concrete plants, we will be able to save an enormous amount of labour and speed up construction and improve its quality. This is important. Even if we cannot carry on all our building by prefab methods, we should at least industrialize part of it.

Construction will be started this year on a 50,000-ton capacity reinforced concrete plant in Hamhung and another with a 45,000-ton capacity in Pyongyang. However, we should not just wait for them to go into production, but first set up small reinforced concrete works everywhere, widely applying even the small-scale methods which are now being used by the building companies under the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Construction.

In the manufacture of wooden furniture, too, it is necessary to bring carpenters together, not disperse them.

My recent conversations with many comrades show that we can industrialize the collecting and selecting of gravel, and mechanize its transportation. The problem is that we are not tackling it. Much labour can be saved if specialized enterprises are organized to collect sand and gravel, instead of doing it separately as at present. Yet, even such a simple method as this has not been adopted. We must put an end to such uncreative practices.

Also important in the production of building materials is the

question of the wide use of cement as a building material. At present we do not make much cement, but plenty will be produced in the future. Cement will be more abundant than timber and iron, because limestone is to be found everywhere in our country, and more cement works can be set up. It is therefore important to substitute cement for timber and iron in construction. Railway sleepers, electricity poles, mine props and railway-bridge girders can be made of cement. We have to proceed in this direction in the future.

Even in a country like the Soviet Union which is rich in timber and steel reinforcements, steel and timber are saved to the utmost, and reinforced concrete is used in their place. Why should we not do the same when we are rich neither in timber nor in steel? We must do this without fail. The building-materials works should advance boldly towards mass-producing reinforced concrete parts.

Building materials decide the fate of construction. Because we fail to produce enough of them today, we cannot carry out construction as we should, and work is even discontinued at some construction sites. We are short of timber, steel and bricks. It is therefore necessary to mechanize the building-materials industry further for mass production.

Our building-materials industry is still lagging behind. So far we have paid little attention to it and made small investments in it. Some comrades thought the production of building materials was a very easy job. They considered that bricks could be produced without any trouble merely by setting up kilns and putting moulded pieces of clay in them. But that, too, requires technical skill and art. Last year, we became aware of the defect and began to pay attention to it, and this year we have made larger investments in this field.

It is also important to mechanize transportation in the building-materials industry. I have brought this question up many times, but no action has been taken as yet.

We can take as an example the transport of bricks from the Kangnam Ceramic Factory to construction sites in Pyongyang. If we make iron baskets for carrying bricks and install cranes at the docks, we can put the bricks coming out of the kilns in the baskets and carry

them by handcart to the docks and load them onto the boats by crane. When they arrive in Pyongyang, cranes can unload them from the boats directly onto trucks for transportation to the construction sites. All this will involve very little labour and is simple. At present, however, we carry bricks from the kilns on our backs, load them onto trucks and unload them at the docks by hand, and again carry them on our backs to the boats. Upon arrival in Pyongyang, they are unloaded again by hand, carried on our backs to trucks for a second time, to be delivered to the construction sites, where bricklayers also carry them on their backs.

Large numbers of bricks are damaged in the course of such repeated loading and unloading. This is a backward method of work our ancestors used hundreds of years ago. How can we who are building a socialist society work like this today?

Our country can very well produce the kind of small cranes we need to mechanize the transportation of bricks. The Party Central Committee raised this question long ago. The Kangnam Ceramic Factory was the first we asked to mechanize. When asked to make iron baskets for carrying bricks, the factory made a trial basket, and it was dragged around the courtyard of the Cabinet building. But of late we have heard no more about it.

That is why not only is labour wasted in construction and production, but an enormous amount of labour is wasted in the transportation of building materials. Therefore, the workers in the building-materials industry should mechanize the transportation of building materials without fail.

In his speech yesterday, the manager of the Ryongsong Machine Factory said that machinery could be supplied only after his factory had received bricks and cement. It seems to me, however, that machine plants should first supply the building-materials industry with good machinery. Then they will soon be able to get large quantities of building materials.

We have to pay more attention to the building-materials industry and put greater effort into industrializing the production of building materials.

Another very important thing is to tap local materials widely and use them in construction. In their speeches, many comrades revealed a number of instances where local materials were not being utilized properly, where materials were often being retransported and so on. In view of the scale of our construction it is extremely important to exploit and use local materials extensively.

Some comrades recklessly insist on building houses only of brick. This is wrong. Other comrades say that adobe houses are temporary and only brick houses are permanent. The interpretation of the terminology may differ, but, in my opinion, a permanent house means one with a long life and a temporary house one with a short life. Adobe houses can be built no less durably than brick ones. Yet, many believe that permanent houses must be built of brick, and think of building only brick houses even in farm villages and mining areas.

Another telling example of the failure to make use of local materials was cited by a comrade yesterday. According to him, in Ryonggang bricks are brought from elsewhere to build foundations, while good stone dug out there is carried away and dumped. What reason is there for saying that bricks are better for foundations and what grounds are given in arguing that stones are inferior to bricks? There are no grounds for this. Stone dug out on the spot would be better for foundations than bricks brought from far away. Nobody would throw stones away except bureaucrats who sit at their desks and carry on state business in a perfunctory manner.

When I visited Machine Plant No. 99 last year I saw quite a lot of good granite lying around. This is something we can hardly get in the cities even if we try. In a country where building stone is scarce, granite has to be brought even thousands of miles for important construction projects. Nevertheless, this factory threw away large quantities of stone dug out while building the plant and was planning to bring bricks from Pyongyang to build houses with.

I asked the factory manager which was better and less expensive, brick or stone. He replied that it was profitable to the factory to use bricks, though it seemed profitable to the state to use stones. Is the

factory, then, an organization independent of the state? All our factories are enterprises belonging to the state. Therefore, a factory manager should not separate his factory from the state in making an economic calculation, but should always think of it in relation to the state and proceed from the viewpoint of the state's interests.

When they say it is profitable to the factory to use bricks, it is only because bricks are easier to build with than stones. So, I asked if it was not true that bricks had to be bought while stones could be obtained for nothing. Only then did the manager honestly admit it would be more profitable to use stone. You can see that they are not concerned about utilizing local materials.

Even at a mine located in such a mountainous area as Koksan, people only want to build brick houses. But if they do, the cost will be very high. Why can they not build stone or adobe houses in such places?

In the area around Kanggye, too, there are people eager to get bricks from Pyongyang because they only want to build brick houses.

Thus, they only ask for bricks, disregarding state interests and not thinking of using local materials.

Comrades, what is wrong with turning out adobe locally? Why should adobe houses with stone foundations be inferior to brick houses?

We must consider it an important task to make wide use of local materials. Otherwise, it will be impossible to carry out a mass building campaign, and it will likewise be impossible to accelerate construction. An extensive movement should be developed to erect public buildings, schools and public health and cultural establishments in county seats by utilizing such local materials as adobe and stone, and the people should be taught how to use them.

In addition to construction which will use materials supplied by the state, we have decided to undertake construction projects costing approximately 600 million *won* this year through a broad mass movement and using local materials, namely, adobe and stone. In this way we will be able to build the county seats, villages and workers' settlements rapidly.

At present the state encourages the building of many houses by making state loans available not only to individual peasants but also to factory and office workers and supplying them with some materials. This is the way we can build houses in large numbers and expedite our construction.

(3) ON THE MECHANIZATION OF CONSTRUCTION

The mechanization of construction, too, is not a question that has been raised for the first time today. Everybody will say mechanization is good and there are none who will say it is bad. But little attention has been paid to it.

Even though we are not yet in a position to introduce large-scale mechanization, we are capable of partial and small-scale mechanization, and we must start with that. To carry things by wheelbarrow instead of on a man's back is itself a kind of mechanization, for the wheelbarrow is more advanced and efficient than the human back.

If full-scale mechanization is impossible, it is imperative to introduce at least partial mechanization. We must mechanize building and production by switching over from manual labour to small-scale mechanization, comprehensive mechanization and then to automation, by gradually going over from the simple to the complex, from the imperfect to the perfect. Thus, labour can be saved, working conditions made decent and labour productivity raised.

To do this, it is important, above all, to use existing machines rationally. Statistics show that we now possess a considerable amount of machinery. Compared with prewar times, the number of machines we have has increased a great deal. After the war, we received a large amount of building machinery from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. In the first place, they should be properly distributed so that the people who need them may use them, and their efficiency should be raised, without allowing them to stand idle.

According to the report, most of the building machinery is operated

for one shift, and is not worked full time at that. Why cannot we organize two or three shifts a day under the present conditions in which we are short of building machinery? This question is related to the thinking of the workers in this field. Everyone must strive to make rational use of the existing machinery.

Furthermore, to get the most out of our existing machinery, we must put the repair shops in proper order and supply spare parts in good time. Work is often suspended because spare parts are not supplied and machinery is not repaired promptly.

Besides, no system has been established for making proper checkups on machinery. When a piece of machinery goes out of order, it is abandoned and left lying around for weeks. This is a serious crime against the state and the people. It is important to handle machinery with care, supply spare parts in good time, and systematically check and repair it.

Another important thing is to manufacture small building machinery in large quantities. Experience shows that all factories equipped with lathes or other metal-cutting machine tools can make small building machinery.

Some of our officials, however, have the bad tendency to refuse to make small pieces of machinery and instead try to make only big ones, which are difficult to produce. For instance, the Bureau of Irrigation Administration has had big pumps produced. I advised the bureau chief to stop producing pumps and suggested it would be better to make a lot of wheelbarrows needed for irrigation projects. This is because the big pumps are being produced in highly skilled, specialized machine plants, and, moreover, those turned out in these plants are of superior quality. If it takes ten man-days to make a big pump in a specialized factory, it would be hard to make one even in 100 man-days under the Bureau of Irrigation Administration. Therefore, the need to manufacture machinery should not lead every building organization to jump into it recklessly. It is advisable for them to start producing a great many simple items which are within their power and which they need.

We must produce everything we can make, from simple

wheelbarrows to winches, mixers and small cranes, which will make it possible to mechanize building work. The enterprises under the Machine Industry Bureau and the First Bureau should be given higher quotas for building machinery. The State Planning Commission should organize this.

We have to push ahead energetically with the mechanization of building work in this way. We have no alternative. Some people suggest that we drop mechanization because we are busy. These are passive elements who want to give up socialist construction. We must not compromise with such elements. However busy we may be, we must do what we have to do. Otherwise, it is impossible to raise the living standards of the people, improve the appearance of our towns and build the foundations of socialism. Of course, many difficulties lie before us. But these can be overcome.

Parallel with the mechanization of building work, labour should be organized rationally and an active struggle waged against any and all waste of labour power. In order to organize labour rationally, the first thing to do is to eliminate defects in the organizational system. At present, some workers in the field of construction have become “construction company” maniacs. People in Chongjin seem to be suffering seriously from this malady. So, they should be given a remedy for this disease.

We must merge the scattered construction companies and amalgamate the needlessly dispersed gravel-collecting yards in a rational way. It would also be good to merge properly small construction stations owned by various organs. If enterprises are thus merged in a rational way, the waste of labour can also be eliminated. We must fight the tendency towards departmentalism in construction work.

Likewise, steps should be taken to settle cadres permanently in the field of construction, raise the technical skill of building workers and prevent labour turnover. In particular, it is important to establish the work carry-over system in the construction of buildings. This system is also necessary if the workers are to settle down and raise their technical skill.

Measures should be taken to enable the workers to acquire skills

and to actively enlist even their dependents in production. When such extra labour is widely used in agricultural cooperatives, why should it not be used in construction enterprises? In the sphere of construction, too, we should extensively introduce the man-day piecework system and make wide use of such labour.

We should introduce all these measures and cut the labour force in construction by 20,000 to 25,000 men this year. Is this possible? Yes, it is. According to investigations conducted in each branch, the rational organization of labour alone, without mechanization, could cut the labour force by 20,000, and if small-scale mechanization is partially introduced, up to 25,000 men could easily be released. Tremendous possibilities exist even now for economizing on labour in construction.

In order to encourage this, extra wages corresponding to the amount of labour saved should be given to the workers as a bonus. By this we mean that if a certain amount of work now done by 100 men is done by 80 men, the money equivalent to the wages of 20 men should be given to the 80 as a bonus. This will not only benefit the workers themselves, but will prove very profitable to the state as well.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few more remarks. First, the question of economizing on materials. The Party has appealed for this on a number of occasions. Materials fall short of the needs of the ever-expanding scale of construction. Therefore, control over materials should be tightened and an extensive movement launched for economizing on them.

We must make it a rule to use everything to the full, be it a nail, a single brick, or a handful of cement. Lumber mills, iron works, steel plants, machine factories and many other factories should set up subsidiary workshops for utilizing waste material, so as not to throw away such things as sawdust, odd pieces of lumber and scraps of iron, but make the most of them. This is very important.

Second, I should like to refer to the need for strengthening the cost-accounting system in the field of construction. First of all, this should be done in such a way as to give the workers more material

incentives and stimulate their enthusiasm for production. Along with this, the contract system should also be strengthened. Many shortcomings exist at present in this respect.

Since the cost-accounting system in the building enterprises has not been established well, no clear-cut limits of responsibility have been drawn between the contracting unit and the building unit, and this makes for considerable difficulty in the financial activities of the enterprises. We should therefore take every possible measure to strengthen the cost-accounting and contract systems in the field of construction.

Third, personnel in building organizations and enterprises should be armed with working-class ideology. In order to carry out all these tasks correctly and bring about a radical change in building, all workers, technicians, office workers and leading personnel of the building organizations and enterprises should be thoroughly armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology in accordance with the spirit of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

How can our construction workers—the builders of socialism—build socialism without arming themselves with socialist ideology? You are honoured socialist builders. So you cannot fulfil your tasks if you retain backward feudal or capitalist thinking. Being socialist builders, we should arm ourselves with socialist ideology.

Backward, conservative thinking is the main obstacle in the field of construction today. We must all fight against it. Conservatism hampers progress everywhere, and pulls back workers who are eager to advance. We must wage an intense struggle against it, completely overcome the wrong tendency to stick to outmoded building methods and thus bring about a big change in construction work.

Last, through this conference, I call on all builders—workers, technicians and office workers—to become profoundly conscious of the need to radically change construction work now by introducing new methods and to go all out to do this in the struggle to successfully ensure the huge capital construction work necessary for the building of socialism. I am firmly convinced that you will fulfil this task with honour.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN KAECHON COUNTY

Speech at a Conference of the Kaechon County Party Organization

February 5, 1956

Comrades,

It is in accordance with a decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee that I attend this conference of the Kaechon county Party organization.

First, I should like to make some observations on a few points I have perceived at this conference.

In the period under review the Kaechon county Party organization under the guidance of the Party Central Committee achieved considerable success in tempering the Party spirit of its members and strengthening the Party's ideological unity and in carrying out the decisions of the Party Central Committee. It worked strictly in accordance with the line and policy charted by the Party Central Committee, and correctly mobilized the Party members for the purpose of carrying them out. The speeches of many comrades at this conference have shown that the Party spirit of Party members has heightened, that the Party's ideological system has been established firmly, and that their sense of responsibility and zest for work have risen. In view of this, I think the Kaechon county Party organization conducted its work correctly on the whole in the period under review.

The report of the county Party committee on its work referred to

many shortcomings while making little mention of its good performances. Indeed, it is good to acknowledge faults in one's work and to improve it by drawing the necessary lessons. But it is wrong only to find fault while failing to do justice to merits.

It is important to take stock correctly of work accomplished. Without making a correct evaluation of merits and shortcomings in one's work, it is impossible to take the necessary steps to improve one's work in the future. In educating Party members, too, it will not do only to find fault with them. It is necessary to point out in detail their good achievements. Only then will Party members be able to realize better their own shortcomings and rectify them. The report of the county Party committee on its work to this conference, however, merely enumerated a large number of shortcomings, so it is hard to tell what is to their credit.

Another drawback is that the report failed to concentrate on the main problems.

All meetings, whether a Party meeting or any other meeting, should be instructive. A meeting must have a definite purpose, and the main problems and necessary measures for its attainment should be made clear. All those attending the meeting should be made to clearly understand and have a distinct idea of them. But the present conference failed to concentrate on the main problems; it spread them out haphazardly. This has made the audience vague as to what is the central problem.

What, then, should be the central issue to be taken up at this conference of the Kaechon county Party organization? The central task now confronting our Party is to overfulfil all targets of the national economic plan for this year, the last year of the Three-Year Plan, and to ensure a rapid development of agriculture in pursuance of the policy set forth at the November 1954 and December 1955 Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee, the aim being to further strengthen the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea which is an important guarantee of national reunification. Therefore, the key problem to be discussed at this conference should naturally be the political and

economic consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives and a further increase in grain production, in conformity with the aforesaid task. Moreover, the conference should have taken up the questions of strengthening the organizational and political work for successful implementation of various tasks facing the Party and especially of heightening the class consciousness of Party members in accordance with the decision of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Nevertheless, these questions were dealt with insufficiently in the report and speeches.

The common failing in the work of Party organizations at all levels is that they fail to set forth clearly their central task for each stage. I think the main shortcoming of this meeting is also the same. We should rectify this shortcoming as soon as possible.

1. ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE PARTY RULES

Discussions are now under way in Party organizations at all levels on the draft Party Rules to be considered at its Third Congress. Many comrades have spoken about the draft at the present conference, too. Judging by their speeches, quite a few of them seem to have no correct idea of the need to amend the Party Rules. So I should like to make a few remarks on this matter.

The reason for the proposed revision of the Party Rules today is not that the present Rules are wrong at all or that they need to be made easier for the Party members to understand. It is that the revolutionary tasks of our Party today go far beyond those laid down in the present Party Rules and demand more of Party members than previously.

The period between the Second Party Congress and the Third has been a historic period replete with great events in the life of our people. It comprised the peaceful democratic construction, the war against the enemy's armed invasion, and the postwar reconstruction.

In this period our Party has accomplished a good deal of great and honourable work that will shine forth for long in the history of our country. During the peaceful democratic construction it achieved tremendous successes in its organizational leadership of all Party members and people in the struggle to carry out democratic reforms including the agrarian reform and consolidate their results, to rehabilitate and develop the national economy and to improve the people's living standard. During the great Fatherland Liberation War it took vigorous steps to mobilize the entire people for the struggle for victory in the war and withstood the grim trials of war, defending our country with honour from the invasion by internal and external reactionary forces headed by the US imperialists. Since the war it has waged a successful and magnificent struggle to bring about an early rehabilitation and development of the war-devastated national economy, to build the foundation of socialism in the northern half of Korea and to achieve the reunification and independence of the country. In the course of this struggle our Party has been further strengthened and developed.

Today our Party is confronted with new revolutionary tasks.

The fundamental revolutionary tasks outlined in the present Party Rules are to introduce democratic reforms including the agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and the Labour Law, and to bring about the country's reunification and independence on a democratic basis. During its struggle over the past ten years our Party carried out the agrarian and other democratic reforms in the northern half of Korea, created the People's Army capable of firmly safeguarding their results, and accomplished all tasks of the stage of the people's democratic revolution.

Set before us now is the task of building socialism in the northern half of Korea. True, we have not yet reunified our country nor carried out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in the southern half. But our Party cannot keep harping on the slogans of the democratic revolution, such as agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and the Law on Sex Equality, without pushing ahead further

with the revolution in the north. We should not mark time but take a step forward to build socialism.

To build socialism in the northern half of Korea is on no account detrimental to national reunification. Rather, the successful building of socialism in the north is essential to further consolidate our revolutionary base so as to hasten reunification and to accomplish the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution without delay in south Korea after the country's reunification. That is why we are now building socialism in the northern half of Korea.

The new realities of today when socialism is being built necessitate the revision of the Party Rules.

The need for this revision is also determined by the fact that our Party's revolutionary struggle today makes a greater demand upon the Party members than in the past when democratic reforms were being introduced.

Compared with the years immediately after liberation when the agrarian reform was under way, our Party members' level of ideological consciousness today is much higher. The present realities when the socialist revolution is in progress, however, demand that Party members acquire a yet higher level of awareness and class consciousness.

In the agrarian reform we followed the policy of confiscating the land of Japanese imperialists, local landlords and traitors to the nation only, while leaving the rich farmers intact. Today, however, when the socialist cooperative system is being introduced in the countryside, our Party's policy relating to the rich farmers cannot but change. This is because the rich farmers due to their class position may offer obstacles in some way or other against the agricultural cooperative movement. Indeed, as a force, the rich farmers in the north today are insignificant. But since this force is obstructing our progress, an acute class struggle is inevitable in the countryside. Therefore, we should heighten the class consciousness of Party members and peasants and rally them more firmly around the Party Central Committee. This is a prerequisite for crushing the reactionary forces' manoeuvres in the countryside and

carrying out triumphantly the Party's policy in agricultural cooperativization.

The movement for socialist reorganization is under way not only in the rural areas but in urban communities as well. While individual peasants in the countryside are admitted to agricultural cooperatives and remoulded along socialist lines, the handicraftsmen and private tradesmen and manufacturers in the towns should be accepted into producers' or production-and-marketing cooperatives and remoulded gradually along socialist lines. We should persevere in our efforts to explain and propagate private manufacturers and tradesmen to follow the road to socialism under which all people will live a happy and plentiful life, and thus make them willingly participate in the socialist cooperative economy.

If Party members are to provide good explanations and information about the Party's policy of socialist cooperativization among the masses, they need to be ideologically steadfast and highly qualified for the task. I have heard that some Party members are now having second thoughts about joining agricultural cooperatives. This is because capitalism lingers on in their minds and because they still lack a clear understanding of the advantages of socialist cooperative farming. This also reveals that Party organizations at all levels failed to give their members proper class education and to correctly explain and popularize the prospects of our revolution in accordance with the document on the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

It is our intention that while consolidating the achievements of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, we proceed to build socialism step by step in the northern half of Korea. We plan to lay the foundation of socialism at the present stage, then complete socialist industrialization, and, later on, to build a perfect socialist society.

Shouting hurrahs alone will never do in building socialism; the struggle for this calls for an active mobilization of all Party members and working people. This entails further intensification of class education among Party members and the working masses and their full

equipment with communist thoughts.

As you see, our Party is now confronted with new tasks, the tasks of the socialist revolution. So, the Party's fighting tasks should also change and the Party's demand on its members should become greater still. Therefore, the amendment of the Party Rules is today an unavoidable requirement of the development of our Party and our revolution.

Party organizations at all levels should see to it that all their members make a profound study of the draft Rules put forward by the Party Central Committee and that they are discussed collectively at Party meetings. In this way all Party members should acquire a correct understanding of the Party Rules and a clear idea of the Party's character and ultimate goal, its duties at the present stage, as well as their own obligations and rights. And the opinions advanced by them in the course of studying the draft should be presented without hesitation to the Party Central Committee.

2. ON PARTY WORK

The important task of Party organizations today is, first, to continually temper the Party spirit of the members.

Who, then, is a Party member with a strong Party spirit? It is he who faithfully abides by the Party Rules, has a correct understanding of the revolutionary tasks, line and policy of the Party at each period and carries them out to the letter however difficult the circumstances, and who always gives publicity to the Party policy and rallies the masses around the Party. The Party spirit is a quality indispensable to all Party members, and a high level of Party spirit is the most important aspect of our Party's demand on its members.

In view of the revolutionary tasks of our Party today, the matter of tempering the Party spirit of the members assumes great importance.

The ultimate goal of our Party is to build a communist society, and its current task is to reunify the country and lay the foundation of socialism in the northern half of Korea. All members of the Party should work selflessly with an inflexible determination and will to accomplish this goal and task. Only then will they be able to immortalize their lofty names as members of the glorious Workers' Party of Korea.

In order to heighten the Party spirit of its members our Party has constantly intensified their education. Thanks to the Party's correct education, our Party members' ideological level has risen noticeably and they are trained as revolutionary fighters firmly determined to struggle to the end for the final victory of the revolution.

But all members of our Party exceeding one million in number are not fully equipped with communist thoughts. While our Party has large numbers of members with a strong Party spirit, it also has many whose Party spirit is shaky. In particular, because our Party has developed as a mass political party of the working people, it has no small number of members with a low level of ideological consciousness. But it is impossible to exclude from the Party all those members with a weak Party spirit and low qualifications simply because the Party's tasks have become weightier today. Just as we carried out the democratic revolution with low-qualified Party members, we should build socialism together with them, too. Moreover, our country has not yet been reunified. So, we should not only admit completely communist-minded people to the Party but also widely enrol for membership those progressives who, even if somewhat low-qualified, are resolved to devote themselves to the revolutionary struggle, so as to constantly expand the Party ranks. Therefore, our Party will continue to have members fully equipped with communist thoughts side by side with those who are not. We should not dismiss from the Party those members with a weak Party spirit and a low level of ideological consciousness, but further strengthen their Party spirit and boost their class awareness, and thereby make them revolutionary fighters active in the building of socialism. The Kaechon county Party organization

still leaves something to be desired in this respect.

In the light of our Party's organizational composition, to promote the cultivation of the Party spirit of its members assumes importance.

Let us take a look at the present composition of our Party ranks. Party members of peasant status are numerous. And there is a marked difference between the working class and the peasantry as regards ideological level. As Marx said, the working class of capitalist society has only the fetters of slavery to lose in the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the working class is the steadiest and staunchest class in the revolution. It is also the most progressive and revolutionary class that has a great ability for united action, organization and discipline. Unlike the working class, the peasantry has a dual character because of its position. On the one hand, the peasant is akin to the worker because he does manual labour, and on the other, he is closely allied to the man of property because he is a small proprietor who owns land and production implements. The peasant is conservative and detached and small-proprietary-minded. Therefore, the peasantry is a class prone to vacillation in the revolution.

An acute struggle develops between the working class and the capitalist class to bring over the peasantry. The working class can win the revolutionary struggle only by forming a close alliance with the peasantry, and the peasantry can bring about its own class emancipation only by accepting the leadership of the working class.

Our peasants today differ from the old-time farmers because they have lived and undergone training under the people's democratic system for over ten years. Our peasantry became the master of the people's power under the leadership of the working class after liberation, and benefited in many ways from the democratic reforms. In the Fatherland Liberation War the peasants fought selflessly side by side with the workers, and are today working vigorously to build the foundation of socialism. In this practical struggle the peasants have grown ideologically and attained a high level of political consciousness. But as long as they remain private farmers linked with the backward small-commodity economy, they cannot rid themselves

entirely of the small proprietor's mentality, and, accordingly, they may hesitate and waver in the struggle for socialism. It is difficult even for a Party member to shed his small proprietary disposition while he is connected with the small commodity economy. Therefore, it is necessary to transform Party members of peasant status into socialist working people while intensifying their ideological education, in order to get them thoroughly equipped with the ideas of the working class.

With the successful progress of the socialist agricultural cooperative movement today, the qualitative composition of our Party is undergoing a considerable change. Large numbers of Party members belonged to the small-propertied class previously when they were private farmers, but today they are socialist working people embraced in the socialist cooperative economy. We should vigorously promote the agricultural cooperative movement and continue to improve the qualitative composition of our Party in the countryside.

There are also numerous intellectuals in our Party. The old intellectuals were able to receive an education because their parents were fairly well-off before, and so to a large extent they were influenced by a well-to-do family environment. Moreover, most of them in the past served the Japanese imperialists and capitalists. After liberation the old intellectuals became working intellectuals in the service of our Party and our people. However, they still retain a good many old ideas in their minds. We should therefore improve their education and tempering from an ideological standpoint so that they may strive hard to build socialism and communism in a way worthy of the Party's intellectuals.

The tempering of the Party spirit should be strengthened among the Party members of worker status, too. Our working class is the nucleus and the leading class in our revolution, but if Marxist-Leninist education is not intensified among the workers, they will be unable to fulfil their proper role and may be infected with outdated ideas under the influence of their surroundings.

Many capitalist ways are still to be found around us. In particular,

the US imperialists and local landlords and capitalists in the southern half of our country are spreading all sorts of reactionary ideas in an attempt to dampen the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. We should get rid of the remnants of old ideas found among the workers and thoroughly equip them with revolutionary ideas, thereby preventing harmful ideas from infiltrating into their ranks.

To promote the Party spirit among Party members is essential for further strengthening our Party's unity and cohesion in thinking and purpose.

At one time our country had a Communist Party. But the Communist Party failed to take root among the broad sections of the masses including the working class, and the factionalists within the Party were only engrossed in a scramble for power contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles. So it could not ensure the unity of its ranks and, finally, was broken up. Even after the dissolution of the Communist Party, the factionalists continued their sectarian activities centering around the "M-L group", the "Tuesday group", the "North Wind Association group" and such like. They tore up the labour movement and did tremendous harm to the communist movement and the revolution in our country.

After liberation, too, the factionalists persisted in their sectarian activities and manoeuvred to split the ranks of the working class. The anti-Party factionalists like Pak Hon Yong continued the sectarian strife and neglected even the Party's policy on the founding of the Workers' Party of South Korea. In south Korea the sectarian quarrels between the members of the "M-L group" and the "Tuesday group" who had previously been engaged in the "communist movement" ruined all the Party organizations.

Even after coming over to the northern half of Korea, the factionalists attempted to split our Party. However, we did not tolerate their splitting acts but promptly shattered them to pieces.

Our Party is now clear of factionalists on the whole, but considerable remnants still remain. Therefore, we should keep waging a relentless struggle against these anti-Party elements.

It is specified in the draft Party Rules that the Party's unity and cohesion should be protected like the apple of one's eye. All Party members are required to fight resolutely to protect the Party's unity and cohesion like the apple of their eye and to crush the factionalist attempts quickly and mercilessly.

Because our Party is strong at present, the factionalists pretend outwardly to support the Party, trumpeting its praises. But behind its back they deprecate and slander its policy and whip up discontented elements in an underhand effort to shake its cohesion. Experience shows that in the long run the factionalists will range themselves against the Party and the revolution and degenerate into agents of the imperialists.

The factionalists should not be allowed any opportunity to intrigue against the unity of the Party. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the struggle for cultivating the Party spirit among Party members, so that all Party members fulfil their obligations meticulously as stipulated in the Party Rules, always act upon the Party line and policy and resolutely denounce all elements instrumental in disrupting the Party. Having inherited the brilliant tradition of revolutionary unity built up in the course of the prolonged anti-Japanese armed struggle, we must safeguard like the apple of our eye the unity and cohesion of our Party based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

The important task of Party organizations is, secondly, to make all Party members acquire the revolutionary viewpoint and the mass style of work.

All members of the Workers' Party, whether leading personnel or rank-and-file members, should strive hard to mobilize the masses for the revolutionary struggle and construction work, and for this they should have the revolutionary viewpoint and the mass style of work.

Once the Party line and policy have been correctly formulated and the right measures for their implementation adopted, success in work is decided entirely by whether or not our cadres and Party members are equipped with the revolutionary viewpoint and the mass style of work

and deal tactfully with the masses. Failing this the Party line and policy, however correct, cannot properly inspire the masses nor can there be success in work.

The Party member should have a correct revolutionary viewpoint. By the revolutionary viewpoint we mean the stand and attitude of conducting all matters in the interests of the revolution. The Party member should first consider the gain or loss his act may bring to the revolution. The revolutionary should refrain from doing anything that might cause the slightest loss to the revolution, should subordinate everything to its interests and struggle selflessly for its benefit.

The Party member should also acquire a correct mass viewpoint. Revolutionary work cannot be coped with by our Party members alone. The revolution requires rallying the masses around the Party and leading them forward. Mobilization of the inexhaustible power of the masses is a prerequisite for victory in the revolution.

The revolutionary viewpoint and the mass viewpoint are inseparable. All our revolutionary activities are meant for the good of the masses. Accordingly, the revolutionary viewpoint is precisely the mass viewpoint, and the revolutionary style of work is immediately the mass style of work.

When we refer to the masses we have in mind not a handful of capitalists but the broad working masses of the people. Some people have a misconstrued idea of the mass viewpoint, and so when they hear a false rumour circulated by capitalists or merchants they take it to be the opinion of the masses. The attack and slander heaped on our Party policy by capitalist scoundrels cannot represent public opinion. Groundless rumours detrimental to the interests of the working masses should be thoroughly repudiated and condemned.

Some of our Party members today are lacking in the revolutionary viewpoint and the mass style of work. While paying lip service to the revolution, in their deeds they act to the disadvantage of the revolutionary work from time to time. They cannot be called true revolutionaries.

It is of special importance for Party and government workers to

acquire the right revolutionary viewpoint and mass style of work.

Before taking a decision on any matter, our officials should ask themselves first if it is in the interests of the revolution. In other words, they should take a decision only after thinking hard and weighing up the consequences: “If I settle this matter in this way, will the masses be pleased or not and will it be in the interests of the revolution and the masses or not?” There is a Korean saying which goes, “Measure the cloth ten times before using your scissors.” This means that in everything you should weigh up matters meticulously before taking action. At present, however, some officials work haphazardly without carefully consulting the interests of the revolution, thereby causing harm to the revolution and the masses.

We have long been waging an energetic struggle to eliminate bureaucratism, and are even now striving continuously to do away with it and establish the revolutionary and the mass viewpoint. Nevertheless, your speeches make me think some of you have a mistaken idea of bureaucratism. To push ahead resolutely with what is correct is not bureaucratism. Bureaucratism means a peremptory demand to one’s inferiors to do some kind of work when this goes against the interests of the masses.

We should fight not only against the bureaucratists but also against the passivists who, trembling for fear of being accused as bureaucratists, fail to carry out even the right tasks with determination.

Thirdly, an important question calling for the attention of Party organizations is to properly combine economic activities with political work.

This constitutes one of our Party’s basic methods of work. Economic activities and political work are inseparable from each other, and if they are disconnected, no success can be hoped for in work. It is wrong to think that political work is for Party workers alone and that economic work is only for the officials of administrative and economic bodies.

What, then, is economic work?

The revolution requires economic slogans as well as political

watchwords, and the struggle to carry them into effect. In the past when we were fighting against Japanese imperialism, we not only put up the political watchword, “Let us crush Japanese imperialism,” but also advanced economic slogans such as “Introduce an eight-hour workday,” “Introduce the system of social insurance,” “Confiscate the landlords’ land and divide it among the peasants,” and “Abolish exacting taxes and levies.” Putting up such economic slogans and struggling for their materialization was necessary to mobilize the masses of the people for achieving the political aim of throwing out the Japanese imperialists and the landlord and capitalist classes and establishing a government of the working class.

Although our Party is in power today, it can neither reunify the country nor build socialism if it only puts up the slogans “Let us reunify the motherland” and “Let us build socialism.”

Lenin said that communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. This implies that the working class that has taken power into its hands should consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and, at the same time, should develop the economy. If the working class ignores economic work just because it has power in its hands, it cannot build socialism and communism.

Building a socialist and communist society entails the construction of factories, power stations, theatres, and also a struggle for increased grain production in the farming areas. Besides, it is necessary to free the working people from hard labour through mechanization and automation of the production processes, to develop the productive forces and to raise constantly the people’s living standard. The Party should always control and guide economic work. This is essential to reach the goal of building socialism and communism.

The Party’s political aim will be attained through the implementation of economic tasks. This is why political work cannot be detached from economic work. The chairman of the people’s committee is responsible administratively for the management and guidance of the economy while the Party committee chairman provides the Party backing for carrying out economic tasks.

They say that some of the Party cell chairmen in the rural areas are now doing their work without regard to economic affairs in the belief that they are Party workers. This will not do. The Party cell chairman of an agricultural cooperative should be more active than anyone else in the conduct of the cooperative's economic work and mobilize all Party members within the cooperative for carrying out economic tasks. Like the political workers in the People's Army who, prior to a battle, prepare the soldiers ideologically for it, and fight bravely at their head during the battle, the Party committee chairmen and Party cell chairmen of cooperatives should conduct organizational and political work so that all Party members and work hands in the cooperatives willingly participate in farm work, and set examples in this work. Giving effective political backing to farm work to raise good crops is essential to raise the living standard of the peasants and to bring them to actively support our Party's policy. Only when the peasants' life is well guaranteed materially can the advantages of the socialist system be brought out to the full. It is therefore wrong to think that political work has nothing to do with economic work.

Needless to say, if Party organizations neglect the inner-Party work and are only engrossed in urgent economic work on the grounds that economic work is important, this will not do. Party organizations should put all their energies into their own organizational strengthening before anything else. This is indispensable to success in economic work.

At present some Party workers direct economic work by administrative methods instead of backing it up by political methods. They do not understand clearly that strengthening Party organizations and steeling the Party spirit of Party members is basic to providing Party backing to economic work. They are bustling about, but are unable to distinguish between the duties of the people's committees and of the Party organizations, and try to monopolize them all. That is why they fail to achieve success in work. As the saying goes, "One man doesn't make a general," no work done single-handed can be successful.

I have heard that some Party cell chairmen consider it a bother to

write reports to be delivered at meetings of the cells, to take the minutes and to attend meetings, on the pretext that they are busy. Apart from this kind of work what is there for Party cell chairmen to attend to? The point is, the methods of Party work have to be changed. At present prepared reports are read out at Party cell meetings and lengthy minutes are taken. This is unnecessary. Of course, our Party work is not clandestine now but lawful. So, taking the minutes of Party cell meetings is necessary. But they need not be long; it will do to put down briefly the dates of the meetings, the number of people attending, the topics discussed, the assignments and the names of the persons responsible for them.

Party cell chairmen should not begrudge attending meetings. Meetings are necessary both for successfully carrying out the revolutionary tasks in hand and for educating officials and Party members. We have come to this conference of the Kaechon county Party organization also for the purpose of learning from you while showing you how to do your work.

Party work is honourable revolutionary work, and Party workers should be busy. Work at factories where goods are produced by machines yields results immediately, but Party work does not give results at once. The outcome of Party work will show itself overall. When taking stock of farm work, some officials say, "This village has made a good showing in agricultural production but come short of the mark in Party work." We do not think this kind of appraisal correct. Where Party work is slack, production work cannot go well. In such a place inertness and disorder will reign. In the army, too, discipline and order go with good Party work while accidents are frequent and discipline and order are slack where Party work is unsatisfactory.

On our current visit to Kaechon County we have found that here the 1955 plan for farm production has been fulfilled, that a considerable number of agricultural cooperatives have been formed and are making progress, and that most of the productive enterprises in the county have carried out their production plans. This is due to

the correct work of the Kaecheon County Party Committee and so should be appraised as a good result of Party work.

Party work should steer clear of senseless paper work, and should be appraised by the actual results of work with people and of administrative and economic activities.

When checking up on the work of the Party organizations at lower levels, the provincial or county Party committees should not confine themselves to examining reports and minutes of meetings, but should check the Party members' ideological level. We are attending this conference because it is important to hear what Party members have to say in their speeches. The Party members' speeches bring to full light their ideological level and the actual situation of Party work. Reports and decisions of meetings may possibly give either a better or a worse picture of the work done in reality. Therefore, it is meaningless and is an expression of formalism to judge Party work by reports or decisions.

It is important in Party work to give correct work assignments. In an agricultural cooperative its chairman directly organizes and carries on production work. He draws up production plans, arranges the processes of operations, organizes work and directs the sharing out of incomes. Therefore, the Party committee chairman should be good at working with the cooperative chairman, and should examine the work plans of the cooperative from the Party viewpoint, and mobilize the Party members and cooperative farmers for carrying out the plans.

Party organizations should refrain from concentrating entirely on urgent economic work while paying little heed to the tempering of the Party spirit among Party members. Owing to the Party organizations' negligence in tempering the Party spirit of their members in the past, these members' ideological preparedness falls behind the requirements of the development of the realities. Party organizations should always combine political work correctly with economic activities and, in particular, put great stress on steeling the Party spirit of Party members.

3. ON ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL WORK

As for economic work, detailed mention has been made of it in the report and speeches, and so I would like to be brief.

The most important task of Party organizations in the field of agriculture is to accelerate and quickly complete agricultural cooperativization. They should not be carried away by the success attained so far in the agricultural cooperative movement, but should continue to promote this movement in every way while strictly abiding by the voluntary principle, so that it is completed within a year or two.

Why, then, should we extend and develop the agricultural cooperative movement? As experience over the past one or two years has shown, agricultural cooperativization is vital for rapidly developing the productive forces in agriculture and improving the living conditions of the peasants. By joining cooperatives large numbers of poor peasants who were poverty-stricken in the past have completely solved their food problem and are now free from food worries. With widespread mechanization, active improvement of seeds, rational organization of work, and an increased supply of chemical fertilizers by the state in the future, agricultural production will increase rapidly and the cooperative farmers will become much better off. There is no doubt about this. Moreover, agricultural cooperativization is indispensable to complete abolition of capitalist elements in the countryside and further consolidation of our revolutionary positions in political and economic terms.

We must strengthen the agricultural cooperatives already formed and, at the same time, continue to vigorously push ahead with the agricultural cooperative movement.

In order to consolidate the agricultural cooperatives, it is necessary, first of all, to appoint well-qualified men as their chairmen, to improve

the working ability of the management and to ensure that the Party and working people's organizations in the cooperatives fulfil their duties well.

In the days of individual farming the peasants themselves were responsible for farm production and for their own livelihood, but today when agricultural cooperatives have been formed the Party and the state should bear responsibility for them. In other words, if in the days of individual farming crops failed and life became hard, the peasants could bear a grudge against no one. But now the Party organizations and cooperative chairmen are held responsible in the event of poor crops or deterioration of the peasants' life. Therefore, the Party organizations and chairmen of agricultural cooperatives must do their utmost to discharge their responsibilities.

Party organizations should strengthen the political education of their members and cooperative farmers to raise their class consciousness and convince them strongly that the system of agricultural cooperatives is the only one leading them to a life of affluence.

Agricultural cooperatives should be consolidated economically as well as politically. However much we may publicize the merits of agricultural cooperatives, this will be merely empty talk if their advantages are not apparent in reality. Economic consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives is the only way to show their advantages. They need to conduct all their affairs well and meticulously—working out correct plans of production, applying more compost than at the time of individual farming, and sowing select seed.

At present certain agricultural cooperatives in Kaechon County have a tendency to set low production targets. This must be corrected.

A few days ago we visited the Soham Agricultural Cooperative in Ryongjin-ri and had a talk with Party members, which revealed that the cooperative had set a target of 2.3 tons for maize production per hectare this year, whereas last year it had gathered 3.3 tons. Since it harvested 3.3 tons last year, it ought to have set a goal of at least 3.5 tons this year. Nevertheless, its managing personnel fixed a low

production target on the grounds that the fields of those peasants who had joined the cooperative this year were not fertile. If there was an increase in unproductive fields this year, all members of the cooperative should have pulled together to fertilize the barren land. Where there is a low target to reach, there will be little desire for effort. Only when the target is set high will there be a strenuous effort to turn out more fertilizer, plant more high-yielding crops, and make rational use of manpower.

In order to consolidate the agricultural cooperatives a movement for creating model cooperatives should be launched. If this movement is unfolded in a competitive manner, it will be possible to strengthen all agricultural cooperatives at an early date.

Further. An energetic struggle should be waged to increase grain output.

It is very important to solve the food problem in our country. Large quantities of food are needed to rehabilitate and develop the war-ravaged national economy, to enlist more manpower in industrial construction and to meet the increasing demands for industrial raw materials and foodstuffs. Without food there is no building socialism. Under the slogan "Rice is immediately socialism," all rural workers and peasants should turn out to increase the production of grain.

In order to increase grain production it is essential to plant high-yielding crops on a large scale.

As a dry field crop maize should be sown widely. Maize cultivation requires a small quantity of seed; maize does well in both dry and rainy weather, and is pest resistant; maize fields are easy to weed; it is high-yielding and nutritious. Its stalks, leaves and cob sheaths are fit for livestock feed. In particular, the stalks contain much sugar, and dairy cattle fed on them milk well.

Some time ago we told the chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee that we thought it would do well to plant at least 50 per cent of the dry fields in the province with maize. Maize grows well in Kaechon County, too, and so maize should be widely cultivated.

Although we are carrying out many irrigation projects at present, we cannot turn all dry fields into paddies. Since dry fields are in a large proportion, widespread cultivation of maize is indispensable for increasing grain harvests. The experience of the past year has shown that large-scale maize cultivation is an effective way to raise grain output. It will be well for Kaechon County to sow all the dry fields excepting the wet land to maize.

I have heard that Kaechon County's grain production goal for the current year is 20,000 tons, but this is too low. This year Kaechon County should make an all-out effort to reach the goal of 25,000 tons of grain at least.

Livestock farming should be developed. Kaechon County has favourable conditions for developing animal husbandry. It has large grazing areas, plenty of grass and can plant maize to provide enough feed.

At the Socham Agricultural Cooperative I found that every family was raising pigs and that the number of commonly-bred pigs and cattle was great. This is very gratifying. In future, agricultural cooperatives and all peasant families should keep a large number of domestic animals such as chickens, pigs and sheep to increase the peasants' incomes on the side and to meet the state demand for meat.

Sericulture should also be developed. Kaechon County is favourably situated for silkworm culture, in particular. All agricultural cooperatives in Kaechon County should devote much effort to raising silkworms.

Next, I should like to remark on the tasks in industry.

Coal mining takes a prominent place in industry in Kaechon County. This county has large deposits of coal. Nevertheless, coal is not mined as it should be, and is in short supply here. When I visited Middle School No.1 of Kaechon I saw they were burning tree stumps from lack of coal in spite of a good coal mine being located nearby, the smoke making it hard for the pupils to study.

Development of the national economy and improvement of the people's living standard require large quantities of coal. At coal mines

production should be further increased and the current year's production plans should be topped without fail. To do so, innovations are needed in excavation work and removal of the soil and rock above the coal seams.

In Kaechon County iron ore mining also holds a prominent place. The iron ore produced at the Chondong Mine is of a very high grade. When the Hwanghae Iron Works is completely rebuilt in the future, the demand for iron ore will further increase. A vigorous struggle should be launched at the mine to overfulfil its production plan through efficient organization of work.

One of the important tasks in developing the national economy is to intensify efforts to reduce manpower in industry and construction work. The Party Central Committee is now calling on the whole nation to make a save-manpower drive. This question was also referred to at the National Conference of Architects and Builders some time ago.

In our country today industry is making rapid progress, but the work force is limited. Labour is short in the countryside, too. The way to ease the manpower strain lies in mechanizing operations and cutting down labour consumption in the fields of production and capital construction, thus releasing labour for newly-built factories and enterprises. All factories and enterprises should make an effort to introduce mechanization on a wide scale to cut down the work force by at least 15-20 per cent. The Party organizations in Kaechon County, too, should launch a widespread labour-saving drive in the factories and enterprises.

While cutting down on labour, the dependents of those on the pay rolls should be actively enlisted in production and building work. The wide enlistment of housewives in production work will dispense with recruiting a large labour force from the rural areas. This will be advantageous, therefore, for consolidating the situation in the countryside, for reducing state expenditure on housing construction and other projects and for increasing the income of every family.

Active enlistment of housewives in productive work means that close attention has to be paid to building well-accommodated nurseries

and welfare service establishments. At the Chondong Mine I found the director's room and the primary Party committee office well furnished, but the nursery was in need of repair. So, we criticized the director and the Party committee chairman and told them to exchange the primary Party committee office for the nursery room. Building offices can be postponed, but good nurseries should be built before anything else. Only when good nurseries, laundries, communal dining places and other welfare service establishments are built can housewives be actively drawn into socialist construction.

Today women are the masters in the rural areas. During the Fatherland Liberation War when their sons, husbands and brothers had gone to the front, our rural women worked with vigour in their place to produce more food grain; they were the masters in the rear. The women of our country are heroic. Their ideological level and industriousness are very high. This should be given a public appreciation, and women should be widely engaged in the honourable work of socialist construction.

Lastly, a few words about educational work.

Compared with the past, educational work has now moved far ahead, but has not yet reached the level demanded by the Party.

It is of the utmost importance in educational work to infuse in pupils and students working-class thinking and love of labour. We should bring up all of them to be builders of socialism equipped with the thoughts of the working class.

In order to bring up pupils and students to be well-qualified builders of socialism it is necessary, first of all, for teachers to equip themselves with working-class thinking. Without this teachers cannot inspire pupils and students with the revolutionary thoughts of the working class. Party organizations should intensify class education and the tempering of Party spirit among the teachers to heighten their class consciousness.

Another important aspect of educational work is to teach production techniques to the boys and girls of the junior and senior secondary schools.

The newly-organized socialist cooperative economy in the countryside demands scientific and technological processes in farming. By outdated methods as in the old days it is impossible either to rapidly increase farm production or strengthen and develop the agricultural cooperatives. At present the peasants are weeding the fields with animal-drawn weeders, but in the future the weeding operation should be mechanized. This requires a large number of agricultural engineers.

In order to meet the increasing demand for technicians, agricultural supplementary classes should be set up at the junior and senior secondary schools in the farming areas while appropriate technical supplementary classes are formed at their counterparts in the factory and mining districts.

The present circumstances of our country do not allow all junior secondary school graduates to go on to senior secondary school nor all of the senior secondary school graduates to enter university. Therefore, those students who cannot go on to a higher grade school should be enrolled in supplementary course to give them a brief technological education for a half or one year before they are sent to work in the rural areas or factories. The agricultural supplementary class will do well to give instruction in the use of chemicals and fertilizers, methods of soil amelioration, seed selection, seed production, fruit culture, use of farm machines, silkworm culture and so on. A large influx into the agricultural cooperatives of young people equipped with such technical knowledge will make it possible to increase farm production and rapidly develop the cooperative economy.

Instruction in technology should be given not only at the supplementary classes but to the students of other classes as well. During vacations or at other appropriate times the pupils and students should be taken out to state crop and livestock farms or agricultural cooperatives for practical training and thus taught a variety of agricultural knowledge and techniques such as soil science and botany. At tractor hire stations they could have training in operating machines.

Everyone needs to learn technology in order to develop our once

backward colonial country into an advanced socialist state as soon as possible. We should turn to account every possibility in carrying on the work of spreading and passing on techniques on a wide scale.

Improvement of educational work requires good school textbooks.

The school books now in use have no small shortcomings. In many respects they are out of keeping with the actual conditions of our country, because they are mechanical translations of foreign textbooks. For instance, a certain book says that some kinds of plants and animals are to be found in our country when they really are not. To cite an extreme case, a certain book writes that the Mongolian People's Republic is situated on the east of our country. Recently the Party Central Committee took steps to rectify such shortcomings.

The use of translated foreign schoolbooks has been unavoidable till now. Owing to the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past our country had very few intellectuals. In such conditions, immediately after liberation we were unable to compile textbooks properly, and had no alternative but to use foreign textbooks in translation. True, the school textbooks now in use have shortcomings, but these shortcomings are few, it is not that the textbooks are entirely wrong.

Today, ten years after liberation, our situation is different. Under the care of our Republic a large number of teachers and intellectuals have been educated and transformed into intellectuals serving the Party and the people and socialist construction. Moreover, in this period a multitude of new intellectuals has grown up. Now the conditions have been created to put right the educational system and compile new textbooks to fit in with the actual situation of our country and the demands of our revolution so that we give revolutionary education to the pupils and students while preserving the national customs and traditions of our people. It is therefore necessary to promote vigorously the work of compiling new textbooks in the field of education.

County Party and people's committees should pay close attention to educational work. In particular, provincial, city and county people's committees should have a profound understanding of the importance of education and the public health service and give intensified

guidance to the work of these branches.

Today I have commented on a few tasks confronting the Party organizations in Kaechon County. Hoping that after this conference the comrades present here will convey to all Party members the matters discussed at today's meeting, I wish the Party organizations in Kaechon County great progress in their work.

In conclusion, I would like to express the hope that all Party members and working people in Kaechon County, united closely around the Party Central Committee, will launch an energetic struggle, and turn out proud victors in this effort to overfulfil the Three-Year National Economic Plan, to build the foundation of socialism in the northern half and to achieve the reunification and independence of the country.

ON ECONOMICAL USE OF MANPOWER AND IMPROVEMENT OF MASS POLITICAL WORK

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Workers'**

Party of Korea

February 16, 1956

Today's meeting discussed the questions of economic use of manpower and improvement of mass political work and general education.

Fundamental problems were mentioned in the report and speeches, I should like only to lay stress on a few more points.

1. ON PRACTISING ECONOMY IN MANPOWER IN ALL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Economy in manpower is a must both at present and in the future—in fulfilling the Five-Year National Economic Plan. Without a vigorous struggle for economy in manpower, we cannot fulfil the Five-Year Plan, to say nothing of the Three-Year Plan.

In order to save manpower in all branches of the national economy, it is essential, first of all, that the personnel should come out

consciously in this work. But at present they fail to do so. No work can be successful unless the personnel take conscious part in it. Success in work is decided by the ideological preparedness of the personnel. We must thoroughly awaken all the personnel to the importance of economy in manpower, so that they participate in this work with a will.

To save manpower, mechanization should be introduced.

Mechanized work implies a step forward for us. We should not continue with the old backward methods of work, but change over to up-to-date methods, mechanization. This is the only way to produce and build more while using less manpower, and to make work easier and successfully build socialism.

If, in the present conditions, we do not mechanize work but go on with the old methods, we shall not be able to satisfy the demands of the national economy for labour power even with twice as much or more working force as now.

Nevertheless, some officials still cling to the old methods in work used in the Japanese imperialist days instead of going in for mechanization. Some factories and enterprises conduct production and capital construction in the manner of a contractor.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists were able to buy cheap labour and make it work for them in Korea without introducing mechanization, but today the situation is different in our country. Moreover, we are now building socialism. In such conditions how could we go on with the old methods of work? We can never do so. We must mechanize all operations; we must move forward.

Today ministers and bureau chiefs said they would spare 34,000 work hands, but this is a small number. In my opinion, not 34,000 people, but more can be spared if work is mechanized in all branches of the national economy. We must save more labour power by actively introducing mechanization in all branches of the national economy.

For such economy, it is necessary not only to mechanize work but also to rationally organize it and raise the level of technical skill of the workers.

At present different branches of the national economy have great

reserves for saving manpower by only a rational organization of work and improvement of the workers' technical qualifications.

The factories under the First Bureau of the Cabinet have a product checkup man assigned to each machine tool besides the operator. If they cut out the checkup men and let the operators check their own products, some 500 workers will be spared. But because the cadres organized work irrationally in the past, more economy was not practised in manpower even though it was possible.

In all spheres more manpower should be saved by a rational organization of work and improvement of the workers' technical qualifications.

Increase in the operation of machines is a big reserve for economy in labour. At present the operation rate of machines is very low. This rate in the field of irrigation projects stands at only ten per cent on an average, the maximum being some 30 per cent. The reason for such a low operation rate of machines lies in keeping machines idle without using them, and this is entirely due to the thinking of the personnel in this field. These people want to have more work force instead of making an effective use of the machines. They go so far as to mobilize the peasants at random for irrigation projects. This is an injurious act weakening the peasants' trust in the Party and a manifestation of the remnants of the old thinking of the Japanese imperialist days. We should resolutely combat such a tendency.

In order to save manpower it is essential for the cadres to equip themselves closely with socialist ideology. Otherwise, they cannot solve the question of manpower nor can they advance along the path of socialism.

Even now some directors and chief engineers and Party organizers of factories and enterprises are not fully equipped with socialist ideology; they work in the old fashions preserving the obsolete thinking of the Japanese imperialist days. Some directors and Party organizers are scarcely concerned about mechanizing all operations and drawing widely into productive activities the labour force available from among the dependents of the employees. They have

only decked out their offices in an extravagant way. This shows that they do not sincerely accept the Party's decisions and instructions. The reason why, instead, they labour under the influence of the old ideological remnants is that they do not make a deep study of the document of the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Party organizations should see to it that the cadres and Party members continue to study the document in depth.

In order to save labour power and solve the labour shortage, the cadres should go deep into the realities.

Because at present the cadres do their work bureaucratically at their desks without a detailed study of the actual conditions at the lower levels, they cannot achieve greater results in this matter even when they can.

It will not do for the ministers and bureau chiefs to try and get more manpower without finding out how matters stand at the lower levels, or agree with a bad grace to cut work force. This attitude to work is not worthy of a revolutionary. If the cadres inquire concretely into the actual conditions at the lower units and study work in depth and take right measures, it will be possible to increase production while sparing manpower.

We should meet the labour shortage on the principle of cutting manpower in some areas of the national economy and, instead, employing dependents of the employees, and of readjusting the disposition of work force between ministries. Greeting the Third Party Congress, all branches and units of the national economy should vigorously unfold a movement for ideological transformation and a movement for increased production and economy in manpower.

The Forestry Bureau says it will turn out 100,000 cubic metres more of timber. This is a good thing. And it should increase the timber output with existing manpower. We cannot allocate more work force to it even though it promises to produce more timber. At present the timber industry has too much manpower.

In the timber industry it will be better to mobilize the peasants in winter for bringing down timber than keeping regular work force for

the purpose. In the past the peasants in the mountainous regions like North Hamgyong Province, Ryanggang Province and Jagang Province kept oxen and used them to bring down logs out of mountains in winter to earn money, which they spent to buy food and living necessities to fill up the shortage. Recently peasants in some mountain areas were employed to carry logs down on a pay of 800 to 900 *won* each, and I hear they are very much delighted.

If peasants are mobilized for the timber industry to draw out logs in winter, it will be possible to improve the living standards of the peasants in the mountains and to lighten the burden of the state. Therefore, the timber industry should widely employ peasants for bringing down logs in winter and reduce the number of regular workers.

2. ON IMPROVING MASS POLITICAL WORK

As I said at the meeting of Party information and motivation workers towards the end of last year, the major shortcoming in their work till now is the neglect of information work on the revolutionary struggle of our own people.

As everyone knows, all the struggles of our peasants like the peasant movement in Myongchon and the struggle of the peasants on the Fuji farm in Ryongchon that took place under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past, represented a wide-scale peasant movement against Japanese imperialism. Nevertheless, no article was written and no picture was drawn about these struggles of the peasants. These struggles were thus consigned to oblivion for a time. After this was criticized at the meeting of information and motivation workers some time ago, a few articles about the struggle of the Korean people appeared in newspapers. But this work is still unsatisfactory.

In the field of literature and art there has appeared a tendency to

negate the achievements of the struggle of the “KAPF” (Korea Artista Proleta Federacio). Indeed, some renegades were involved in the “KAPF”. But the “KAPF” itself was a progressive organization of literature and art which fought against Japanese imperialism.

The struggle of the Korean youth like the Kwangju Student Incident is also not publicized. The Kwangju Student Incident, a struggle against Japanese imperialism in the past, broke out under the influence of the communist movement. Among those who are now over 40, there would be almost none who was not influenced by the incident. Our information workers do not publicize it, but the enemy is capitalizing on it for his propaganda purpose.

No publicity is given to the March 1 Movement, either. The March 1 Movement in 1919 was the first resistance movement in which the whole nation under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, rose in revolt against the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. We should, as a matter of course, make its significance and lessons known to the people.

In the past the Righteous Volunteers’ Army Movement was also widespread, raging all over the country against Japanese imperialism. But all such things have been neglected. At present our youth know the history of other peoples’ struggle, but have a poor knowledge of our own people’s history of struggle. This is by no means an accident. The reason why things have come to this pass with our young people is that the information workers do not write articles about nor publicize our people’s struggle.

If we do not give publicity to the history of our people’s revolutionary struggle and their patriotic anti-Japanese struggle, we cannot inspire the people with confidence in the revolutionary struggle and instil national pride in them, and in particular we cannot heighten the south Korean people’s will to fight.

What is important in information work today is to give wide publicity to the struggle of our people who in the past rose in revolt against the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Information workers should widely publicize the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the

patriotic struggle of the workers, peasants, youth and students who rose against the Japanese imperialists in many areas in the past, through the medium of newspapers, magazines, stories and novels, pictures and films.

Further, we should strengthen information work about things of our own country.

At present many foreign things are publicized, but little publicity is given to things of our own country. Take the photographs put up on the walls of primary schools for example. There are only pictures of foreign poets or writers but none of our own men of letters. Handling matters in this way, we cannot educate schoolchildren properly. We must always put the main stress on our own things in information work.

In theatres, too, foreign plays are staged rather than our own. I hear that these days only those who are skilled in performing foreign plays are highly appreciated and made first-class actors or actresses.

The same can be said of paintings. Once I visited a People's Army rest home, where I found a Siberian landscape hanging on the wall. Our country has many beautiful mountains like Mts. Kumgang and Myohyang, but there was no painting of these mountains hung up there. Our people differ from the people of other countries in their sentiments and aesthetic sense. Why, then, should we paint and hang up a Siberian landscape which is incongruous with our people's sentiments?

Once, on my way to Moscow in company with Russians, I stopped over in Siberia. Viewing the scenery of Siberia at the time, I got no special impression worthy of mention. But the Russians were so moved that they were lost in ecstasy, exclaiming, "O the beautiful land of my great country!" We Koreans are different from Russians; we sing the praises of the beautiful rivers and mountains of our country such as Mts. Kumgang and Myohyang. Since the Koreans differ from the people of other countries in their views and feelings with regard to natural scenery, we should hang up many beautiful landscapes of our country. Even though we should publicize foreign things, too, we need propagating our own things more. Information work should combine

patriotism and internationalism. If publicity is given to foreign things alone, our own things will be chucked away.

Mass political work should thoroughly cater to the interests of our revolution.

In information work about the economic problems, too, we should play up our country's plan of development of the national economy. When I dropped in at the democratic publicity hall of a farm village last year, I found there no diagram of our Three-Year National Economic Plan, but only the diagram of another country's five-year plan on show. It is all very well to let our people know the achievements of economic construction in other countries, but it is still more important to acquaint them with our perspective plan and thus infuse in them the hope and confidence that they will be able to enjoy a life of plenty in the future.

Party study, too, should be conducted in the interests of the Korean revolution.

We are now waging a struggle to complete building the foundation of socialism and cooperative reorganization of agriculture in the northern half of Korea. The agricultural cooperativization movement in our countryside is a class struggle. Therefore, the Party members should be educated well in tune with the actual conditions in our country, in order to enhance their class consciousness. Only then can agricultural cooperativization be successful.

Political work out of touch with the actualities, however well it may be conducted, will be of no use. Let us suppose that a unit is going to make an assault on an enemy-held hill. Then, if the political officer talks to the soldiers about procuring food, this will end in meaningless talk inconsistent with the purpose of the battle. The motivation work in such a case should naturally be one arousing the soldiers to the battle for taking the hill. This is precisely the way mass political work should be conducted to be successful.

An important thing in mass political work is to propagate the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic in depth to the people.

Our personnel have now become so habituated to rush work that they cannot distinguish between what should be done in a rush and what should be propagated tirelessly in depth; they conduct all work indiscriminately in a rush. If information workers publicize Party policy in such a way, they cannot bring home its essence properly to the people. Information work about Party policy should not be rushed but should be conducted repeatedly with perseverance until the people come to grasp its essence.

Mass political work should be cleared of formalism.

In her speech at a conference of the Kaechon county Party organization several days ago, a woman comrade said that the democratic publicity halls have few illustrated magazines of our own country but many foreign ones, adding that they are incomprehensible because even these are sent there without translation. Foreign pictorials should be sent, if ever, with translation to the democratic publicity halls. But they have been supplied in the original without translation. So, what information can they ever give the people? This is a glaring manifestation of formalism and bureaucratism. The democratic publicity halls should be furnished with our own newspapers, magazines and pictorials which are intelligible to our working people so as to educate them.

Formalism in mass political work is manifested in meetings, too. Meetings are an important aspect of political work to educate the masses. Nevertheless, some officials are ready even to copy the foreign ways of meetings. People of other countries and our people are not on the same level in their preparedness, and so how can we apply the same methods of meetings as those used for the people of other countries?

Even in conducting meetings we should see that they are in keeping with the levels of understanding and the preparedness of our Party members and working people. Some time ago we organized and conducted a national conference of architects and builders well in line with our actual conditions. So, the participants in the conference contributed actively to the debate and correctly understood the questions considered.

All our meetings including Party meetings must be instructive without fail. Meetings are aimed mainly at acquainting Party members and working people concretely with the tasks in hand, giving a fair hearing to the creative opinions of the masses, and educating them. Therefore, what is important in the conduct of meetings is not to adhere to formality but to ensure that Party members and working people correctly understand the questions discussed.

Because our personnel handle matters in a formalist way and in the manner of rush work, they often fail to grasp correctly their duties arising in each period and each stage of the revolution. In future we must decidedly overcome formalism in information work.

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN IMPROVING CULTURAL AND INFORMATION WORK

**Talk to Leading Officials of the Ministry
of Culture and Information**

March 1, 1956

Today I would like to speak on some problems arising in improving cultural and information work.

First of all, the broadcasting service should be improved.

Radio is one of the powerful media for information and motivation work; it helps in explaining and giving wide publicity to the Party line and policy at home and abroad and in mobilizing the masses of the people for the revolution and construction. Improving the broadcasting service is one of the ways to mobilize the masses for a vigorous fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks and for successfully building socialism.

The broadcasting service should now direct its main efforts to strengthening the education of Party members and the working people in Party policy, the revolutionary tradition and socialist patriotism and to intensifying their class education.

By means of radio we must opportunely and accurately imbue all the people with the Party line and policy so that they arm themselves firmly with the Party ideology and devote all their energies and talents to carrying out Party decisions and instructions.

The broadcasting service should encourage the entire people to resolutely fight US imperialism and all other class enemies and

accelerate socialist construction with firm confidence in victory. In order to build socialism in the northern half of Korea, drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and achieve national reunification, we must wage a more arduous struggle than before. The broadcasting service should steadily instil the conviction of victory in the people and thus help them to perform heroic exploits in the struggle to rehabilitate and develop the national economy and build socialism, rallying more closely behind our Party and the Government of our Republic.

What is important in improving broadcasting is to enrich its content and diversify its forms.

Only then would it be possible to get the people to listen to it with interest and, accordingly, raise its effectiveness.

At present our officials repeatedly send only political articles to be relayed over the air, programmes which are allegedly intended to intensify political and ideological education through the radio. This is not the proper way of broadcasting. Of course, it is important to broadcast a large number of political programmes. But, if broadcasting is to be successful, it must deal with politico-theoretical problems in combination with programmes on economic, scientific, technological, historical and cultural subjects presented in diverse forms and ways.

If the radio properly teaches the people the history of our country, the history of our people's revolutionary struggle in particular, they will clearly understand our Party's revolutionary tradition and make more strenuous efforts to carry it forward and implement Party line and policy. And also, if it introduces and widely disseminates information on the economy, technology, science and culture, it will greatly help our people in their struggle to build socialism.

In the future, we should put the main stress on explaining and propagating Party line and policy by means of radio and properly combine with this the dissemination of a variety of information on the economy, science, technology, history and culture and other things necessary for revolutionary work. I think it advisable in the future to

increase, relative to current levels, the programmes on history, science and culture, dealing with them approximately twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon.

Efficient organization of broadcasting is important in improving the radio service.

At present the organization of broadcasting is not satisfactory. Korean language transmissions from foreign countries are relayed twice a day, but what is the use of doing such things which do not suit our actual situation? Juche is lacking in the organization of broadcasting.

There is no need to mechanically relay foreign broadcasts in the process of educating our people. The Ministry of Culture and Information should organize broadcasting properly, the timetable and programmes in particular, in conformity with the actual conditions of our country.

In order to improve the broadcasting service, the role of broadcasting workers should be enhanced. The Ministry of Culture and Information must see to it that they are firmly armed with the line and policy of our Party and are trained as reliable revolutionary fighters of the Party.

Next, good documentary films should be produced.

In the production of documentary films, attention should be paid to ensuring their political and ideological content. At present, some cameramen are engaged in shooting documentary films at random without any political consideration. They should not do so.

A documentary film is an important historical document vividly reflecting the dynamic struggle of our people to build a new life. It is also our Party's major means of visual education. So Party principle should be strictly observed in making documentary films by ensuring their political and ideological content.

Documentaries should mirror the proceedings of important Party and state functions before anything else. They should present well Party congresses, elections to the Supreme People's Assembly, other events involving the entire Party and the whole nation, visits of foreign

delegations and festival functions. It is advisable that they bring into relief the scenes of mass parade in dealing with festivities.

Documentary films should vividly reproduce the heroic struggle of our people to build socialism.

The masses of the people are the makers of history and the creators of material and spiritual wealth. It is an important task of documentary films to depict well the struggle of the masses to build a new society.

In hearty response to the call of the Party, our people are waging a heroic struggle everywhere to rehabilitate the devastated economy and build socialism. Our working people are at present in the heat of a struggle to increase production and overfulfil the Three-Year National Economic Plan by May Day this year, scoring miraculous achievements almost every day. Documentary films should adequately portray such magnificent struggles of the working people and show the gigantic factories and other enterprises springing up in large numbers.

Documentaries should also give a truthful representation of diverse facts in the rural areas, including the formation of agricultural cooperatives, the productive upsurge taking place among the farmers after their organization, and especially the high degree of political and ideological awakening among the farmers.

Documentary films should also deal with news of cultural construction. They should show how educational, cultural and health establishments are being built in all parts of the country, how happy the pupils and students are, studying and growing up in the newly-built and well-arranged schools, and how hard the teachers are working for the education of the rising generation.

For documentary films to be effective, it is important to apply a comparative method in film production. Suppose a documentary deals with Kaesong, for instance. It should present the town which has embarked on the road of building a new life as it looks today in contrast to its earlier position under the rule of Syngman Rhee. If it is going to depict the lives of cooperative farmers, it should show the new lives they lead now in comparison with the existence of individual peasants in the past.

Writing excellent scenarios and production scripts is of great significance in improving the qualitative standard of documentary films. The Ministry of Culture and Information should give proper guidance in the preparation of such scenarios and production scripts. In this way, many more good documentaries which are well-timed and high in political and ideological content will be made.

It is now urgently necessary to rapidly develop the cinema. The demand of the people for films is increasing daily and the cognitive and educational value of the film medium is growing with the development of the revolution and construction.

A large number of good scenarios are essential to develop the art of film making in keeping with actual requirements. But the existing Scenario Committee alone is not enough to meet the large demand for good scenarios. So it would be a good idea to set up a new centre for the production of scenarios.

It should be a permanent institution with a staff of writers and professionals like a newspaper or a publishing house, but it will have to be a somewhat big organization.

The scenario production centre must be under the Ministry of Culture and Information. The Chairman of the Writers' Union is of the opinion that it would be a good idea to have a scenario section within his union, saying that his union will have nothing much to do if the Ministry of Culture and Information is given charge of the work of the scenario production centre. But I think it would be more rational to make this centre a part of the said ministry.

If we are to organize a scenario production centre, it is necessary to train a large number of scriptwriters. The Ministry of Culture and Information should select promising people from all parts of the country and train them into writers. The recruits may find it difficult to write scenarios at first, but two to three years of training should make them quite good at it. The ministry should work out a detailed plan for training scriptwriters and carry it out.

Scenarists should be educated properly. They should be imbued with Party line and policy and encouraged to go into the heart of living

reality. They will be able to create fine pieces only when they write by intensive activity among the workers and farmers, instead of being cooped up at their desks.

The Ministry of Culture and Information should make adequate preparations to set up the scenario production centre as soon as possible and give intensive guidance to it so that many fine films can be produced.

To proceed. Stage art should be developed still further.

A great deal of attention should be directed to developing drama.

Drama is an important means of mass education. In the field of literature and art great efforts should be made to develop drama and produce many fine pieces.

Writing of historical plays is necessary, but plays on contemporary subjects are needed more. A play dealing with the current vigorous movement for agricultural cooperativization in our countryside would give a very great impetus to the socialist ideological education of the working people and to the socialist revolution.

There has been a suggestion to recall the playwrights from their missions at factories, but it is too early to do this. It would be a good idea to release them from the chief editorship of factory newspapers, but keep them there approximately for another year, getting them to help in the publication of newspapers and have more experience of realities at the workplace.

National dance should be further developed.

For this purpose many problems related to art need to be solved. Originally, our national dance, popular among the people, was characterized by elegance, beauty and rich rhythmic movement. But our dancers' performances nowadays give an impression of somewhat monotonous rhythmic movement. This is mainly due to the neglect of investigation and research into the rhythmic movement peculiar to our national dance. The grace and beauty which are its merits should be developed and at the same time investigation and research into its rhythmic aspect should be promoted to enrich this aspect.

The peasant dance is one of the folk dances, and as such it is

popular, optimistic, interesting and excellently executed. This dance should be studied properly to enhance its artistic value and develop it to be an art form for the masses. Extensive performances of the peasant dance are preferable at local theatres.

For the development of stage art work with artistes should be properly conducted.

The Ministry of Culture and Information should not only guide their creative activities, but their entire work and life including their political and ideological activities. It should educate the artistes in socialist ideas, arm them firmly with our Party policy and train them all to be fine artistes of the Party so that they actively contribute to the flowering of socialist national culture and art.

Next, mass cultural activities should be developed.

According to the report from the Minister of Culture and Information, these activities are now maintained at a brisk pace. That is a very good thing. You should not, however, rest content, but develop them still further. In this way the political, ideological and cultural standards of the working people will rise steadily, and national culture and art will come into full bloom among the masses.

If mass cultural activities are to develop, programmes by amateur artistes circles should be extensively conducted. The Ministry of Culture and Information and social organizations should give proper guidance to ensure that the workers, farmers and other working people participate zealously in the activities of amateur artistes circles.

Democratic publicity halls should be well furnished and properly run. They should keep various books, newspapers and illustrated magazines necessary for raising the ideological and cultural level of the working people, and they should be run on a regular basis. The organs concerned should solve the financial problem arising in furnishing and running them. The Ministry of Culture and Information should send down directives on mass cultural activities in order to bring about marked innovation in this work.

Next, publishing work should be undertaken well.

In this regard, efforts should be concentrated on improving the

quality of the magazine *New Korea*.

This magazine is published to educate our people and present our country to the outside world. Now the magazine has a large and highly appreciative readership at home and abroad. So it must be edited well, and made rich in content.

The magazine should extensively deal with the changing looks of our country which is prospering daily under the correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic and with the people's struggle to build a new society. It is desirable that the magazine give plenty of information on the struggles and experiences of Labour Heroes in particular. The form of the magazine should be beautiful, simple and clear, and the printing of pictures improved.

Measures should be taken to change the newspaper *Democratic Publicity Hall* into a magazine. The editing of this magazine should be such as to make its contents diverse and rich and consistent with socialist principles. The magazine should carry more information than *Political Knowledge*. I suggest that it should be brought out twice a month. If edited well, this magazine can contribute greatly to educating the peasants and enhancing their political, ideological, cultural and technical levels.

The editing of the magazine *People's Korea* should be improved. It should be developed into an effective magazine which is rich in political and ideological content and capable of contributing actively to the education of the working people. This magazine should carry articles explaining the line and policy of the Party and the Government, as well as materials for education in the revolutionary tradition and information on socialist construction. In addition, it should give wide publicity to the literary and art works including the historical novels of our country. *People's Korea* should be published in editions of around 30,000 copies each for liberal distribution to factories and rural areas.

The illustrated magazine should also be edited well. It must improve the political and ideological level of its contents and also deal widely with the vivid facts of our people's creative labour and happy new lives.

Pictures with which to decorate walls should be printed in large numbers. Pictures of our own country which are valuable and beautiful should be published in the form of wall decorations and sent to factories and enterprises, farming and fishing villages, schools and individual homes.

As I said some time ago, when we visit factories and enterprises, farming and fishing villages, schools and holiday homes, we find only foreign pictures hung there, but none portraying the beautiful scenery of our country or illustrating the struggle of our people to build socialism. This situation will not help the Party members and the working people to arm themselves with our Party policy and to develop into true patriots. As in all other work, we must thoroughly establish Juche in drawing pictures also. We must present our own things on canvas with which to enhance the national pride and self-confidence of our people and educate them in the spirit of patriotism.

Realities should be the main theme of pictures. Our people's heroic struggle to rebuild ravaged factories and enterprises and the worthwhile efforts of the workers who are cheerfully on the job at modernly-equipped workplaces should be painted. Pictures should also portray and introduce magnificent factories and enterprises such as the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Suphung Power Station and the Anju Coal Mine and the brilliant prospects envisaged in the Five-Year National Economic Plan.

Newly-built cultural and educational establishments and the heritages of our unique national culture can be shown on canvas. The Taedong Gate in Pyongyang and the Nam Gate in Kaesong can be the subject matter of fine pictures.

The revolutionary tradition of our Party in particular should be the subject matter of many paintings. Such paintings will play a great part in educating our working people in a revolutionary way. Paintings should also reproduce the struggles of our People's Army and the people in the period of the great Fatherland Liberation War. The heroic struggles of the soldiers of our People's Army who held out in defence of Heights 1211 and 351 in the war should be

portrayed in many pictures.

Paintings on such themes should be brought out in the form of wall decorations, and they should be made available as cheap as possible so that everyone can afford to buy them.

Lastly, I would like to speak of the need to make good preparations for participation in the World Festival of Youth and Students.

We are going to send a delegation of artistes to the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Moscow next year.

For representation at this festival excellent artistes should be selected from each theatre and the Korean People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble.

The World Festival of Youth and Students to be held next year will be an important opportunity to demonstrate the daily flowering of our national culture and art on the international stage.

The programme to be presented at this festival should be permeated with material demonstrating the revolutionary mettle and militant spirit of the Korean people who defeated US imperialism in the great Fatherland Liberation War. The programme should also include items mirroring the new look of our developing country as well as portraying our people who are striving to build socialism in the postwar years.

The festival should also be presented with the fact that our culture and art are genuine, national in form and socialist in content. You must ensure that the items to be presented at the festival are based on the unique form of our national art. Musical instruments, too, will be more effective if they combine both the Korean and the Western in performance.

From now on, the Ministry of Culture and Information should see to it that good works of art are chosen and fine items of music and dance composed with this orientation in mind.

For the writers and artistes to create excellent works, they should display collective wisdom. In selection or production of artistic works, arbitrary decisions and subjective views of individuals must be eliminated and collective discussion among writers and artistes strengthened.

Actors and actresses should have energetic training in performance. However good the substance of the works may be, no success can be expected at the festival if the artistes lack artistic skill. In training, rigid organization and discipline should be maintained to make their practice effective. Only then will they achieve great success at the festival and be highly appreciated by the foreigners as a troupe of artistes strong in organization and discipline.

I am convinced that you will greatly contribute to the development of our national culture and art by doing your best to improve cultural and information work.

**ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN
THE FULFILMENT OF THE PLAN FOR
THE REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY**

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

April 2, 1956

At this plenary meeting of the Cabinet we discussed the fulfilment of last year's plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and some other problems.

We should have reviewed the implementation of the plan earlier, but it was delayed a little. The shortcomings and tasks pointed out in the report summing up the carrying out of the previous year's plan had by and large been raised when this year's plan was adopted. So I have nothing new to bring up today. The defects mentioned in the report should be corrected as early as possible and work improved in all areas of the national economy.

I am going to stress some of these problems at today's meeting.

I would like to begin with the problems arising in implementing the plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

First, the information and education work related to the national economic plan should be conducted well.

So far this work has not been satisfactory among the leading personnel of ministries and bureaus and the working people. As a result, no one but those attending the Cabinet meeting knows well the

correctness of our Party's economic policy and the prospects of the national economic plan. Even some vice-ministers are uncertain of the prospects of the Three-Year National Economic Plan.

As they are not well aware of the correctness of our Party's economic policy and the prospects of the national economic plan, some people are said to be doubtful whether the proportion of industry in our national economy is not too great and others to be talking as if the Party and the Government were unconcerned about the people's livelihood, asking why the people's living standards remain unimproved in spite of the fact that the national economic plan is being carried out.

Such a tendency is due to the fact that the industrial and other economic departments of the Central Committee of the Party, its Information and Publicity Department and the Cabinet have not properly acquainted the officials of administrative and economic bodies and those of political parties and social organizations with the prospects and the central tasks of the national economic plan, the shortcomings in its implementation and the way to rectify these.

The tendency is also due mainly to the formalistic and dogmatic way in which information work was conducted in previous years. When I dropped in at the democratic publicity hall of a farm village, I saw diagrams of a foreign country's five-year plan put up there, but no illustration of our own Three-Year Plan. This shows the serious formalism and dogmatism that have crept into information work. If such is the approach to information work and education things, will not go properly.

We should keep the officials and working people well informed of the policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our people's success in economic construction and our future prospects and educate them properly about these.

For the present we should see to it that all the working people have a correct understanding of the fact that the people's living standards have improved and that our national economy is developing in a proportionate way, as a result of the successful implementation of the national economic plan.

Today the living standards of our people are much higher than in the past. No one can deny this. If anyone denies it, he must be doing so with ulterior motives.

There is no unemployment in our country at present; all able-bodied people are employed.

But there are more than one million unemployed people hunting around for jobs in south Korea. The south Korean puppet clique receives “aid” of hundreds of millions of dollars from the US imperialists every year. But why are so many people without jobs in that part of the country? It is because south Korean industry is going bankrupt with every passing day. According to the data released recently by a south Korean bank, there are only seven enterprises in south Korea each with more than 1,000 employees, and those with five to nine employees account for 48 per cent of the total number of enterprises today. The data is patent proof of the decline of south Korean industry.

In the northern half of Korea local industry factories alone number more than 700, each having several hundred workers at least. Here even shortage of manpower is felt and the people are leading stable lives free from worries of unemployment.

The number of people receiving food supplies from the state has increased considerably. They numbered approximately 560,000 in the prewar years but now are as many as 900,000. This figure includes only the main breadwinners, not their dependents.

Houses for the working people have also been built in large numbers. Almost all our people lost their houses during the war. But today the housing problem has been solved to a great extent. In 1954 we built houses for 3,000 families over and above the plan. Last year the Ministry of Construction alone built 3,000 multi-storeyed apartment houses. Since the armistice, houses with a floor space of 3.6 to 3.7 million square metres have been built with state funds.

Many schools, hospitals and libraries have also sprung up and school enrolment, too, has risen. The number of pupils and students now receiving common education alone exceeds 1.8 million.

Articles of daily use are also being mass-produced. As everybody knows, even pencils were not made properly in the prewar years, but now pans, combs, musical instruments and various other essential goods, to say nothing of good-quality pencils, are produced in large quantities. Paper production has grown by 33 per cent over the prewar output.

The annual output of fabrics is at least six times greater than that in the years before the war, the current per-household output reaching 24 metres. This means six metres to everyone if each family is taken to have four persons. Six metres for every individual amounts to great success today when we look back upon the total war devastation.

How can one deny, with this in mind, that the people's living standards have improved? Today, it can by no means be said that their living standards are low.

Grain production has not yet recovered to attain the prewar level. But conditions have more or less been created to increase grain output from now on. Before the war the Phyongnam irrigation project was still under way and the South Yonbaek Plain was not in our hands. But in the postwar years the area under irrigation grew with the completion of the first stage of the Phyongnam irrigation project, and the South Yonbaek Plain added to our area under cultivation.

Why, then, does grain production not grow rapidly at present? Because fertilizers and farm machines are in short supply.

If the grain output is to be increased, there should be a radical growth in fertilizer supply. Now that the area under irrigation and cultivation is larger than that in the prewar years, the grain output can rise only if there is plenty of fertilizer. Fertilizer production requires the rebuilding of the fertilizer factory, which cannot be done in a day or two. Under the present circumstances it will take at least two years to complete its reconstruction.

The question of rural manpower should also be solved in order to increase grain production.

According to investigation, numerically there is no shortage of rural manpower at present but it consists mostly of women and old people

who would be unable to farm properly by themselves. Nor are we in a position to discharge a large number of People's Army soldiers and send them to the countryside to solve the manpower problem. Even if we are to venture doing this, it will not be a positive solution.

The most important solution lies in the mechanization of agriculture. If agriculture is to be mechanized, a large number of farm machines should be supplied to the countryside by developing industry. But this solution, too, is not one that can be achieved in a couple of days; it will require a certain period of time.

Officials concerned with the economy must know the economy. Unless they have this knowledge, they will neither be able to understand correctly the question of improving the people's living standards nor will they be able to properly take stock of the successes already gained.

Today the proportion of industry in our national economy as a whole is not at all high.

Immediately after liberation, ours was a backward industry affected by colonial lopsidedness. At that time our country had only meagre extractive industries and a few iron works and steel plants. Accordingly, we had to mine mineral ores and export them mostly as concentrates and import required quantities of structural steel and pig iron.

After liberation we made great efforts to develop industry. Even under the difficult wartime conditions we took various measures to develop industry with a view to rapidly reconstructing the devastated economy after the war. Thus the construction of the Huichon Machine Factory, for instance, started in 1951, and the machines and equipment necessary for postwar reconstruction were brought in from abroad from 1952 onwards. Besides, during the war, technicians were sent to other countries to study technology.

We have been able to reconstruct the damaged economy quickly since the end of the war because we had initiated efforts to develop industry even before and during the war. Our engineering industry now produces by itself pumps, winches, cranes and other products which

were formerly beyond its capability. This has saved us foreign currency worth 40 million roubles. Shipbuilding, too, was previously beyond our capability, and we had to import ships at the expense of a large sum of foreign currency. But last year by our own efforts we built several hundred vessels including motorboats.

Our industry has taken long strides since liberation and its share in the whole national economy has also grown. But this does not at all mean that its proportionate percentage is too high.

Our industry is still at a low level. We import structural steel to make up for its shortage, and our output of coal and building materials is also very small in the light of the demand for these. The chemical industry is producing some carbide but not enough of fertilizer, for instance. So we have to import the latter. We are afraid that electricity, too, will fall short of the mark from next year on. It is therefore erroneous to view the proportion of industry in our national economy as being too high.

It is also a mistaken view to regard the high proportion of the means of production in industrial production as an impediment to improving the people's living standards. None of our industries come in the way of our people's livelihood. The factories and enterprises we are now building in the metallurgical, engineering, chemical, coal, building-materials and electric industries are all for the welfare of the people.

If we produce more machines, we will be able to raise the people's living standards still further. Lorries are now being imported at 12,000 roubles each. A lorry fitted with a crane costs us 36,000 roubles. If we manufacture on our own cranes for lorries we will be able to buy three lorries for the price of a mobile crane. At present we pay 49,000 roubles for a bulldozer and 7,500 roubles for a tractor. If we make the blade of the bulldozer by ourselves and fit it to tractors we can save foreign currency worth 41,500 roubles for the welfare of the people.

So there is no room whatsoever to argue one way or the other, about the high proportion of industry in our national economy or about the effects of the manufacture of the means of production.

The information work on and education in the economic policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic should be strengthened among the officials and the working people. Lectures should be given and articles published in newspapers on our Party's industrial policy and the national economic plan. Since the Central Committee of the Party has its lecture meetings on Saturdays, the Cabinet should meet on Fridays. In the Cabinet vice-premiers, ministers and vice-ministers, and bureau chiefs should deliver lectures on economic affairs.

Second, the national economic plan should be mapped out correctly.

Drawing up a correct national economic plan is important in improving the management of equipment, normalizing production and increasing the productive zeal of the working people at factories and enterprises.

If the target of the plan is set too high by ignoring actual conditions, factories and enterprises will have to rush to carry out their assignments without attending to minor problems regarding equipment on time, which would lead to major accidents to machines. Then, production will have to suffer a serious impediment, being suspended for 10 to 15 days while the broken-down machines are repaired. And if they are given too high a target, the working people will not be enthusiastic in striving to achieve it. That is why it is important to work out a correct national economic plan.

Third, manpower should be organized in a rational way and its administration set right decisively.

At present, a proper effort is not being made to use manpower economically. In quite a few areas they are requesting for more manpower because it is being employed irrationally and wastefully. At irrigation construction sites, they have not arranged working conditions properly and have left many workers idle. In spite of this, now they are asking for more manpower.

In all sectors and units of the national economy, manpower should be administered carefully. The basic orientation of manpower administration at present is to refrain from taking away rural

manpower and to avoid increasing the industrial work force. If this orientation is to be followed, mechanization should be introduced as I said at the recent National Conference of Architects and Builders. Industry should mechanize its work for economy of manpower and send a large number of farm machines to the countryside. Otherwise, it would be impossible to resolve the acute manpower shortage and, accordingly, build socialism successfully.

Economy of manpower will not be achieved by making a few speeches. This question can be solved successfully only when all workers are encouraged to get down to it with ideological awareness through intensive education. Party organizations should intensify ideological education so that all workers strive to save manpower conscientiously.

Fourth, the training of technical personnel should be strengthened.

This task is all the more important at present in view of the rapid development of the national economy. The Ministries of Electricity, Metal Industry, Chemical Industry and others are now asking for technicians. This time a new state committee for fixing standards has been set up, which is also requesting for technicians.

Last year we legislated for strengthening technical education, and reorganized many higher middle schools into specialized schools and organized many technical supplementary courses.

But the training of technical personnel is not yet satisfactory. This is because the educational workers have not accepted the policy of the Party and Government ideologically, influenced as they are by flunkeyist and dogmatic ideas.

The Ministry of Education should increase the number of technical schools and technical supplementary courses in Hungnam, Pukjung and other industrial districts and the number of agricultural schools and agricultural supplementary courses in the rural areas and operate them effectively. More technical personnel should thus be trained.

Reconstruction of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory should be accelerated.

If chemical fertilizer is produced plentifully, the current grain

output can be increased by far. A certain country is said to be producing 2.5 to 2.7 tons of maize per hectare at present by applying 300 kg of chemical fertilizer. In our country, too, at least two tons of maize can be produced per hectare if 200 kg of chemical fertilizer is applied. In the future more chemical fertilizer should be sent to the countryside to increase grain production.

A radical step should be taken to provide the countryside with large quantities of chemical fertilizer. As has been the assessed evaluation of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party and the Presidium of the Cabinet on many occasions, the output of chemical fertilizer can hardly be increased only with the use of the equipment of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory now in operation.

Therefore, by means of a project to be started in 1957, the size of the existing ammonium sulphate factory should be doubled to raise its production capacity to 400,000 tons, and a new ammonium nitrate factory with an annual capacity of 100,000 tons should be built. It is advisable that the funds for these projects should be obtained through the adjustment of the funds to be invested in irrigation construction. At a number of irrigation construction sites, the structures have been improperly laid out and these are now being rebuilt. Such projects should be suspended pending the completion of their designs, and the funds for them should be reappropriated for rehabilitating, expanding and newly building fertilizer factories.

Next year more nitrolime fertilizer should be produced by completely rebuilding the Pongung Chemical Factory.

Next, I am going to touch upon how to develop the art of film making rapidly.

At present, the production of films in our country is not going too well. We started film production in 1947, but very few films have been made nearly ten years since then.

Other countries are producing TV films and various other films, but our country is not making even newsreels properly. At present 35 per cent of the newsreels deals with conference platforms or the scenes of meetings at the Moranbong Theatre. We have already criticized this

practice time and again, saying that there is no need for newsreels to present those on platforms. But this shortcoming still remains unrectified.

The agricultural cooperative movement now under way in our country is a deep-going revolution as significant as agrarian reform. But we have scarcely any film dealing with such an important event.

Films on science are also small in number. Only a few of this kind including the one on hatching chickens have been produced recently.

The failure to produce good films is due mainly to the irresponsible guidance given to film production by the officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information.

We should develop the art of film making quickly. Cinema is a powerful means for the education of the masses. No one dislikes a film. The Ministry of Culture and Information should strengthen its guidance of film production so that many films of different kinds can be made.

Before anything else, a large number of scenarios should be written. If the writing of scenarios is to be improved, a scenario production centre should be set up in the Ministry of Culture and Information, not in the Writers' Union.

Full arrangements should be made for machines and equipment needed for film production. We should manufacture them by our own efforts rather than try to import. The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Culture and Information should ensure that the projector repair shop is furnished well so that it can not only manufacture many machines and equipment needed for the making of films but also repair broken-down equipment in time.

The Ministry of Culture and Information should train cinema technicians both at home and abroad.

The Ministry of Finance should ensure the funds for film production in time.

I think there will be many other technical and professional questions to be solved for the rapid development of cinema. These should be settled through discussion among the officials of the

Ministry of Culture and Information, the Central Committee of the Writers' Union and the Film Studio.

Further, I am going to refer to the matter of promoting export and economizing in foreign currency.

This time the Ministry of State Control checked up on how the Ministry of Foreign Trade was importing goods and how the Ministries of Metal Industry and Light Industry and the factories and enterprises under them were using the imported equipment and materials.

The inspection has revealed quite a few shortcomings in importing goods and using them.

The State Planning Commission, ministries and bureaus have been importing equipment offhand without correct technical calculations and thus a large amount of funds has been locked up. In 1954 the Building-Materials Industry Bureau brought in equipment for the Sunghori Cement Factory at the expense of a huge sum of foreign currency. But as a result of technical reexamination, the equipment was discovered to be unfit for that factory. So it is now being installed in the Madong Cement Factory. Had it been found at the outset that the equipment was unfit for the former and that it could be used only at the latter, it need not have been imported in 1954, but could have waited till this year. No wonder that such offhand import of equipment and delayed use have resulted in the locking up of a large sum of funds.

Lack of proper technical consideration in the import of goods has inflicted great losses in funds on the state over the past years.

Another serious aspect of such cases is that if imported goods are found to be unfit for the original purpose, they should be dealt with properly by using them elsewhere in good time or selling them off, but they are kept idle. The Ministry of Light Industry has been keeping an idle stock of sewing needles sufficient for more than 20 years, and the Ministry of Metal Industry, an idle stock of rock-drill spare parts which will be enough to meet a decade's demand.

Such practices are detrimental to the state. Our officials ought to feel remorse for the tremendous loss they have inflicted on the state in the process of importing goods and using them.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and especially the ministries and bureaus in charge of production are to be blamed for the shortcomings revealed in import and in the use of imported equipment and materials. Ministries and bureaus did not put in their requirements for imported goods when their orders were being consolidated, but often submitted them after the contracts had been made.

Shortcomings were revealed also in the manner in which the recent inspection was conducted. The Ministry of State Control offhandedly attributed the loss incurred in import and in improper utilization of imported equipment and materials to the Ministry of Foreign Trade bringing in expensive goods instead of cheap ones. This is not proper. The value of imported goods should be determined not only by their prices but the profit they have accrued to the state. Last year silicon sheet steel was imported at a high price, but the state benefited a lot from it because it was obtained when badly needed. So it is incorrect to evaluate the loss to the state simply by the prices of goods.

The failure of the Ministry of State Control to make a correct estimate of the cause of the loss is attributable to the fact that the ministry's officials themselves lack knowledge of foreign trade and the trade policy of our Party and Government. Foreign trade is not a simple economic affair; it also has something to do with political affairs. There are instances of trade relations established between nations with a view to promoting mutual visits and forming friendly ties. Accordingly, in trade relations there are instances of playing losing games knowingly.

All the ministries and bureaus should quickly correct the shortcomings discovered during the recent inspection.

From now on, the ministries and bureaus should order imports properly on the basis of concrete technical calculation. Of course, this does not mean that an additional order is impossible. Unexpected imports could be required in the course of rehabilitation or construction. In such cases additional orders can be made.

Export should be improved and foreign currency used economically.

First, our orientation should be towards increasing domestic production and reducing the use of imported goods.

Of late our officials have fallen into a bad habit that must be corrected. Before the war they strove for economy of foreign currency. But during and immediately after the war they got into the habit of trying to use only imported goods, not homemade goods—a tendency developed among them when using the aid goods from other countries. Some officials are thinking of receiving foreign aid even for the implementation of the First Five-Year National Economic Plan.

Today no country is offering us such aid as was offered right after the war, nor do we need to turn to anyone else for help now that we have stabilized the country's economic foundation to some extent. We should do everything on our own. Only then can we build the basis of socialist industrialization and eliminate the colonial lopsidedness of our industry.

We should produce lorries, excavators and various other machines, equipment and materials in large quantities by our own efforts and reduce the use of imported goods. At the same time, all the officials and working people must resolutely combat the tendency to look up to foreign goods, neglecting the effort to mobilize and use domestic resources.

Second, an all-people movement should be launched to increase the production of export-oriented goods.

Duck feather is a good source of foreign currency. If we export one ton of it, we can import a car. The poultry farmers should collect all their duck feather for export without throwing away even one gramme of it. Shellfish should be collected from the sea and medicinal herbs dug up in the mountains to increase the production of export-oriented goods in every way.

Prices of exports should be raised by standardizing them and improving the quality of their packing. The Ministry of Finance should increase investments in factories and enterprises producing export-oriented goods so as to raise their qualities.

Party and social organizations at all levels should imbue all the

people from Party members and working people down to even Children's Union members with the Party's policy of improving the work of exports to foreign countries and instil in them an awareness of its significance. They should thus launch an all-Party, all-people movement to earn foreign currency.

Third, foreign currency should be used sparingly.

An intense struggle should be waged against the practice of wasting gasoline and other imports, and foreign currency spared to the utmost.

Gasoline can be saved a great deal if bricks, sand and other materials now transported by lorries are carried by ship or cableways. The state can benefit much if the life span of imported equipment is lengthened by a year. In all fields of the national economy the life span of imported equipment should be lengthened to the maximum by using it sparingly and taking good care of it.

In order to economize in foreign currency we should only import urgently needed goods and restrict the import of inessential goods as far as possible. We should, for instance, import only indispensable foreign books. At present, imported books are left lying piled up and unread in the democratic publicity hall. This is not the way to use foreign currency economically. In all areas of the national economy energetic efforts should be made to economize in the use of foreign currency as much as possible.

In conclusion I should like to briefly touch upon the need to reduce the prices of textbooks and school supplies.

It is said that now the prices of textbooks and school supplies cannot be lowered owing to the acts of profiteering indulged in by fraudulent dealers. But there is no reason for us to be too afraid of lowering them. These prices should be reduced.

We should increase the output of paper by 300 tons approximately to manufacture plenty of notebooks. Schools should be provided with notebooks of good-quality paper on which ink does not spread.

It would be advisable to reduce the retail prices of textbooks, notebooks and other school supplies on April 15 this year.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE

Speech at a North Phyongan Provincial Party Conference

April 7, 1956

I am attending the North Phyongan provincial Party conference by decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. First, on behalf of the Central Committee, I congratulate the Party organizations in North Phyongan Province and the representatives attending this conference on their great achievements.

In the past period the North Phyongan provincial Party organization, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, has in the main carried out its work correctly. As was pointed out in the summary report on the work of the provincial Party committee, the North Phyongan provincial Party organization has scored great successes in uniting all Party members and the working masses around the Party Central Committee, making the lines and policies set forth by the Party Central Committee known to them and mobilizing them in the struggle to carry these policies through. We consider that, during the period under review, the provincial Party organization has assured unity of action and the ideological cohesion of the Party ranks through a vigorous struggle against all manifestations of wrong tendencies inside and outside the Party, and that on the whole it has satisfactorily given Party guidance to the building of socialism in all spheres—political, economic and cultural.

Though it has scored these successes, it must be admitted that the

provincial Party organization also has many shortcomings in its work.

On the basis of the report the Party Central Committee received from the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and of what has been discussed at this conference, I should like to direct my remarks to some important tasks confronting the North Phyongan provincial Party organization.

1. ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

(1) CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATIONAL WORK OF THE PARTY

As everyone knows, in conformity with the specific situation created in our country after liberation, our Party adopted the line of enlarging the limited scale of the Communist Party and making it a mass-based party by admitting large numbers of advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Thus, our Party merged with the New Democratic Party, which was a petty-bourgeois party, and became the Workers' Party of Korea, a mass-based political party.

This organizational line was absolutely correct because in the Korean revolution the question of who would emerge victorious depended on who won over more of the masses—our working class or the propertied classes. The development of our Party into the Workers' Party of Korea fully accorded with the requirements of the Korean revolution at that time and was a decisive step in leading the revolution in our country along the right path.

Under the guidance of the Party Central Committee, the North Phyongan provincial Party organization has also in the main correctly carried out the work of developing the Party into a mass-based political

party, so that it now embraces 128,157 members. This graphically illustrates that the provincial Party organization has carried on its work according to the organizational line of the Party Central Committee.

However, there are also many shortcomings in the organizational work of the provincial Party organization.

From the Second Party Congress to the present, the North Phyongan provincial Party organization has expelled 18,000 members. This figure seems very large to me. It signifies that an average of 2,250 members were driven out of the Party every year. What does this mean? It means that Party members were recruited and expelled at random. So the Party's organizational work and the work of Party building have not been done on a sound basis.

Since the Party is an organized force and not a hotel, it is unreasonable to admit and expel people in such a chaotic way. If persons are admitted without carefully examining their qualifications for membership as prescribed in the Party Rules, or without helping them to prepare themselves adequately beforehand to become worthy of being Party members, and if enrolled members are expelled arbitrarily on the grounds that they are not up to standard, the sound growth of the Party organization is impossible. Since we are not purging the Party, how is it possible to expel 15 per cent of the total Party membership in eight years? The whole business has been seriously mismanaged. It was the result of the irresponsible way in which the provincial Party organization went about its work of increasing the membership.

Everyone is happy when he is admitted to the Party, but is bound to feel aggrieved if he is expelled. Why should we breed disaffected elements like this for no reason? If a comrade was not qualified to join, it would have been better to make him wait a little longer until he received more education. Then, he would not have felt aggrieved but would have tried harder to qualify himself for membership.

Because the work was not handled in this way, those expelled from the Party may have turned, at best, into disaffected elements and, at worst, into hostile elements. You have done a really foolish thing. It is

similar to the action Ho Ka I took to work havoc in the Party.

Following the retreat, Ho Ka I, who held a post in the Party Central Committee, penalized large numbers of Party members. In those days, 450,000 out of the total Party membership of 600,000 were disciplined. Even those who had temporarily buried their Party cards to avoid enemy detection were punished. This was an action serving to disrupt and liquidate the Party. The North Phyongan provincial Party organization still does not seem to have shaken off the evil aftermath of such practices.

To stop this sort of thing, the first requirement is to be prudent in recruiting Party members. When the draft of the Party Rules was discussed, some comrades suggested that the period of probationary membership be made longer and that the number of endorsers be increased. That, too, deserves consideration. But the problem does not lie here. It is more important for the primary, county and provincial Party organizations to make good preparations for enrolling new Party members. A person cannot become a good Party member all by himself even if the probationary term is long. Before recruiting, you ought to study applicants carefully, give them assignments, train them through work, get them to understand the Party Programme and Rules thoroughly and patiently explain the Party's lines and policies to them. After educating them this way for a year or two, you should admit through individual enrolment those proved by testing. This alone will make it possible to prevent undesirable elements, chance elements and egoists from infiltrating our Party. Once people have been admitted to the Party, it is wrong to expel them because they commit a minor mistake.

Our Party is the organized vanguard of the working class and all the working people of our country. How is it possible for the Party organization, which leads the revolution and the masses, to enrol Party members at random and then lightly kick them out because they are not quite as we desire? Once a person is admitted to the Party we must educate him patiently so that he will not make mistakes, and even when he makes mistakes, we must help him correct them and become a more loyal member.

The Party must always treat its members as a parent does in bringing up his children. No parent brings up his children without taking scrupulous care to prevent them from going astray. He naturally keeps a constant lookout lest they should fall in the river and drown, get run over in the street or tell a lie.

The organizational work of the Party, too, must be done exactly this way. The Party must have a good understanding of the character, thinking, merits and shortcomings of Party members and always look after them with meticulous care so that they do not make serious mistakes. The Party must make its lines and policies known to its members and correct their shortcomings in good time. If someone likes to drink, we should advise him against heavy drinking and warn him against immoral conduct. If he is likely to be influenced by bourgeois ideology, we should help him beforehand. The Party organization should do this to prevent any of its members from taking the wrong path and look after them with warm affection at all times.

If a Party member, even when given advice, does not heed it but continues on the wrong path, we should not leave him alone but give him more positive help so that he can get out of his rut. When someone in a family falls ill, for example, he should be given proper medicine after diagnosis determines whether he has a cold or an internal disorder. Similarly, when a Party member has made a mistake, we must trace the cause and give him effective, comradely assistance to rectify it. When a man falls ill, we must try to cure him. If, instead, we assume that he is no good, stuff him into a straw sack and abandon him in the public cemetery, everyone would object and reproach such conduct.

Our Party's fundamental attitude towards its members is to give them comradely education to remedy shortcomings in their thinking and conduct. The North Phyongan provincial Party organization has expelled a great many members since the Second Party Congress. This can only mean that it has failed to treat its members in a parental manner and has done Party organizational work carelessly and imprudently.

In order to remedy these shortcomings, the North Phyongan provincial Party organization must improve Party organizational work and strengthen the work of the organization departments of the provincial, city and county Party committees.

The Party committees at all levels should not just occupy themselves with shock campaigns, but should constantly direct their main efforts to Party organizational and ideological work. The leading Party body, therefore, should always pay close attention to the work and life of its members and give them proper guidance and help. It should see whether the members and cadres are working well, and if not, why not, whether they are active or passive, serious about Party study or not, and so on. Of course, this does not mean that organizational work should be conducted by detective methods as was done by Pak Yong Bin. Such methods were used by the Japanese detectives and police. Our provincial, city and county Party committees must not handle their organizational work this way. At the same time the registration of the Party membership cards or the compilation of penalty statistics can never be a substitute for organizational work.

The Party organization department must supervise and educate the members, always have a good understanding of their thinking and organize and guide them in their work and conduct. This is fundamental in Party organizational work. In this respect, however, the organizational work of the North Phyongan provincial Party organization leaves much to be desired. This is why I deem it essential for the organization departments of the Party committees at various levels to improve and strengthen their work in line with what I have already mentioned.

Now I should like to say a few words about Party guidance in administrative and economic bodies.

Speakers have pointed out that Party organs at different levels, including the provincial Party committee, have failed to give concrete guidance to the work of the government organs, economic bodies and cultural organizations. I also think this is true.

As you know, our Party is the political leader of our people, the leader that guides the country and the people along the path of happiness. The Party plays an organizing and guiding role in all spheres of our life—political, economic, cultural, etc. Under its guidance, government organs, economic bodies, cultural and social organizations implement the Party's lines and policies among the masses. It goes without saying that mismanagement by any of these will greatly impede the implementation of the Party's lines and policies. Yet some Party organs still neglect to guide them in their work.

Some time ago the central authorities out an intensive inspection of the work of the North Phyongan Provincial People's Committee, in the course of which a lot of shortcomings were revealed. Nevertheless, the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee does not feel that as a Party organ it is really responsible for the grave defects in the work of the government organ, claiming that everything that went wrong was due to one person, the chairman of the provincial people's committee. This is wrong. It implies an attitude on the part of the Party which dodges its political responsibility for the work of government organs.

It is a very wrong attitude for the Party organ to remain indifferent to the work of government organs and, especially, to criticize their work behind their backs, instead of giving them guidance and help.

The fact that things went wrong with the work of the North Phyongan Provincial People's Committee ought to be considered a failure on the part of the provincial Party committee in giving proper guidance to the government organ. Experience shows that where provincial or county people's committees have not done a good job, the Party organizations in many cases connived at their faults or joined them in their misdeeds or, at best, failed to provide effective Party guidance. Even in this last case, things are very serious. Yet some Party officials tend to think that whenever the work of government organs, economic bodies and cultural organizations has gone badly, it is due to poor work on the part of the officials in them, and that the Party officials are not to blame. If things are evaluated in this way, will there be any Party

member willing to work in an administrative body? Just as Party members who work in Party organs are functioning as members of the Workers' Party, so Party members who work in factories, schools, cooperatives, and government organs are functioning as members of the same Workers' Party. There is no difference between them as regards carrying out the Party's lines and policies, though their field of activity is different. Can it be that only the work of officials in Party organs should be considered work for the Party and that of Party members in government organs, economic bodies, and cultural organizations not? Absolutely not. All of them are working for the Party and for the revolution. We must be quite clear on this.

Success in the activities of all government organs, economic bodies and cultural organizations rests upon the Party members' enthusiasm and sense of responsibility and the role of the Party organizations in their respective domains. How, then, can officials working in Party organs just sit around passing judgment on and finding fault with the activities of Party members in government organs, economic bodies and cultural organizations? They must not do this. The provincial, city and county Party committees must always pay scrupulous attention to their activities and give them intensified Party leadership.

By saying that the Party organs must give responsible leadership to the work of government organs, we certainly do not mean that they should take over the work and rule the roost. Party guidance in a government organ means making the Party's lines and policies correctly understood through the medium of the Party group in that organ and organizing and mobilizing the Party members in the organ to struggle to carry out the Party's policies.

In giving guidance to economic bodies, too, the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee is only working superficially, failing to delve into the process of production at factories and enterprises. The question of how the working people are faring and working and how production is proceeding should be a matter of day-to-day concern to the Party and the object of its guidance. Even if the senior officials make a tour of factories in a car, or provincial or county Party

committees call meetings to deal with questions of production, it does not necessarily mean that everything is right with their guidance work. The question lies not only in the discussion and adoption of decisions at meetings but also in organizing, guiding and checking up on the implementation of these decisions. Nevertheless, some Party organizations are still guiding economic construction in a very perfunctory way.

The main reason for perfunctory guidance of the economic work lies in the Party officials' lack of knowledge of economic affairs. Because they do not know much about the economy, quite a few officials are even reluctant to go to factories to give guidance. So all leading Party officials, whoever they are, must learn about the economy. To learn is always a good thing. The prestige of the chairman of a provincial or county Party committee will not suffer because he learns something he did not know before. Some chairmen of agricultural cooperatives may not know as much about agro-technique or advanced methods of farming as workteam leaders or individual cooperative members. If a chairman does not know anything about wide-row sowing, he must learn from a workteam leader or a cooperative member who does. While he is being taught he is a pupil, but when he puts what he learns into practice, he is a leading official.

Another thing that must be emphasized is that collective leadership in the work of Party and government organs at all levels must be strengthened.

There is a saying, "Putting their heads together, three shoemakers are wiser than Master Zhuge Liang." And "Pooling their resources, three blind men can read a letter," is also a common saying. These proverbs tell us what great power collective wisdom gives us in our work.

The provincial, city, and county Party committees and people's committees are all organs of collective leadership. But to ensure effective collective leadership we must first have well-organized committees. The committees at all levels in Party and government

organs must be composed of competent workers who are loyal to the Party and the state, and must include workers, peasants, managerial workers, technical personnel and cultural workers. This is the way the committees can advance good creative opinions and form correct judgments on various matters. Suppose a group of people who know nothing about the economy and technology gather together to discuss economic and technological problems. What positive opinion can they ever put forward? None, of course.

Collective leadership does not mean sitting down together and holding a meeting where speeches are made by recognized “authorities” and prepared resolutions passed. It means discussing and settling every problem by relying on the creativeness of the broad masses and with the active participation of all members of the leading body, giving the fullest scope to everyone’s ability and talent, and preventing any arbitrary handling of affairs on the basis of any one person’s opinions and assertions.

In this regard, too, the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee seems to have shortcomings. Its plenary meetings have been few and far between and, in many cases, they were replaced by meetings of the standing committee. Moreover, the work of the provincial Party auditing commission has been done by only the few members of the commission who live in Sinuiju. This proves that collective leadership is not being thoroughly exercised yet in the work of the provincial Party organization. I think it necessary for the Party organizations at all levels in the province to bring about a decisive improvement in collective leadership in the future.

(2) CONCERNING THE PARTY’S PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

In my opinion, personnel affairs, too, are not handled properly by the North Phyongan provincial Party organization. In particular, it appears that some people have a wrong attitude towards intellectuals.

As the principal of the Sonchon Higher Middle School said in his speech, the role of intellectuals in general, and of teachers in particular, is underestimated. People look at them through coloured glasses and do not give them enough attention and concern. This contradicts our Party's policy towards intellectuals.

The Party Central Committee has always emphasized that a correct attitude should be taken towards intellectuals, especially those who were educated under Japanese imperialism and served it. We raised this problem back in the days when the Workers' Party was founded as a mass political party.

Some people accuse intellectuals of having served the Japanese imperialists in the past. They reproach them indiscriminately without making a distinction between those who served the Japanese imperialists faithfully and those who served them against their will only to earn a living. This is wrong.

We must not look on all the intellectuals who served the Japanese imperialists, the landlords or the capitalists in the same light. We must make distinctions among them. The reason is that some of the old intellectuals, as agents of Japanese imperialism, betrayed the country and the people and became government officials by currying favour with the Japanese imperialists, the landlords or the capitalists, willingly helping these scoundrels in their exploitation, but the great majority served Japanese imperialist firms or educational establishments out of the need to earn a living, although they had no intention of helping Japanese imperialism.

As for the first kind of intellectual, they were and are the targets of our people's hatred and their enemies. Almost all of these scoundrels are no longer in our ranks. Afraid of being punished for their crimes, they fled to the side of the enemy immediately after liberation.

As for the vast majority of the old intellectuals, they served the Japanese imperialists, the landlords or the capitalists against their will to escape starvation, for in pre-liberation days there was neither people's power and Party, nor conditions sufficient to awaken and

inspire national and class consciousness in them so that they might serve the people. Anyway, the fact that they served Japanese imperialism is of course not commendable. But there was no other alternative for them in those days.

It was after the founding of our Party and the establishment of people's power after liberation that a radical change took place in the situation. Since then, under the guidance of our Party, our intellectuals—teachers, engineers and artists, each at his respective post—have been able to stand on the side of the working class and dedicate all their knowledge and talents to the building of the country. They have not only cast off the shameful fetters imposed by the imperialists, landlords and capitalists, but have become people who, as reliable allies of the workers and peasants, are engaged in worthwhile brain work for the building of a new society and the happiness of the working people.

Thus, a change has taken place today in the position and character of our intellectuals. Therefore, it is absolutely wrong to reject the old intellectuals indiscriminately.

After liberation many good comrades from among the old intellectuals joined our Party. The emblem of our Party—a sickle, a hammer and a writing brush—symbolizes the character of the Party well. It indicates the firm unity of the working class with the peasants and the working intellectuals.

The intellectuals outside the Party, not to speak of those admitted to it, are also working faithfully for the country and the people under the guidance of the Party.

In the early period of the Fatherland Liberation War many teachers from our institutes of higher education, such as Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute and Pyongyang Normal College, went down as far as the Raktong River area in the wake of the advancing People's Army that was repelling the enemy invasion, as members of the political workers' group to work in the southern half. Many of them were old intellectuals. They not only fulfilled their assigned tasks well in the south, but,

even in the difficult period of the retreat, they all came back to Jagang Province, hiking thousands of *ri* over rugged paths across mountains and rivers—with tightened belts, in straw sandals and with the aid of walking sticks.

In the difficult years of the war, a large number of our engineers and assistant engineers worked day and night for victory amid the storms of enemy bombs and a sea of flames, to rehabilitate factories and keep production and wartime transport going. They devoted all their energy and talent to the struggle for the sake of the Party and the country.

Even when the schools were lost in the US imperialists' bombings, our people's teachers were not in the least daunted but kept on teaching their pupils out on the mountains or in the fields, in dugout classrooms or at their homes. Thus, they never for a moment stopped teaching the younger generation.

What more can we ask of our intellectuals? What more must they do to show their loyalty to the Party and the country? If we had had no intellectuals, we would have been unable to run the factories, railways and schools. Have they rendered services to the Party and the Government? Certainly, they have. They have rendered great services. Why should they be kept at a distance, looked on with suspicion and left out in the cold? Since our intellectuals are loyal to the Party and are serving the country and the revolution, they ought to be cherished, respected, correctly educated, and always given warm care. This is our Party's attitude towards intellectuals.

It seems that some people believe the old intellectuals must and will be elbowed out of the way when new ones come forward. Such a notion is absolutely wrong. We must show more concern for the old intellectuals and help them patiently in their ideological remoulding. We will thus see to it that all our intellectuals serve the country and the people with greater enthusiasm and loyalty.

According to the speech made by the principal of the Sonchon Higher Middle School, it seems that intellectuals everywhere are often taken to task for having "intellectual inclinations". This is wrong.

Survivals of the old ideology may be found in anybody. You should not accuse and ill-treat intellectuals for having survivals of the petty-bourgeois ideology, but should warmly help them get rid of these survivals.

There is a Korean saying: "In ten years even mountains and rivers will change." Why, then, have men, particularly intellectuals who are sensitive to things new, not changed under the people's power? In the ten years since liberation, they have been educated by the Party and tested and steeled in the revolutionary struggle and have become people's intellectuals armed with working-class ideology.

Therefore, it runs counter to our Party's policy towards the intellectuals to be suspicious of them for no reason, to give them a wide berth, not to promote them to appropriate positions and not to want to learn anything from them. This is a wrong attitude which tends to make ignoramuses of our Party and the working class. Such an attitude can never be tolerated in our Party.

Workers should acquire knowledge and techniques from the intellectuals, and the intellectuals should learn the workers' sense of organization and revolutionary spirit. Only when the workers, peasants and working intellectuals are firmly united, help each other and join their efforts under the guidance of our Party, can all our work proceed more successfully.

(3) ON ERADICATING DOGMATISM AND FORMALISM IN PARTY WORK

Dogmatism and formalism persist in the work of the Party organizations in North Phyongan Province. Dogmatism and formalism are extremely harmful to our work. We are going to raise this problem at the Party congress, too, as an important matter.

Yesterday, the chief of the information department of the Taegwan County Party Committee said in his speech that he had had much trouble in making information work for the agricultural

cooperative movement because he had committed dogmatic and formalistic errors. He said that the peasants of his locality would not listen to him when he told them about the experience of the Soviet Union and China in the agricultural cooperative movement, and the experience acquired in other parts of the country. It was not until he told them about the experience of the cooperatives in mountainous areas like theirs that they nodded their approval. This is a good example showing that in assimilating the experience of advanced countries or putting Marxist-Leninist principles into practice, one must always apply them creatively to fit the specific realities of the country, locality or village.

Some people do not have a correct understanding of what is meant by dogmatism. Dogmatism is not hard to understand. Briefly, it implies an attitude of applying general propositions whole and unchanged, or of mechanically copying others, without taking into account one's own specific conditions. Figuratively speaking, it means swallowing the things of others whole.

Let us take a familiar example. A mother rearing a baby has to feed it with due regard to its growth. Has the baby cut its teeth? If it has, how many? It will not do to feed it without taking this into account. When the mother gives chestnuts to her baby before it has any teeth, she must mash them first, and when the baby has a few teeth, she must cut them into small pieces. When the baby has a lot of teeth, she may feed the chestnut to it whole. If a baby with no teeth were given whole chestnuts, it would have indigestion or other stomach trouble and its health would suffer.

In the same way, dogmatism and formalism are liable to bring grave consequences to the revolution. This is why we oppose dogmatism and formalism.

It is beyond doubt that when we build a socialist society, the people will live a life of abundance and happiness. This is a truth. But it becomes true in our actual life only when we creatively apply the Marxist-Leninist principles of building socialism to suit the realities of Korea.

Some comrades, worried that the speed of our agricultural cooperative movement is too fast, insist on going at a somewhat slower rate as in other countries. When our country has the conditions and possibilities for speed, why should we go slow just because other countries are slow in agricultural cooperativization? There is no need for doing this.

In the Soviet Union, the collective-farm movement only entered the stage of full-scale collectivization some ten years after the revolution, and it took about five years more to complete it basically. That pace, I think, was suited to the specific circumstances in the Soviet Union at that time. In the People's Democracies in Europe, too, the agricultural cooperative movement is proceeding at a much slower rate than in our country. In the northern half of our country, it has progressed at a rapid pace since the war. By the end of 1955, 49 per cent of all peasant households had joined the agricultural cooperatives, and by the end of February this year, 65.6 per cent.

The low rate of cooperativization in the People's Democracies in Europe does not mean that the communists there do not know how to speed up the movement. It is due to their specific political and economic conditions.

What, then, is at the bottom of such a rapid development of the agricultural cooperative movement in our country?

First, the social forces in our rural areas that oppose the agricultural cooperative movement are quite small due to the thoroughgoing agrarian reform carried out under the guidance of our Party after liberation, to the consistent policy since then of restricting the rich farmers, and to their further weakening during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Second, our peasants, fettered to feudal land relations for a long time in the past, not only had the bitter experience of being relentlessly exploited by the Japanese imperialists and the landlords, but also have the precious revolutionary tradition of struggle against them for land, rice and freedom. They have also been politically awakened and tempered in the ten years of the struggle to create a

new life since liberation, particularly during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Third, such traditional forms of pooled labour as ox-sharing teams and labour-aid teams were further popularized and developed in our countryside during the war when manpower and draught animals were short. In particular, the cooperatives organized on an experimental basis in the past period demonstrated their immense advantages, and this greatly inspired and stimulated the peasants to take the road of cooperativization.

Fourth, our Party, with its correct policy, has always firmly convinced the entire people that all its instructions are right, and that it is correctly leading and guiding the socialist transformation of agriculture by correctly applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of agricultural cooperativization and the experience of other countries to the realities of our country.

All these are the major conditions which have led the peasants willingly to join agricultural cooperatives. Also, the swift development of our industry in the postwar years has furnished the material basis for the rapid strengthening and progress of agricultural cooperatives today both quantitatively and qualitatively.

It is very wrong not to take these historical, social and economic conditions into consideration and to try to slow down the agricultural cooperative movement artificially, dampening our peasants' enthusiasm for socialism, simply because cooperativization is going on slowly in other countries. This is shocking dogmatism and formalism.

Our task, therefore, is to complete agricultural cooperativization in the near future without vacillation, and information work should also be oriented to this end.

I should like to cite another instance of dogmatism and formalism. Some people think they ought to apply foreign methods even in holding a meeting. The dogmatists, hearing that meetings in the Soviet Union are brief, insist that we must also make our meetings brief. This is wrong. Nearly 40 years have passed since the Soviet people

succeeded in their revolution. It is only ten years since our liberation. How can a 10-year-old boy be treated the same as a 40-year-old grown-up? If people's level is high, we can hold brief meetings. In general, our people fall behind the Soviet people in their level of political awareness, culture and knowledge. If the Soviet comrades spend three days on a meeting, we may have to spend even five to six days if necessary.

The aim of a meeting is not to sit down together but is first to educate all the participants so that they can get a thorough understanding of the essence of the questions being taken up and put decisions into practice. The meeting is a good school. Under our conditions in which the people's level is low, the participants may not fully grasp what has been discussed and decided upon if a meeting is as brief as in the Soviet Union.

No results can come from a meeting if, as the formalists insist, people get together, make a few glib speeches, clap their hands in applause, cheer and then disperse, or if they merely jot down a few words in their notebooks in the course of the meeting.

Dogmatism and formalism are doing considerable harm to our work of education as well. Workers in this field seem to give little or no thought at all to what help their teaching will be to our revolution.

In teaching the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for instance, they do not give priority to and lay stress on things which are essential for our revolution today, but just teach generalities. What is more serious, they deal little with our own questions, questions concerning the Korean revolution.

In our educational work today, questions essential for the solution of our immediate tasks are handled very carelessly, or not at all, while matters far removed from the practical activities of our people are taken up. We must eradicate such defects without delay.

Our educational work ought to be done in close connection with our revolutionary tasks and in conformity with the realities of our country so that it will be of practical help to the Korean revolution.

2. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY GUIDANCE IN THE BUILDING OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE

(1) INDUSTRY

North Phyongan Province is a leading industrial province in our country. It has power plants, chemical works, ore and coal mines, and light industrial factories as well. In addition, the province accounts for a major part of our machine-building industry. It has all major industrial branches, except a metallurgical industry.

In other words, North Phyongan Province possesses important assets for the economic development of our country. This is why the Central Committee of our Party and the Government of the Republic pay great attention to and expect much from this province.

This means that the North Phyongan provincial Party organization bears a heavy responsibility to the Party and the state for the development of industry.

a) THE ELECTRIC INDUSTRY

As you know, the Suphung Power Station produces half of the total electric power in our country. This power station is the biggest of its kind in the East. If it stops working, many of our industrial enterprises will come to a standstill, and the people's life will be greatly affected. We must therefore make every effort to ensure its normal production.

Not long ago, a grave situation developed there when a runner of a turbine was broken down due to the workers' negligence in checkup and repair. This hindered production and construction throughout the country for over 50 days.

The North Phyongan provincial Party organization must direct

Party attention to improving checkup and repair work at this power station, to ensuring quality in the assembly of generators, and to getting prompt repairs made when a breakdown occurs.

The Party organizations and the workers at the power station must fully restore damaged installations as soon as possible and run the power station in a modern way.

b) THE MACHINE-BUILDING INDUSTRY

North Phyongan Province has a big share of our country's machine-building industry. It has such major factories as the Pukjung Machine Factory, the Ragwon Machine Factory, the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory and the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, as well as the Unsan Tool Factory, Factory No. 76, the Kujang Rolling Stock Works and others now under construction. It is impossible for us to strengthen the material and technical base of our economy without developing the machine-building industry. Only a developed machine-building industry makes it possible to equip industry, agriculture, transport and communications and all other branches of the economy with new technique, eliminate the colonial lopsidedness in industry and lay the foundations for socialist industrialization.

Our country is rich in natural resources—iron, gold, silver, copper, etc. But it will be impossible for us to use them effectively for economic development unless we have our own machine-building industry. If this is not developed, we will not be able to process ores even if they are mined, nor manufacture goods we need, and we will have no alternative but to export crude ore and, in return, import necessities of life, machinery and even spare parts. It is intolerable for us to have to export crude ore and import even the simplest machinery and accessories. We have not yet overcome this weak point.

If we continue, as at present, to mine ores and sell them to foreign countries unprocessed, then nothing but gaping holes will remain in our country. That will mean sinning seriously against our descendants.

To overcome this weakness in our economy, we must establish the

base of a machine-building industry and consolidate it. If we have a powerful machine-building industry of our own and turn out various kinds of machinery in large quantities, we will be able to use our country's resources more effectively. Then wealth, not gaping holes, will be left to us.

Yesterday, a play "Maize Is the King of Dry-Field Crops" was performed on the stage of this conference hall. I think it necessary to put forward the slogan: "Machine-building Industry Is the King of Industry." Machinery is required everywhere. It is badly needed not only in industry but also in agriculture. With machinery, nothing will be impossible for us and work will also become very easy. When the machine-building industry is developed, there will be no need to repair roads by the present method in which women carry a few stones in small wash-basins. All we will need to do is to remove earth with bulldozers, bring gravel by truck and level the roadbeds with rollers. Furthermore, if plenty of cement is produced and the roads are paved with it, or if they are surfaced with asphalt, there will be no need to repair them for several years.

That is why our Party, with a view to developing the machine-building industry, set about building some machine plants, including the Huichon Machine Factory, even in the difficult years of war. Already these factories are turning out a considerable amount of machinery.

Had our Party failed to take steps to establish the base for a machine-building industry in those days, the Huichon Machine Factory would now only be in the first stage of construction, with its design barely finished.

Syngman Rhee spends his so-called US "aid" to purchase Western sweets and cakes, but we are overcoming temporary difficulties and doing everything we can to build up industry with a view to laying a sound economic base for our country and providing the masses of the people with a happy life for all time to come. The measures taken by the Party Central Committee for the development of the machine-building industry have proved correct.

The provincial Party organization must correctly understand the Party's policy and struggle for its thorough implementation. Active help should be given so that those machine factories now under construction or planned for the future will be completed on time, and the existing ones should be expanded to turn out a wider variety of products.

The important task ahead for the development of the machine-building industry is to raise the utilization rate of machine tools. At present, this is very low at machine factories. The recent checkup made by the chief of the Machine Industry Bureau and Cabinet advisors has shown that the operation rate of machines at the Pukjung and Ragwon Machine Factories is no more than 44 per cent. There are various shortcomings: the failure of the casting shop to provide materials fast enough due to poor organization, lack of balance in the distribution of labour power and machinery, etc.

For example, in the production of pumps, the small machines for intermediate processing stand idle after working only one shift, while the large machine tools work all three shifts. Why not make full use of those small machines? Of course, there is some irrationality in setting assignments under the plans, too. Assignments should be given in such a way as to use those small machines for making simple machinery, spare parts, items of daily use, etc. Is it not better to produce even animal-drawn weeders than keep machines standing idle?

Who is to blame for this? In my opinion, the manager, the chief engineer, and the primary Party organization are to blame. Yesterday, the manager of the Ragwon Machine Factory made a lengthy speech boasting of their pump manufacturing, but he did not say a single word about raising the operation rate of machines. Even if the state only gave the factory the job of making pumps, the manager ought to see to it that when the small machines are not working they are geared to the production of other items. Yet the leading personnel of the Ragwon Machine Factory give no thought to the question of raising the operation rate of their machines. They have already become puffed up, thinking that the manufacture of pumps is something great. We cannot

rest content with our machine-building industry making only pumps. This is just an initial success. We still have no grounds for being complacent.

The Party organizations, therefore, must give proper education to those immodest persons who rest content with an initial success, and help them produce modern machinery by raising the utilization rate of machines and showing initiative.

The same is true of the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory. Although the manager of the factory boasts of the fulfilment of the plan, all the factory can produce at present is mine cars. What is there to be so proud of in the production of mere mine cars when they have such excellent machinery? We are now in urgent need of ball mills, winches, rock drills, etc. It is necessary to switch over to the production of such items.

The Unsan Tool Factory must mass-produce a greater variety of tools such as drills, taps, dies, cutters, and jigs, wood-working and other machines. To this end, measures must be taken to complete capital construction at the factory soon.

It is also important to raise the quality of the products turned out by the machine-building industry. Technical mismanagement and lack of discipline and order in production in machine plants have resulted in many rejects, causing enormous losses to the state. The Party organizations must wage a struggle against this practice. In guiding production it is an important task for the Party organizations to eliminate rejects, raise labour productivity and reduce production costs. They must intensify their guidance to industry so that this task can be fulfilled successfully.

Another important thing in the machine-building industry is to master technology and steadily raise the workers' technical level.

Today, when advanced technology is rapidly being introduced in production and construction, it is most important for the workers to master technology. No matter how good a machine may be, it is impossible to operate it and turn out good-quality products without advanced technique.

The Party organizations must see to it that the Party members set an example in introducing advanced technique and must ensure the training of a large number of mechanical engineers and assistant engineers.

We have recently made a tour of some industrial districts in North Phyongan Province, and we think it necessary to establish a higher school of industrial technology in the Kusong area. We must discuss this further and translate it into practice. In accordance with the Party's line of intensifying technical education, the North Phyongan provincial Party organization must ensure correct reorganization of some higher middle schools in the province into technical schools.

In order to raise the technical standard of factory and office workers various forms of technical education must be developed such as evening technical schools, short technical courses, training centres for skilled workers, etc., and special efforts must be made to train designers in large numbers.

c) THE MINING INDUSTRY

The Cholsan Mine is important for obtaining foreign currency. The present level of mechanization at this mine cannot be regarded as high. Therefore, the first thing it should do is to raise its level of mechanization.

The Taeyudong Mine accounts for a considerable part of our total gold production. Now is the time to sell gold. It would be a good thing for us to mine more and sell it before the capitalist countries collapse. We must not just boast of our abundance of gold, but mine more of it quickly and sell it, using the returns to build factories. In order to increase gold production, prospecting should be intensified and, in particular, measures should be taken for extensive deep mining. The extraction rate should also be raised by improving ore dressing, and various measures should be taken to mechanize labour-consuming conveyance work.

Furthermore, advanced mining methods should be widely

introduced to improve the work and increase output in the coal mines.

Though our country has huge coal deposits, we are short of coal and spend precious foreign currency every year buying a large amount of it from foreign countries. This is the result of backward methods in coal mining and the slow pace in rehabilitating the collieries. We must mine more good-quality coal to meet the internal demand.

Many people were reported frozen to death in Seoul last winter because of lack of fuel. We intend to send coal to our compatriots in the south as a gift, in order to reduce their suffering. Some time ago we discussed this problem at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. If we are to supply coal to Seoul in the future, our present output is not enough.

Coal mining should be mechanized and advanced mining methods widely introduced to increase coal output sharply. Heading excavation should be kept ahead to develop coal mining in a farsighted way.

d) THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The Chongsu Chemical Factory in North Phyongan Province is of national importance. It must turn out more carbide of good quality. This is an important source of foreign currency. The current price of carbide on the foreign market is 500 rubles per ton, the equivalent of the price of two and a half tons of millet.

The Party organizations in the province should pay close attention to the Chongsu Chemical Factory and, in particular, must see to it that the problem of manufacturing chemical fibre from carbide is solved by drawing more scientists into research work on the manufacture of new products.

e) LIGHT INDUSTRY

One of the major tasks confronting our Party today is to turn out large quantities of fabrics, footwear, other items of daily use and processed foodstuffs in order to improve the people's life which

deteriorated so drastically during the war. The people lost all their furniture and clothing in the war and still have not been able to replace them fully. Therefore, we must produce more daily necessities than before the war by rapidly developing light industry.

The light industrial factories in North Phyongan Province have very much work to do. The Kusong Textile Mill fulfilled its production plan, but it must not rest on its laurels. It must strive to increase output and reduce production costs by cutting down the standard per-unit consumption of materials.

The Pakchon and Nyongbyon Silk Mills must produce large quantities of diverse silk fabrics. The quality of silk produced at these mills is better than in prewar years, but the output is smaller.

The quality of the silk and wool produced at the Pakchon and Nyongbyon Silk Mills and the Sinuiju Woolen Textile Mill should be improved and output increased.

An important fighting task of the Party organizations in light industry should be to raise quality and cut costs.

Now I want to speak about the paper industry. The Sinuiju Paper Mill is an excellent plant. The equipment there is good enough and the buildings can become good too with a little more rehabilitation work. The factory possesses the conditions for producing paper in large quantities in the future.

However, it is very uneconomical to use timber as the raw material in the paper industry as the Kilju Pulp Mill does. It is therefore advisable for them to make pulp themselves from rice straw and maize and other grain stalks for paper manufacture, instead of bringing pulp from Kilju.

Agriculture holds a big share in production in North Phyongan Province and grain stalks are abundant. How good it is to eat the rice and make paper from the straw! The managing personnel of the paper mill should also take measures to raise quality and produce high-grade paper. Students complain that ink spreads on the paper produced by the Sinuiju Paper Mill. The managing personnel must listen to the voice of the consumer and strive to remedy defects.

Next, the Sinuiju Pulp Mill must carry out the important task of making pulp from reeds for rayon. We are now rehabilitating a rayon spinning mill in Chongjin. This mill is going to make rayon yarn and staple fibre from the pulp turned out by the Sinuiju Pulp Mill. This work is of great importance because our country is short of timber. So the Party Central Committee expects much of the Sinuiju Pulp Mill. During our visit to this mill, we saw a sample of the rayon which the Japanese succeeded in producing experimentally. There is no reason why we cannot do what the Japanese did.

In order to supply the Sinuiju Pulp Mill with raw materials, it is necessary to extend the reed fields in the Ryongampho area and improve their cultivation. The Party organizations in the province should launch a struggle to raise the per-unit-area yield in the reed fields.

f) INDUSTRIES RUN BY THE PROVINCE AND THE COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Some officials of the Party organizations and local government bodies wrongly tend to consider that industries run by producers' cooperatives and the province are not industry.

Both of these industries are socialist in their economic form. The industry run by cooperative organizations has come into being as the result of drawing the urban handicraftsmen into the cooperative economy and transforming the small-commodity production sector along socialist lines. The industry run by the province is a part of state industry. It produces daily necessities by tapping local resources. Proper guidance and much assistance are needed for the province-run industry and the producers' cooperatives.

The Party organizations should give guidance to help the producers' cooperatives produce large quantities of good-quality daily necessities, mainly through the effective use of local raw materials. It is also necessary for the producers' cooperatives to produce large quantities of building materials, fittings and the like needed in construction.

Under present conditions, when state industry has not yet achieved an all-round development, the producers' cooperatives and the province-run industry can do much to help the development of the economy and raise the people's living standards by concentrating on those branches which are not covered by state industry, that is, mainly the production of daily necessities and building materials.

As you can see from all this, industry in North Phyongan Province has great potential. In guiding economic work, it is important for the Party organizations in the province to see that this potential is properly utilized.

Every possible way should be found to introduce mechanization and economize on labour power. At present we have a great shortage of labour. Because many young people are at the front, and many people have gone to work in industry and construction, the countryside is very short of manpower. Moreover, rural manpower consists mostly of women and old people. Our countryside, therefore, cannot meet today's growing demand for labour power in industry.

As a step towards solving this problem, the Party Central Committee has put forward the saving of labour power as a fighting task for the entire Party. Today it can be said that whoever saves on labour power is a man of strong Party spirit, a man truly concerned about affairs of the state.

The basic way to save on labour is to raise productivity by mechanizing labour-consuming work processes and organizing work rationally. If we waste labour power, neither industry nor agriculture can be developed. Nevertheless, the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee on saving labour power has not yet been brought home to the factory Party organizations, and a huge amount of labour power is still wasted in some factories and other enterprises.

Also, the struggle to mechanize on construction sites is halfhearted and thoroughgoing measures have not been taken for employing the workers' family members. What advantages are there in using the labour of the workers' dependents? It is good because it will overcome the shortage of manpower and result in a saving of food for the state.

The wide use of the labour of family members in production and construction will lead to an improvement in the living standards of industrial and office workers and to the solution of the housing problem as well. We are now building a large number of houses, yet we still need more. Some comrades seem to think that houses come from Heaven. Those who believe in Jesus may expect that, but we do not believe in Jesus.

Large-scale housing construction requires an enormous amount of money, equipment and materials. We cannot build only housing at present, we also have to build many schools and factories. Where can we get such a huge amount of equipment and materials? If we use the labour of the workers' dependents, the housing problem can be eased by that much, since several persons from one family will be working.

To sum up, every enterprise should pose the saving of labour as its foremost task. We can ask for foreign aid in other things, but how can we turn to foreign countries for labour power? Technical assistance is, of course, another question.

Another important thing is to use local in reconstructing factories and other enterprises.

Our building workers make no effort to utilize good stone which they can find in abundance within reach, but bring bricks from distant places instead. Adobe, for instance, can be made locally, and yet the workers only sit and complain that they cannot build because they have no bricks. This sort of thing must be stopped.

Proper siting for factories and other buildings is also very important. A factory making army footwear in Sakju, for example, was not built in the township but far from the county seat, beyond a mountain, on the grounds of maintaining secrecy. This caused losses to the state in many respects. Had this factory been built in the Sakju county seat, there would have been no need to lay electric wires across the mountain and build a road, and for motor vehicles to run long distances consuming a lot of gasoline. Now this factory is even asking for the construction of a railway. What a great waste all this is! Had the factory been built in the township of Sakju, it would have been

possible to employ the labour of the dependents of the inhabitants. Now that it is on the other side of the mountain, this is difficult.

What is more serious, town planning was not considered. If the factory had been built in Sakju, the town would have grown more prosperous. This is due to the mistake of the Munitions Production Bureau, but the county Party committee and the county people's committee also failed to fulfil their duties as masters.

Masters of the county are the chairmen of the county people's committee and the county Party committee. As they failed to fulfil their duties properly, the factory was built beyond the mountain, a road to it had to be built and the raw materials and finished products transported by truck. Also, a primary school had to be built there. And that is not all. The wives of the factory workers suffer great inconvenience in going to market to shop.

As you can see from this example, it is not infrequent that great losses are caused by undertaking economic construction without seriously taking all factors into account.

This does not mean, of course, that all factories should be built in the vicinity of towns. But what is so secret about a shoe factory that it cannot be built in a town?

We should intensify control over the construction of factories and towns. Factories, housing and public buildings must be built in accordance with town planning, with due consideration for various factors—electricity, waterworks, sewerage, railways, roads, communications, etc. In particular, designs should be drawn up so as to make the fullest use of existing facilities.

In some localities, there are many wrong practices such as building temporary housing in a random way on nearby farmland, while setting aside spacious vacant lots in the centre of the county seat for the future construction of multi-storey buildings.

In Kusong, too, though they possess funds and all other conditions, the Machine Industry Bureau and Ministry of Light Industry are disregarding town planning and erecting makeshift buildings and one-storey houses anywhere they please. The Kusong County Party

Committee and County People's Committee should exercise strict control over the personnel in these departments so that they build multi-storey apartment houses in the town and not outside it. Managers of the Kusong Textile Mill and Machine Factory say that it is difficult to build two-storey houses because it is more expensive. True, there will be a number of difficulties in getting materials. But it is not economical to build one-storey houses, for this requires more tile and large sites.

At present, we are rather short of building materials, but large quantities will be produced from next year. Party control should be tightened so as to undertake urban construction in a farsighted, well planned way, not in a makeshift, disorderly way.

(2) AGRICULTURE

The report went into details on agriculture and many comrades threshed it out in their speeches.

The most important task confronting agriculture today is to increase grain production. To do this it is necessary to decisively raise the per-unit-area yield of dry-field crops.

The area of dry fields is larger than that of paddies in our country. This is true of North Phyongan Province, too. Only 80,000 of its total of 280,000 hectares of cultivated land is paddy fields and the rest is dry fields. It is therefore impossible to increase grain harvests without increasing the yield of dry-field crops.

Of the dry-field grain crops, maize gives an especially high yield. The Party organizations and government bodies should pay close attention to the extension of the area sown to maize.

According to what was said in the debate, kaoliang has a higher yield than maize in an area like Uiju County. Of course, it is better for such a district to grow more kaoliang, in line with the principle of the right crop on the right soil to get higher yields.

Another important problem in increasing the grain harvest is to

make better use of the land. Land should be used to the full by raising two crops on it or inter-cropping wherever possible, whether in paddies or dry fields.

Also backward farming methods should be abolished and advanced methods introduced energetically.

The 1955 grain output in North Phyongan Province was far less than that in the prewar year of 1949. We are told that a few agricultural cooperatives had an increased harvest last year, but that is nothing to boast of. Much effort is still required in order to reach the prewar level throughout the province.

As everyone knows, the food situation was good before the war and, accordingly, rice was not expensive. But now the price of rice is high due to the shortage of grain, and this causes us much trouble.

Grain output in North Phyongan Province should surpass the prewar level of 590,000 tons within the next few years, and the provincial Party organization should wage an active struggle to this end. This year's target for grain is 470,000 tons, which is very low. But this, of course, does not mean that the province should aim at 590,000 tons right away this year. In my opinion, North Phyongan Province can produce more than 560,000 tons in 1957 or 1958, and it must do so without fail. Though we still cannot supply the peasants with sufficient chemical fertilizer, from 1958 on we will be able to supply them with plenty. Moreover, by that time, much will have been accomplished in irrigation, the area under cultivation will have been extended, mechanization accelerated and a big stride taken in agricultural cooperativization. As we see, many problems will have been solved.

However, we cannot merely sit and wait for that time to come. We must make full use of the existing possibilities to produce more grain.

Here it is necessary above all to make effective use of the farm machinery we possess. Farm machines play a very important role in saving rural labour power and increasing the harvest. Last year, in an area like South Phyongan Province, animal-drawn weeders were kept idle in warehouses. If this is also the case in North Phyongan Province,

it would be good to put a prompt end to this state of affairs.

Furthermore, irrigation and river-improvement projects should be carried out through an all-people movement. We should undertake many small-scale irrigation projects, not just go in for large-scale ones. Since the state cannot undertake all irrigation projects, large and small, two or three cooperatives need to pool their efforts and build small reservoirs and pumping stations to enlarge the irrigated areas. At the same time, the farmland should be protected from flood through well-organized river-improvement work.

We should also ensure the timely repair and proper management of existing irrigation facilities, such as reservoirs and pumping stations.

Agricultural cooperatives should strive to put more land under cultivation. It should also be a very important task for the future to turn the tidelands on the west coast into farmland.

Another important problem in developing agriculture is to strengthen and improve the agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically.

Strengthening the agricultural cooperative organizationally means electing onto its management board advanced model workers, according to the authentic democratic will of the cooperative members, managing and running the cooperative in accordance with the will of its members, and enhancing the organizational role of the Party and social organizations in the cooperative.

Strengthening the agricultural cooperative economically means increasing its income by all possible means in order to improve the life of its members and consolidate its economic base.

If the living standards of the cooperative members are to rise, their income must be increased. The state will help the members increase their real income by appropriately regulating the procurement price of agricultural produce and by systematically reducing the price of daily necessities.

Getting enough farm implements, stepping up irrigation and river improvement, and securing enough fertilizer and seed is all aimed at strengthening the economic base of the cooperatives. All this work is

very important for the development of the cooperatives.

If we are to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically, the Party organizations must delve deep into their work and give a live leadership.

It must be borne in mind that, with the formation of cooperatives, the Party's responsibility for the peasants' livelihood is incomparably greater than in the days of individual farming. The success or failure of the cooperatives rests entirely on the work of the Party organizations. Therefore, they must make every effort to consolidate the agricultural cooperatives.

The Party organizations should continue to push ahead boldly with the agricultural cooperative movement. Only two years have passed since we started this movement, but the peasants' experience has already convinced them of the far greater advantage of cooperative farming over individual farming.

The Party organizations must strengthen the economic base of the cooperatives already in existence and thus guide broader sections of the peasantry to join them.

(3) THE FISHING INDUSTRY

North Phyongan Province now plays the biggest role in our fishing industry on the West Sea, which is rich in fish, especially in good, high-grade fish. The gizzard shad caught there is so famous that the saying goes: "The smell of broiling gizzard shad brings back the daughter-in-law who is running away."

The fishing industry on the West Sea, however, is not developed. It remains in a very backward state. The Ministry of Fisheries and the local government bodies have been criticized several times by the Political Committee for not developing it.

This problem will be taken up as an important question at the Third Party Congress, too, and will also be raised as an important task in working out the Five-Year Plan.

The main shortcoming in the fishing industry on the West Sea is that methods of fishing are still backward and no daring and initiative are shown in the work. The personnel in this field said that they could not catch fish because they had no angle-net boats. So the state had the boats made and delivered them. Nevertheless, things have not yet improved. The question, after all, does not lie in angle-net boats but in the fact that our personnel do not struggle to make full use of every condition and possibility to bring in big catches.

The Chinese are making good hauls in the West Sea. Then why cannot we catch fish in that same sea? Our personnel still lack boldness. In order to develop the fishing industry on the West Sea, there must be a great change in the work, and positive, creative efforts are required of the Party organizations and members.

There is no insurmountable difficulty or unconquerable fortress before our Party members. We have boats, motors and nets.

The question is whether or not our personnel in the fishing industry and Party organizations rise to the occasion and bring about a radical change in fishing in the West Sea. We must make a decisive switchover to deep-sea fishing there.

The Five-Year Plan envisages the extension of the fishing bases around Ryongampho and on Tasa Island. The Party organizations in North Phyongan Province must do preparatory work for carrying out this task and guarantee its successful fulfilment.

(4) EDUCATION

Last February the Presidium of the Party Central Committee adopted a decision on improving school education.

It seems, however, that this decision has not yet been conveyed in full to all Party organizations in North Phyongan Province. It should be made known to the Party organizations at every level and to all Party members immediately after this conference and, following this, steps should be taken for the overall improvement of school education.

The task of improving education becomes increasingly urgent with the advance of socialist construction in the northern half of our country.

How great was our admiration for the socialist Soviet Union when we were waging an underground revolutionary struggle in the past! After the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Korean working class, especially the youth, had a very strong yearning for socialism. Today that very socialism is being built in our country.

In order to build a socialist society, the source of exploitation must be eliminated and socialist relations of production established. Moreover, the material and technical foundations of socialism must be laid firmly and the people's thinking remoulded along socialist lines. Only then can we say that the building of socialism has been completed. Let me take an example. If after an agricultural cooperative is organized nothing is done to promote technical advance or to remould the members' thinking, it cannot become fully socialist.

Socialism cannot be built through slogans or eloquent speeches. It can only be built through the creative activities of working people who possess a socialist consciousness and a high technical level. The more all members of society are awakened politically and ideologically and the higher their cultural and technical standards become, the faster the building of socialist society will proceed.

I do not intend to explain at length how highly important remoulding people's ideology and raising their cultural and technical levels are for promoting the building of socialism. I only want to say a few words about our teachers who are teaching science and technology and socialist ideology to millions of the younger generation, and about the work of guiding school education.

Fifty thousand teachers are at present educating our new generation in schools at all levels. Their mission is indeed great and their responsibility very heavy.

If they are to educate the students in socialism, it is most important for the teachers to arm themselves firmly with socialist ideology. To teach the "One Thousand Characters", one must not only know one

thousand characters but must in fact know more. Teachers must shake themselves free from survivals of outmoded ideology and raise their ideological level. This is essential if the quality of education and teaching in the schools is to rise. Teachers play an important part in the building of socialism and the Party organizations at various levels must pay special attention to raising their qualifications and training them politically and ideologically.

Furthermore, keen attention should be paid to treating teachers well socially and improving their living standards. This is aimed at enabling them to settle down to teaching and dedicate all their energy and talent to bringing up the children and youth to become socialist builders who are loyal to the Party and the revolution and who possess knowledge and skills. As one comrade said in his speech, it is wrong to be interested only in working the teachers hard without looking after them.

Not long ago, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed the question of providing teachers with better material conditions. During the hard-fought war, it was impossible for us to raise such a matter, but we are now in a position to solve this question gradually as the country's economic situation improves.

The Party organizations at all levels should intensify their guidance of school education and give concrete assistance to the teachers. In North Phyongan Province at present the Party's guidance in this sphere leaves much to be desired.

Some time ago I visited Kaechon County and found that the county Party committee was grossly neglecting its guidance of education. The fact is that officials from the county Party committee do not visit the schools until almost July when they receive directives from above on preparing for the new school year. They have no idea whether the teachers have been teaching correctly, what teaching methods they use, or how the work of schools has been going. This is also the way the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee "guides" education. It leaves this work entirely in the hands of the education department, and only when the new school

year comes around does it pay a little attention to the question of constructing school buildings. This is a glaring mistake.

The Minister of Education, who recently made an inspection tour of some schools in North Phyongan Province, says that the province has a firmer material base for improving the work of the schools than other provinces. What, then, is lacking? All it lacks is adequate guidance in education on the part of the Party organizations, the Ministry of Education and the local people's committees.

Now let me speak briefly about intensifying technical education. This also will be raised at the forthcoming Third Party Congress as one of our important tasks.

Today, the most urgent problem in our socialist construction is the training of technical personnel. Since the war, many factories have been built, machinery is being turned out, and agriculture has been cooperativized and is advancing along socialist lines. In the northern half of Korea, we will lay the basis of socialist industrialization before long and then will have to apply modern technology to agriculture, the fishing industry and all other branches of the national economy. Only then will the material and technical foundations of socialist society be laid, a society far more developed than capitalist society. This entails a great change in the development of our productive forces. The greatest difficulty we have to overcome in making this change is the dearth of technical personnel. Unless this problem is solved, it is impossible to take a single step forward.

That is why the Party Central Committee long ago posed this problem as an important one, and particularly, last year saw to it that the Supreme People's Assembly adopted a law relevant to the intensification of technical education. In line with the policy of the Party and the Government, a large number of higher middle schools have been reorganized into specialized schools and those junior middle school graduates who are unable to go on to a higher school can get technical education in supplementary courses in technology.

But what is the present state of affairs? In many cases, the work is done in a perfunctory manner and is not on the right track. In the first

place, supplementary courses have not been distributed appropriately. The supplementary courses in agriculture have been provided in factory districts, and the children of workers are enrolled in them. Most of these are under 15 years of age. It is hardly possible for them to go into farming away from home. In my opinion, there seems to be no need to go to the trouble of sending workers' children to the countryside, in the light of the prospects of our country's development. It would be better to see that they, too, become workers like their parents.

Some students at supplementary courses do not clearly understand why they are attending the course. As was confirmed during our visit to Kaechon County some time ago, it is often the case that the students regard the supplementary course as a preparation for entering schools of a higher level. As the students say, it is not a supplementary course but a "review course". According to the Minister of Education, in North Phyongan Province, too, the supplementary courses have been regarded as "review courses".

Many agricultural cooperatives have been organized in our countryside now. In order to consolidate them and increase their production, the old-fashioned handicraft technique must be replaced by modern technique, and this requires large numbers of technical personnel in the countryside. The supplementary courses in agriculture attached to the junior middle schools in the rural areas aim precisely at solving this problem. We do not ask much of these courses. If in one year of intensive study the students are taught such simple technical subjects as the methods of manuring and cultivating crops, knowledge of the soil, ways of using agricultural chemicals, knowledge of blight and harmful insects, rudimentary skills in handling farm machinery, and advanced methods of farming, they will be able to work efficiently when they are assigned to the agricultural cooperatives.

If the agricultural cooperatives only draw on old experience in farming, they cannot make progress. We do not reject experience in general. Good experience can make for advancement, but the empiricism manifested in shortsightedness, narrowness and sticking to

old experience impedes advance. Herein lie the significance of supplementary courses in technology and the reason the higher middle schools have been reorganized into technical schools. We must train technicians and skilled personnel in large numbers by running technical schools and supplementary courses in industrial technology in industrial districts, and by effectively running agricultural schools and supplementary courses in agro-technique in the countryside.

More than 14,000 assistant agronomists are needed, if we assign only one to each agricultural cooperative now. And if only a few agro-technicians, including those in sericulture and livestock breeding, are to be allocated to every provincial and county people's committee, we need several thousand. If we train technicians at a snail's pace as at present, the problem will not be solved even in ten years.

Taking this situation into account, the curricula of all types of schools under the system of general education should be revised with an eye to teaching the fundamentals of production technology. Only then will it be possible to achieve a successful, early solution to the problem of technical personnel, a matter of urgency everywhere—in factories, mines, rural areas and fishing villages and on construction sites.

* * *

In conclusion, I should like to touch briefly on the need to improve explanatory and information work on the perspectives for our economic development and the difficulties confronting us.

Some people seem to wonder why the people's living conditions do not improve in spite of our great achievements in economic construction. We have done much and the results are indeed enormous. But, as you all know, the war damage was so serious that after the truce we had to give priority to the rehabilitation and expansion of the

devastated factories, mines, railways, etc. and at the same time raise the people's living standards rapidly. We are following the line of not merely restoring industry to its former state but rebuilding it on the basis of new technology, of eliminating the weaknesses of the old colonial industry and establishing an independent industry. Hence our Party has adhered to the principle of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and has made great efforts to build the base of a machine-building industry which did not exist in our country before. We have used, and are still using, our domestic resources and aid from fraternal countries mainly for this purpose. Such being the situation, it is understandable that the people's life can hardly be improved in a day.

Nevertheless, although we are now short of many things, our living conditions are, in fact, far better than during the war or immediately after the truce. This is due to the fact that, while giving priority to the rehabilitation and growth of heavy industry, our Party simultaneously ensured the rapid development of light industry and agriculture in order to improve the people's living conditions. In particular, now that the foundations of heavy industry have been laid to a certain degree thanks to its rapid growth, there is no doubt that our living conditions will improve faster than ever.

We must correctly conduct information work about our Party's policy and its achievements and about our present-day living conditions and our prospects. Falsehood and exaggeration in information work will be detrimental to mobilizing the broad masses for socialist construction.

For example, we should explain the situation to the peasants so that they understand why there is not enough fertilizer. Instead of saying fair words about the development of the chemical industry, we should point out to them that the fertilizer plants which suffered extremely severe damage are now being rebuilt, that fertilizer cannot gush forth at once in a stream like a surging flood in the rainy season, but that it will be possible to supply enough fertilizer from 1958 after we have completely restored the factories by hard work.

At the same time, we should correctly explain to factory and office

workers and other sections of the population why we cannot at present supply them with sufficient food grain, and why the price of rice is still high in the markets. We must frankly explain to the workers that this problem can be solved only when they supply the countryside with farm machinery, fertilizers and consumer goods in large quantities, thereby enabling the peasants to produce an abundance of grain, and that until then the food situation may remain somewhat difficult.

The same can be said about the problem of cloth. We are now turning out more fabrics than in prewar days. Then why is the problem of cloth so acute? It is due to the fact that the demand is immense, because the people lost everything, even mattresses, quilts and clothes, in the US imperialists' barbarous bombing during the war. I hear that some say the price of cloth is high, but the problem would not be solved even if it were lowered. The price of cloth has been set fairly in view of the present purchasing power of the population. It will be possible to reduce it sharply and solve the problem of fabrics completely only when plenty of cloth is produced. This will be made possible by rapidly developing the textile and other branches of light industry on the basis of accelerating the development of heavy industry, which has priority. Our information work should also explain this clearly.

Thus, our information work should be frank and explicit and tell the truth as it is. The people will then overcome every difficulty, advance valiantly with firm confidence in the future, and devote all their energy to the struggle for their own happiness and the country's development and prosperity.

Today things are going very well with us and we have the promise of a brighter future. In contrast, the situation in south Korea is gloomy indeed, and its people are groaning in hunger and poverty. We have the responsibility for rescuing our south Korean compatriots from such a miserable plight.

In order to carry into effect the peaceful reunification programme outlined by the Party and the Government, we have to consolidate the socialist economic base in the northern half of Korea and improve the

people's life. As the days go by, the people in the southern half, looking longingly at the paradise in the north, will curse the living hell of the south and, rallying firmly around our Party, will come out bravely in the national salvation struggle against the US imperialists' colonial plunder and the Syngman Rhee clique's traitorous rule, the source of all their misery and distress.

The socialist economic base now being soundly built in the north constitutes not only the material basis for reunification but will serve as a decisive guarantee for the successful rehabilitation of the economy and the rapid improvement of the people's life in south Korea after reunification. Socialist construction in the north, therefore, instills great hope not only in the people of the northern half but also in the people of the south, and will prove a strong impetus to the latter to rise in just struggle.

All Party organizations, Party members and working people in North Phyongan Province are today greeting the Third Party Congress with bigger achievements at work—a congress of great significance in our Party's life. After the congress, they should all be mobilized, following the path indicated by the congress, to fulfil the assignments of the Three-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule and to make the material and ideological preparations for the future Five-Year National Economic Plan.

I am convinced that, under the guidance of the Party Central Committee, the Party organizations and Party members in North Phyongan Province will fulfil this honourable revolutionary task well.

**REPORT TO THE THIRD CONGRESS
OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA
ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE**

April 23, 1956

Comrades,

Eight years have elapsed since the Second Congress of our Party to this congress. In this period great changes have taken place in the international and internal situation.

In our domestic life the Party has waged a consistent and unyielding struggle for the country's peaceful reunification, and has consolidated and developed in every way the system of people's democracy established in the northern half of Korea.

Under the leadership of our Party, the entire people, with the working class at the head, have defended with honour their people's democratic system against the invasion of the world's imperialist reactionaries, and are successfully laying the foundation of socialism in the northern half, the material basis for national reunification.

On the international scene this period has witnessed a tremendous growth in the might of the countries belonging to the socialist camp including the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and their increasingly decisive role in the political and economic life of the world; the forces of world peace and democracy opposed to war and imperialism have grown and become invincible.

The path we have traversed in the period under review has been

rough and rugged. Guided by the all-conquering theory of Marxism-Leninism, however, our Party, surmounting all obstacles and difficulties, has pressed forward, and is pressing forward dauntlessly.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Comrades,

During the period under review, the camp of socialism and democracy has been expanded and has grown into a still greater force, while the solidarity and alliance of the peoples in this camp has been further consolidated.

Today socialism has already emerged from the confines of a single country into a world system. The historical transition from capitalism to socialism has already become a process of world history.

The imperialists of the world led by the United States are making every attempt to trigger off aggression and a new war in order to check their decline and further expand their sphere for securing maximum profits. But this attempt is daily meeting with failure owing to the peace policy pursued by the peace-loving countries and the vigorous anti-war struggle of peoples throughout the world.

The positive measures taken by the countries of the socialist camp and peace-loving countries for the relaxation of international tensions have given a greater impetus to the world's peace movement.

The decisive superiority of the camp of socialism and democracy over the capitalist system is becoming more evident with every passing day.

The Soviet Union has fulfilled two postwar five-year plans successfully ahead of schedule and its political and economic might is growing still further. Production in all branches of the national economy is increasing on the basis of advanced science and technology, and all the achievements of its fast-developing science and

culture serve the purpose of promoting the welfare of the people. Thus, the Soviet Union is now advancing vigorously towards a communist society, the most cherished desire of mankind.

In Asia, during the period under review the people's revolution in China has been victorious. The 600 million people of China have broken free from the colonial yoke of imperialism and are now confidently moving forward towards socialism. They have become an important member of the camp of democracy and socialism. This has had a tremendous impact on the advancing national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Thus, the People's Republic of China has today become a strong bulwark of peace in the East.

In Europe, the German Democratic Republic, a worker-peasant state, has come into being on the territory of Germany, the hotbed of two world wars, and is gaining strength and developing day by day. This not only constitutes a major victory for the forces of peace and democracy in Germany, but augments the strength of the camp of socialism and democracy, and aims a telling blow at the imperialist camp which is attempting to ignite a new war by using German territory as a springboard.

The Korean people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Albania, Mongolia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam make up the mighty socialist camp, and are forging ahead vigorously for the common aim—peace, democracy and socialism.

Thus, the capitalist sphere of influence has dwindled drastically. Today socialism is spread over a vast territory of the world with a huge population. Half the population of Europe, 300 million, have embarked on the road of socialism, and nearly half the total population of Asia—1,400 million—are living under a people's democratic system.

The socialist and democratic camp is strong not only because it has such a vast territory and large population, but also because of the close friendship, solidarity and unity linking its peoples.

This unity and solidarity stems from the nature of their social system which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist party and where power is in the hands of the working class and other sections of the working people. No force can break this unity and solidarity.

The power of this solidarity was vividly manifested in the active support and aid of the democratic and socialist camp, and especially in the valuable, brotherly aid rendered by the Chinese People's Volunteers during the just Fatherland Liberation War of the Korean people.

Giving full play to their inexhaustible creative abilities, the peoples of the socialist and people's democratic countries including the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are tirelessly engaged in peaceful labour and marching forward undeviatingly for the victory of socialism and communism.

This inspires and stimulates the peace-loving peoples throughout the world beyond measure and gives them new hope and a firm belief in victory.

Comrades, the accursed colonial system which fettered the peoples of Asia comprising more than half the world's population is crumbling to dust. Asia has now assumed an entirely new look.

Over the vast territory of China, the people's revolution paving the way to socialism has triumphed, and under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the building of socialism is now progressing rapidly in all branches of the national economy. The ever-growing political and economic might of the People's Republic of China greatly inspires to victory the Asian peoples who are fighting for national independence and peace.

The victory scored by the Korean people in the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders, whose aim it was to make Korea the starting point for another war in Asia, was a major victory for the Asian peoples opposing the colonialists, and greatly encouraged and stimulated the peoples of dependent countries in their struggle for freedom and independence.

The Vietnamese people have won a brilliant victory in their heroic

eight-year-long struggle against the imperialists. The Vietnamese people, guided by the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, are gaining major results in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam and the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy with the aid of the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and with the support of peace-loving forces all over the world.

The Indian people have freed themselves from the centuries-old rule of British imperialism and won national independence. Especially in recent years, the Republic of India has been playing a big part in the cause of friendship and peace among nations against colonialism and war incendiarism.

The peoples of Burma and Indonesia have also extricated themselves from colonial enslavement and entered upon the path of national independence. Recently Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco on the African Continent have also won independence. In many Asian and African countries still under the colonial yoke, the national-liberation movement is raging fiercely.

All this shows that today the liberation movement of the colonial peoples is sweeping across Asia and Africa like angry waves, and that this movement cannot be checked by any armed force or any military alignment.

All these events tolling the death of the imperialist colonial system in Asia and Africa, help tremendously towards the victory of our revolution.

Comrades, the general crisis of capitalism which has become all the more acute since the Second World War, is shaking capitalism to its very foundation and driving the imperialists into a blind alley.

In the socialist state of the Soviet Union, despite the serious war damage to its national economy, industrial output in 1955 was more than 20 times higher than in 1929, whereas that of the whole capitalist world was up by only 93 per cent in the same period. Even in the United States which had very favourable conditions, production grew only a little more than two-fold.

Since the war the United States has had serious production cutbacks

on as many as three occasions, but its economic crisis which had been aggravated since 1948, was eased for a time by the arms drive stepped up during the three-year Korean war.

The US imperialists sought to recover from their economic crisis and line their pockets with the maximum profits of monopoly capital at the cost of the immeasurable sacrifices and sufferings of the Korean people.

But no moves of the imperialists can stop the worsening general crisis of world capitalism.

The narrowing down of the capitalist world market due to the formation of the new socialist world market has precipitated contradictions between the capitalist powers over the market. Furthermore, the contradictions between the imperialist powers and the colonial peoples have worsened, and those between capital and labour become more acute because of the militarization of the economy, intensification of the arms drive and impoverishment of the working people by the ruling circles. Under such conditions, the ruling classes of the imperialist states, the US warmongers in particular, are making frantic attempts to overthrow the governments of the working people in the countries that have taken the socialist path and to shackle these countries again in an attempt to gain world domination.

Evidence of the “policy of strength” pursued by the US imperialists is expressed in the aggressive military alignments, establishment of military bases on the territories of other countries, rapid expansion of armaments, the increasing menace of atomic war, and the like.

As is universally known, military blocs such as “NATO”, “SEATO”, the “West European Alliance” and the “Bagdad Pact” have been formed under pressure of the US imperialists. These military lineups are big factors increasing the international tension.

In Europe, the US imperialists struck up the Paris Agreements and openly attempted to whip together the forces of war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies; in Asia, they have concluded a military pact with Japan and are rearming her, pursuing the policy of “making Asians fight Asians”.

Even though they signed the Korean Armistice Agreement, the US imperialists are egging on the puppet Syngman Rhee clique in south Korea to clamour for a “march north”, are occupying Taiwan which is an integral part of the People’s Republic of China, and are pursuing a series of aggressive policies against the great Chinese people and peace-loving peoples in Asia.

Just as in south Korea, they encourage an arms race on the territories of other countries in the name of “defence”, use the people of these countries as cannon fodder, and whip up a war psychosis to unleash war.

But the broad masses of the people including the working class of various countries of the world, are waging a fierce struggle to expose the intrigues of the war-makers, to firmly defend their national independence, and to safeguard peace among nations.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the countries in the socialist and democratic camp stems from the possibility of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and economic systems and is aimed at strengthening friendship and political, economic and cultural cooperation among all nations on the principles of equality and noninterference in each other’s domestic affairs. This policy is in full accord, therefore, with the ardent desire and interests of all nations, and is warmly supported and welcomed by peace-loving peoples the world over.

The Bandung Conference held in April last year with the participation of delegates from 29 countries, manifested the unanimous aspirations of hundreds of millions of Asian and African people who were opposed to colonialism and wanted a lasting peace; it clearly showed the solidarity of the peoples in these areas based on the well-known five principles, and dealt a telling blow to the imperialists.

Thus, there has appeared a vast “peace zone” comprising socialist and peace-loving countries in Europe and Asia, and inhabited by a population of nearly 1,500 million.

All these events show that today the forces of peace are incomparably stronger than the forces of war, and that they are

frustrating the desperate moves of the imperialists to aggravate international tensions and start war.

There is no doubt that if the imperialists persist in the “policy of strength” and unleash a new war, this policy and the world system of capitalism, the source of war, will be utterly destroyed.

Today we live in an era when the forces of socialism, democracy and peace are growing and strengthening, while those of imperialism are declining every day.

The Korean people, fighting in defence of the people’s democratic system, their historic gain, and for their national reunification, consider it an unbounded happiness to be a member of the mighty camp of socialism, and see in this a sure guarantee of their final victory.

Our Party will continue to take an active part in the struggle for lasting peace and security in the world. We will guard as the apple of our eye the fraternal friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union and with the People’s Republic of China and other People’s Democracies, and further strengthen political, economic and cultural cooperation with them.

At the same time, we should uphold the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and strive to establish political and business-like relations with all peace-loving countries on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and of equality.

In particular, we should fight resolutely against US imperialism’s aggressions in Asia and the revival of Japanese militarism, and with a view to intensifying the common struggle of the Asian peoples against colonialism, we should strengthen friendship and cooperation with the peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia and Japan and give active support and encouragement to the colonial peoples of Asia in their struggle for national liberation.

We will also give active support to the peace policy of the peace-loving countries of the world and to their efforts for a reduction in armaments and a ban on the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons by the great powers, and should safeguard most firmly the

freedom and independence of our country and the peaceful construction in the northern half of Korea by keeping a close watch on the sinister attempts of the enemy to unleash another war and by further strengthening our defence potential.

II. THE INTERNAL SITUATION

1. STRUGGLE FOR THE REUNIFICATION AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY AND FOR STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA

Comrades,

During the period under review great historic events have taken place in our internal life, too.

This period comprises the three periods of peaceful construction, the Fatherland Liberation War, and postwar reconstruction.

In a very complex situation, our Party has achieved major successes in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and consolidation of the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea by adopting concrete forms of struggle and measures in keeping with each changing epoch and stage.

1) THE PERIOD OF PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION FOLLOWING LIBERATION

The road to free democratic development was opened up before the Korean people with their liberation from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Our people's creative energies and political enthusiasm that had been stifled to the utmost for centuries, particularly in the days

of Japanese imperialist rule, ran high as never before.

But the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialist forces of aggression gave rise to a complex situation in our country. The US imperialists suppressed the democratic forces and whipped up the reactionary forces in south Korea in an attempt to divide the nation and, at the same time, started manoeuvring to turn south Korea into a colony.

Under such circumstances, the Party, with a view to building a completely independent democratic state, put forward the militant tasks of converting the northern half into a mighty revolutionary democratic base and mobilizing and arousing all the patriotic and democratic forces in the southern half to fight the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement.

In fulfilling these tasks set by the Party, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea formed in February 1946 played a great historic role. A form of people's government relying on a democratic national united front which rallied broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic forces in the country on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, this committee carried out the function of the people's democratic dictatorship. The revolutionary character of this people's government and its fundamental tasks were clearly set out in the 20-Point Platform.

In this way, the northern half witnessed the final establishment of the very type of government which our people had yearned after for a long time and which had been the foremost goal of our patriots for scores of years in their struggle against the Japanese imperialist rulers to win national freedom and independence.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea carried out democratic reforms including the agrarian reform and nationalization of industries.

The agrarian reform put an end to the feudal relations of production in the countryside and made the toiling peasants masters of the land.

The nationalization of industries swept away the economic foundation of the Japanese imperialists and pro-Japanese elements, put the state sector in the forefront of our national economy, and gave birth

to socialist production relations.

With the introduction of a series of democratic laws including the Labour Law, the social relations of old were rooted out and new democratic social relations established in all spheres of social life.

The democratic reforms in the northern half of Korea brought about the establishment of the people's democratic system and the democratic base as the groundwork for the reunification of the country, and the creation of the material conditions for the building of the foundation of socialism. At the same time, through the introduction of democratic reforms and an acute struggle against the reactionary classes, the class consciousness and ideological level of the workers and peasants rose and the political unity of the entire working people strengthened.

In the northern half towards the end of 1946 and early in 1947, the first elections in our history were held to the provincial, city, county, sub-county and ri people's committees on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. As a result, the North Korean People's Assembly and the North Korean People's Committee were formed in place of the North Korean Provisional People's Committee. The North Korean People's Committee, as a strengthened and more developed form of people's democratic government, continued a tenacious struggle to fulfil our revolutionary tasks throughout the country and, at the same time, set out to implement the tasks of the transition period to switch over gradually to socialism by further extending the results of the democratic reforms in north Korea and developing a planned national economy.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations of North and South Korea, held in 1948 at the initiative of our Party, expressed the unanimous resolve to boycott the traitorous separate elections in south Korea, to isolate the south Korean traitors and to bring about the reunification and independence of the country by uniting all patriotic forces regardless of difference in political views and religious beliefs. The historic significance of this conference was that it demonstrated the absolute possibility of patriotic

political parties with different political views uniting with each other and their duty to fight jointly for national reunification and independence.

After the traitorous separate elections were held in south Korea under the threat of the US imperialists and under the pressure of reactionary police terror, our Party called a consultative conference in June 1948 with leaders of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea and, with a view to preventing the division of the nation, adopted a resolution on holding nationwide elections throughout north and south Korea, setting up a supreme all-Korean legislature representing all the Korean people and enacting the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

As is generally known, in August 1948 the Supreme People's Assembly, the highest legislative body representing the whole of the Korean people, was elected in accordance with the will of the people throughout north and south Korea. It formally adopted the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and established an all-Korea Central Government.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was an epoch-making step forward in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and for its democratic development. The Republic became the banner of freedom and independence of the Korean people.

Following the proclamation of our country as a Republic, the Soviet Government, at the request of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, withdrew all its troops from Korea by the end of 1948; our Republic concluded friendly diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and thus made its debut on the international scene as a full-fledged member of the socialist camp.

With the founding of the Republic, our people came to have a more perfected, stable and developed people's democratic power.

The establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the greatest victory won by the Korean people in the history of their revolutionary struggle.

Comrades,

Since the US imperialists continued to occupy the southern half of Korea by all kinds of stratagems and on all possible pretexts and openly revealed their aggressive designs on Korea, our revolutionary struggle assumed a protracted and arduous nature. In this situation, our Party and the Government of the Republic made a strenuous effort to achieve the reunification of the country by peaceful means. At the same time, they made it the central task to consolidate and develop politically and economically the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea, the mighty bastion for national reunification, and endeavoured to strengthen the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea.

We carried out successfully the national economic plans for 1947 and 1948 and then mapped out the Two-Year National Economic Plan for 1949-50. This plan envisaged improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people and fresh advances in the sphere of education, culture, public health, by attaining the pre-liberation production level in the major branches of the national economy and reconstructing part of our industries.

The main difficulties in developing our national economy in the period of peaceful construction following liberation, lay in the extreme colonial one-sidedness of Korea's industry, in the destruction inflicted on our national economy by the Japanese imperialists when they were defeated, and in the separation of the industrial zone of north Korea from the agrarian zone of south Korea due to the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists. Therefore, we in north Korea had to pay special attention to establishing new industries and to increased agricultural production.

In the five years following liberation, the northern half of Korea was faced with enormous difficulties, but under the correct leadership of our Party and thanks to the devoted efforts and struggle of all the working people enormous success was registered in all fields—political, economic and cultural.

Thus, the people in the northern half came to enjoy to the full their

hard-won happiness and the fruits of their peaceful labour in town and countryside; they began to take immense pride in the fact that their creative labour could bring prosperity and progress to their country. All the people came to realize that the people's democratic system was the only one which guaranteed them freedom and happiness, and were filled with firm determination to safeguard the people's government as the apple of their eye.

However, in the southern half of Korea under US imperialist occupation, the picture was quite different. In south Korea following liberation, owing to the colonial policy of the US imperialists and the traitorous policy of the Syngman Rhee clique, the national economy has deteriorated year after year, and the people's standard of living has worsened beyond recognition. Exploitation and oppression of the working people have been intensified, and millions have no job at all.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppets set up a fascist ruling system in south Korea, and have continued to intensify their terror and repressions against democrats and patriots. According to press reports from south Korea, the number of persons detained in prison in south Korea from the time of liberation to July 1949 exceeded 150,000, while 97,000 were put to death.

The working people including the working class and patriots in south Korea waged a fierce struggle against the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee gang, and the people's resistance struggle and strikes continued.

As you see, in the five years following the liberation of our country and its division into north and south, the contradictions and conflicts grew very acute between the democratic forces on the one hand endeavouring to achieve the peaceful reunification and independence of Korea in opposition to the US imperialists' aggressive policy towards Korea and their lackeys, the traitorous reactionary clique in south Korea, and the reactionary forces opposed to them on the other.

The historic achievements of the revolution in north Korea and the corresponding rapid growth of our revolutionary forces, plus the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal national-liberation struggle of the south

Korean people upsurging under their impact, struck great terror and unrest in the hearts of the US imperialist occupiers of south Korea and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, their minions.

Consequently, the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique prepared over a number of years for a criminal aggressive war with the aim of crushing all popular resistance in south Korea and overthrowing the people's democratic system in north Korea, so as to turn the whole of Korea into a colony of US imperialism and enslave our people, and then to convert it into a military base directed against the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and other nations in Asia.

With a view to reducing the tensions between the north and the south and reunifying Korea peacefully, talks with the south Korean authorities were proposed by the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea in the first part of June 1950, and by the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, about the middle of the same month.

However, at the instigation of the US imperialists, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique answered these proposals by starting the criminal war they had prepared.

Our people rose as one against this adventurous provocation of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique to safeguard their revolutionary gains.

2) THE PERIOD OF THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

Comrades,

The just Fatherland Liberation War of our people in defence of the freedom and independence of the country and the people's democratic system against the invasion of the international reactionary forces of 16 nations headed by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, lasted for three years.

Owing to the war we had to suspend peaceful construction, and all

our forces were mobilized for victory in the war. Under the slogan of our Party, “Everything for victory in the war!” hundreds of thousands of young men and women volunteered for the front to defend their country; workers, peasants, office employees, working intellectuals and all patriots regeared all their work on a war footing and rose up for victory in the war.

Our Party promptly reorganized all work on a wartime footing and carried out organizational work for the consolidation of the front and the rear.

The Party sent tens of thousands of its best cadres and members into the People’s Army and in this way rapidly reinforced our army and raised its fighting efficiency; it conducted political and ideological work so that the fighting forces would fully understand the justness of the Fatherland Liberation War and so that they would be educated and trained in patriotism and in an invincible revolutionary spirit.

In order to consolidate our rear, the Party and the Government turned all state enterprises possible into munitions factories, dispersed some enterprises and evacuated them to safe areas to continue production and, at the same time, took measures to ensure food production in the countryside.

The three-year war forced upon us by the US imperialists caused us untold losses in manpower and materials.

However, the Party was not discouraged by any difficulty or obstacle, but opposing all renegades, cowards and waverers within its ranks, inspired the people with belief in victory, always led and roused them to the just struggle.

In the difficult period of the war the Party enjoyed the ever-increasing confidence and support of the masses of the people. Precisely this made us invincible in all the complicated stages of the war—advance, retreat, and positional warfare, and enabled us to win a historic victory.

In speaking of the historic victory won by the Korean people in the war, mention must be made of the peerless heroism and selflessness displayed by the People’s Army that was organized, fostered and

trained by our Party following liberation and inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

From the first day of the war officers and men of our People's Army, consisting of the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, regarded it as their sacred duty to defend the interests of the country and the people, and in doing so displayed to the full their lofty patriotism and mass heroism. Some covered the embrasures of enemy pillboxes with their bodies so that their units could leap into the attack; others, seriously wounded in both arms and legs, crashed into enemy soldiers with grenades between their teeth and blew them up. They defended every hill, every inch of land to the last drop of blood. These facts show the lofty traits of our People's Army which fights for its dear motherland and people, not for the exploiting classes.

And in the three years of the Korean war the Chinese People's Volunteers, sharing all hardships and difficulties with our People's Army, rendered undying service in the just struggle to wipe out the common enemy. Under the banner of "Resist US aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our motherland", the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers pounded the US imperialist armed aggressors in close cooperation with the Korean People's Army and thus set a lofty example of genuinely proletarian internationalism, fully demonstrating the great force of internationalist aid in the struggle against the armed aggression of the imperialists.

The historic victory of the Korean people in the war was due also to the stability of our rear.

In order to help our People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers in their combat operation, our guerrilla detachments composed of patriots—men, women and children—fought staunchly behind the enemy lines. Under the guidance of Workers' Party members, they cut the enemy's communication lines, wrecked bridges, derailed his military trains, burnt down his depots, wiped out occupationists and punished traitors, thereby aiming heavy blows at him, striking terror into him, and rescuing many people from his brutalities and massacre.

Our people put up a heroic struggle defending their posts in defiance of the bestial bombings of the US imperialists and even in dangerous circumstances when poison-gas shells and germ bombs exploded.

Under the difficult conditions of war, our factory workers swiftly organized production by successfully evacuating major arsenals to safe places, and our workers in mines, factories and enterprises, oblivious of fatigue, always ensured wartime production with all the energy they could muster, fulfilling and overfulfilling the assignments of the state plan.

With the active assistance of the people in the rear, the railway workers ensured successfully wartime transport by promptly restoring and repairing the wrecked railways, bridges, and means of transport in spite of incessant enemy bombing raids and strafing. At the risk of their lives they saved munitions.

Our peasants fought devotedly for increased food production. They dug air-raid shelters on the edge of their fields, and camouflaged themselves and their oxen as if at the front when doing field work. The enemy made brutal bombing raids on rural districts, but the peasants carried on with their farm work. They also played a great part in transporting war supplies near the front and restoring roads and bridges in the rear.

During the grim war, our working intellectuals, too, worked devotedly for victory in the war. Although the educational and cultural facilities were demolished, workers in the field of education and culture carried on public education and cultural work by all possible ways and means, upholding the educational and cultural policy of the Party and the Government; and public health workers satisfactorily carried out medical treatment of wounded soldiers and people injured in air raids, and the work of wartime public health, particularly the anti-epidemic and prophylactic work.

Our writers and artists contributed to the work of encouraging the people and soldiers and inspiring them with victory and of educating them in patriotism and mass heroism by producing excellent works

which truthfully depicted the heroism, patriotism, and devotion of the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers and our people. And office employees in all establishments and organizations guarded their workplaces well and managed the state organs and social organizations with efficiency.

Magnificent, indeed, are the services rendered by our heroic people during the grim three years of the Fatherland Liberation War.

The righteousness of our struggle prompted hundreds of millions of people all over the world to render substantial assistance and support to our people and raise their voices in protest against the aggressors.

The Soviet Union did its utmost for peaceful settlement of the Korean question and scathingly exposed and condemned the aggressive acts of the US imperialists against Korea and their brutalities. The Soviet Union made a substantial contribution towards the early termination of the sanguinary war in Korea by firmly supporting the just proposals we put forward at the ceasefire talks to expedite an armistice. The great Soviet people sent our people large quantities of food, clothes, medicines, and equipment, materials and goods of various kinds needed for the development of the national economy.

The great Chinese people launched the resist US aggression and aid Korea movement vigorously and sent us the People's Volunteers composed of their best sons and daughters, at a difficult hour when our country was faced with great danger; during the whole period of the war they sent our people an immense amount of aid including food, daily necessities and various kinds of other goods.

The peoples of our brotherly countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Albania and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam—launched a broad mass movement in their countries to help our people, and gave us immense material and moral aid throughout the war.

This internationalist aid, both material and moral, from the fraternal countries was an important factor making for our victory.

The disinterested assistance given to the Korean people by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies during our Fatherland Liberation War was a clear demonstration of the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of the socialist camp.

Comrades,

The historic victory of the Korean people in the Fatherland Liberation War is a brilliant victory of Marxism-Leninism. It has vividly proved the inexhaustible vitality of our people's democratic system and its superiority to the capitalist system, and testified to the correctness of our Party line for the creation and strengthening of the democratic base.

During the war, our people rallied firmly around our Party and the Government of the Republic, and their friendship and solidarity with the peace-loving peoples of the world were further strengthened. The valuable lessons and experience gained during the war have become a great treasure in our revolutionary movement, and immensely encourage the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Korean war clearly showed to peoples all over the world that no force can conquer a people who have risen in defence of the freedom and independence of their country against colonialism, and that the time is long past when the imperialists could exploit and oppress the peoples of colonial and dependent countries as they pleased.

The Korean war has revealed to the world once more the brutal nature of the US imperialists as aggressors and the true colours of the US imperialist forces of aggression as plunderers.

The Korean war has completely exposed and blasted the myth about the "might" of US imperialism and testified to the impotence of the armed forces in the service of dollars.

The Korean war has demonstrated beyond doubt that a people who fight resolutely against imperialist aggression for their national freedom and independence and for peace, will always receive strong

support from the camp of democracy and socialism and the peace-loving forces throughout the world, and are bound to win.

3) THE PERIOD OF THE POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Comrades,

With the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the sanguinary war in Korea came to an end and our people returned to peaceful economic construction.

We were confronted with the stupendous task of turning the ceasefire into a lasting peace, of further strengthening the democratic base in the northern half—the source of our revolution—politically, economically and militarily, and converting it into a mighty material force for the country's peaceful reunification.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic worked out the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy whose main task was to regain, first of all, the prewar level in all branches of the national economy, and organized and mobilized the entire people for its implementation. The principal task of postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy envisaged in the Three-Year Plan did not end with the restoration of our war-ravaged economy to its former state. It was to eliminate the colonial one-sidedness of our economy left over by the long destructive rule of the Japanese imperialists, to ensure the priority growth of heavy industry so as to build the foundations of socialist industrialization in the future and, at the same time, to speedily restore and develop light industry and agriculture for stabilization and improvement of the deteriorated living standards of the people. This was the basic line of economic construction charted by our Party after the war.

All the working people led by the working class rallied to successfully carry out this important task, fired by immense political enthusiasm.

In two years and four months since we launched the Three-Year Plan, our people led by the Party have surmounted all hardships and obstacles through their creative initiative and devoted labour, and attained considerable results, encouraged by the disinterested economic and technical aid from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other fraternal People's Democracies.

(1) INDUSTRY

The postwar years witnessed major successes in our industry.

At the end of January this year, state and cooperative industries exceeded the 1956 production level envisaged in the Three-Year Plan. This means that our industrial production has been growing very rapidly in the postwar years.

In 1955, the gross industrial output value of state and cooperative organizations was 2.3 times the 1953 figure and 56 per cent higher than in the prewar year of 1949. The production of the means of production increased 3.1 times and of consumer goods, 1.7 times.

In the postwar period, our Party firmly adhered to its policy of ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with rapid restoration and development of light industry. As a result, the ratio between the production of the means of production and that of consumer goods in the total volume of industrial production changed as follows:

	1949	1953	1955
Production of the means of production (in percentages)	58.6	37.7	51.7
Production of consumer goods (in percentages)	41.4	62.3	48.3

This means that the proportion of the production of the means of production which was down in 1953 owing to the severe war damage

to heavy industry, had predominated already in 1955 as a result of the priority growth of heavy industry in the postwar period, and also that large funds were appropriated for the rapid development of light industry.

Such a high rate of industrial development in the postwar years has been ensured by concentrated capital investment in industry. Capital investment in industry in 1954-55 amounted to 25,560 million *won*, or 47 per cent of the total state investments in capital construction, of which 20,435 million *won* went for heavy industry and 5,125 million *won* for light industry.

As a result of such huge investments in the reconstruction of industry, 236 state enterprises were completely or partly restored and put into operation already by the end of 1955. Among them are the Kim Chaek and Hwanghae iron works; Kangson, Songjin and Chongjin steel plants; Suphung, Hochongang, Jangjingang power stations; Taeon and Pyongyang electrical appliances factories; Ragwon, Pukjung, Ryongsong and Huichon machine factories; chemical factories such as the Hungnam fertilizer and Pongung chemical factories; a number of mines, building-materials factories, shipyards; Pyongyang, Kusong and other textile mills; and various consumer goods factories. In addition, 71 state enterprises were newly built. Never has such large-scale industrial construction and such a high rate of progress in restoration work been known in the history of our country.

Since the war our industry has rapidly recovered from the severe damage, and its production is increasing day by day.

Production in major branches of heavy industry such as the metallurgical, ore-mining, machine-building and metalworking industries, has shown a marked growth, thereby erasing all traces of the severe damage and has already topped the level for the prewar year of 1949. In 1955 production of the machine-building and metalworking industries increased 3.3 times, ore mining 7 per cent, metallurgy 9 per cent, and building-materials industry 2.8 times compared with 1949. Only the power, fuel and chemical industries, which suffered immense damage during the war and are difficult to rehabilitate in a short space

of time, still fail to reach the 1949 level.

Along with the production of the means of production, the output of consumer goods is increasing with every year. In the same period, the output of the textile industry increased 2.2 times, the paper industry—to 106 per cent, the leather and footwear industries—to 196 per cent, the food industry—to 120 per cent, and the pharmaceutical industry—2.6 times.

The establishment of new industries that were non-existent in our country before and the resultant production of many new products, is one of the most important industrial achievements of the Three-Year Plan. Since the war new industries have been built up in our country and, as a result, products of heavy and light industries never known in our industrial history, have been produced—electrical appliances such as direct current dynamos, machine tools including new-type lathes, mining machinery, farm implements like animal-drawn seeders and weeders, and various high-grade silk fabrics.

With the setting up and rapid development of new industries, the structure of industry has changed. The share of industrial production occupied by the engineering and light industries which were most backward under Japanese imperialist rule before liberation, increased considerably. The share of the machine-building and metalworking industries in total industrial output value increased from 1.6 per cent in the pre-liberation year 1944 to 8.1 per cent in the prewar year 1949, and to 17.9 per cent in 1955, and that of the textile industry—from 6 per cent to 11.4 per cent and then to 17.2 per cent.

This shows that our industry has eliminated much of its colonial one-sidedness and disproportion left over by the iniquitous Japanese imperialist rule, and is developing in the direction of their further elimination.

Consequently, our national industry is at an important turning point in its development.

With new production techniques and advanced methods of work introduced into our industry after the war and the workers' skills improving considerably, industrial labour productivity in 1955 was 32

per cent higher than in 1949.

Steady growth of labour productivity is the most important and principal factor for the victory of the new social system. Today our working people are conducting an extensive emulation movement for increasing production in order to raise labour productivity, and in the course of it, numerous production innovators, inventors, and Labour Heroes have come to the forefront. In 1955 alone, new ideas introduced into production and construction on their creative initiative numbered more than 5,600, which brought tremendous profits to the state.

The Party has paid considerable attention to the work of training technical cadres and labour reserves for the development of industry. Between 1954-55, we trained engineers and assistant engineers—over 8,200 graduating from technical colleges and specialized technical schools and over 1,400 passing the examination for technical qualifications. Especially, during and after the war about 400 persons graduated as Bachelors of Science, engineers, and assistant engineers in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies. In addition, our Party has trained over 27,600 skilled workers at various training centres including trade schools and workers' schools. It has sent thousands of apprentice students to the fraternal countries to study advanced technology and, at the same time, has taken a number of measures to ensure a continual building up of labour reserves.

Comrades, as can be seen from this, the successes we have scored in industry in the postwar period are really great. Our industry has in the main healed its severe war wounds; heavy industry is developing at a greater speed and light industry is also growing rapidly.

(2) AGRICULTURE

In the rural economy, the Party has paid great attention first of all to the task of bringing grain production up to the prewar level during the Three-Year Plan and, at the same time, of laying the foundation for the rapid development of our agriculture in the future.

In the postwar years, we should have made large investments in agriculture and taken a number of radical measures to further increase grain output, to grow more industrial crops, and to develop livestock farming. Because our rural economy was severely devastated during the war and, originally, our arable land was limited with little possibility for extensive land development, it is very important to improve the utilization of land in every way and make use of all land lying idle. What is needed is to take account of such circumstances in rehabilitating and developing our rural economy.

When drawing up the Three-Year Plan and yearly plans, however, our personnel in charge of agricultural guidance and planning workers, motivated by subjective desires, set high plan assignments without taking carefully into account the extent of the war damage on the rural economy and other specific conditions, and failed to take sufficient steps to provide the conditions necessary for implementing those assignments. As a consequence, as was revealed during implementation of the plan, the Three-Year Plan assignments for development of agriculture proved to have little in common with reality.

At its plenary meetings in November 1954 and December 1955, the Party Central Committee set forth a concrete policy for speedy elimination of the shortcomings in the guidance of the rural economy in order to rapidly rehabilitate and develop agriculture.

In accordance with this policy, investment in the rural economy in 1956 was far larger than envisaged in the Three-Year Plan enabling irrigation and river-dike projects to be carried out on a large scale. At the same time, measures were taken to provide various machines and equipment for irrigation and pumping and increase production of farm machines and chemical fertilizers. Consequently, investments in agriculture during the postwar three-year period are likely to be 37 per cent higher than stipulated in the plan.

In the two years of 1954 and 1955 the cultivated area was extended by more than 37,700 hectares, the Phyongnam and other large-scale irrigation projects were carried out, 43 reservoirs and 568 pumping

stations were built. In 1956 irrigation projects are on a far larger scale. Since 1954 the irrigated area has been enlarged by 90,000 hectares on state capital investment alone, and river-dike projects have been carried out which will protect over 100,000 hectares of land from floods.

After the war the Party and the Government set up another 31 farm machine hire stations to raise labour productivity in agriculture and to make good the shortage of manpower and draught animals. In 1955 farm machine hire stations increased 3 times and tractors (in terms of 15 hp units) increased 3.9 times as compared with 1953, and large numbers of threshers, weeders and other animal-drawn farm implements were supplied to agriculture. Thus, the area worked by farm machine hire stations in 1955 reached 370,000 hectares.

The most outstanding event in the development of agriculture since the armistice has been the rapid growth of the agricultural cooperative movement in the socialist transformation of the countryside.

The conversion of private peasant farming into cooperative farming makes it possible to plan the development of agriculture the same as industry and to ensure the balanced development of industry and agriculture both of which are key branches of the national economy. This is of decisive importance in eliminating the sources of exploitation and poverty in the countryside and raising the material and cultural standards of the peasants. The need for agricultural cooperativization has become all the more urgent, since the rural areas of our country are short of manpower, draught animals and farm implements, and the economic basis of peasant life is very weak owing to the war damage.

In view of this inevitable need, our Party has set the task of organizing and developing agricultural cooperatives.

Based on the achievements attained in the experimental stage of 1953-54, the agricultural cooperative movement in our country has developed rapidly on a mass scale since 1955.

At the end of February 1956, there were 14,651 agricultural cooperatives in our countryside, comprising 65.6 per cent of all farm

households and 62.1 per cent of the cultivated area. As for the organizational types of these cooperatives, nearly all of them belong to the third type, which covers 96 per cent of the entire cooperatives.

The agricultural cooperatives have registered notable successes thanks to the active guidance of our Party and strenuous efforts of the cooperative members. In the past years the cooperatives have considerably raised grain yields by enlarging and improving farmlands and introducing advanced farming techniques on a broad scale; they have earned huge cash incomes by organizing livestock farming, fishery, sericulture and other sidelines.

In recent years, the agricultural cooperatives have purchased livestock and large quantities of farm implements, constructed communal buildings, and further strengthened the material foundation of collective farming by creating large common reserve funds and social and cultural funds. Large numbers of managing and leading cadres for the cooperatives have been trained, they have gained experience in practical management of the cooperative economy, and the willingness of the masses of cooperative members to participate in communal labour and their care for common property have gradually increased.

These achievements constitute an important guarantee for further strengthening and developing our agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically.

At the same time, the Party and the Government also pay great attention to giving state aid to private peasants who still account for a considerable part of our agricultural production, in this way stabilizing their farming and improving their lives.

An important step in meeting the shortage of rural manpower was the freezing of the rural labour force and the dispatch of tens of thousands of demobilized men to the countryside for farming.

Our state crop and stock farms still account for a small proportion of our country's rural economy. However, noticeable progress has been made in this area too. The state crop and stock farms made great headway mainly during the war. During 1955 they increased in number

about 6-fold and their sown area increased about 14-fold, compared with the prewar year of 1949. In the past two years, more attention has been given to their organizational and economic strengthening rather than to their numerical growth.

Our livestock farming, both state-owned and private, still lags behind. In spite of the considerable headway made during the war and in the postwar period thanks to the appropriate measures taken by the Party and the Government, our livestock farming is in need of radical improvement in the future too.

Our agricultural production in general is as yet on a low level. Our Party, all the peasants and cadres in charge of agriculture should continue to make tireless efforts to meet the needs of the national economy in agricultural produce.

(3) TRADE, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Along with the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production since the armistice, big successes have been registered in the sphere of trade.

The state and cooperative trade networks are constantly expanding and the volume of retail trade is growing. In 1955 the total retail trade turnover of state and cooperative organizations increased to 170 per cent compared with 1949.

Foreign trade has not yet reached the prewar level; turnover is only 41 per cent of 1949. We must further expand foreign trade by energetically exploring possibilities and producing exportable goods.

As a result of the correct measures taken by the Party and the Government to stabilize and strengthen the currency, money circulation has improved in postwar years, the value of money has strengthened and inflation has been checked. This enabled us to work out a stable state budget after the war, and ensure a favourably balanced budget every year.

The vast postwar rehabilitation and construction and the growth of industrial and agricultural production and trade entailed rapid

restoration and development of transport and communications.

Between the ceasefire and the end of 1955, 859 kilometres of railway lines were restored or newly laid, and 303 bridges totalling 21 kilometres were restored or built anew.

The volume of railway freight turnover in 1955 was 11 per cent bigger than in 1949, and compared with 1949 the average daily run of locomotives increased by 10 per cent on standard gauge lines and the turnaround time of freight cars was reduced by 20.9 per cent. These facts are of even greater significance in view of the fact that locomotives and freight cars still fall short of transport needs.

The volume of freight turnover by motor vehicles in 1955 was about 4 times higher than in 1949. But our river and sea transport still lags behind.

Since the war, notable restoration and expansion have been recorded in the sphere of communications, too. In 1955 ordinary domestic mail increased to 113 per cent as against 1949, and the newly-built Central Broadcasting Station equipped with the latest techniques was put into operation in 1955. In the same year the number of radio-diffusion broadcasting stations increased by 149 as against 1954.

(4) THE RISE IN THE PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

Thanks to the achievements attained during reconstruction of the national economy and to the various measures taken by the Party and the Government, the material well-being of the working people has been improving gradually and their cultural standard rising in postwar years.

During the first two years of the Three-Year Plan the national income showed a marked increase; in 1955 it increased to 160 per cent compared with 1953, and 111 per cent as against the prewar year of 1949.

During the postwar period the prices of consumer goods have been reduced on four occasions. The price index in state and cooperative

trading in 1955 was 40 per cent lower than in 1953. This gave a benefit to the population in this period of about 30,000 million *won*. During the same period, along with price reductions the monetary wages of workers and office employees increased by 35 per cent on the average. As a result, real wages showed a marked increase.

In addition, workers and office employees benefit from subsidies allocated from the social insurance and social security services and from free accommodation at holiday homes and sanatoria, and free medical care and education.

The Party and the Government of our Republic have also provided the peasants with a great deal of direct material benefits. They exempted the peasants to a great extent from bank loans, charges for facility utilization, and back taxes in kind which they had to pay to the state during the war, and loaned them large sums of money and supplied them with the necessary seed grain, provisions and fertilizers in order to help them in their farming. Accommodation of funds to the peasants during and after the war amounted to more than 5,500 million *won*. In the postwar period alone, they have been exempted from payment of more than 65,000 tons of grain out of unpaid taxes in kind, irrigation charges, grain loans which they owed to the state, and over 185,000 tons of provisions and seed grain were loaned. Moreover, the law on tax in kind was amended, so that the rate of agricultural tax in kind was reduced and fixed.

We have also scored considerable achievements in rehabilitating and constructing dwelling houses and educational, public health and cultural establishments essential in the people's everyday lives. In the period between the ceasefire and the end of 1955, dwelling houses with a total floor space of more than 3,500,000 square metres were built on state funds, along with 1,285 schools of various kinds and 182 hospitals.

The budget expenditures for social and cultural measures are increasing every year. In 1955 the state budget allocations for education, culture and the public health service were about 2.5 times as large as in 1949.

As a result of the rapid rehabilitation and development of public education, over 1,942,000 pupils and students are now studying in various schools of our Republic. At present approximately 4,800 students are studying in higher educational institutions and professional schools in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies.

After the war, over 37,000 students graduated from our higher secondary schools and various specialized schools, and more than 6,200 from the higher educational institutions.

Scientific research establishments have been expanded, and the Academy of Sciences and many other scientific research institutes are pushing ahead with their work.

What is more, different cultural organizations have greatly increased in number, while the public health establishments have expanded. The number of hospital beds has increased to 241 per cent compared with the prewar period. Hundreds of new clinics have been built while the number of doctors has increased to 114 per cent compared with prewar years.

As you see, in the postwar period the Party and the Government have done a great deal to improve the material and cultural standards of our people. However, this is as yet far from being sufficient to meet the growing requirements of our people.

Comrades,

As you see from this, our postwar reconstruction of the national economy is making good headway.

Our people's democratic system has been further strengthened on the basis of consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

Significant qualitative changes have taken place in our industry and agriculture, ties between town and country have been strengthened, and the rural socialist transformation has been accelerated.

During the period under review, after the war in particular, the socialist sector has been further expanded in all branches of our national economy.

Since the introduction of historic democratic reforms in the northern half of Korea, the economy of our country has comprised three basic sectors—the socialist economic sector consisting of state and cooperative economies, the small-commodity economic sector consisting of private farming in the countryside and private handicrafts in towns, and the capitalist economic sector consisting of capitalist commerce and industry in towns and the rich farmers' husbandry in the countryside.

The rapid expansion and growth of the socialist sector in the national economy in the past period have resulted in impressive changes in our economic structure.

In 1949 the state and cooperative organizations accounted for 90.7 per cent of our total industrial output value, while in 1955 the figure rose to 98.3. Today the main products of insignificant private enterprises are handicraft goods of daily use, and the private enterprises merely consist of diminutive rice mills, cotton-beating mills, small-scale building-materials production, and the like.

This indicates that at present almost all the industrial production in our country is in the hands of the state and cooperative economic sectors, and that in the near future all the private enterprises will be transformed along socialist lines under the political and economic influence of our developing society.

As for the rural economy of our country, the socialist sector including state crop and stock farms and farm machine hire stations accounted for only 3.2 per cent of the total agricultural output value in 1949. At that time, there were no agricultural cooperatives and nearly all agricultural produce came from the private sector of the economy. The situation, however, has now changed radically.

Thanks to the manifold increase in the state crop and stock farms and farm machine hire stations and, particularly, to the rapid increase in the number of agricultural cooperatives, the socialist economy comprising state crop and stock farms, farm machine hire stations and agricultural cooperatives became predominant in our agriculture as a whole in 1955. So the state crop and stock farms, farm machine hire

stations and agricultural cooperatives play the leading role in our rural economy and are becoming a solid foundation for the rapid development and socialist transformation of agriculture. Among the agricultural cooperatives, we still have the economic form where the private ownership of the means of production is retained and the semi-socialist economic form where the distribution of incomes is according to the amount of work done and the means of production contributed. However, as of the end of February 1956, these forms applied to only four per cent of all agricultural cooperatives, and they too will be converted completely to the socialist economic sector in the near future.

Since the agrarian reform the number of rich farmers has gradually decreased in our countryside. During the war particularly, some of them suffered heavy losses and were reduced to middle peasants or became petty urban tradesmen or manufacturers. At present, the rich farmers make up less than 0.6 per cent of our farm households and their economic basis is weak.

In the sphere of trade, too, the socialist sector gradually extended and consolidated, with the result that the share of state and cooperative trading in the gross retail turnover increased from 56.5 per cent to 84.6 between 1949 and 1955, with private trade accounting for only 15.4 per cent.

Thus, the socialist sector has already occupied an undisputedly predominant and leading position in all branches of our national economy. This will provide a firm material basis for socialist reorganization of the entire national economy in the future.

With these changes in the economic structure of the northern half of Korea, the social and class composition of the population has also experienced a notable change.

With the rapid development of state industry, the ranks of the working class have steadily grown. At the end of 1955 the number of workers was 42 per cent greater than in 1949 and 47 per cent greater than in 1953.

The speedy growth of the membership of agricultural cooperatives

has brought about a profound change in the composition of the peasantry.

All these facts point to marked economic and social progress in our struggle for the building of socialism.

2. FOR THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY IN THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA

Comrades,

Many assignments of the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy have already been fulfilled. There is not the least doubt that all the assignments of the plan will be fulfilled or overfulfilled ahead of schedule. The successful implementation of the Three-Year Plan will afford us ever greater prospects of developing the national economy and the possibility of drawing up the First Five-Year Plan of the National Economy, a longer-term plan for economic and cultural construction.

During the First Five-Year Plan that starts next year, considerable progress will have to be made in building socialism in the northern half of Korea, on the basis of all the achievements scored in the postwar years.

The task is to further expand and develop the socialist sector in all branches of the national economy, push ahead with greater energy in building the basis of industrialization, raise the production of light industry and agriculture to a new high, and steadily improve the material and cultural life of the people.

The leading role in the development of the national economy in the five-year period will be played, above all, by heavy industry. Without the priority development of heavy industry, we cannot ensure extended reproduction in all economic branches, or technical reconstruction of

the national economy and a steady growth of labour productivity.

Relying on the priority growth of heavy industry, therefore, we must rapidly develop light industry and agriculture, and thus promote the material well-being of the people.

1) INDUSTRY

From now on we must develop industry at a faster rate. We must completely eliminate the colonial one-sidedness of our industry and accelerate socialist industrialization in our country by building more up-to-date factories and reconstructing the existing ones.

We must give priority to the development of the metallurgical, electric power, machine-building, coal, chemical and building-materials industries which are the foundation for the all-round growth of the national economy. In particular, we must rapidly develop the machine-building industry, the weakest link in our country.

In developing the machine-building industry, we must ensure the technical reconstruction of the industry itself and equip all branches of the national economy including agriculture, transport, communications and, particularly, large-scale construction work, with new techniques.

As for light industry, we must build more new factories which will be run in the main on domestic raw materials, expand the existing ones, and thus bring about a marked increase in the output of daily necessities for the people.

(1) METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY

The cardinal task of the metallurgical industry in the Five-Year Plan period is to continue the rehabilitation and construction of blast furnaces, coking ovens, open-hearth furnaces and electric furnaces, and to further expand the rolling equipment so as to meet the demand for steel.

We must boost the output of pig iron 2.8 times, granulated iron 3 times, steel 3 to 3.5 times, and rolled steel 3.5 to 4 times respectively

in 1961 compared with 1956.

Steps should be taken so that the Songjin Steel Plant turns out more special steels such as high-speed steel and carbonic instrument steel, and various steel sheets and plates such as silicon steel sheets. We should make preparations to start full-scale expansion projects for the Kim Chaek Iron Works in 1960.

In the nonferrous metallurgical industry, the electrolysis capacities of the smelteries should be continuously expanded to turn out more copper, zinc and lead, and the nonferrous metal rolling equipment further expanded or newly installed to produce copper sheets and copper wire. Research on alloys must be intensified, and preparations be made to establish the industry producing alloys of nonferrous and rare metals.

To satisfy the growing demands of the metallurgical plants for raw materials, the extraction of our country's rich mineral resources should be further stepped up. In the mining industry the productivity of existing mines should be raised considerably through mechanization, and measures taken to sink new mines. The commissioning of the Kapsan Copper Mine should be hastened, and the cobalt mine in the Hochon area and the tungsten mines in the Rangnim Mountains developed.

Most important of all in developing mines is prospecting work. During the First Five-Year Plan we must increase the number of prospecting teams to carry on prospecting work everywhere, and large-scale mining districts should be created in Ryanggang Province and in the Tanchon area in the future.

To intensify the ore assay and research important for the mining industry, the necessary laboratories should be set up and appropriate personnel trained.

A long-range plan for the advancement of the mining industry should be worked out in accordance with the prospects of developing the metallurgical industry, and an end should be put to the hand-to-mouth practice of exploring and mining ores for immediate use in the given year, as is the case at present.

(2) MACHINE-BUILDING AND POWER INDUSTRIES

The task of the machine-building industry in the five-year period is to produce machine tools and electrical, agricultural, mining and building machinery, engines and ships in larger quantities.

We must further improve the equipment of machine-building factories built after the war, complete those in the process of construction, and build more. In this way, we have to lay a solid foundation for the more rapid development of our machine-building industry which is lagging behind.

Last year for the first time we built large numbers of mining machines, improved types of farm machines, ships, transformers and electric motors, which were put into operation in mining, agriculture and the fisheries. This is stupendous. For us Koreans to have produced for ourselves such engineering products as machine tools, electric motors and engines is unprecedented in our history, and a great revolution in our industrial development.

We should produce greater quantities and a wider range of machine tools and implements by completing the construction of machine-tool plants and the Unsan Tool Factory, which constitute the basis of our machine-building industry.

The Taean Electrical Machinery Plant should be better equipped, and plans should be made to build a heavy electric machinery shop and an electrometers and low-pressure appliances factory. A general electrical appliances factory should be built in Pyongyang, so that various types of electric motors and transformers, electric wire, electrometers and electrical appliances for domestic use are turned out at the end of 1961.

Various kinds of mining machines such as rock-drills, crushers, ball mills, winches, and air compressors, which are needed in the mines, and building machines required for huge capital construction, should be produced in a big way. Beginning with small-sized cranes, we should go on to manufacture large numbers of turret cranes, concrete

mixers, conveyers, excavators, etc.

The improved farm machines now being produced must be of better quality and, further, along with animal-drawn farm implements, power-driven machines should be produced step by step.

The shipbuilding industry should gradually go over to the building of small-sized iron-clad ships.

And the construction of an engine factory, a motorcar assembly plant and a railway coach and wagon repair plant should be completed.

All the repair plants and machine-building factories should strive to further increase the operation rate of machines, turn out more machines, equipment and machine parts needed in different fields of the national economy, and also produce bicycles, sewing machines and household utensils for the people's everyday use.

In order to meet the requirements of our rapidly growing industry for electric power and ensure the smooth supply of electricity to the population, the rehabilitation of power stations and restructuring of power transmission networks and power distribution stations should be completed.

The construction of the Tongnogang and Kanggye Power Stations interrupted by the war, should be resumed, and the former should be completed by 1959 and the latter put partially into operation in 1961.

Thus, power production will have to reach 8,500 million kwh in 1961. What is more, in order to push forward energetically with the survey and exploitation of our country's future power resources, the upper reaches of the Taedong River and the Amnok, Tongno and Chongchon Rivers should be explored.

(3) COAL INDUSTRY

The chief task of the coal industry is to put an end to the intolerable practice of importing large quantities of coal every year while virtually sitting on a mountain of coal, and to satisfy the ever-growing coal demands of industry, transport and the population on its own.

During the First Five-Year Plan we should increase the output of coal more than 1.7 times as compared with 1956.

In order to increase coal production, we should not disperse our forces, but should concentrate supplies of equipment, machines and materials and allocate technical forces mainly to the major coal mines. Loading and conveying operations in the coal mines should be mechanized first of all, tunnels should be standardized, and underground work made one hundred per cent safe.

Along with the reconstruction of existing coal mines, plans should be drawn up for prospecting and exploiting new ones, and the Haengyong area, a promising coal field, should also be prospected.

We should direct special attention to increasing the output of high-calory coal which is in short supply, and meet the requirements of the railways with domestic coal by making briquettes of anthracite.

The major coal mines should be furnished with coal-dressing plant in order to improve the quality of coal produced; measures should be taken for effective use of coal by setting different grades and standards of coal for different uses.

Factories and enterprises should improve the control of heat and make strenuous efforts to economize on coal by all means.

Fuel scientists and technicians should solve the question of gas coal for our industry and the question of municipal gas supplies by conducting research on the gasification of anthracite.

(4) CHEMICAL, BUILDING-MATERIALS AND TIMBER INDUSTRIES

An important task for the chemical industry is to increase the output of chemical fertilizers for agriculture.

The ammonium sulphate plant of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory should be completely rehabilitated, a new ammonium nitrate shop built, the Pongung Chemical Factory completely restored to increase the output of nitrolime fertilizer, and measures for the production of ammonium chloride and phosphate fertilizers should be taken, with a

view to achieving an annual output of chemical fertilizers in 1961 of over 400,000 tons.

Along with the production of fertilizers, steps should be taken to produce various agricultural chemicals and reagents.

Caustic soda and dye factories should be newly built; the Pongung Carbide Factory completely rehabilitated to extract alcohol from carbide; and preparations should be made for the production of organic and synthetic products such as synthetic fibres and vinyl chloride.

With its rich resources of power, limestone and anthracite, our country has the possibility of creating a large-scale electro-chemical industry in the future. The Aoji Chemical Factory and the Yongan Chemical Factory will have to produce plastic goods; applied chemistry and the pharmaceutical industry should also be developed.

Vast capital construction entails large quantities of building materials. We should promote cement production so that we turn out 1-1.5 million tons of cement every year.

We should produce prefabricated concrete parts; concrete should be used as a substitute for girders on iron bridges, electric poles, sleepers and the like in order to economize on timber and steel.

It is also important for the building-materials industry to increase the production of bricks and roofing tiles and improve their quality.

The output of artificial and natural slates and various kinds of stone should also be increased.

In the production of building materials, local raw materials should be widely used; not only the state-owned factories but cooperative organizations and individuals should also produce building materials and fixtures extensively. The Party and the Government should help wherever necessary in this work.

It is the basic task of the timber industry to push forward vigorously with afforestation and the work of protecting and cultivating forests in order to rehabilitate and expand timber resources which suffered much devastation, and to take every possible measure to economize on timber: We should launch a nationwide movement for planting trees everywhere on mountains and fields and for protecting and caring for

forests. Afforestation work must be conducted under a definite long-term plan and in a planned manner, planting selected species of trees suitable for building and industrial purposes, and the rate at which planted trees take root must be raised.

Strict discipline and order should be established in felling, tree-planting and consumption of timber, and stringent measures taken to economize. Spoilage should be reduced in the production of logs; the possibility of setting up mobile wood-working plants on the spot should be studied in order to use even dead trees and branches; and measures taken to utilize wood chips at sawmills to make useful goods. Measures should be taken to eliminate all wastage of timber and to reduce the fixed amount of wood used in construction and design.

(5) LIGHT INDUSTRY AND FISHERIES

For rapid improvement of the people's living standards and promotion of their material welfare, it is necessary to further develop light industry.

In the first five-year period, close attention should be paid to textile production and the food industry since they are most essential for the people's life.

In 1961 the production of various textiles should be 1.5-2 times as great as in 1956.

The most important question in developing the textile industry is to overcome our country's shortage of raw fibre materials. For this, fibre crops should be planted widely and, at the same time, the rehabilitation of the Chongjin Spinning Mill should be accelerated to turn out rayon yarn and staple fibre from 1958; scientists should conduct research to produce rayon pulp from reeds.

The task devolving on us is to develop, by advanced, industrial methods, silk production which has a long history and tradition in our country. In the first five-year period, the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill should be completed, the capacities of silk mills stepped up, the output of raw silk and silk fabrics increased, and their quality improved,

especially the processing of silk fabrics.

The dyeing factory now under construction must be completed in 1957, so as to supply the population with bleached and dyed textiles.

We should develop the clothing industry and produce and supply large quantities of various clothes to meet the people's requirements.

With our abundant agricultural and marine products, a greater variety of foodstuffs should be turned out in plenty and their quality improved.

In order to provide the population with more cooking oil and secure oil for industrial purposes, the oil mills should be operated at full capacity, while the production of raw oil materials should be expanded.

In the paper industry, the output of various kinds of paper should be boosted by renovating existing installations and increasing the utilization of equipment, and the production of processed paper should be started anew.

The solution of the question of pulp materials is of great importance for development of the paper industry. In the five-year period measures should be taken to manufacture paper from reeds, paddy-straw and maize-stalks.

In 1961 the footwear industry should turn out a rich assortment of footwear so that every person has approximately 2.4 pairs a year.

During the First Five-Year Plan the fisheries should raise the annual catch over 1.3 times compared with 1956 to provide the people with more seafood and, further, to supply the chemical, oil-and-fat and pharmaceutical industries with more raw materials.

We must thoroughly eliminate the speculative trend of simply regarding the fisheries as a seasonal enterprise and sitting idle waiting for big shoals of fish to appear. We should keep at sea all the year round by flexibly combining and applying small and medium fishing operations including various gill-net and long-line fishing methods and by developing deep-sea fishing and whaling, and should expand the fishing grounds.

Fishing in the West Sea should be further improved in the five-year period. For this purpose, equipment suited to the specific marine conditions of the West Sea should be furnished, and, in particular, the

port on Tasa Island, North Phyongan Province, should be dredged and fishing bases created on near-by islands.

Fishing vessels and tackles should be made to serve multiple purposes. To do so their design and efficiency should be improved. The facilities of fishing ports should be rehabilitated and expanded, and measures taken for mechanizing the unloading of fish.

Investigation and research work should be stepped up so as to learn the sea conditions and movements of shoals, and special attention paid to the preservation and cultivation of marine resources.

We must improve considerably the quality of processed seafood, increase the output of refrigerated fish and improve the packing.

Both state-run and cooperative fisheries and agro-fishery cooperatives' fishing should be developed further.

(6) TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

With the rapid growth of the national economy in the first five-year period, the volume of transport will show a marked increase.

In 1961 the railway freight turnover should be boosted to 23-25 million tons, or 1.4-1.5 times that of 1949.

We must expand railway passenger traffic and organize it in a more cultured way.

An important task for railway transport is to repair the war damage in the main, expand some of its facilities and improve its technical equipment. In order to increase the carrying capacity, the railway lines between Kowon and Sinsongchon and between Koin and Kaego should be switched over to electric traction; the Komusan-Susong line should be double-tracked to cope with the increasing freight traffic on this section; and the narrow gauge railway between Hasong and Jongdo should be replaced by a standard gauge line in view of the expansion of the Haeju Cement Factory.

The technical stations and the Pyongyang marshalling yard should be enlarged, and new marshalling yards be built in Chongjin and Hamhung.

At the same time, in order to augment the carrying capacity, we will have to equip some railway sections with semi-automatic block systems and improve the communication facilities.

In 1961 the turnaround time of freight cars (standard gauge) should be reduced to less than 4.5 days and the average daily run of locomotives (standard gauge) should be more than 230 kilometres.

We must rehabilitate the locomotive and rolling stock repair depots, and during the Five-Year Plan we must not only repair rolling stock, but also manufacture by ourselves some freight cars in short supply.

In water transport, the rehabilitation of the major ports on the east and west coasts should be envisaged in the first place. In particular, a start should be made on dredging the Nampho harbour. And transport on the main rivers such as the Taedong should be further developed.

In motor transport, we must further improve and intensify the technical control and operation of motor vehicles and cater for the population by expanding motor passenger traffic. In order to improve the network of motor roads we should first rebuild most of the main roads and bridges damaged during the war.

In the field of communications, we should further expand the telephone communication network, ensure communications even with the villages still without a telephone service, and further extend the radio-diffusion networks.

These are, in general, the principal tasks of industry which must be fulfilled without fail in the first five-year period.

The Three-Year Plan was, mainly, a period of rehabilitation of existing enterprises, but the Five-Year Plan will be a period in which enterprises will be reconstructed and expanded on the basis of new techniques and new factories built.

For the implementation of these tasks, we should master and introduce advanced techniques, explore and utilize every latent reserve within industry, make much better use of the equipment, raise labour productivity, economize in all sorts of raw and other materials, and steadily reduce the cost of products.

During the Five-Year Plan, the growth of industrial production should be attained largely by introducing new methods of work and making better use of equipment. In the metal and building-materials industries alone, this method will add tens of thousands of tons annually to the production of pig iron, more than 100,000 tons to cement production and upwards of 100 million to the output of bricks.

There must be an improvement in the process of introducing into production without delay and widely popularizing the inventions and creative proposals for rationalization put forward by scientists, technicians and workers.

A major task in the industrial field should be to increase the variety of goods and improve their quality. In order to further increase the output of new manufactured goods, the ministries, bureaus and enterprises must show foresight in creating technical conditions for the production of new goods, systematically organize the work of trial production, examination and analysis, and widely introduce specialization and cooperation between shops of enterprises, between enterprises, and between branches of industry.

A rise in labour productivity and a reduction in production costs are basic to augmenting the accumulations in the national economy.

The improvement of technical equipment and the working masses' technical and cultural levels, the tightening of labour discipline and better organization of work constitute important requisites for higher labour productivity. Labour productivity in industry should be increased more than 1.5 times in the first five-year period. We must pay special attention to utilizing every possibility of mechanization and to mechanizing arduous and labour-consuming jobs. We must eliminate the waste of labour and, in particular, the intolerable loss of working hours caused by the failure to provide in time the necessary conditions for work. For this purpose, we must improve the supply of machines and materials to industrial establishments, prevent breakdowns of machinery and equipment, and heighten the sense of responsibility of management workers at enterprises for having everything ready for work in advance.

In order to raise labour productivity, it is necessary to establish system and order in fixing work norms, to put an end to the wage-levelling and cumbersome formalities in the payment of wages, and to revise the wage regulations.

We must further reduce production costs during the Five-Year Plan. One per cent reduction of the production costs of manufactured goods will yield the state more than 400 million *won* per annum. If we tap every possible reserve thoroughly, the reduction in production costs of manufactured goods alone will yield the state 40,000 to 50,000 million *won* in the five-year period. This is equivalent to nearly half the state allocations for industrial construction during the First Five-Year Plan. All the industrial establishments, therefore, should pay special attention to introducing a stringent system of economy, tapping all reserves to reduce costs, and strengthening the cost-accounting system

In establishing a strict system of economy in enterprises, it is essential to draw up correct technical, production and financial plans, strengthen the work of technical standardization on the basis of advanced methods, and widely introduce the cost-accounting system in workshops.

We must also strengthen financial discipline and control. Not only the financial agencies, but also all organizations and individuals without exception must strictly observe financial discipline and be liable to financial control.

We must make it a task for all people to put an end to the waste of raw materials, fuel, power, machines and equipment, to curtail the nonproductive administrative overhead expenses, and to multiply state accumulations. Without state accumulations we cannot allocate enough funds for our ever-growing industry.

2) RURAL ECONOMY

The important task of the rural economy during the First Five-Year Plan is, first, to considerably increase agricultural production,

particularly grain output, to satisfy the needs of the population and the national economy; and secondly, to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically and complete the work of putting agriculture on a cooperative basis.

Since the war we have done a good deal to increase farm production. But our agricultural production still fails to satisfy the demands for food and industrial raw materials. Therefore, one of the cardinal tasks of the First Five-Year Plan is to put an end to the slow progress of agriculture and develop it more rapidly.

During the Five-Year Plan, we should raise grain output to attain self-sufficiency on the whole and, on this basis, augment the production of various industrial crops and oil-bearing plants, and further develop animal husbandry.

The valuable experience and achievements gained in our struggle for the socialist transformation of agriculture have opened up prospects for the completion of agricultural cooperation within the period of the First Five-Year Plan. We must consolidate and develop the agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically and induce all peasants to join them, by intensifying the guidance and assistance of the Party and the state to them.

(1) GRAIN AND INDUSTRIAL CROPS

The solution of the grain problem is the fundamental and central task in agriculture. Without this, we can neither increase the production of industrial crops nor develop animal husbandry. In the first five-year period, we should put great emphasis on grain output and, at the same time, expand the bases for industrial crop production.

To solve the problem of grain and industrial crops, we must cultivate new lands and bring back fallow land under cultivation and, meantime, take good care of the existing sown areas. We must launch an intensive struggle against the careless use of land, and carry on extensive irrigation and river-dike projects to gradually overcome the damage inflicted by natural calamities such as drought and flood.

In the first five-year period, we must continue to push forward the construction of the Ojidon and other large-scale irrigation systems.

In constructing irrigation facilities, we should make strict technical and economic calculations and, at the same time, maintain a close balance with the national economic development plan from the standpoint of comprehensive utilization of water resources. We should not neglect the repair of existing facilities, clinging only to the construction of new ones. At the same time, much attention should be devoted to anti-erosion projects. We must pay profound attention to private irrigation works which cover a considerable part of the irrigated areas and to the irrigation and river improvement projects to be carried out by agricultural cooperatives at their own expense. From now on, the Irrigation Board must channel considerable efforts in this direction and strengthen its technical guidance, and whenever necessary, undertake to draw up designs on commission. With a view to accelerating the river-dike and irrigation projects of the cooperatives, the state will supply them with building materials and equipment such as electric motors, pumps, cement and timber.

Now that agricultural cooperation is forging ahead, the conditions have been created for undertaking extensive land development. We must carry on land development on a large scale in order to make more effective use of land, promote cultured ways in production work in the countryside and mechanize farm work.

The problem of raising grain yields in the non-paddy fields that cover three-fourths of the cultivated land is of decisive significance in increasing grain output. In 1955 the average grain yield per hectare of non-paddy fields throughout the country was 690 kilogrammes: in Jagang Province 846 kilogrammes, in North Phyongan Province 895 kilogrammes and in South Hwanghae Province 597 kilogrammes.

Why is it that per-hectare yields in North Phyongan and Jagang Provinces are higher than in other provinces? It is simply because in these provinces more maize, a high-yield crop, is planted than in other provinces.

We should definitely expand maize cultivation, bringing the area

under maize up to 500,000 hectares and more during the five-year period. Maize should be planted extensively not only as the principal crop, but also as a second crop on wheat and barley fields.

In order to ensure a steady supply of vegetables for the population, we must greatly extend the area under vegetables, especially autumn vegetables, in the vicinity of cities and industrial districts.

Cultivation of hemp, flax, tobacco, cotton and other industrial crops must be further encouraged on the principle of the right crop on the right soil. The rapid growth of the socialist sector in agriculture has created favourable conditions for an extensive application of the principle of the right crop on the right soil. Taking into account the soil and climate conditions of the given area, we must grow such crops and varieties as are best suited to it; and the distribution and technical equipment of the farm machine hire stations should correspond to this.

The work of the state seed farms and seed nurseries of agricultural cooperatives should be further strengthened and seed improved. Meanwhile, new varieties of seed suited to the local natural conditions should be produced.

We must take vigorous measures to introduce up-to-date farm implements and advanced methods of farming to replace the conventional ones. Those engaged in industry should have a correct understanding of the actual conditions in the countryside in order to make further improvements in the design and manufacture of farm machines.

During the First Five-Year Plan, our fertilizer industry will supply the countryside with far more chemical fertilizers than before the war. This, however, should not be a pretext for a drop in the production of compost and green manure. We should continue to increase the output of organic fertilizer in the rural areas.

(2) LIVESTOCK FARMING, FRUIT GROWING AND SERICULTURE

An important task in livestock farming is to provide enough draught

animals to the countryside and considerably increase the output of animal products. For the development of livestock farming, the main stress should be on laying the foundation for it in agricultural cooperatives.

Korean cattle are very good as draught animals and for their hide and meat. We must encourage the breeding of Korean cattle not only as draught animals, but also with a view to them becoming productive stock in time.

In the first five-year period, while encouraging dairy farming, we must complete experiments on the cross-breeding of dairy and Korean cattle so as to produce milk; we must set up more breeding farms and improve the breed of livestock on a large scale.

We must lay out pastures in the mountain regions where cattle and sheep can graze.

By the end of the First Five-Year Plan we will thus increase the number of cattle and pigs about 1.5 times, sheep and goats 2.4 times and the meat production of state crop and stock farms and agricultural cooperatives to more than 70,000 tons.

In order to further develop fruit growing in the first five-year period, we must improve the management of existing orchards and, at the same time, plant orchards on gently-sloping hills in the west coast areas. In this way, in the same period, the total fruit production should be increased about 1.3 times.

We must develop sericulture and increase the output of cocoons in 1961 about 3-fold as compared with 1956. In order to do this, we must extend mulberry fields in a big way by ploughing up hillocks, roadsides and the fringes of mountains, and further improve the tending of mulberry trees in the period of the First Five-Year Plan. We must also widely encourage the raising of tussah silkworms and willow-worms along with mulberry silkworm culture.

(3) THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE

Today the agricultural cooperative movement for the socialist

transformation of our rural economy is developing rapidly. However, we should not rest content with the successes achieved in the cooperative movement, but should promote further this keen movement among the peasants and consolidate the existing cooperatives organizationally and economically.

In the agricultural cooperative movement it is important not to be too hasty but to lead the individual peasants step by step along the road of cooperativization in accordance with their preparedness and strictly on a voluntary basis. For the completion of the cooperativization in all rural districts, correct organizational work is needed in the mountain areas where the peasant households are scattered, and close attention should be paid to the consolidation and development of existing cooperatives.

The socialist transformation of agriculture signifies not merely the transformation of economic forms, but also the technical reconstruction of agricultural production; it means the remodelling of the ideological consciousness of millions of peasants. The agricultural cooperatives should actively introduce advanced farming techniques to replace the backward ones, and mechanize agricultural labour on a large scale in a manner suited to our actual conditions.

We must continue to make efforts to re-educate and train cadres for cooperatives, thereby meeting the pressing demand for managerial and technical personnel.

In order to swiftly raise the ideological level of cooperative members, we must further strengthen their socialist education. In so doing, we must see to it that the cooperative members clearly understand the true value of the agricultural cooperatives and take an active part in collective labour, that they value and care for common property, staunchly safeguard the cooperatives from the subversive activities of class enemies with heightened revolutionary vigilance and firmly ensure their development.

To establish the socialist principle and order in the agricultural cooperatives is of decisive significance in consolidating and developing them.

We must organize work rationally and take every possible measure to raise labour productivity, and make payment according to the quality and quantity of the work done.

The agricultural cooperative should be managed in a democratic way on the basis of strict observance of its statutes, and valuable creative proposals made in the course of collective discussion should be actively put into effect for advancement of the work of cooperatives.

The stability of an agricultural cooperative should be judged by its economic achievements. We must therefore strive to increase the gains of the cooperatives to the maximum. Agricultural cooperatives should not be one-sided in farming, but develop their economy in a diversified way by making full use of the available natural and economic conditions and reserves.

In order to ensure success in the socialist transformation of agriculture, our Party will strengthen its guidance of agricultural cooperatives and render them material aid.

Officials' level of guidance should be raised in keeping with the new circumstances and conditions in which the agricultural cooperatives are growing and developing on a mass scale. For this purpose, we should make it the primary task of the Party to equip our leading personnel with the theory on the agricultural cooperative and with economic knowledge of the building of socialism. The Party organizations must guard against any kind of deviation which might appear in the agricultural cooperative movement, and give correct guidance in leading this mass movement.

In view of the large numbers of houses, nurseries and various cultural establishments to be built in the countryside with the consolidation and development of the agricultural cooperatives and the growth of the material and cultural requirements of the peasant masses, the state should duly help and accelerate this work.

We must point out the major role played by the state crop and stock farms and by the farm machine hire stations in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

State crop and stock farms should become models and helpmates of the agricultural cooperatives. In the five-year period these farms should be more active in introducing the achievements of advanced agricultural science, strengthen cost accountancy, and raise their income, so as to fully demonstrate the superiority of a large-scale state economy.

The farm machine hire stations should serve as the major bases for consolidation and development of agricultural cooperatives and socialist transformation of the rural economy. During the Five-Year Plan, the network of farm machine hire stations should be further expanded and strengthened.

If we correctly put into practice the agricultural cooperative policy, our Party's basic policy in the rural problem, socialism will triumph in our countryside, and a new upsurge in production and flourishing of culture will be seen.

3) CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Capital construction is of prime importance in continued postwar rehabilitation of the ravaged factories and enterprises, in realizing the socialist industrialization of the country and further developing the national economy. Today, in particular, when annual capital investments amount to some 30,000 million *won*, we should pay greater attention to capital construction, employing industrial methods without fail.

The basic orientation of capital investment in the five-year period should be the continued allocation of a large portion of the funds for productive construction and the guaranteeing of a faster tempo for productive construction than for non-productive construction. Above all, the construction of key industries, the basis of our national economy, should be the central theme of investment, and great investment should be made continuously in agricultural construction,

too, for the rapid development of the rural economy.

In capital construction, we should not disperse materials and manpower, but make effective use of investments.

We should strictly define the order of priority in determining construction projects, and direct close attention to the improvement of technical equipment of existing production facilities and to their maximum use.

Meantime, as for the iron works, power stations and other long-range construction projects, serious attention should be paid to their preliminary construction.

Urban construction must be carried out according to plan. We should not build the kind of dwelling houses we have been building up till now, the majority of them temporary and semi-permanent. From now on, we should build three or four-storey modern houses in the cities. This means that we have to tackle our construction work in any event by new advanced methods—industrial methods.

It is very important to standardize designs and structural parts and components, widely apply the prefab method in construction and mechanize building processes. Standardization of design constitutes a prerequisite for carrying out construction work by the prefab method.

The switchover to the prefab method in construction is of importance not only in facilitating building operations and considerably raising labour productivity, but also in increasing the speed of construction and improving its quality.

Standard designs can be used for many buildings, especially dwelling houses and various public buildings, with the exception of individual factories and specific buildings, and can also be used for factories having similar installations.

Designing must be national in form and socialist in content.

It is impossible to industrialize construction work without industrializing the production of building materials. In the five-year period we must build reinforced concrete block factories and produce large quantities of diverse building parts and components.

Under present conditions, however, we should not be too ambitious from the very start, but begin with simple things. We must first standardize window and door frames and produce stairs, joists, inter-floor slabs, trusses, and the like by industrial methods.

The need to mechanize building operations has been emphasized repeatedly, but the people concerned have not got down to the job seriously; they have merely considered large-scale mechanization. Mechanization cannot be accomplished overnight; it requires a certain length of time. We must therefore begin with partial, small-scale mechanization which is easy to put into operation, and then gradually go over to comprehensive, advanced mechanization ranging from basic to subsidiary operations.

It is of vital importance to increase to the maximum the utilization of existing building machines.

With a view to raising the level of technical skills, rationalizing labour organization and ensuring the quality of construction, construction enterprises that at present are scattered too much, must be amalgamated, the work of construction agencies strengthened, and particularly the agencies specializing in industrial construction must be reinforced.

An energetic struggle must be waged to raise labour productivity in construction, mobilize all available reserves for saving building materials, minimize non-productive expenditures, establish system and order and strengthen cost accountancy in construction agencies.

Only then can we reduce the cost of construction and undertake more projects.

In the short postwar period we have achieved considerable successes in the reconstruction of Pyongyang, Hamhung and many other cities. But construction in the cities is still far short of the Party's demand. In the field of urban construction, the serial construction plans and sectional designs have not yet been drawn up in conformity with the present conditions of each city. Guidance in the construction of local towns in particular is insufficient. In most small towns, the central quarters with their streets and underground facilities are left

vacant indefinitely on the pretext that they are being reserved for multi-storey buildings, while scattered all around them are newly built dwelling houses and public buildings. This delays the formation of local towns.

The first consideration in urban construction should be hygienic conditions for the people. In cities and factory districts crowded with houses, profound attention should be paid to the proper distribution of waterworks, sewerage, recreation grounds and other utilities essential for city administration.

We must promote the formation of cities under definite serial construction plans taking into consideration population growth resulting from the development of cities, and properly organize city administration so as to impart culture to it.

In capital construction, we should not turn only to the state for supplies of materials, but actively utilize local materials. We should launch a widespread drive to construct public buildings, schools, public health and cultural establishments in county and provincial centres and in villages by using sun-dried bricks, stone and other materials available locally. The state will supply funds and some materials for such local construction and give technical assistance in designing and building operations.

4) THE FORMATION OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

Our Party has done a great deal in the past ten years to put an end to the centuries-old backwardness in science and technology, our country's heritage from the past, and to the evil consequences of Japanese imperialism's misrule. In this period, we trained numerous specialists at universities, colleges and specialized schools. But viewed against the rapid growth of our country's national economy, our present scientific and technical forces are inadequate.

For instance, the demand for engineers and assistant engineers in heavy industry is barely met by 50 per cent, and the demand for

technical personnel in light industry, transport, fisheries and other branches of the national economy is ever more pressing. Further, technical personnel in agriculture are far too few.

In keeping with the rapid development of the national economy, therefore, we must take a series of measures to train technicians.

In launching the reconstruction of the national economy immediately after the armistice, we greatly expanded various specialized technical schools.

We adopted measures to impart a definite knowledge of specialized production technique to many of the junior secondary school graduates by admitting them to technical refresher courses. At present, over 24,000 students are enrolled in refresher courses. Under the present circumstances, this is by no means a small figure.

But the work of technical refresher courses has not yet reached the level required by the Party. The main reason for this, to our regret, seems to be that some workers have failed to accept the Party's measures in this respect wholeheartedly, but are doing their work in a perfunctory and irresponsible way. The work of technical refresher courses should be radically improved.

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, many higher secondary schools have already been reorganized into specialized technical schools; and we have newly established higher specialized technical schools and started enrolling in them part of the higher secondary school graduates. This work will be continued in the future too, and as many higher secondary school graduates as possible, who do not enter higher educational institutions, should be enrolled in the technical education network. In this way, we will be able to train a large number of technical personnel with the qualifications of engineer or assistant engineer.

We deem it necessary to revise the secondary school curriculum so that in addition to a general education, boys and girls may receive sufficient training in production techniques to participate in economic construction after finishing.

With a view to improving technical education, we must closely link

studies with production on the job and firmly equip students with specialized knowledge and techniques. To this end, we must see to it that specialized technical schools have all the necessary laboratory apparatuses, and that their students are sent, according to their specialities, to appropriate factories, state crop and stock farms, fisheries, laboratories, research institutions or agricultural cooperatives to have practical training directly on the job.

We should train technical workers along the line of combining studies with production activities. To do so, we should bring specialized schools and technical workers' training establishments including even technical refresher courses, nearer to production enterprises to keep close contact with production activities. This is very important.

For this purpose, it is necessary to reconsider the distribution of existing specialized schools and technical workers' training establishments.

Today our technical colleges are also lagging behind; they are right out of step with the fast rate of growth and demands of the national economy. Today we not only need large numbers of average technical personnel but high-grade technical personnel as well.

We consider it necessary to set up in the first five-year period a separate mining and metallurgical college by detaching the faculties of mining geology and metal engineering from Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute, and to found a transport college. We should re-examine the courses at technical colleges in order to bring them in line with the needs of the national economy, and enlarge some courses or open new ones. We must further expand the correspondence courses of technical colleges and improve their work.

We must do away with the lack of planning and disorder in the training of technical personnel and carry on this work under a unified plan.

In view of the fact that the demand for technical personnel is steadily increasing, factories and enterprises must make greater efforts to pass on techniques and take further steps to train workers to be

technicians without removing them from production.

The work of disseminating scientific and technical knowledge among the working masses should also be carried on extensively.

5) THE IMPROVEMENT OF MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE

Constant concern for the material well-being of the people is the overriding principle of our Party's activities. This has always been the main concern of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

Of late, our Party Central Committee has adopted a series of measures to improve the lives of the people. But the production of various foodstuffs and manufactured goods still falls short of demand because we have not yet fully recovered from the immeasurable damage inflicted by the severe war.

Our task is to develop agriculture rapidly within the next few years and advance the light and food industries at a greater pace on the basis of the priority growth of heavy industry, to expand public, cultural, health service, educational and scientific research establishments, and to build more houses.

On the basis of the rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production and the rise in labour productivity in the five-year period, we will increase the average wages of factory and office workers and the incomes of the peasants in kind and cash and further reduce the price of goods to bring about a marked increase in their real incomes.

We are faced with the task of further boosting the volume of trade. In the five-year period, the retail trade turnover of state and cooperative organizations should be increased at least 1.5 times. In particular, the sales of basic daily necessities such as foodstuffs, cloth and footwear should be rapidly increased and a wider assortment of goods be made available.

We must improve the supply of labour-safety goods and expand the public catering network.

We should improve the management of shops and dining rooms at factories and enterprises and expand the network of kindergartens and nurseries, so that women are able to go out to work.

In the first five-year period, we should envisage the abolition of the rationing of manufactured goods and foodstuffs so as to raise the living standards of workers and office employees. In order to abolish rationing, we have to create financial and commodity reserves.

To strengthen the ties between town and country, we should enhance the role of consumers' cooperatives as the peasants' cooperative organizations for sale and purchase and improve the purchase of agricultural produce. In purchasing agricultural produce, we should revise for the better purchasing methods, the purchasing system and the fixing of purchasing prices so as to provide incentive for the peasants to produce more.

The Party and the Government are especially concerned about the improvement of the people's housing conditions. During the First Five-Year Plan, we should step up housing construction and build homes with a floor space of more than six million square metres on state funds. What is more, the state will give every encouragement to townspeople and toiling peasants to build houses themselves, and if necessary, will grant loans and sell building materials to them.

In the sphere of public education, on the basis of universal compulsory primary education to be effected in town and country, we should make arrangements to introduce in the future universal compulsory seven-year junior secondary schooling.

Social care should be bestowed on the upbringing and protection of war orphans, and the work of orphanages and primary schools for bereaved children should be further improved.

In the five-year period, higher education should be further strengthened, and at the end of this period enrolment should exceed 28,000.

For the advancement of public education, our Party and Government have increased annually the state capital investments in education and the budget allocations and systematically lowered the

cost of school supplies and textbooks, and will continue to do so. At its own expense the state educates a large number of students at the higher educational institutions and specialized schools.

In particular, the Government of the Republic has adopted a decision to receive at any time those youth and students in the southern half fighting against the US imperialists and the traitorous rule and colonial slave education of the Syngman Rhee clique and Korean students in Japan who wish to come and study in the northern half of Korea, and to ensure their education at state expense, providing them with extra living expenses and scholarships in addition to the state scholarships and the clothes, shoes and school supplies issued free of charge at present.

In the sphere of culture, we must further expand the capacity of the State Film Studio so as to improve film production, and make colour films there in the five-year period. To meet the growing needs of publishing and printing, we should build an integrated printing plant in Pyongyang.

In the sphere of public health an important task of our Party is to prevent epidemics and all other diseases, to cut down the disease incidence rate among the population constantly, to reduce the temporary disabilities of the working people, to protect and promote the health of the people. For this purpose, general sanitary conditions in residential areas such as cities, factory districts and farm villages should be gradually improved and preventive measures against epidemic further stressed.

By 1961 the total number of hospital beds should be increased about 1.2 times as against 1956, and we must further promote mother and child welfare by increasing the maternity and pediatric facilities and beds in the provincial, city and county hospitals. To bring about a rapid improvement in medical service for the rural population, every village should have one clinic in general in 1961.

The pharmaceutical industry should be rapidly developed. For this purpose the production of compound medicines should be organized by using the abundant medicinal herbs in the country and by-products

of industries. In this way, the demand of medical establishments should be met in the main and cheap medicines supplied to the population.

Further, good research should be undertaken in Korean medicine which has a long tradition and has become indispensable to our people, and its merits should be assimilated and introduced into our public health service for the masses.

We must strengthen the work of social insurance for workers and office employees, and expand considerably relaxation centres and holiday homes for them.

Such, in general, are our tasks in the national economy. They are colossal and difficult tasks.

However, we feel sure that our people led by the Party will successfully carry them out with patriotic enthusiasm and creative efforts.

3. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

Comrades,

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country and successfully build socialism in the northern half of Korea, we should steadily consolidate and develop our state and social system.

First of all, the Party should reinforce the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea. At the present stage, the DFRK is a powerful political organization that has united all our revolutionary forces on the basis of the solid alliance of the working class and peasantry.

We still stand face to face with the imperialists. Under these circumstances, we must realize that the DFRK uniting all the patriotic forces under the leadership of the working class plays a major role not only in carrying out the task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal

democratic revolution, but also in building socialism.

The most important task in strengthening the DFRK is to raise the leading role of the working class and to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance politically and economically.

We should promote our solidarity with broad sections of the people—members of friendly parties, men of religion, small and middle traders and manufacturers, and professional men, helping them politically and economically to the best of our ability. In particular, an important guarantee for strengthening the united front lies in transforming them gradually into socialist workers by admitting them to the agricultural, producers' and fishing cooperatives, and in improving their material and cultural standards.

At the same time, we should respect the independent activities of friendly parties and consolidate and develop solidarity and cooperation with their leaders and public, political and religious figures, prominent personages, scholars, intellectuals and other people of the upper stratum who desire national reunification and independence.

To achieve successfully the immense political, economic, cultural and military tasks confronting our Party, we should strengthen the people's government bodies, the powerful weapon of the revolution.

During the period under review our Party took a series of important measures with a view to strengthening the people's government; it held elections to people's government organs at all levels up to the Supreme People's Assembly, revised the administrative divisions of the country and simplified the administrative apparatus with a view to enhancing the leading functions of these organs, and clearly defined the functions and terms of competence of the local organs of power and executive bodies.

Our Party also carried out extensive organizational and political work during this period in order to establish a democratic juridical system, protect the lives and possessions of the people and property of state and cooperative organizations against the enemy's encroachment, strengthen social order, foster a law-abiding spirit among the masses and eradicate bureaucracy and establish a popular style of work in government organs.

As a consequence, our people's government has satisfactorily performed, and is performing, its role in all aspects—suppressing the resistance of hostile classes, defending the people's democratic system against foreign invaders, organizing economic and cultural construction and working tirelessly to improve the living standards of the people.

On the basis of these successes and experiences, we must continue to strengthen the people's government. To this end, we should widely enlist people from all walks of life, the real masters of state power, in the work of the people's government organs at all levels.

And we should strive to create practical conditions for the masses to exercise their democratic rights to the full and display unbounded wisdom and creativeness, and thus bring the people's organs of power closer to the masses and rally the people more firmly around them.

The Party organizations should be careful to lead the people's government organs to pay profound attention at all times to the lives of the people, to learn to rely on the masses in their daily activities, and to steadily raise their own prestige among the masses by dealing with the complaints and petitions of the people promptly with a sense of responsibility.

We should work continuously so that state organs at all levels including ministries and bureaus steadily raise the political and practical level of all their personnel, strengthen state discipline, cut down on office work, do away with the bureaucratic and formalistic style of work, eliminate the tendency to have excessive regard for the interests of the organ or department to which one belongs, and strengthen control over all administrative bodies.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique openly intensify their war preparations in south Korea and keep clamouring about "reunification by a march northward" and, at the same time, are making unseemly attempts to frustrate our economic and cultural construction by sending spies and saboteurs into the northern half of Korea. Therefore, our interior security agencies, prosecutors offices and judicial organs should ever more faithfully carry out their lofty

mission of protecting the constitutional rights of the people and their lives and property, of suppressing all anti-state, counter-revolutionary activities of the enemy, of detecting all kinds of subversive attempts by hostile elements, and of eradicating misappropriation and theft of state property, by exercising strict control and supervision over the execution of laws and more thoroughly establishing democratic social order.

4. FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Comrades,

The evil consequences of the ten years' rule of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique over south Korea are now tangible in all facets of the life of its people.

All the events in south Korea indicate that the reactionary Syngman Rhee "government" which represents the interests of a handful of comprador capitalists and landlords, is not only an anti-popular setup for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses but also an instrument of US imperialism's aggression in Korea, one which has no hesitation in welcoming the influence of US imperialism. The treacherous regime in south Korea is the faithful servant of the US imperialists in carrying out the latter's new war and colonial enslavement policies.

The puppet Syngman Rhee regime is openly calling for the permanent stationing of US troops, has placed the south Korean economy under the absolute domination and control of the US monopolies, is frenziedly expanding the puppet army which is the US imperialists' cannon fodder for aggressive war, and is strengthening the barbarous fascist ruling machine.

In south Korea today all the major levers of control over the

economy and the state's economic life have been placed in the hands of the US imperialists.

It is well known throughout the world that the aim of the United States' so-called "economic aid" to other nations lies in establishing its military and political domination over them, and south Korea provides the most glaring and shameless evidence of this.

Most of the US "aid" to south Korea has been spent on equipping the puppet army and on military installations; the remainder has been allocated for the purchase of US surplus goods which find no outlet on the world market.

By means of this "economic aid" the US imperialists have gained absolute power over all the major production facilities and economic establishments in south Korea, and the "ROK-US Combined Economic Board" which they set up to exercise this power, decides upon or controls all the industrial, financial and monetary policies of the puppet government.

Thus, the puppet regime is prevented from running the economy of the state as it sees fit, and is subject to the approval of the "Board" even in working out budgets and taxation plans.

In exercising control over the south Korean economy, the US imperialists directly plunder strategic materials such as tungsten and copper produced in south Korea and have paralysed its industry and subordinated it wholly to US monopoly capital by making the major production establishments entirely dependent on raw materials and equipment supplied by the United States.

Consequently, the colonial one-sidedness and distortion of the south Korean industry have further increased. Many small and middle tradesmen and manufacturers are going bankrupt and being ruined owing to the flood of US goods, the spiralling prices of raw materials and equipment imported from the United States and exorbitant tax burden.

Even the cotton textile industry which was eking out a bare existence in south Korea is forced to suspend operations incessantly and is going bankrupt owing to the forcible sale of cotton goods by the

US imperialists and their boosting cotton prices.

The US imperialists' "economic aid" and enslavement policy towards south Korea ensure them maximum profits while enabling them easily to realize their political and military aims of turning south Korea into their military base.

In order to hoodwink the peasant masses of south Korea influenced by the agrarian reform in north Korea, the Syngman Rhee clique has carried out an "agrarian reform" and is shouting noisily that "Landlords are no more and the conditions of the peasantry have improved."

However, the conditions of the peasantry are far from improving. They are subjected to ever more cruel exploitation and oppression. Under various names such as "redemption grain for the price of land", "land acquisition tax", forcible grain purchase and farm rent, the peasants are robbed of a large part of their total annual harvests by the puppet government and the landlords. Even the "distributed" land is falling back into the hands of the landlords and rich farmers, and more and more peasants are slipping back into the status of tenant farmer or farm hand with no land or are simply leaving the farms.

Moreover, the south Korean peasants are suffering from various exacting levies and usuries and falling into debt to the landlords and rich farmers. As of November 1954 the total liabilities of the peasants were 18,000 million *hwan*. This means that each peasant household in south Korea has a debt of 8,791 *hwan* on the average.

In spite of such an appalling economic situation in south Korea, the Syngman Rhee clique faithfully carries out the instructions of the US imperialists by imposing tremendous burdens upon the people in order to reinforce the puppet army and consolidate and extend the military bases.

The degenerate American way of life prevails in the social life of the south Korean people and everything that is national is despised and humiliated; even the trifling utterances and behaviour of "politicians" of the opposition parties are subject to ruthless suppression, not to speak of progressive ideas and views.

In south Korea the people are denied even elementary democratic

rights and liberties; it has been turned into a prison of the people where terrorism and murder are rampant.

Subjected to the two- or three-fold oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and comprador capital, the people's life in south Korea is gradually becoming an unbearable slough of poverty and lack of rights. This impels the south Korean people to rise in struggle against US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique for their very existence, for freedom and national rights.

Although today the struggle of the people in the southern half is not at its peak, there is no doubt that inspired by all the achievements in the northern half, they will rise in a resolute struggle for the democratic reunification of the country.

Such, in brief, is the situation in the southern half of Korea.

The division of the country spells distress and misery not only for the people of south Korea under the oppression of US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique, but also for the Korean people as a whole; it presents the main obstacle and threat to the social development of our country.

The Korean people are faced as ever with the national task of achieving the country's democratic reunification and complete national independence by struggling against the US imperialists' aggressive forces and their allies in the southern half—the landlords, comprador capitalists and pro-American elements—and by liberating the people there from imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation.

This means that from the national point of view, our revolution is still in the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and that it has a long, rugged and tortuous way ahead of it.

In carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, we must further consolidate the people's democratic system in the northern half and, at the same time, unite the people in the southern half, especially all the patriotic, democratic forces aspiring to reunification and independence on a democratic basis.

The motive force of our revolution is the people in the northern half

who are united on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, and the working class, the peasantry—its most reliable ally—and broad sections of the small propertied classes opposed to the US imperialist and feudal forces in the southern half. Even the non-comprador capitalists who desire the country's reunification and independence on democratic lines can join in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle.

The struggle of the Korean people against US imperialism is directly connected with the struggle of peoples throughout the world for peace, democracy and socialism, and is a major link in the struggle of the Asian peoples in defence of national freedom, independence, and stable peace against the aggressive policy of US imperialism.

This international solidarity of the national-liberation struggle of the Korean people is a decisive factor hastening the complete victory of our revolution.

We must drive the US imperialists from Korea and struggle against the reactionary, traitorous regime of the Syngman Rhee clique for the peaceful reunification and independence of the country. In doing so, we must firmly rely on the ever-growing strength of the democratic and socialist camp of the world and organize and mobilize correctly the internal forces of our revolution and build up national unity and solidarity.

Comrades,

Our Party's line with regard to the peaceful reunification of the country along democratic lines—the basic task of the Korean revolution at the present stage—is the only correct line in view of the situation prevailing at home and abroad. Our Party, therefore, has adhered consistently and will adhere to the line of peacefully reunifying the country.

Since the armistice even, many concrete proposals for the reunification of the country have been put forward in statements or resolutions by the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, by political parties and social organizations, among them the proposal for north-south negotiations adopted at the Eighth Session

of the Supreme People's Assembly.

However, the Syngman Rhee clique, the faithful stooge of US imperialism, catering to the will of their master, turned down all our proposals for national reunification. Moreover, they continue their provocations along the Military Demarcation Line in flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement, and call for the permanent stationing of US troops, openly clamouring about the so-called "northward expedition" to resume the fratricidal war.

They have expanded the fascist police machinery to a great extent and are ruthlessly suppressing all patriotic forces in the southern half and persecuting in every way all groups and persons not belonging to their own faction so as to eliminate them from the political life of the state.

Even though the Syngman Rhee clique opposes the proposals for the peaceful reunification of the country and perpetrates all sorts of traitorous acts, this does not by any means rule out the possibility of peaceful reunification.

On learning of our proposals for peaceful reunification, the workers, peasants, students, scientists, workers in the cultural field and all conscientious patriots in the south, before anyone else, will not remain passive and tolerate the anti-popular, treacherous crimes of the Syngman Rhee clique.

Of late, the number of people yearning for the country's peaceful reunification has been growing in the southern half. More and more people are becoming discontented with Syngman Rhee's rule and sympathize with the distressed people in the south. As Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik did in the past, they come forward in support of the idea of negotiations between north and south Korea. Thus, a mounting desire is being manifested in our country for another historic meeting such as the north-south joint conference of April 1948.

Our Party warmly welcomes and supports this patriotic aspiration, and is fully prepared to join hands with these people at any time.

In this situation, we must take concrete steps to isolate the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique still more in the southern

half and further expand the patriotic forces striving for peaceful reunification.

The greatest obstacle to the strengthening of our internal forces for the peaceful reunification and independence of the country lies in the fact that under the fascist dictatorship of the Syngman Rhee clique, the loyal servant of US imperialism, the people in the southern half are denied even elementary democratic rights and liberties. Therefore, the fighting slogan of the Party for the moment is to win democratic rights for the people in the south.

In south Korea freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief must be restored to the masses of the people and freedom of political activities ensured for all patriotic political parties, social organizations and individuals.

The right to elect and to be elected must be granted equally to all people in south Korea, irrespective of their property status, education, religious belief or sex, so that the broad masses of the working people, among them the workers and peasants, in particular, have the opportunity of actively participating in the political life of the state. Thus, the workers and peasants who constitute the majority of the population must be represented in the “National Assembly” of south Korea, and the “National Assembly” must be conducted in conformity with the will of the broad sections of the people to represent the interests of all social sections and strata.

Conditions must be created to struggle against US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, eliminate the corrupt rule in south Korea and fight for the peaceful reunification of the country. At the same time, the economic life of the south Korean people must be stabilized so as to promote their patriotic enthusiasm and activity in the struggle for peaceful reunification.

In order to rehabilitate and develop the ruined national economy of south Korea, assure the independent development of its national industry and stabilize the life of its population, a resolute struggle must be waged against the infiltration of US monopoly capital and the forced import of surplus goods from foreign countries.

A struggle must be launched to check the growth of unemployment and price increases, raise the real wages of workers and office employees, and introduce an eight-hour day and social insurance for them.

We must oppose the policy of expropriating the peasants from land and forcibly taking away their grain, their exploitation through murderous usury and all kinds of levies. We must deliver from their misery the peasant families without food and peasants giving up farming that increase every year, and struggle to make the tiller the owner of the land.

In order to protect the small and middle tradesmen and manufacturers from the oppression of the US imperialist monopoly capitalists and comprador capitalists, they should be provided with funds and guaranteed conditions for obtaining raw materials and selling their products.

With the common aim of peacefully reunifying the country, we also advocate and are fully prepared to enter into a coalition with all political parties, public organizations and individuals in south Korea.

With a view to achieving such a coalition and forming a united front comprising all patriotic political parties and social organizations and all persons of national conscience in north and south Korea, we hold that a joint conference of those political parties and public organizations be convened; if conditions are not yet ripe for convening such a conference, we are ready to conduct negotiations with individual political parties, public organizations and patriots.

Those joining this coalition whose aim is to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, will be absolved from whatever crimes they committed previously, and they must be allowed to take part in the coalition government formed after reunification according to their merits and talents, and their property and social position must be safeguarded.

One of the most important factors facilitating the peaceful reunification of the country is political, economic and cultural contacts, travel and correspondence between the north and the south.

In an exchange between north and south of commodities needed in the people's everyday lives, we can supply electricity, coal and timber which the people of the southern half badly need; we will keep the doors open to all delegations and individuals wishing to come to the north for constructive and business-like purposes, guaranteeing them every freedom and facility for their activities in the northern half.

We hold that a permanent commission be set up to discuss and take effective measures on all matters, ranging from the question of promoting contacts between the north and the south to that of reunifying the country. Representatives of the governments, highest legislative organs, political parties and public organizations as well as independents will participate in this commission on an equal ratio between north and south Korea.

We consider that under the prevailing situation, such measures are most realistic and are feasible provided both sides are sincere in meeting the desire of the Korean people.

To put into effect all our proposals and points mentioned, the armistice must first of all be consolidated and converted into a lasting peace. We demand that while all the provisions of the Armistice Agreement are strictly observed, the armed forces of both sides be reduced to the minimum so as to lighten the people's burden of military expenditures and to channel the funds released for peaceful construction. Further, the separate military pact concluded between the "government" of south Korea and the United States Administration must be repealed.

For the Koreans to settle the Korean question for themselves, all foreign troops including the US imperialist forces of aggression and the Chinese People's Volunteers should be withdrawn and there should be no foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country.

The countries interested in the peaceful solution of the Korean question should convene an international conference with the participation of representatives of the north and south Korean governments and create practical conditions for settling the Korean question peacefully.

Comrades,

The road ahead in our struggle for national reunification and independence along democratic lines is beset with innumerable difficulties and obstacles. However, this road alone can lead our present generation to happiness and all our future generations to welfare and prosperity.

Therefore, if we keep to this line of struggle and stubbornly fight for its realization, we will have all the more ardent support from the entire Korean people and will enjoy the positive encouragement and support of the peace-loving forces of the world.

And our Party will become an invincible force and triumphantly carry out the glorious task of national reunification and independence on democratic lines.

III. THE PARTY

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

All the historic victories scored so far by our Party and the Korean people are the outcome of our Party policy firmly based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the Party's correct organizational and political work for the implementation of its policy.

Today our Party's leading role has been enhanced beyond measure in all facets of state life and the ties between the Party and the masses have been further strengthened. This is a decisive guarantee for further victories of our Party in the struggle for the Korean people's freedom and happiness.

Since its Second Congress, our Party has been further consolidated and developed as a mass Marxist-Leninist party.

As of January 1, 1956, the Workers' Party of Korea had a membership of 1,164,945, and 58,259 cells and sub-cells. This means that despite the loss of a large number of Party members during the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War, we have 439,183 members and 28,496 cells and sub-cells more than at the time of the Second Party Congress.

Today in the northern half of Korea, our Party forces are to be found in every workplace and farm village, and our Party members and organizations educate the masses always and everywhere, organize them for the implementation of our Party policy.

During the period under review the Party ranks have grown not only in number but also in quality.

Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist ideas and organizational principles, the Party has inherited the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and consolidated the unity and solidarity of its ranks with anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters as its core. Our Party greets this congress today as an invincible militant detachment, with the whole Party united around its Central Committee more closely than ever before and rooted deep among the broad masses.

These victories, however, have not been gained under easy circumstances by any means. The Party has only been able to make progress and score all its victories by repulsing the class enemies within and without who tried to hold back our revolutionary movement.

In view of the specific features of building up our Party, I think it necessary to briefly review the course our Party has followed since pre-liberation days.

As is commonly known, the Communist Party of Korea founded in 1925 exerted a certain influence on the labour movement of our country which was rapidly growing and developing under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

But owing to the un-Marxist factional feud within the Party and the cruel suppression of the Japanese imperialists at the time, the Party could not maintain its ranks and, finally, in 1928 ceased to

exist as an organized force.

However, the Marxist-Leninists faithful to the revolution fought on tirelessly to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary tasks of the Korean people and rebuild the Party, courageously overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

With the turn of the 1930s the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle of the Korean people reached a higher stage.

The period following the First World War witnessed a slight economic growth in the capitalist countries but beginning with 1929, these countries passed from the period of relative stability to an acute economic crisis.

In this period, the socialist power, the Soviet Union, began to grow and make great strides and, inspired by this, the international labour movement and the national-liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples advanced rapidly.

Trapped in an aggravating general crisis of capitalism, the capitalist countries of the world tried to find a way out in war preparations and in strengthening the fascist system. Japanese imperialism further intensified its colonial oppression and exploitation in Korea.

In this situation the revolutionary spirit of the Korean people rose ever higher, their anti-Japanese movement developed into a mass struggle, and then passed into an active armed struggle.

Correctly assessing the revolutionary situation prevailing at the time, the communists of Korea closely linked the armed struggle with the political and economic struggle of the masses and formed a broad anti-Japanese united front based on the alliance of workers and peasants, thereby laying the mass foundation for the revolution.

In this way the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle of the Korean people led by the communists paved the way, organizationally and ideologically, for the formation of the future Marxist-Leninist party in Korea, and built up the brilliant traditions of our revolutionary movement.

Nevertheless, when liberation came we had as yet no united party of our own.

After liberation, when the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Korean working class was high, there arose the possibility of founding a reliable Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

Our task then was to unite the scattered working-class ranks and rally the broad revolutionary democratic forces around them in order to carry forward with vigour the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and set up a new people's democratic system in our country.

In October 1945, therefore, we formed in north Korea the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea. From that moment our Party began to grow as a sound, united Marxist-Leninist party.

The Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international and internal situation and set forth the immediate tasks for carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

In order to build a powerful democratic base in the northern half to cope with the situation resulting from the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialist army of aggression and, with this as the base of operations, to resist the aggressive forces of imperialism, achieve national reunification and establish a unified democratic government, the Party formed the national united front to mobilize and unite broad democratic forces from all walks of life.

The Party organizations and staunch patriots correctly understood the united front policy of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, and worked strictly in accordance with that policy.

They fought resolutely against the Right opportunists who sought to achieve independence with the "help" of the US imperialists, and against the "Left" opportunist tendency to oppose the united front policy of our Party and isolate the Communist Party from the masses. Thus, the Party formed broad-based mass organizations and strengthened solidarity with progressive friendly parties. It set up the North Korean People's Committee on the basis of a broad united front.

Later, in keeping with the development of our revolution, the

Communist Party and the New Democratic Party merged to form the Workers' Party, a mass political party, thereby uniting the scattered revolutionary forces.

These strategical and tactical measures taken by the Party were simply correct for the development of our revolution.

Using the people's government founded on the initiative of the people as a mighty weapon of the revolution, the Party fulfilled, first of all, the tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in the northern half and thus created a revolutionary democratic base, the real guarantee of national reunification. Under the correct leadership of the Party, the people in the north rapidly improved their lives and set about creating a happy and free life as masters of the genuinely people's power.

All this roused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people of the southern half, greatly inspiring and activating them.

In the period of peaceful construction for cementing the revolutionary democratic base, the Party educated its members in Marxist-Leninist ideology, made them realize the correctness of Party line and policy through practical struggle, and induced them to combat all undesirable, alien tendencies. In the course of such struggles, the Party steadily improved its political leadership and organizational functions, and further tempered the Party spirit of the membership, too.

The force accumulated through the struggle for the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party in the period of peaceful construction, served as a solid guarantee for our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the enemy.

The three years of the severe Fatherland Liberation War was an ordeal to test the unity and solidity of our Party ranks.

The US imperialists, boasting that they were the "strongest" in the world, made a frenzied attempt to subjugate our people by absolute numerical and technical superiority. Furthermore, the enemy dispatched many spies to the northern half of Korea and even smuggled their agents into our Party in an attempt to sow disorder and disturbance in the rear and to attack us from within and without.

But the Party was neither surprised nor discouraged by this. Whenever difficulty and danger cropped up, the Party displayed ever greater valour, and marched forward vigorously for the final victory with the entire membership rallied closely around its Central Committee.

In repulsing the internal enemies, too, the Party was more resolute and ruthless than ever before. It exposed and punished the capitulationists and the spies in the pay of the US imperialists who had sneaked into our ranks and tried to undermine the Party at the crucial moment in the war, and thus guarded its steel-like unity.

Had it not been for its just struggle to build and fortify the democratic base and to strengthen and develop its ranks organizationally and ideologically by utilizing times of peace to good avail, our Party would have been unable to withstand the grim trials of the war and defeat the invaders headed by the US imperialists. Only through its correct political line and organizational measures could the Party ensure even amidst the flames of war the unity of thought and purpose and concerted action of its ranks, and mobilize the entire people to fight as one for victory in the war.

The struggle of our Party to surmount all difficulties and preserve the integrity of its ranks for victory in the war, steeled its members' loyalty to the Party and the revolution beyond measure and strengthened immensely its ideological unity and organizational solidarity.

The organizing and mobilizing role of our Party, tried in the crucible of war, has been further heightened in the postwar period.

In rehabilitating the war-devastated national economy we have had great difficulties and obstacles to tackle, both material and technical. But Party members are displaying unlimited creativeness and self-sacrificing spirit in overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

The Party scored brilliant achievements in peaceful construction and tided over the severe trials of war, and thus expedited the historic cause of national reunification and independence and discharged with honour its part in the international working-class movement.

Today the entire Party has rallied around its Central Committee more firmly than ever and become the strong vanguard of our working people.

In south Korea, however, our Party line and policy were barred from being carried out and the labour movement wrecked, due to the criminal disruptive acts of the factional elements who had wormed their way into the Party after the August 15 liberation.

Before the August 15 liberation our working class had no revolutionary party of its own. In the early days after liberation from Japanese imperialist rule, however, a very favourable situation was created for developing the revolutionary movement both in north and south Korea.

Since all the Korean people had tasted the bitterness of life under the diabolical rule of Japanese imperialism, they resolved never again to become colonial slaves of imperialism, and their revolutionary enthusiasm to fight against imperialism ran extremely high.

Conditions were thus created for the communists in south Korea to unite the working class and other sections of the people on a wide scale and to form a broad united front embracing even non-comprador capitalists in opposition to the colonial rule of US imperialism.

Moreover, before liberation, not only the middle classes but even the Rightist forces in our country had no political party of their own. Consequently, immediately after liberation the domestic reactionary forces were insignificant, and the propertied classes set about organizing their political parties only after liberation. So both the working class and the propertied classes launched efforts to win over the masses to their side.

In these circumstances, whoever carried with him the broader masses would be the victor, and he who failed to win the masses would be the loser.

The situation at that time was definitely favourable for us communists. The Korean people were well aware that the main reason in the past for the failure of the national-liberation movement in Korea lay in the wavering of the propertied classes, that the communists were

staunch patriots who had kept up an unyielding struggle even under the harsh suppression of Japanese imperialism, and that their liberation would be possible only when they acted in unison with the communists. That is why shortly after liberation the broad masses of the people, except for a handful of reactionaries, came out in support of us.

In particular, the great achievements registered after liberation by the people in the northern half under the guidance of the communists immensely inspired and encouraged the people in the southern half, and gave them added confidence in the communists.

In such circumstances it was possible to rally the broad toiling masses around the Party and form a united front with people of all walks of life in south Korea, and thus launch a widespread mass campaign against the colonial rule of the US imperialists.

There is no doubt that if the communists in south Korea had taken advantage of this favourable situation and fought in the correct way, they could have won over the broad masses for certain.

In south Korea, however, the factional elements formerly belonging to the Tuesday group, M-L group, Seoul group, Seoul-Shanghai group which had split our Party in the past, continued their factional activities even after the August 15 liberation without repenting their indelible crimes against the revolutionary movement in our country, thereby disrupting the ranks of the working class, instead of winning over the broad masses.

At that time, Pak Hon Yong forming his main force with the elements of the Tuesday group which was aligned with the Com-group in pursuit of factional interests, and the fellows from the former M-L group lined up in the Jangan group and Congress group, variants of the M-L group, were engrossed in a factional feud.

They thought of nothing but their personal and factional interests. Ignoring the interests of the Party and the revolution and showing no concern for building up a united revolutionary party, they sought eagerly for “hegemony in the Party”. This is the explanation for the Pak Hon Yong clique’s shameless attempt at the time to describe the Com-group with its mere few dozen members as a “beacon in the dark

night, and a fresh current in the muddy stream” in the Korean labour movement.

Thus, they started to split the working class and the Party, discredited the Party in the eyes of the masses, and proceeded along the path of disrupting the revolutionary forces.

They trumpeted as if the US imperialists were the “liberators” of the Korean people and spread the news that they would make Syngman Rhee, a loyal servant trained for a long time by the US imperialists, the “President” of the “People’s Republic” cooked up behind the scenes. Such propaganda had a negative influence on the people preventing them from hating the US imperialists who had entered south Korea in place of the defeated Japanese imperialists, from fighting against the stationing of US troops in south Korea, and from grasping the sinister nature of the imperialists who were obstructing Korea’s reunification.

And in organizing the Party, they violated democratic principles; they set up the “Party centre” with former factional groups as its core.

Therefore, the Party sharply criticized Pak Hon Yong and Kang Jin for their narrow-minded, factional tendency, and advised Pak Hon Yong at the joint conference of Party leaders of north and south held at the time to convene a Party congress to adopt the policy and Rules of the Party and elect the Party Central Committee. Because this was the only way to establish strong, centralized Party discipline, prevent a factional feud and unite Party ranks.

Nevertheless, Pak Hon Yong deliberately frustrated the preparatory work for the convocation of the Inaugural Congress of the Party, which was entrusted to him at that time by the Party, and persisted in a factional feud in order to maintain the “Party leadership” he had produced in a back room.

On the other hand, the US imperialists used spies to foment disruption in the Party and torpedoed the USSR-US Joint Commission. Furthermore, they trumped up the so-called “Jongphan Press case” in collusion with domestic reactionaries in an attempt to drive the Party underground in the southern half.

In such circumstances, the Party proposed the setting up of the

Workers' Party as a step towards uniting the broad patriotic, democratic forces while continuing to preserve the forces of our Party and its legal activity in the southern half.

The merger of the parties was effected successfully in the north, but it got bogged down in the southern half. Deliberately sabotaging the merger of the parties, Pak Hon Yong and his clique continued their attempts to disrupt the Party ranks and the revolutionary forces. They took the unprincipled step of allotting higher posts only to those who belonged to their own faction while rejecting unconditionally those who had once belonged to other groups, thereby aggravating the split.

Meantime, certain elements such as Kang Jin and Ri Mun Hong who as members of the former M-L group had engaged in factional activities, openly took to splitting and undermining the Party. They formed a faction called the Congress group and later on organized the "Socialist Labour Party", thereby tearing the ranks of the Communist Party to pieces. Kang Jin and other unstable elements, on the pretext of opposing Pak Hon Yong, ignored the merger of the parties into the Workers' Party of South Korea, but cut away the New Democratic Party and the People's Party to form the so-called "Toiling People's Party", with the result that the working class and the toiling masses in south Korea were torn asunder and rendered incapable of fighting against the suppression of the enemy as a united force.

In this way, they openly provided the US imperialists with a favourable opportunity to wreck the revolutionary movement.

The so-called merger of the parties into the Workers' Party of South Korea was nominal; it was nothing but a change of signboard from Communist Party to Workers' Party, and the mass political party of the working people we had hoped for did not materialize.

Even after that, Pak Hon Yong and his clique, spies in the pay of the US imperialists, continued their factional activities, making wild attempts to wreck the revolutionary movement in the southern half as their masters had bid them.

Without discarding their factional narrow-mindedness, they rejected many middle-of-the-road parties and ignored the united front

policy of the Party; they did not readily respond even to the demand to call a north-south joint conference. So, people had to be sent directly from the northern half to deal with the situation.

The task of strengthening the united front and rallying broad patriotic forces around the Party is of special importance for our Party in carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

Our Party not only correctly pursued the united front policy in the northern half. Through the north-south joint conference, it mobilized the democratic parties and even the Right-wing parties in the southern half for a save-the-country struggle against the US imperialists' colonial policy in Korea and the rule of Syngman Rhee. Nevertheless, the factional elements ignored the Party's united front policy and repulsed even the middle-of-the-road parties, not to speak of the Right-wing parties, and by so doing split the broad patriotic forces. These elements failed to conduct educational work to equip Party members with revolutionary ideas and prohibited information work among the people of the south about the achievements of the democratic reforms in the northern half. As a result, the ideological level of the Party members was very low, and many of them finally ended up by joining the "Guidance League" conspired by the enemy to destroy our Party.

Although time and again the Party suggested measures to Pak Hon Yong to rescue the Party organization in south Korea, he deceived the Party and failed to take one single step, leaving it to be demolished by the enemy. Moreover, his clique neglected the work of increasing Party enrolment, with the result that the actual number of Party members in the southern half was quite negligible. The Pak Hon Yong clique, however, did launch a campaign to increase the Party membership fivefold or tenfold in order to show that the southern half had more Party members than the northern half. This opened the way for many shady, alien elements to smuggle into the Party. They arbitrarily let loose revolts totally harmful to the Party and the revolution, exposing the Party organization to the enemy, causing innumerable patriots to be slaughtered and estranging the masses from the Party.

This inflicted tremendous losses on our revolutionary forces and, moreover, inevitably assisted the Party along the path of ruin in the southern half.

Later, large numbers of Party members and patriots were arrested, imprisoned and murdered, the Party organization suffered total destruction, and the confidence of the masses in the Party was completely shaken.

This clique even surrendered the whole of the Seoul leadership, the only underground organization of our Party in the southern half, to their master, US imperialism. Thus, the factional feud among the factional elements in the southern half led by the Tuesday group and the M-L group brought about the eventual disruption and disintegration of our Party in the south and inflicted an irreparable loss on the cause of national reunification for which the Korean people had been longing so impatiently.

We must clearly understand that it was not due to the harsh suppression of the US imperialists but mainly to the factional conflicts of the factionalists that the Party was ruined in the southern half.

It goes without saying that the policy of our Party towards south Korea was correct; so was the struggle waged by the masses of sound Party members. Had it not been for the abominable, criminal actions of the factional elements, the Party would not have been destroyed and the reunification of our country would already have been a fact, no matter how harsh the suppression of the US imperialists.

However, the crime of this gang of scoundrels did not end here. Not content with what they had done in south Korea to wreck the revolutionary movement, Pak Hon Yong and his clique entered the north and made an attempt to disorganize the Party in the northern half as well.

In this situation where the Party had been completely wrecked in south Korea and most of its leading personnel had come over to the north and it was impossible to ensure the legal activity of the Party in south Korea, our Party officially merged the Workers' Parties of North and South Korea in 1949 with the aim of strengthening Party work in

the southern half and more firmly guaranteeing a unified leadership over the Workers' Parties of North and South Korea.

It was, however, a mistake on the part of the Central Committee of the Party not to have carried out the merger on the basis of a review and analysis of the work of the Workers' Party of South Korea.

As a result of the merger having been carried out uncritically despite the grave crimes perpetrated by those elements, it was possible for them to conceal their true colours and continue their factional activities against the Party for some time even after they arrived in the north.

At that time the Party was not aware of their true colours, and owing to the prevailing situation, carried out the merger without reviewing and analysing their work.

Gradually during the war we came to see their true colours. After they arrived in the northern half, the healthy system of our Party organization began to be gnawed as if by baneful worms. Pak Hon Yong, Ri Sung Yop and their clique were bent on polluting the clean atmosphere within our Party by smuggling into the Party and government bodies spies in the US imperialists' pay and their sycophants who were renegades and degenerates in the revolution, and by mustering Ho Ka I, Ju Nyong Ha, Pak Il U and other factionalists in the northern half. They whipped up alienation and friction everywhere and infused in the officials of south Korean origin the factional idea of enmity against the cadres of northern origin.

During the war, these elements openly began to reveal their base character. In Seoul they organized the "Land Investigation Committee" and other terrorist organizations and assassinated numerous patriots and Party members, and passed on to the enemy military and state secrets concerning areas in the northern half. In the end, they went so far as to arrange for an armed revolt to overthrow our Party and the Government of the Republic to be timed with the offensive of the US imperialists.

In the northern half, however, the Party was led by communists who had been tried and tested in the prolonged anti-Japanese

revolutionary struggle and were armed with Marxism-Leninism; from the very first days of its foundation, it had firmly adhered to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and educated and trained its members in this ideology. Above all, the Party had devoted profound attention to reinforcing unity and solidarity in its ranks. Therefore, no matter how crafty their subversive activities might have been, it was impossible for them to disorganize our Party as they had done in the southern half.

During the war, in particular, the Party waged a vigorous struggle to safeguard the integrity of its ranks and strengthen the unity of thought and will. The Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee held amidst the flames of war, were of historic importance in preserving the integrity of the Party ranks and strengthening their unity. The class consciousness of our Party members rose enormously, and the inner-Party ideological struggle and Party discipline were further strengthened.

The increasing awareness of the Party members loyal to the Party and the revolution, forceful development of criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below, and strengthening of inner-Party democracy and collective leadership were important factors making for the timely exposure and crushing of hostile elements who attempted to undermine our ranks.

Thus, we exposed and liquidated the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop clique, spies of the US imperialists, who, by smuggling themselves even into the northern half, were trying to spoil all the achievements won by our people and to disorganize our Party from within; we intensified the struggle against the factional elements, thereby guaranteeing the purity of the Party ranks and maintaining the monolithic ideological unity and organizational solidarity of the Party.

Moreover, in the southern half today, the influence of our Party is growing under its correct leadership and the revolutionary spirit of the people is heightening with every day.

As can be seen, enormous harm was done to our revolutionary movement by factional elements before and after the August 15 liberation.

These elements worked hard not for the interests of the Party and the revolution, but to secure high positions for themselves and satisfy their own greed. They had no scruples in tormenting or slandering our comrades and even in sacrificing the people to gain their end.

Therefore, it is by no means an accident that they conspired with the class enemies and, in the end, were reduced to spies of the enemy.

How, then, could it be explained that the factional elements continued to exist throughout the period before and after the liberation and carry on their factional strife and sabotaging activities for so long a time?

It was because the party of the working class could not continue to exist in our country from before liberation and, therefore, we failed to carry on an energetic struggle against factional elements. Ever since the Party founded in 1925 had been dissolved owing to factional disputes, our country had had no party till the August 15 liberation. So there had been no opportunity to systematically examine the revolutionaries and wage a resolute struggle against the factionalists. That is why factional thinking had persisted, and revived after the August 15 liberation.

If our Party had been in existence since before liberation and had continued to fight against factionalism, the factionalists would already have been uncovered and eliminated, and we would have greeted the great August 15 liberation with a powerful party having as its leading core cadres that had been tried and tested in actual struggle.

After liberation, too, we could not wage an anti-factional struggle in the southern half because the leading posts were mostly occupied by factional elements.

Another reason why the factionalists could conspire against the Party was that unprincipled illusions about individuals prevented a resolute fight against them.

Factionalism is a product of petty-bourgeois self-glorification, thirst for fame and careerism, whose usual “methods of work” are a scramble for position and driving a wedge between people, cunning “diplomacy” and plots, disseminating and implanting illusions about

individuals. None of the factionalists in our country ever quarrelled because of theoretical differences or disagreement in their political views. Factionalism came about entirely from a scramble for position aimed at gaining the “hegemony”.

Poisoned by this factional thinking, many cadres and Party members idolized individuals, rated their wisdom greater than the collective wisdom of the masses, and followed them blindly, so that they became unable to discern their errors, even took the errors for merits, and therefore failed to fight them resolutely.

If right after liberation the Party members and cadres in the southern half had not made a fetish of the scoundrel Pak Hon Yong and his gang and the factional elements, if they had waged a resolute struggle against them, the criminal activities of these gangsters would have been disclosed in time, and our Party would not have been demolished as it was in south Korea.

We should understand clearly, therefore, that without an uncompromising struggle against factionalism within its ranks, without relentlessly eradicating it and thoroughly removing the idea of worshipping individuals, our Party would be unable to consolidate its ranks and fulfil its revolutionary tasks.

In order to enhance in every way the leading role of our Party, the General Staff in the Korean revolution, and further increase its fighting capacity, we should guard as the apple of our eye the unity and solidarity of the Party won through struggle in the past period.

We must smash every scheme of the enemy to disorganize the Party, maintain high vigilance against every unhealthy manifestation that might appear within the Party, and strike a ruthless blow at him.

Although the Pak Hon Yong-Ri Sung Yop clique and the factional elements have been exposed and eliminated, their ideological influence has not yet been wiped out entirely, and the lingering effect of the M-L group and the Tuesday group has not yet completely disappeared.

However, some who either belonged to factions or followed them blindly before, repent of their past doings and are steadily reforming

themselves through their zealous work to carry out Party assignments, and the Party is intensifying their education too. As a result, remnants of factionalism are gradually disappearing.

We should never rest content with the successes already achieved, but should constantly improve and strengthen the organizational and political work of the Party, thereby consolidating our Party and accelerating its forward movement.

2. THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

In all facets of life in our country today, the organizational role and ideological and political influence of the Workers' Party members have increased immensely, and no force can undermine the confidence of the masses in the Party members.

The present composition of our Party ranks is workers—22.6 per cent, poor peasants—56.8 per cent, middle peasants—3.7 per cent, office employees—13 per cent and others—3.9 per cent. Compared with the time of the Second Party Congress, the number of workers has increased by 2.4 per cent and poor peasants, by 3.7 per cent, altogether amounting to 79.4 per cent of the total membership.

The majority (51.7 per cent) of the present Party membership are those who have joined the Party since the outbreak of the Fatherland Liberation War. Not only that, while the Party has many members who have a strong Party spirit and a high level of work qualifications, quite a few members are still below the mark in their political tempering.

We must therefore improve the work of strengthening the Party life of members, of tempering their Party spirit and fortifying their class preparedness to the level required by the Party.

In order to strengthen their Party life, Party members should, first of

all, thoroughly observe their duties set down in the Rules. The Party Rules is the standard and basis for all the activities and lives of the Party members. But in the past years many Party organizations failed to properly educate Party members to strictly observe the principles embodied in the Party Rules.

Consequently, while many of the Party members want to be loyal to the Party, they are not well acquainted with the duties stipulated in the Party Rules and with the principles of Party life, and have no correct understanding of the substance of Party discipline.

Many Party organizations pay little attention to the important questions which are of substantial significance in the Party life of members—to bring the Party members to play the vanguard role in economic and cultural construction, to induce them to have a conscious attitude towards Party discipline, to enhance their activity in the discussions of Party work and in the ideological struggle within the Party, and to make them acquire a popular style of work indispensable for uniting with the masses. They confine themselves to such elementary jobs as seeing to the Party members' participation in Party meetings or Party studies or receiving the membership dues.

So, many Party members have been without any Party assignments for a long time, and are not interested in Party life because their activities are not evaluated in concrete terms.

Party organizations should promptly correct the serious shortcoming that the guidance of the Party members' life fails to keep abreast of the demands of the Party and the rising political level of the Party members.

Meanwhile, first of all, the cadres who organize and guide the Party life of members should be faithful to Party life. Many cadres do not earnestly take part in Party life, regarding themselves as a privileged few.

Everyone admits in word that there cannot be two kinds of discipline within the Party—one for the rank-and-file members and other for the cadres. But the fact is that in a number of Party organizations two kinds of discipline operate tacitly and discrimination

in Party life is tolerated. Such a state of affairs contradictory to the important principles of Party building can be found largely in the Party organizations of some ministries and provincial, city and county administrative bodies.

Consequently, when cadres neglect Party life like this, they cannot hear the voices of the masses, they have gone beyond the control of the masses. These cadres who have gone beyond Party control gradually showed a tendency to liberalism and attempted to put individuals above the Party. So, they have lost the moral authority to guide the Party life of members, and exercise a rather negative influence on them.

What is needed is to adhere more strictly to the Leninist principle that active participation in Party life and faithful implementation of Party decisions are binding on all Party members, irrespective of their merits or posts.

To strengthen Party life we must promote inner-Party democracy, intensify criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, adhere steadfastly to the principles of collective leadership in all activities of Party organizations at all levels, thereby enhancing the activity and creativeness of Party members.

In order to guide the Party life of members correctly, Party organizations should educate them perseveringly, and conduct work with them by means of explanation and persuasion.

Today some Party organizations show a tendency to apply penalties in an unprincipled way on the pretext of strengthening Party control over Party members.

The basic objective of enforcing Party discipline among Party members is precisely to educate them. So, Party organizations should be careful in issuing Party penalties with the object of educating Party members, and must see to it that the penalties be cancelled in good time when Party members rectify their mistakes.

It is of the utmost importance in the organizational leadership of the Party to strengthen steadily the bonds of kinship between the Party and the masses. This is the source of the might of the Party, and constitutes

a decisive factor for all our victories.

The basic prerequisite for strengthening ties with the masses is to establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint among the cadres and Party members.

As experience shows, the matter of inducing Party members to have a correct approach towards the masses constitutes a deep-going movement for ideological remodelling. So, it cannot be settled merely by a directive or a decision.

However, many Party organizations took up the fight against bureaucracy as transient rush work, limiting it to the general appeal, "Strengthen ties with the masses!", and did not take any concrete educational measures for equipping Party members with the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Some Party members still fail to understand clearly that they are servants of the masses, and so are not prepared to fight selflessly in the interests of the masses; they do not feel indignant even when they see the interests of the masses encroached upon; they do not struggle resolutely against such phenomena, but on the contrary, prefer to seek personal gain rather than care for the interests of the masses. In spite of all this, in a number of Party organizations, the attitude of Party members towards the masses, their relations with the masses and their prestige among the masses are not regarded as the most important aspect of Party life.

Taking into account the circumstances in which a large part of our Party members still have poor experience in mass work, are inadequately steeled in work with the masses and are not completely free from the capitalist approach towards them, the Party organizations should always give careful guidance and assistance to Party members so that they may conduct their work with the masses skilfully, and should sharply criticize shortcomings revealed in their relations with the masses. We must also educate and train every Party member so that he understands deep down that in no case is he entitled to order the masses about, that he has to enlist the inexhaustible creative powers of the masses in his work, that he has to be simple and modest in his daily

life and respect our popular decorums and customs, taking good care not to go against them.

In particular, Party organizations should always pay deep attention to the political, economic and cultural life of the masses, be careful about their sentiments and needs in carrying out decisions of the Party and the Government, correctly report difficulties and obstructions to the upper bodies, and sincerely help to solve them without delay.

To make the organizational leadership of the Party equal to the political tasks set before the Party, it is important to improve the work methods of Party organizations and let the Party officials learn the method of leadership.

In some Party organizations there prevails the subjective and formalistic style of work that is harmful and alien to Marxist-Leninist principles, and there still exist phenomena such as failing to closely link political work with economic work and intruding into the province of administrative bodies.

Party political work and economic work are two aspects of our revolutionary work and, at the same time, an integral whole; their close combination is a major characteristic of our Party's method of leadership, its fundamental work method.

Since the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee in March and November 1954 and in December 1955, a noticeable change has taken place in the guidance of industry and agriculture by Party organizations, in combining Party work with economic work.

But, unfortunately, some Party organizations are not doing their work well in this respect. Even now many Party organizations and Party workers directly take upon themselves minor administrative, practical work which by its nature should be dealt with by government bodies, thus acting as a substitute for them or occupying themselves entirely with economic rush work. The result is that they fail to properly conduct the work for politically ensuring economic construction.

Some Party officials neglect or pay little attention to economic affairs on the plea that they do not act as a substitute for

administrative bodies but strengthen Party work. Consequently, they fail to give proper assistance in economic work, and lack a deep understanding of economic affairs, and so fail to concretely organize and conduct Party political work for bringing about an advancement of economic work.

Party organizations therefore should not be one-sided. They should always combine economic work with political work, and evaluate Party work in the light of how the economic plan is being fulfilled.

One of the major shortcomings still remaining in the work of Party organizations is the armchair style of work that makes it impossible to understand the actual situation at the lower level and to bring the leadership of the upper units closer to the lower. In its entire activity our Party makes it an iron rule, first of all, to proceed from a systematic study of the concrete realities of our country and the actual conditions of the lower units, and on this basis, to draw up and carry out all its policies. This is one of the most essential requirements of a Marxist-Leninist method of work.

It is true that many of our officials make efforts to come closer to the lower units, and understand their actual situation.

But some officials and Party organizations do not strive sincerely enough to examine, study, understand and analyse objective reality, and do not have a sufficient theoretical foundation for this. Therefore, when they guide lower Party organizations or observe, analyse and pass judgment on some question, they deal with it superficially without a good grasp of its essence, with the result that they sometimes make serious mistakes.

Some senior officials of the provincial, city and county Party committees fail to systematically study the political, economic, cultural work in their own localities by linking the present with the past; they do not correctly analyse, summarize and draw accurate conclusions on it to use as a guide in their work. On the contrary, they conduct all their work on the basis of their subjective assumption and judgment, and clinging only to immediate, fragmentary issues, work

without any prospects. Consequently, they see the problems in hand in an isolated light, fail to find substantial solutions to them, and in some extreme cases, carry out Party policy in a distorted way.

The result is serious shortcomings that lower the creative activity of officials in Party work, make it impossible for them to get out of the rut of mechanical and fixed methods of work, dim their revolutionary vision in discovering, supporting and developing everything new.

So, today many Party and government officials, having no correct understanding of Party policy, act as mere conveyers of instructions or collectors of material, displaying no activity and creativeness. Some leading organs deal with matters according to superficial and one-sided information and thus make their work contradict the requirements of the Party and the people.

We should strive to eliminate all these formalistic methods of work.

We should do a great deal to improve and reinforce the work of selecting, allocating and training cadres.

Since the first days of its existence our Party has devoted profound attention to training personnel loyal to the Party and the revolution, and to correctly selecting and allocating them in accordance with their political and business qualifications. Thus, we have succeeded in surmounting in the main the dearth of cadres, one of the most difficult problems encountered following liberation. In the Party and state organs, social organizations, and in all areas of economic and cultural life we now have splendid cadres who faithfully carry out Party policy, and numerous cadre-training centres are turning out an army of new personnel.

The point is that Party organizations should strictly observe the Party principles in the work of selecting and allocating cadres, and place the right cadres in the right place, thus ensuring that they devote all their ability and knowledge to revolutionary work.

It is necessary to thoroughly get rid of such phenomena as weakening the qualitative composition of the ranks of cadres and lowering the political level of Party work by underestimating the

political qualifications of cadres and laying too much stress on their business abilities. Party organizations should reinforce the ranks of cadres with revolutionaries who in the past took an active part in the national-liberation struggle, personnel seasoned in the Fatherland Liberation War, and tested cadres of worker origin, boldly select and promote new, young personnel, and carefully guide them to make progress.

With a correct knowledge of the intellectuals and technicians educated under Japanese imperialist rule, the Party has directed the work with them in the right way. Working in the fields of the economy, culture and education as well as in industrial enterprises, they are now dedicating all their talents and wisdom to faithfully fulfilling the revolutionary tasks assigned them by the Party and the Government, thus playing a tremendous role in the work of building up the nation.

In future, Party organizations need to improve the work with old intellectuals. The social status of a man is not immutable, but constantly alters with changes in his social and economic life. Suppose there are people with a heterogeneous social origin, but their class consciousness has undergone a revolutionary transformation in the course of struggle for implementation of the policies of the Party and the Government ever since liberation, and they have been tested in practical work and are now honestly carrying out their assigned tasks. Then, what more is there to demand of them and call them to account for?

Therefore, we should not judge cadres by papers alone, but evaluate them correctly in a scientific manner.

We should not only correctly select and allocate cadres, but also decisively reinforce the work of educating, training, testing and understanding them through practical work. We have to admit that we have many shortcomings in this respect. Because the education, examination and guidance of cadres have been inadequate, many cadres have become lax and self-complacent, and gone so far as to cause a great loss to the work of the Party and the state.

Party organizations should strengthen the Party control and education of cadres, irrespective of their posts; do the work of studying and evaluating them not at the desk in a subjective and abstract manner, but concretely through practical work; and value the opinions of the masses in this work. In particular, it is necessary for leading personnel to conduct the work of educating, training and studying cadres in real earnest.

The Party and government bodies and all branches of the national economy should systematically educate reserve cadres, pay Party attention to the training of technical personnel, and be deeply concerned about improving and strengthening the work of cadre-training institutions.

The direction of the working people's organizations always holds an important place in the organizational leadership of the Party.

The working people's organizations, as transmission belts linking the Party with the masses, are the most reliable assistants and reserve forces of our Party. On the whole the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea which embraces millions of workers, technicians and office employees in its ranks has faithfully performed its mission in actively defending the Party line and policy and in organizing and mobilizing the working people for their implementation.

But this does not mean that the work of the trade union organizations is without shortcomings. It must be pointed out among other things that the political level of the activities of the trade unions as a school of administration, a school of management, and a school of communism is low, and that trade union organizations have inadequately conducted the political education of the working class.

Our working class is historically young, its revolutionary tempering is insufficient, Marxist-Leninist information work among its members was very weak due to the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, and its cultural level is low. Moreover, it lost many of its fine hard cores in the Fatherland Liberation War, and has had a large number of new workers replenished from towns and the countryside in

the past two or three years. All this sets before the Party and trade union organizations the urgent task of politically fortifying the ranks of the working class.

Therefore, we must decisively improve and strengthen the political education, mass motivation and mass cultural work of the trade union organizations among the working class, thereby rallying the workers still more firmly around the Party, constantly enhancing their political preparedness, making them fully understand the identity of the interests of the working class with those of the state, and educating them to remove all the servile spirit in their productive activities and strictly observe labour discipline.

The trade unions must enhance the functions and role of their bodies at all levels including the Central Committee and all the committees of industrial unions, establish still more firmly the Party ideological system within the unions, and improve and strengthen the work of the unions on the level required by the Party by educating and training all the leading personnel to be infinitely loyal to the Party and elevate their working level.

Today the trade unions, upholding the economic policy of the Party, should encourage the working masses to fully display their political enthusiasm and creativeness, and develop on a high political level extensive emulation drives for an increase in production so as to fulfil and overfulfil production plans; they should devote attention to raising the level of technique, skill and labour efficiency of the workers, to ensuring them the conditions necessary for production, and to steadily improving their material and cultural standards.

Since the very first days of its founding, our Democratic Youth League has rallied solidly around the Party patriotic youth from all walks of life with the working youth as the core, inspired them to carry out the Party policy with zeal, and played a considerable role in educating them in the spirit of lofty patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Above all, it must be pointed out that the Democratic Youth League organizations rendered distinguished service during the great Fatherland Liberation War in organizing and mobilizing our

youth, both at the front and in the rear, for victory in the war.

In the postwar period, our youth have been waging a vigorous struggle in the van of economic construction.

However, a number of serious shortcomings exist in the work of the Democratic Youth League.

Oblivious of their mass character, the organizations of the Democratic Youth League at all levels including the Central Committee have done insufficient work to embrace large numbers of working and urban youth in their ranks, and allowed very few active non-Party youths to sit on the leading organs at all levels. As a result, many young people are left outside the league at present.

In future, the Democratic Youth League organizations should steadily expand its ranks and observe the organizational principles of a mass youth organization.

The Democratic Youth League should better organize the Marxist-Leninist education of the youth and their study of Party policy, thereby enhancing their socialist consciousness. It must give guidance to its members so as to help them acquire all the achievements of advanced science and the latest technology and raise their level of technique and skill to the point where they can efficiently operate the complex, sophisticated machinery in all branches of the national economy.

Resolutely combatting such a shameful practice as shirking labour, our youth should come forward boldly to tackle important sectors of economic construction, learn with an open mind from experienced activists there, and become competent workers capable of raising the work of their branches to a still higher level.

The Democratic Youth League should wage a struggle to consolidate its organizations, to eliminate the old ideas still remaining in the minds of the youth, and to prevent the venom of reactionary bourgeois ideas from penetrating the minds of our youth, thereby consolidating still more firmly the Party ideological system within the league.

The Democratic Youth League must firmly equip our youth with

the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, arouse them to national defence and to the struggle for peaceful reunification of the country, strengthen the ties with the youth and students in the southern half of Korea and the Korean youth and students in Japan, and constantly support and encourage their efforts to save the country. In order to build up the physical fitness of young people, the Democratic Youth League organizations should promote physical training.

The Party organizations should further strengthen political work among women who play a great role in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

Under the leadership of the Party, our women, infinitely devoted to the Party and the country, industrious and persevering, have worked selflessly since liberation to carry out the policies of the Party and the Government at each stage of the revolution, thus making steady progress politically and culturally.

However, in the work of Party organizations among women, in many cases there still exists a tendency towards formalism, and such a wrong view as underestimating their role still persists.

With a view to widely enlisting women in economic and cultural construction, the Party organizations must make a concrete study of their ideological level and wishes, provide them with adequate practical conditions enabling them to widely join the political, economic and cultural fields where they can give full scope to their skills and ability, and must elevate their cultural standard in order to raise the upbringing and education of our younger generation to a higher level.

The guidance of Party organizations is of decisive significance in promoting and developing the activities of the working people's organizations. The Party organizations should study methods of leadership suited to the peculiarities of the working people's organizations, raise the level of Party leadership, correctly orientate the work at each stage, select and allocate competent cadres, regularly check and guide the activities of the working people's organizations, and help them rectify their shortcomings.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

One of the major prerequisites for successfully reunifying the country and building the foundation of socialism in the northern half of Korea, is to equip Party members with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and to inspire the working people with socialist consciousness. This requires the intensification of Party ideological work.

Party ideological work has achieved considerable success in the period under review.

However, many shortcomings are still to be found in our Party's ideological work, the principal one being the continuance of dogmatism and formalism which are highly detrimental to this work.

Naturally, the main task, orientation and content of ideological work should be determined by the revolutionary aims of each period and each phase in the development of our revolution; it should correspond to the ideological level and actual conditions of life of the broad masses.

But in many cases, our ideological work lacks Juche and is divorced from the problems of our revolution and practical endeavours for its accomplishment. This work is conducted without regard to either the practical problems of our people's life and struggle or the masses' level of preparedness. Ideological work is carried on in such a dogmatic way that it mechanically adopts foreign ways and swallows them whole, disregarding their suitability to the actual conditions of our country.

Everyone agrees that Marxism-Leninism is a guide to action. Many Party members read books or attend lectures to learn about Marxist-Leninist theory and the fighting experiences of the fraternal parties, and they know much of them by heart. But they do not know how to apply them creatively to our practical revolutionary activities,

nor do they understand the theoretical problems and tactics of our revolution; they fail to grasp the essence of our Party line and policy. These people, caught in the snare of dogmatism, fail to see reality as it is and are incapable of creating a new life.

Today this phenomenon prevents the general principles of Marxism-Leninism from being creatively applied to the specific realities of our country and is greatly obstructing the development of our revolution and the successful implementation of Party policy.

To study Marxism-Leninism does not mean to learn isolated theoretical teachings by heart. Rather, it means to grasp the revolutionary essence of this theory and, on that basis, learn to draw correct conclusions from everyday events and the experiences of revolutionary struggle through scientific generalizations, and then apply these conclusions to the work that has to be done in practice. Therefore, our officials' approach to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory should consist in examining and analysing specific problems of the Korean revolution according to the general principles of this theory and finding solutions to our tasks in practice.

In order to improve ideological work in the future, our central task must be to explain in detail the character of the Korean revolution and its concrete goals at the present moment to the masses of Party members and clarify for them the perspectives of our revolution.

One serious manifestation of dogmatism in Party ideological work is that we neglect to study and publicize Korean problems, particularly the history of our country. Many officials and Party members know the revolutionary histories of other countries, but are ignorant of their own. So accustomed to this are they that some officials do not see it as a shortcoming and are not ashamed. They take it as a matter of course and do not even recognize the need to learn about things Korean.

Consequently, the histories of our country's labour movement and national-liberation struggle are studied inadequately, and there has been little attempt to classify and compile materials for them.

Without studying the experiences of our labour movement and national-liberation struggle, how can we correctly carry on the Korean

revolution? We must go deeply into the histories of our labour movement and national-liberation struggle waged over a period of many years, and educate Party members in the invaluable experience and lessons to be drawn from our revolutionary struggles.

Following this line in all areas of ideological work, in all schools and Party educational networks, we should revise our programmes of instruction and firmly establish Juche in Party information work. We should vigorously promote the work of collecting and arranging all the material concerning the revolutionary movement in our country and of studying and compiling the history of our revolutionary movement.

In educating our Party members, priority should be given from now on to study of practical problems in our revolution; the study must be guided by the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

Without acquiring Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology, we cannot make a coherent analysis of the history and reality of our country nor can we understand them correctly. We must give Party members an intensive Marxist-Leninist education. We should thus equip them with a scientific world outlook which will permit them to have a correct view of natural and social phenomena, help them view all matters and phenomena in the right light to analyse and criticize them scientifically, and bring them to acquire a correct understanding of the development of our revolution and firm conviction in its victory.

Another major defect in our ideological work at present is formalism; the work is not based on objective reality and everyday conditions. More often than not, many of our information workers subjectively invent the orientation and content of the ideological work at their desks, rather than base them on the specific realities and the vital needs of the working people.

They do not study the Party's tasks, our actual circumstances and situation, the desires of the masses, their hopes and aspirations, and their state of ideological preparedness. Divorced from the masses and objective conditions, they are interested in information work for the sake of information work or in general appeals only; they work arbitrarily, caring little whether the masses understand them or what

they require. The reason for this is that our information workers, responsible for the political and ideological enlightenment of the masses, do not approach them with a correct point of view or make a study of them.

Such mass political work isolated from the masses and from the practical problems of our revolution, can in no way benefit our revolution. Neither can it bring the inexhaustible revolutionary creativeness of our people into play nor properly disseminate Party policies among the masses.

The task of mass political work is to increase the socialist awareness of the working masses, and mobilize them so that they may willingly implement the political and economic tasks confronting the Party and the people.

Our Party is now working for the country's peaceful reunification and independence and for the grandiose building of the foundation of socialism in the northern half of Korea. Mass political work should, as a matter of course, serve these tasks confronting our Party at the moment and stimulate the masses to show great activity and creative enthusiasm in every possible way. It should thereby guarantee that the people participate actively in achieving the cause of socialism with a sense of pride and honour at having the opportunity of building socialism through their own efforts as masters of the country, and that they regard it as a great blessing and privilege to live in a socialist society.

Great effort and high socialist consciousness of our people are necessary to carry out the tremendous task of building the foundation of socialism.

As Lenin said, socialism is not built on the strength of a directive from above, but is materialized by the creative labour and enthusiasm of millions. Therefore, we must intensify mass political work and instil a socialist consciousness in the people. They will then be able to work in a way worthy of genuine builders of socialism, giving full scope to their energy and creative initiative in all areas of economic construction, and be encouraged to fight vigorously against any remnants of old ideas and negative phenomena in our society.

The socialist education of the working people is realized through the practical work of enlisting them in socialist construction, of leading the small producers along the road of socialist transformation. Therefore, our Party organizations must try to convince all the people, especially the peasants and the small and middle tradesmen and manufacturers, that the cooperative form is the only way to definitively eliminate the roots of poverty and exploitation, rapidly raise material and cultural standards, and make possible a life of well-being for all future generations. This will encourage them to move along the path of socialist transformation with unbridled enthusiasm and energy.

Our major task today is economic construction. We need more rice, machinery, steel, electricity, coal and more necessities of life. Herein lies the focus of our information and motivation work.

In many cases, however, our information and motivation work is no more than general political phrase-mongering; it falls short of disseminating economic knowledge and advanced experiences satisfactorily. Therefore, it is of no concrete, practical help in our work of economic construction.

The strengthening of the democratic base in the northern half of Korea and the triumph of our revolution depend largely on the successful building up of our economy. Therefore, there can be no ideological work apart from economic construction. Ideological work that is of no real help to consolidating and developing the national economy is useless.

All information and motivation work must go hand in hand with economic work; we have to be able to see the results of ideological work in the tangible achievements of economic construction.

We should remember the words of Lenin: "...we must get the people really to accept our information, our guidance and our pamphlets, so that the result may be an improvement in the national economy."

Before anything else, our cadres in positions of leadership must quickly improve their meagre knowledge of economic affairs. Many of them are ignorant of the laws governing the development of our national economy, and are directing it without having rudimentary

economic knowledge.

Unacquainted with the Party's economic policy, some officials even think it correct to develop light industry before heavy industry. This shows their ignorance of the basic economic principle: only on the basis of the priority growth of heavy industry is it possible to develop the whole national economy rapidly, including light industry, and to improve the people's standard of living. These officials do not understand—and do not even try to understand—our Party's preoccupation with stabilizing and improving quickly the people's living conditions that deteriorated so drastically owing to the war.

To end this state of affairs as soon as possible, we must pay the closest attention to popularizing knowledge about the economy, as well as stopping empty, general discussions which contribute nothing to economic construction.

The cadre-training institutions of the Party and the state should devote more time to the study of economic affairs. They should put out large numbers of simple pamphlets giving economic knowledge, explanatory treatises, and educational matter that make suitable reading material for the broad sections of our working people, and, besides, data that make advanced experiences accessible to the public.

To improve the ideological work of the Party, it is important to improve the composition of our information cadres and raise their political and theoretical level.

The present composition of our Party's information workers is very unsatisfactory. And yet, few qualified cadres are made to join them. Some educational networks have teachers who are unprepared politically and theoretically and, thus, are incapable of substantially helping the Party members in their studies.

These information workers verbally proclaim that dogmatism and formalism should disappear from ideological work, but they have no idea what forms they assume or how in reality to go about eliminating them.

We must take positive steps to train our information workers so that they have a sound political and theoretical foundation as well as a correct ideology. In addition, it should be obligatory for leading Party

and state cadres to contribute to information work so that we may cover the shortage of information personnel and improve the quality of the work.

At the same time, we should use various means to strengthen our work of developing the intellect of the masses. Although illiteracy was essentially wiped out as early as 1948, many people are becoming illiterate again because we have failed to intensify the mass-education activities continuously. We must note this.

In connection with the socialist transformation of our countryside, our Party has to devote serious attention to raising the level of culture among the rural population. Particularly, it should concentrate on improving the activities of the democratic publicity halls—bases for mass political and cultural work in rural areas—and on raising the ideological and political level of the directors of these halls.

The press is an important link between the Party and the masses. It is a powerful weapon for organizing and mobilizing the working masses to implement the tasks of political, economic and cultural construction set by the Party.

In the period we are reviewing, we have seen great progress in the publishing field. Our country now prints scores of newspapers and magazines, our Party's literature, the *Collected Works* of Lenin and many other Marxist-Leninist classics, as well as large numbers of books on science, literature and technology.

Our publishing work, however, still has many shortcomings. Its watchword should be the following: publications should give full expression to the spirit of our Party; they must have mass appeal and popular spirit in all respects; and they should keep close ties with broad sectors of the working masses and thus enhance their own authenticity and militancy.

A variety of newspapers, magazines and books published by our Party must explain and make comprehensible its lines and policies to Party members and vast numbers of workers and peasants; such publications should disseminate and popularize the achievements and valuable progressive experiences gained by the people in all spheres of

political, economic and cultural life. At the same time, the material we publish should expose and criticize everything obsolete, stagnant or conservative that hinders our onward movement. This will get the masses moving with greater enthusiasm and creativeness.

The specific character of each of our newspapers and magazines, however, is not clear; these publications fail to express the aspirations and hopes of the broad working masses as adequately as they should. They carry general and superficial articles and reports which disregard their preparedness, their needs and conditions of life. Moreover, our publications fail to explain fully the problems of Party policy or to deal with theoretical issues whose solution is vital to our revolutionary practice.

In order to strengthen our publishing work, it is essential to enlist the active cooperation of the broad working masses, correspond to their levels and meet their demands in the form and the contents of our publications, guarantee simplicity, accuracy and clarity of style, and re-work our printed matter so that it is easy and intelligible to the masses. At the same time, publications should systematically deal with problems of Party policy and theoretical problems.

This is indispensable if we are to improve the ideological and political level of our publications and ensure that they serve as a medium whereby all our Party policies penetrate deep among the masses and bear fruit.

We must also publish more books about the priceless classics left behind by our ancestors and about our country's history, geography and culture. In the translation and publication of books lack of planning and disorder should be corrected and priority should be given to books in urgent need. We must improve the distribution of books so that it suits popular demand. In particular, the practice must stop immediately—of leaving untranslated the foreign books imported in large numbers every year and then distributing the originals haphazardly without regard to who needs them, with the result that these valuable books remain unread.

School education demands close attention by our Party. During the

years under review, our school education has improved considerably, but it still falls short of the demand of the Party.

An important aim of our school education is to bring up our younger generation as able builders of socialism and ardent patriots.

The principal defects in our schools at present are that the teachers' ideological level is low, scientific and ideological standards of instruction are inferior, there are various manifestations of formalism and dogmatism in teaching, bureaucratic, documental methods of guidance persist in school administration, and teaching is divorced from our country's political and economic life.

The main reason these shortcomings continue to exist is that our Party organizations do not give proper attention to guidance of school education and to ideological and political work among the teachers.

Teachers have the honourable duty of educating our younger generation, and play an important role in building our new culture. Bearing in mind that the decisive factor in raising the quality of school education is raising the teachers' ideological consciousness and tempering their Party spirit, we must further intensify Party ideological work among them.

All Party organizations and government bodies must be constantly preoccupied with increasing the political awareness of teachers, raising the ideological and theoretical level of their instruction and improving their teaching ability. They must guide and help the teachers to take concrete steps to strengthen education in our schools.

Since the people's democratic system has been established and consolidated in the northern half of Korea, national culture is flowering and all branches of science are making rapid progress.

Our science and culture, however, lag behind our quickly developing national economy and cannot fully meet the requirements of actual life. Therefore, scientific workers should do their best to catch up with the world's advanced level of science in the near future in all areas of their research and activities.

Today science is advancing very rapidly in the world, and its contribution to the development of society is great, indeed. We cannot

afford to mark time indefinitely in a backward state. In order to reach the level of advanced science, we have to root out in our study habits laziness, looseness and spontaneity.

We should not cling to what is old. Our job is to study the achievements of new, advanced science systematically, and then take concrete steps to introduce them into production.

One major task confronting our old intellectuals, particularly workers in social sciences, is to lay the foundations for the sound, magnificent development of science and culture in the future. To do so they must carry over the excellent heritages of our country's science and culture while studying modern science and must collect and compile all data of scientific research. Scientists are not yet fully aware of how important this task is.

Even now, ten years after liberation, the foundations for scientific research have not been properly laid. To this day little study is made of the valuable works of our ancestors; many precious old documents and historical materials are being scattered, buried in oblivion and consequently lost. Only fragmentary data are known concerning our people's heroic struggles and feats. If this state of affairs continues, the development of our national culture will be greatly hampered.

In the decade since liberation, our scientists have been politically tempered and, through their actual work and struggle, have come to take their stand with the people on the whole and become scholars faithfully serving the people.

Some of our scientists, however, still cling to old methods in their research. They are indecisive in resisting reactionary bourgeois ideology and theory, lack the spirit of cooperation and unity, and fail to correctly grasp the essence of their responsibility to serve the working class and the people.

The Party must therefore continue to pay close attention to transforming the ideology of the scientists and strive to acquaint them with a thorough knowledge of dialectical materialism, the only correct scientific methodology for all branches of science. It must also energetically carry out a far-sighted programme for the mass training

of new scientific personnel.

The close combination of the scientists' research with production and actual life is the most decisive condition for guaranteeing success. So, we have to take concrete steps to create the practical conditions that will strengthen the ties between science and practice.

Our literature and art are developing in the right direction under our Party's leadership. On the whole, they correctly express and represent the heroic struggle, full life and beautiful mentality of the Korean people. Our writers and artists have been tempered in grim struggle; their ranks have emerged victorious from harsh trials.

Some writers and artists, however, are not yet free of the liberalistic looseness inherited from the old society, and are not clear of the pernicious influence of the enemy of the people in literature and art. In particular, the ideological poison spread by reactionary bourgeois writers, such as Ri Kwang Su, Rim Hwa, Ri Thae Jun and Kim Nam Chon, has not been completely wiped out.

Therefore, it is our writers' and artists' responsibility to maintain a vigorous, determined ideological struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideas in literature and art, relying firmly on methods of socialist realism in their creative activities and resolutely combatting expressions of naturalism and the doctrine of art for art's sake.

There are still many writers and artists who stand aloof from the creative labour and everyday life of the working people; and this is highly detrimental to their creative activities. Although writers and artists visit many factories and farming villages, they more often than not fail to grasp the real meaning of life there and get caught up in the superficial. This is because they do not understand the essence of our social development and lack a deep understanding of our Party's policy.

If our writers and artists equip themselves with Marxism-Leninism and delve more deeply into the life of the masses, they will be able to see precisely what typifies our society. Their works will meet the expectations and needs of our people.

The Party is firmly convinced that our writers and artists will equip themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, study the people's

lives more profoundly, study our revolutionary works and those of many other countries with care, constantly increase their artistic accomplishments; then they will produce still more excellent works for the masses and achieve great success in infusing our people with boundless love for their country and revolutionary optimism in our future.

In connection with the ideological work of our Party, I would like to say a few words about the study of the situation in south Korea and about political and ideological work for the south.

Since the greatest task of our revolution at the present stage is to liberate the people of south Korea from the oppression of imperialism and feudalism and reunify the country along democratic lines, it is obvious that the study of and information work for south Korea should have a central place in our Party's ideological work. Unfortunately, however, some of our Party officials are little concerned about south Korea. They neither study the situation in south Korea seriously nor take decisive measures to improve and intensify their information work for south Korea.

Some of our Party members cry out for the country's reunification in word but they neither know nor try to learn about the concrete political, economic, cultural and military situation in south Korea.

The reunification of the country is an arduous and complex task. In order to isolate the enemy completely from the masses of the people and to induce the south Korean people to rise up voluntarily in struggle for national reunification, we need to conduct solid, systematic political information work for south Korea.

This is an important means for hastening the reunification and independence of the country. Without systematically studying the enemy's movements, how can we quickly expose and smash his stratagems and tricks? Without studying and analysing the position of the people of all classes and strata in south Korea, how can we take definite steps to arouse, organize and mobilize them to struggle?

Studying the south Korean situation and making it widely known to the masses is aimed not only at the political education and enlightenment of the working masses in south Korea. It also has great

significance in thoroughly convincing the people in the northern half of the basic tasks of our revolution and in raising their revolutionary vigilance and class consciousness.

We must take radical measures to improve and strengthen our political information work for south Korea by all means.

All Party members should keep a sharp eye on the enemy's movements and closely follow the trends of all political parties, social organizations and social strata in south Korea; they should systematically study the political, economic, military and cultural situation of south Korea in the context of their respective field of work. At the same time, the content and methods of information work aimed at the south should be improved to meet the specific realities and the vital demands of the masses of the people in south Korea.

* * *

Comrades,

In the period under review our Party has carried out a great task for the victory of our revolution and traversed a brilliant, victorious path of glorious struggle.

No desperate effort of the enemies at home and abroad to stop the advance of our Party and to strangle our revolution, nor any difficulty and hardship, could block the road ahead of our Party.

The victories and achievements which our Party has won in the period under review are a tremendous inspiration for our people and gladden our true friends. Even our foes are amazed at the strength of our Party and the successes our people have achieved.

This is a result of the indomitable struggle which our Party and people, united as one, have waged solely for the victory of the revolution, never submitting to any hardship or trial.

The successes we have achieved in the past years, however, are but initial ones in view of the extensive tasks to be carried out in the future.

We should correctly lead the entire people of Korea to accomplish the cause of national reunification and independence along democratic lines, and successfully build the foundation of socialism to further strengthen the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea.

This is the basic task of our Party at the present stage. It is not an easy task to carry out by any means.

Under the circumstances we find ourselves in confronted by the enemy for a long time, we will have to surmount many difficulties and obstacles. The enemy will continue their desperate attempt to hamper our revolutionary movement.

But we can repulse any vicious attempt of the enemy and overcome whatever trial in our way, and will certainly achieve the cause of national reunification which the Korean people are impatiently longing for.

We have the Workers' Party of Korea, the General Staff in our revolution which has been hardened in battle against the enemy at home and abroad and united as a monolithic force, and the inexhaustible revolutionary might of our industrious, tenacious and heroic people united firmly around the Party; we also have reliable friends abroad who actively support us in our just struggle, standing on the same side of the barricade.

Precisely because of this, we will be able to triumphantly meet any great revolutionary event that may take place in the future.

Looking forward to the reunification of our country which is sure to come and to the boundlessly happy future of our people, we are inspired by great hopes and bright prospects.

The invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism illumines our path leading to a bright and prosperous future and inspires our people marching along this path with unflinching courage and an indomitable spirit. Victory and glory will always be with our people who are marching forward holding this banner firmly aloft.

Let us all valiantly move forward for the final victory of the revolution, holding ever higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Korean people.

**TASKS FOR THE SOUTH HAMGYONG
PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS
TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISION
OF THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS**

**Speech at the Meeting of the Activists of the South Hamgyong
Provincial Party Organizations**

May 17, 1956

Entrusted by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party, I am attending the meeting of the activists of the South Hamgyong provincial Party organizations, to discuss the measures to be taken in implementing the decision of the Third Party Congress. Having heard the speeches of many comrades today, I can see that Party members have a basically correct understanding of the spirit of the Party congress and that they are firmly resolved to carry out its decision.

As all of you know, the Third Congress of our Party is of great historical significance.

It summed up the course of very difficult yet proud struggles undergone by the Party during the eight years since the Second Party Congress.

It reviewed the success in the struggle for the establishment, consolidation and development of the people's democratic system in the northern half of Korea in the prewar years of peaceful construction and the factors that had contributed to our people's victory in the grim Fatherland Liberation War as well as the historical lessons learnt from that struggle. Further, it summed up how our Party had mobilized its

membership and the entire people in the struggle for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy. In short, the Third Party Congress made an overall analysis and review of our Party's line and policy and its experience of struggle in the periods of peaceful construction, the Fatherland Liberation War and postwar reconstruction.

In addition, the Party congress summarized the struggle the Party had been waging, since its formation, against factionalists, disruptionists, local separatists and spies, who tried to undermine the Party's unity and solidarity, and also the historical course of its development into a mass party. The congress demonstrated far and wide that our Party, the advanced detachment of the working people, was a powerful party which had attained organizational and ideological unity and cohesion.

All the delegates at the Third Party Congress, representing the one million membership, highly appreciated the work of the Central Committee of the Party during the period under review and unanimously recognized that the Central Committee's leadership had been correct. They were of one accord in confirming that our Party was now a dependable party capable of shouldering the destiny of the Korean people and giving leadership to the arduous struggle for the reunification, independence and prosperity of the country.

Apart from our Party members, the delegates to the congress from fraternal parties also highly appreciated that our Party was a strong, disciplined party with close organizational and ideological unity. They recognized that it was a seasoned party capable of creditably achieving the cause of building socialism in the northern half of Korea and the country's reunification.

Even our enemies directed great attention to the Third Congress of our Party. They could not help admitting the strength of our Party born out of a solid unity of ideology and will.

The Third Party Congress not only summed up its work in the past years, but put forward very important tasks for our Party to fulfil in the years ahead.

In the first place, the Party congress advanced the task of building socialism with a view to strengthening the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of Korea. Building socialism in the north is the way to consolidate and develop the people's democratic system, strengthen the economic foundations and quickly raise the people's material and cultural standards. Strengthening the revolutionary democratic base in the north will provide a dependable guarantee for the reunification of the country.

In the second place, the Party congress made a proposal for peaceful national reunification. It proposed that a united front be formed by embracing all patriotic political parties and social organizations, and individuals with national conscience in north and south Korea and that the country be reunified peacefully through consultations of a coalition of these political parties, social organizations and patriots from both parts of the country. This is a very fair and reasonable proposal, clearly showing the way to national reunification to the people in north and south of Korea.

The task of building socialism in the northern half of Korea and the manifesto on peaceful national reunification advanced by the Third Party Congress constitute our Party's programme at the present stage, the targets of struggle which correctly mirror the inevitability of revolutionary and socio-economic progress in our country.

If we are to successfully implement the task of building socialism in the north and the manifesto on the peaceful reunification of the country, we must strengthen our Party organizationally and ideologically. Accordingly, the Party congress put forward a policy on Party work in this regard for the period ahead and adopted new Rules by which to train its membership to be staunch revolutionaries and to knit its ranks closely.

We had been making preparations for the Third Party Congress for a long time. The Fifth Plenary Meeting and especially the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party were important ones preparatory to the Party congress. The latter defined the nature of the revolution in our country at the present stage, proposed the task of

building socialism in the northern half of Korea and took measures to intensify class education. In this way it ensured that Party members were ideologically ready beforehand to cope with the new task to be given. Hence the Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the Party membership and the rest of the working people are fully capable of implementing the programme laid down at the recent Party congress.

In order to carry out the decision of the Third Party Congress, they should, before all else, study in depth the document of the congress.

It should not be learnt by rote just like the text of *One Thousand Characters*; the ideas contained in the document should be studied deeply. It is an important document which gives a summary of our Party work in the past eight years and shows the orientation of work to be done in the years to come. Though it covers our activities in that period briefly, its entire contents are important ideas as well as represent the truth. The responsibility to grasp the thought and policy contained in the document and to put them into practice thoroughly rests upon the members of our Party.

But a formalistic approach to the study of this document is much in evidence at present. Formalism means giving gloss to only the form. In other words, it denotes something glossy in outer appearance but devoid of content like a wild apricot which appeals to the eye but is sour to the taste.

Party members should study the document of its congress in detail and make it the guideline to their work.

Another thing to do to carry out the decision of the Third Party Congress is to take proper measures to implement it.

Provincial Party committees and provincial people's committees should draw up effective work plans to thoroughly implement the decision of the congress. Their work plans should be such that they can be translated into practice, not mere devices to be produced before inspectors. Such plans must include well-defined tasks to correct the shortcomings revealed in the work over the previous period. They should also envisage the concrete ways and means to fulfil the decision

of the Party congress. Provincial Party committees and people's committees should work out feasible plans which can ensure the full implementation of the decision in industry, agriculture and all other areas of the national economy as well as in the domain of Party work.

The efforts to carry out the decision of the Party congress will stretch over a long period of time. Once work plans are drawn up to implement the decision, the Party organizations should push ahead energetically with the work of putting them into practice.

Now, going by the facts I found here in South Hamgyong Province and the contents of the discussions at today's meeting, I would like to speak about some tasks to be performed by the provincial Party organizations to carry out the decision of the Party congress.

1. ON INDUSTRY

For a thoroughgoing implementation of the decision of the Third Party Congress, the current Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy should first be carried out ahead of schedule. Only then will you be able to get ready for the struggle to implement the First Five-Year Plan.

We should deeply study and clearly understand the basic thrust of the Five-Year Plan put forward by the Third Party Congress. It clearly shows the economic tasks that must be carried out by our Party in the coming years.

The central tasks set forth in the Five-Year Plan which is important in building socialism in our country are to lay the groundwork for socialist industrialization and improve the people's living standards.

If the people's living levels are to be raised, industry, agriculture and all other areas of the national economy should be developed quickly. The war resulted in a devastation of all these economic sectors and an extreme deterioration of the people's livelihood. We are left

with our bare hands. We must build houses, weave cloth and produce plenty of grain. We cannot compromise with hunger, though we can endure other shortages. The people's livelihood is not something that can be improved simply by fussing about it or shouting hurrah!

We must create happiness by our own efforts and resolve the question of food, clothing and housing for the people. We won the Fatherland Liberation War because our people fought with the firm belief that they would be able to build new lives for themselves as long as they were masters of state power, had control over the means of production and had their own armed forces. If we continue to struggle with this conviction, we can rebuild the devastated economy by our own efforts and resolve the question of food, clothing and housing for the people.

For a higher living standard of the people, we must develop industry before anything else.

Without developing industry, it would be impossible to obtain bricks, steel, or cement which are necessary material for construction of houses. Briefly stated, we would be unable to build houses and factories without industry.

Industry is also indispensable to the development of agriculture. Grain production, to be increased, requires plenty of chemical fertilizer, whose manufacture would be impossible without industry.

When I was travelling through Hamju County on my visit to South Hamgyong Province in 1953, I asked the peasants there why grain production in the Hamju Plain was dropping. They answered that it was because they had no fertilizer. They used to produce four tons of rice per hectare before the war, but the present yield is scarcely three tons. The reason for the low rice yield per hectare is nothing else but the short supply of chemical fertilizer to the countryside. The same is true of the low yield of maize.

If we supply sufficient chemical fertilizer to the countryside, we will be able to harvest two tons of maize from every hectare, producing two million tons in all from one million hectares. And if we harvest three tons of rice from every hectare of the half a million hectares of rice

fields, the total rice output will amount to 1.5 million tons. That will amount to a total of 3.5 million tons of grain. Three million tons of grain will be enough at present to solve our food problem.

We shall have to develop industry also if we are to provide the countryside with more farm machinery.

The problem of clothing, too, can be solved by the development of industry.

We have made painstaking efforts for several years to increase the cotton yield in order to tackle the problem of clothing, but in vain. Cotton does not thrive in our country. The current per-hectare yield of cotton is only several hundred kilogrammes. That is why we should mass-produce chemical fibre in the future to cope with the problem of clothing. This, too, would be impossible without industry.

Heavy industry must be given priority in the development of industry. This will ensure progress of both light industry and agriculture.

In order to improve the people's livelihood, South Hamgyong Province must first direct efforts to the chemical industry. The Pongung Chemical Factory and the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory are big assets of our country. We must reconstruct these factories completely during the Five-Year Plan period.

Next year, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory should strive to produce 200,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and at the same time quickly complete the construction of its ammonium nitrate factory. Ammonium nitrate is 1.7 times more effective than ammonium sulphate as fertilizer, and its production does not require iron sulfide. The Hungnam Fertilizer Factory should finish the building of the ammonium nitrate factory with a capacity of 100,000 tons by the end of the third quarter of next year so that it can start production in the fourth quarter.

The Pongung Chemical Factory should quickly reconstruct its production facilities and boost the output of nitrolime fertilizer.

From 1958 on, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Pongung Chemical Factory should annually produce 200,000 tons of

ammonium sulphate, 100,000 tons of ammonium nitrate and 50,000 to 60,000 tons of nitrolime. In 1961 they should turn out at least 400,000 tons of chemical fertilizers. This is the task of the first stage. At the second stage, they should raise the output of ammonium nitrate to 200,000 tons and that of ammonium sulphate to 400,000 tons. The task for the second stage will be undertaken after the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

When I came to the Pongung Chemical Factory three years ago, I found the factory so ravaged that I could hardly pick my way through the debris. But this time I saw that it had been rebuilt and cleared to a considerable extent. The factory officials and workers had done a lot of work in the intervening period. For this I offered thanks to all the workers, technicians and office employees on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

They should not, however, be carried away by their initial success, but should go on striving to consolidate the success and completely rebuild the factory as soon as possible. They should rearrange the inside of the factory properly, speed up housing construction, and work on zealously.

The Pongung Chemical Factory should continue to develop both the electro-chemical industry and the organic-chemical industry under a long-term plan. In the future, we shall have to give up the cultivation of cotton which does not flourish in our country and switch over to the production of chemical fibre to cope with the clothing problem. We are contemplating the production of approximately 8,000 tons of rayon yarn and staple fibre at the Chongjin Spinning Mill in 1958.

Without electric power it would be impossible to develop industries including the chemical industry. The major task of the electric power industry is to rehabilitate the existing power plants completely as they were in the prewar years. South Hamgyong Province should finish the construction of the dam for the Hochongang Power Station, which started before liberation and was abandoned halfway. And it should exceed the pre-liberation level of power output during the Five-Year Plan.

Developing the engineering industry is very important, for this will enable us to provide industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy with different kinds of necessary machines and equipment.

The Ryongsong Machine Factory holds a very important place in the engineering industry of our country. The South Hamgyong provincial Party organization must see to it that the Ryongsong Machine Factory contributes greatly to the advancement of the machine-building industry in our country.

This factory should first of all use its buildings more effectively. Other engineering factories are at present hard pressed for buildings, but the Ryongsong Machine Factory has a lot of room for further installation of machines. It should quickly rehabilitate the existing buildings, use them more effectively and install more machines and equipment in them.

The rate of machine operation should be raised. Although the major machines at the Ryongsong Machine Factory are now working on two or three shifts, other machines are operating on only one shift. The coefficient of machines in terms of shifts at this factory is 1.7, or less than two, on the average. This is due to inefficient work on the part of factory officials. If they are not working machines at a higher rate because they have few state assignments, they ought to ask for more. But instead, the officials of this factory are now content with having overfulfilled the low production quota. Such a state of affairs is bound to invite ills such as fame-seeking and wastage.

In order to raise the rate of machine operation, every machine, without exception, should be worked on three shifts under a per-machine production plan. Such a plan should be set to the standard of the production capacity of leading machines. If the capacity of auxiliary equipment is insufficient, the plan should be drawn up in such a way as to compensate for the deficiency.

Another thing to be done to raise the rate of machine operation is to properly equip the factory's repair shop and enhance its role.

The mining industry should be developed. The Tanchon and

Hochon districts in South Hamgyong Province are promising sites for the development of large mines. The Party intends to develop large mines there in the Five-Year Plan period.

The South Hamgyong provincial Party organization should push forward the preparation for the reconstruction and expansion of mines in the Tanchon and Hochon areas. And the Komdok and Mandok Mines should be improved and reinforced, their hewing capacities increased and their hauling operation mechanized.

Strenuous efforts are needed to rebuild the railways. Many of the railway lines including that between Kowon and Hamhung suffered severe damages during the war. The damaged railways were restored to operation on a temporary basis during the Three-Year Plan; they should be completely rebuilt during the Five-Year Plan. Railway station buildings for the convenience of passengers and warehouses should also be built.

Great attention should be paid to the development of local industries and the consolidation of producers' cooperatives. Producers' cooperatives play a great part in producing essential goods for the people by using local raw material resources. So far, however, little attention has been directed to consolidating these.

A large number of producers' cooperatives employing handicraftsmen should be formed.

If this is done the impoverished handicraftsmen can be eliminated and their lives can be stabilized and improved. If their machines are made use of and their skills given full play, the handicraftsmen will contribute to the output of essential goods. The investigation into the working of producers' cooperatives at Kaesong some time ago shows that their members are earning high incomes and are also very much interested in the cooperatives.

Producers' cooperatives can take various forms. Railways can organize loading, unloading and hauling cooperatives, and townships can have service-production cooperatives.

Party organizations and government bodies should ensure that producers' cooperatives are widely organized and run properly.

One of the important tasks confronting the South Hamgyong provincial Party organization is to resolve the housing problem of its inhabitants. Workers are now facing a difficult housing situation. Construction of houses should take place at a continuously increasing and rapid rate to accommodate the industrial population which will grow keeping pace with the reconstruction of factories. Investment in construction of houses should grow. A large number of permanent houses and temporary houses as well should be built in South Hamgyong Province. This is the way to cope with the acute housing problem.

For rapid construction of houses, building work should be mechanized. South Hamgyong Province should build many brickyards which produce adobe as well as many reinforced concrete block factories for the manufacture of building materials. Since they need very simple production facilities, such brickyards can be arranged for all over. Besides this, advanced building methods should be actively introduced, and the technical knowledge and skill of building workers increased quickly.

Construction in county seats should be accelerated.

In some counties they are now building houses in crop fields, even setting aside space in the county seats, thinking of erecting high-rise buildings there at some time in the future. This practice should be eliminated. It is advisable to build one to two-storeyed adobe houses in county seats.

County seats must be built up by the efforts of the counties themselves. Our principle is that one should build one's life by one's own efforts. Counties should produce adobes by themselves and use lime and other locally available substitutes for cement in every way.

The state should supply them with the cement necessary for building the foundations of houses. The province should provide them with machines to produce adobes and also summon building workers from the counties, train them in the methods of building and send them back.

Schools and teachers' houses in the countryside should be built by themselves just as the county seats are.

2. ON THE FISHING INDUSTRY

Developing fisheries is of tremendous significance in our country where livestock farming is yet to be advanced. Development of fisheries will enable us to provide the people with enough fish to improve their dietary standards.

What is important in the fishing industry is to go out fishing throughout the year without quitting the sea.

This requires a combination of deep-sea fishing and medium and small-scale fishing and an application of diverse fishing methods. This is an important Party policy. The Ministry of Fisheries should provide the fishing stations and fishermen's cooperatives with plenty of large, medium and small fishing boats and different kinds of fishing equipment so that they can catch fish in accordance with the Party's policy.

In addition, the ministry should see to it that fishing vessels and equipment are repaired promptly. To this end, it would be a good idea to organize mobile repair teams just as the People's Army has done. In the People's Army mobile repair teams move around small units, repairing malfunctioning vehicles and weapons for them. The Ministry of Fisheries, too, should form such mobile repair teams in required numbers. In this way minor and medium repairs of fishing boats and equipment can be undertaken by the mobile teams, although major repairs will have to be done at shipbuilding yards.

Efficient work is needed for the culturing of fish and the conservation of fish resources. In the Kwangpho Duck Farm they are catching crucians and snakehead mullets from the lake with which to feed their ducks to make up the shortage of fish-meal feed. If this is encouraged, the fish in the lake will be extinguished. A strict and disciplined system is imperative to ensure the culturing of fish and

conservation of fish resources.

If we are to develop the fishing industry, we must strengthen fishermen's cooperatives. At present, some Party organizations are neglecting them, preoccupied as they are with looking after agricultural cooperatives. Since fishermen's cooperatives, too, belong to the socialist economic sector, Party organizations ought to pay attention to them. They should direct great attention to consolidating and developing fishermen's cooperatives and agro-fishery cooperatives.

3. ON AGRICULTURE

It is necessary to strive for a higher rate of land utilization in the field of agriculture. Arable land is limited in our country in general and in South Hamgyong Province in particular. So it is important to raise the rate of land utilization. Pukchong County has valuable experience in using land effectively. This experience should be generalized for all the rest to follow suit.

We must determinedly combat the practice of wasting land. In the future, new houses and villages should not be built on farmland.

Land management and rezoning should be conducted properly. In North Phyongan Province nearly all the bomb craters have been filled up, but in South Hamgyong Province they still exist as they were and there are also many unnecessary ridges between paddy fields. You should fill up the bomb craters as soon as possible and level out the unnecessary ridges.

Agricultural cooperatives should strive to increase the crop yield per unit area. This cannot be done if you farm the way your forefathers did in olden days. You can do it only by carpeting fields with new soil and adopting two-crop raising and other advanced farming methods extensively.

You should make efforts to improve the living standards of the cooperative farmers.

Peasants were responsible for their own livelihood when they were part of an individual peasant economy, but now the Party and the state are in charge of their lives since they are enlisted in agricultural cooperatives. When they were private farmers, they had no one else to blame even if they had to starve in case of crop failure. But today when agricultural cooperatives have been formed, their members will blame our Party and state, should they be badly off.

The management committees and Party organizations of agricultural cooperatives should assume full responsibility for the lives of the cooperative farmers. They should always pay attention to ways of increasing the incomes of the cooperative farmers, improving their living standards and boosting grain production. The work of rural Party organizations should be assessed by the degree of success they achieve in the work of agricultural cooperatives. Rural Party workers and managerial workers of the agricultural cooperatives should run the cooperatives properly and ensure a high standard of living for the farmers.

In other provinces quite a few agricultural cooperatives now distribute a share of ten kilogrammes of grain for a work-point, but there are still no such cooperatives in South Hamgyong Province. A share of 6.3 kilogrammes of grain per work-point is said to be the highest figure in this province. All other agricultural cooperatives in the province should attain this level as soon as possible and exceed it in the future.

Agricultural cooperatives should widely organize various kinds of sideline work to increase the incomes of cooperative members.

The provincial Party organization should consolidate the existing agricultural cooperatives and at the same time organize new ones in areas where they do not yet exist. Agricultural cooperatives should be formed taking into account the peasants' readiness. If all the peasants volunteer for cooperative membership, they may be organized into cooperatives. But cooperatives should not be organized hastily and

indiscriminately without taking the will of the peasants into consideration simply because they are superior to the private peasant economy. And they should not be formed in summer, but should begin to be organized in autumn.

We intend to raise the present wages for workers, technicians and office employees at least 2 to 2.5 times and lower prices approximately by 50 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan. This year we are planning to increase wages by 20 to 25 per cent. If this is done, the people's living standards will rise much higher than the prewar levels. In order to increase wages and lower prices, we must develop industry, do farming well and fulfil the plan targets in all sectors of the national economy. Only then can we provide goods catering to the purchasing power of the people. All sectors and units of the national economy should make strenuous efforts to thoroughly implement the production plans given by the Party and the state.

The movement for economy and increased production should be intensified. In all areas of the national economy care should be taken to see that even a brick, nail, thread or a pinch of cement is used economically.

All the economic branches and units should intensify the struggle to economize in state materials and funds and lower production costs. Only then can they be of benefit to the state and build more.

We must use foreign currency most economically. At present, the struggle to save foreign currency is not being conducted properly. In the field of motor transport, they are wasting a lot of gasoline imported at the expense of precious foreign currency by running empty vehicles.

Scientists and technicians should strengthen research into substitutes for imported goods. The decision of the Party congress set forth the task of gasifying anthracite. If this task is accomplished, a large amount of foreign currency can be saved.

The struggle to earn foreign currency, along with the effort to use it economically, should be intensified.

It is said that some countries earn a lot of foreign money by exporting duck feather. But at the Kwangpho Duck Farm they throw

away duck feather, not regarding it as a source of foreign currency. From now on, they should never throw it away, but gather it all to earn foreign currency.

If you export one ton of carbide, you can earn 500 roubles of foreign money. So the Pongung Chemical Factory should strive harder even if it is to produce one more kilogramme of carbide.

Plenty of furs of weasels and other wild animals, chicken feather, pig fur, trepangs, cuttlefish, shellfish, and the like should be exported to earn a large amount of foreign money.

To this end, you should pack the goods for export well and improve their quality. Poorly packed export goods do not sell well. The *Samno* liquor we produce in Kaesong is very much popular in Hongkong because of its good packing. Factories and enterprises should earn more foreign money by raising the qualities and grades of export goods through improved packing and by actively tapping the sources of export. Only then will we be able to import machinery, rubber, gasoline and other goods we need.

4. ON INTENSIFYING TECHNICAL EDUCATION

At present, it is very urgent to intensify technical education.

There are not many technicians majoring in engineering and other areas of the national economy in our country, and our technology is still backward. This is a handicap to the development of our country. The low rate of operation of machines and equipment is due to the lack of technical know-how. The question of developing agricultural cooperatives, too, depends on technology. If they continue to use the old methods of farming instead of introducing mechanization, the agricultural cooperatives will be unable to advance the rural economy. Technology is necessary for the development of not only industry and agriculture, but also construction, transport and fisheries. Unless we

develop technology, we will be unable to live and progress. Other countries are now heading for mechanization, electrification and automation, but our country has not yet eliminated handicraft labour.

Our country has a low level of technology because at the close of the Ri dynasty the feudal rulers did not introduce advanced technology and also because the Japanese imperialists who occupied Korea imposed a pernicious colonial rule on her.

We must raise our technological level to that of the advanced countries as quickly as possible. To this end, we must carry out a technical revolution. Whether or not our country attains the world standard of technology depends on how we effect the technical revolution during our lifetime.

We should make strenuous efforts to catch up with the technically leading countries, and walk a hundred steps when others take ten steps forward.

In order to advance our technology to international standards and make up the shortage of technical personnel, we must intensify technical education. Our Party and the Government of the Republic have already set forth the policy on strengthening technical education and reorganized many higher middle schools into technical schools.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic are going to expand the departments of the existing technical colleges and set up many new technical colleges and higher technical schools in the future to strengthen technical education. In this way competent technical personnel will be trained in large numbers in a short period of time. For the fulfilment of this task, the conservatism revealed among the officials of the Ministry of Education must be overcome. The conservatives said that it would be impossible to set up the University when we set about doing it immediately after liberation. But we set it up by our own efforts. Today, there are nearly 20 institutions of higher learning in our country, although we had only one at that time. We must eliminate conservatism from among educational officials and boldly get down to the task of producing technical personnel in large numbers.

We must train a large number of competent engineers, masters of sciences and doctors and at the same time ensure that all the working people acquire some technical know-how by organizing technical courses and the imparting of technical skill on an extensive scale. This is the way to build socialism successfully and bring civilization to our country.

5. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

In order to strengthen Party work, it is important that the work of organizational departments is improved before all else.

So far the organizational departments of Party committees at different levels have not done their work properly. They have allegedly been trying to work by taking everything in hand, but in fact they have been drifting in the air. They have substituted their work of paying constant attention to the Party life of the membership with punishing or expelling Party members, who have made mistakes, and conveying the results of such action to higher Party organizations. Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province, too, have expelled quite a few Party members. Carelessly admitting people to the Party and expelling them at random is no good.

Party organizational departments should make it their central task to ensure the purity of Party ranks and, adhering to Party line and policy, see to it that all Party organizations and members avoid deviating from Party policy.

Party organizational departments should first of all increase Party membership properly and educate new Party members well. They should closely examine the eligibility of applicants for Party membership and admit them in accordance with the procedure stipulated by Party Rules. Once admitted, the new members should be educated with patience, even if they have shortcomings. Party

organizational departments should pay constant attention to the Party life of the members just like parents meticulously concerned about their young children going to school. They should deeply study the characters, qualities and desires of Party members and, on this basis, give them concrete guidance.

Party organizational departments should also organize and run Party meetings effectively, direct great attention to the Party life of the membership, the cadres in particular. They should constantly study cadres and work efficiently to prevent them from making mistakes.

They should be good at circulating information. The circulation of information is aimed at informing other Party organizations of the shortcomings revealed by a Party organization in the implementation of Party policy so as to prevent the recurrence of similar shortcomings.

Party committees at all levels should strengthen their collective leadership.

Collective leadership means carrying out the mass line in giving guidance. In other words, it means that all questions are discussed and decided on by all the members of the Party committee, reflecting the will of the broad masses and that the decisions are carried out by giving full play to the wisdom and ability of the masses.

In order to ensure collective leadership, the Party committees at all levels should be built up properly. A Party committee should comprise officials of the Party, government and economic bodies and working people's organizations, workers, peasants, technicians and intellectuals, who are loyal to the Party and the revolution and are greatly experienced in work. Only then, will plenty of well-advised creative suggestions be brought to the Party committee, and correct measures can be taken to implement the decisions adopted through discussion.

When properly built up, the Party committees at all levels should be run properly. No matter how good the makeup of a Party committee is, collective leadership will not be ensured if the Party committee is run in such a way that its members just meet and disperse without adequate opportunities being given for them to express themselves fully.

If a Party committee is to be run properly, its members should be notified in advance about what subjects are going to be discussed and when so that they can integrate the opinions of many people and make good suggestions at the committee meeting. This will help the Party committee to take correct decisions.

After the adoption of correct decisions, the Party committee should give concrete assignments for their implementation to its members in keeping with their preparedness. The Party committee should regularly check up on the implementation of the assignments and help the members to carry them out.

Juche should be thoroughly established. To the Koreans Juche means that they should be good at carrying out the Korean revolution. Juche in our revolution consists precisely in building socialism in the northern half of Korea and carrying out the south Korean revolution. The Korean revolution is a part of the world revolution. Carrying out the Korean revolution successfully, therefore, means developing the world revolution.

For the establishment of Juche, we should know well the history of Korea, the history of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in particular. Only then will we be able to succeed in the Korean revolution. But this does not mean that we should reject everything foreign. We shall have to study and adopt foreign things, but we should adopt them to suit the interests of the Korean revolution and the tastes of the Koreans. We need not follow the foreign way of eating simply because foreigners eat with forks or chopsticks. We Koreans should eat with spoons in the way we are used to. In conducting information work and meetings, too, we should not mechanically adopt foreign forms but should do the work to suit the levels of our people and the reality of our country. When we learn from the experience of fraternal parties, we should do it in such a way as to acquire the revolutionary truth and apply it properly to the revolution in our country. The same is true of learning foreign technology. We should establish Juche thoroughly and subordinate everything to the interests of the Korean revolution.

The South Hamgyong provincial Party organization should pay

close attention to strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Party.

Historically viewed, South Hamgyong Province has produced many addicts to individual heroism such as O Ki Sop, Jong Tal Hon and Kim Yol. This is due to the continued existence of unhealthy localism and the practice of blind obedience within the Party.

Individual heroism engenders nepotism, and nepotism forms a faction as it grows. Factionalism harms the Party by destroying its unity and solidarity.

The South Hamgyong provincial Party organization should always be highly vigilant against the appearance of individual heroism within the Party and should not overlook its slightest manifestation, but should combat it promptly and without compromise. It should establish iron discipline based on centralism by which Party members obey the Party organization and all Party organizations obey the Central Committee of the Party. The Party's unity and solidarity should thus be strengthened in every way.

Party organizations should convey the contents of the document of the Third Party Congress to the Party members and working people and carry out the tasks contained in it. All the Party members and working people should unite closely around the Central Committee of the Party and march forward, bravely overcoming the difficulties and obstacles in their way, towards the implementation of our Party's important task of building socialism in the northern half of Korea and of reunifying the country peacefully.

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE
TO ALL THE WORKERS,
TECHNICIANS
AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES
OF THE MUSAN MINE**

June 1, 1956

On the occasion of the opening ceremony of the ore dressing plant in the Musan Mine which holds an important place in the development of our iron industry, I, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, would like to exalt your brilliant labour achievements and extend warm congratulations and thanks to you.

You evacuated the precious machines and equipment swiftly during the war and thus protected them from the barbarous bombing of the US imperialists. In the days of postwar reconstruction you displayed patriotic devotion overcoming and smoothing away all hardships and difficulties and rebuilt the Musan Mine into a modern one in a short space of time.

The reconstruction of the Musan Mine is another fresh victory of our heroic working class who are building socialism in the northern half of Korea.

I am sure that, without being self-complacent with the successes already achieved, you will mechanize all work and keep on raising your technical qualifications and technical control level, thus increasing efficiency in ore excavation and conveyance, raising the ore dressing

rate and producing large quantities of high-grade ore concentrates to fully satisfy the increasing demand of the state for them.

I wish you more brilliant success in your struggle to step up socialist industrialization in our country and secure peaceful reunification and independence of the nation.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A
CORRESPONDENT
OF THE *NAFEN* IN INDIA**

June 9, 1956

Question: What is the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea going to do to promote reunification of Korea?

Answer: The DPRK Government is endeavouring and will endeavour to achieve Korean reunification through peaceful means on a democratic basis by the Koreans themselves.

More than once we have proposed to the south Korean authorities rapprochement and negotiation between the north and the south. We are still advocating this; we maintain that a permanent commission composed of representatives of north and south Korea should be established to discuss problems concerning contact between the north and the south and Korea's reunification.

Working hard to turn the Korean armistice into a durable peace, we have recently decided, as a practical measure, to reduce our Republic's armed forces by 80,000 and appropriate the surplus military spendings for peaceful construction.

We are ready to continue to take effective measures for easing the tension and creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

We still maintain that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea and that an international conference of the nations concerned should be convoked for peaceful settlement of the Korean question

with the participation of representatives of the north and south Korean governments.

Question: What is the opinion of the DPRK on the US expulsion of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission?

Answer: The DPRK considers that the statement of the “UN Command” on the expulsion of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission from south Korea is a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement and is an act aimed at increasing armaments in south Korea and aggravating the tension in Korea.

Question: What steps will the DPRK take to maintain close relations with other Asian and Arab countries?

Answer: The DPRK supports the five principles of peaceful coexistence and is striving, in accordance with these principles, to establish and develop cooperative relations with all nations.

We are making special endeavours to promote cultural and economic relations with Asian and Arab countries which are struggling against colonialism and for their national independence.

We support multifarious contacts with these countries and exchanges of parliamentary, cultural and economic delegations, as well as individual scientists, public and political figures.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
BY A JOURNALIST
OF THE *UNITA*, THE ORGAN
OF THE ITALIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY**

June 25, 1956

Question: Would you kindly tell me the aim of the visits of the Government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the People's Democracies and the impressions you have received in these visits?

Answer: The Government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is now on visits to the fraternal People's Democracies at the invitation of the governments of these countries.

Through good-will visits to the fraternal countries, our Government delegation aims to contribute to the cause of peace in Europe, Asia and the rest of the world, by further consolidating the existing relations of friendship and economic and cultural cooperation between them and our country, and by exchanging opinions directly between state leaders about problems of common concern.

We would also like to see for ourselves the successes achieved by the peoples of fraternal countries in building socialism and learn a lot from their advanced experiences.

We have already visited the German Democratic Republic, the

Romanian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic; we are now staying in the Czechoslovak Republic. Our impressions of these countries are deep and outstanding.

The working peoples of these countries who have taken power in their own hands, have registered great successes in various areas of politics, economy and culture in a historically short space of time. These successes encourage us greatly.

Today, under the leadership of their Parties and Governments, the peoples of these countries are striving tirelessly for socialist construction and a lasting peace in the world and friendship and cooperation between peoples.

During these visits fraternal peoples everywhere warmly welcomed our Government delegation, which demonstrated once more their unbreakable friendship and solidarity with our people.

Question: What is the form in which economic and cultural cooperation between your country and Czechoslovakia is carried on?

Answer: Like the one with other socialist countries and People's Democracies, our economic and cultural cooperation with Czechoslovakia is based on the principle of common interests and complete equality of the peoples, and on the lofty idea of sincerely helping in each other's national prosperity and development.

This cooperation between the two countries takes the form of material and technical aid, long-term loans, trade and exchange of achievements in science, technology, culture and various other fields.

Question: What do you think of the fact that the work of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea is hampered by the Western countries?

Answer: It is a common knowledge that the US ruling circles and south Korean authorities are obstructing its normal work. They are

even attempting to disorganize it. We deem this as evidence proving that they are flagrantly violating the Korean Armistice Agreement, and as an act aggravating tensions in Korea and Asia and jeopardizing world peace. Naturally, their act is arousing great indignation among the entire Korean people and the peace-loving people all over the world.

We have demanded that the Korean Armistice Agreement should be observed to the letter, and we will hold this stand in the future, too.

Question: What are the prospects for Korea's reunification and what is the basis for its settlement?

Answer: Our attitude towards the question of Korea's reunification is already widely known to the world through our official statements and documents.

The reunification of Korea must on all accounts be achieved peacefully, on a democratic basis.

Since the question of Korean reunification is an affair of the Koreans themselves, representatives of north and south Korea should meet and solve it through talks and mutual understanding in keeping with the will and interests of the entire Korean people, free from any foreign interference.

By an agreement of the representatives, democratic elections should be held throughout Korea, and a unified central government of Korea should be formed by the elected people's delegates.

In order to create the conditions for this, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from north and south Korea, truce in Korea be turned into a durable peace, and military strength of both sides be reduced to the minimum.

We deemed, and deem, it reasonable to call a Far East conference of countries concerned which can play a positive role in the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This conference should be attended without fail by representatives of north and south Korea.

Such fair proposals and claims of ours have been rejected many

times by the US ruling circles and south Korean authorities. But this does not mean that the prospects for the peaceful reunification of Korea are dim.

As for the prospects of peaceful reunification, we are certain that Korea will be reunified peacefully without fail, despite the obstructive manoeuvrings of the US ruling circles and south Korean authorities. It is an urgent demand of the entire Korean people and a desire of the peace-loving people throughout the world to reunify our country peacefully on a democratic basis.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
BY A REPORTER
OF RADIO MOSCOW**

July 12, 1956

Question: What is your appraisal of the results of the talks between the Government delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

Answer: We are very much satisfied with the results of the talks between the Government delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As is pointed out in the joint communique of the two Governments, the problems of further developing the relations of traditional friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and the USSR and solving the Korean question in a peaceful way, and other international questions of common concern were discussed at the talks. A complete agreement of views was reached on the basis of mutual understanding.

Greatly concerned for rapid improvement of the material standard of our people and for the rehabilitation of our national economy destroyed in the war, the USSR Government decided to give us again enormous material aid.

The recent talks will make a fresh contribution to the development of the friendship and economic relations between the DPRK and the USSR and to the cause of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and will further encourage our people in their struggle for

national reunification and socialist construction.

Question: What are the impressions you received during the DPRK Government delegation's visits to various People's Democracies in Europe?

Answer: Our delegation received very good impressions during visits to many People's Democracies in Europe.

As you know, thanks to the world-historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War II the peoples of the People's Democracies in Europe were liberated from the fascist yoke of tyranny to become full-fledged masters of their own countries, and they achieved splendid successes in political, economic and cultural life in a historically short period of time and are building up their life in happiness.

All this made an indelible impression on us. Today the peoples of these countries are building socialism with all their hearts with the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and striving for a lasting peace of the world and the development of friendship among all nations.

The successes and fighting experiences of the fraternal peoples in socialist construction have helped us in understanding many things.

During its stay in fraternal People's Democracies, our Government delegation discussed with their leaders the problems of further developing the existing relations of friendship and economic and cultural cooperation between these countries and our nation and many questions of common concern which are of international significance. We reached a complete agreement of opinions in the talks. In all the talks the leaders of the brother countries paid deep attention to the life of the Korean people.

All this encourages the Korean people and inspires them with fresh vigour in their struggle for peaceful reunification of the country and for building socialism.

Our Government delegation was accorded a wholehearted welcome everywhere by the peoples of various People's Democracies. This was a vivid demonstration of their deep love for our people.

During these visits we gained a firmer faith in the might of the socialist camp.

Question: What do you think of the prospects of peaceful reunification of Korea?

Answer: Peaceful reunification of Korea is the most pressing demand of the entire Korean people. The DPRK Government is doing all it can to reunify the country in a peaceful way.

Our stand and view on peaceful reunification of Korea have already been clarified in our official statements. Reunification of Korea should be brought about by the Korean people themselves on a democratic basis without interference from outside. To this end, the artificial barriers between the north and the south should be removed, free contacts and negotiations arranged, all foreign troops withdrawn from Korea, and the Korean armistice turned into a lasting peace. In order to consolidate peace in Korea and solve the Korean question in a peaceful way, it is necessary to convene a Far East conference of countries concerned with the participation of representatives of north and south Korea.

Our just proposals on the final, peaceful settlement of the Korean question enjoy active support not only from the broad public of Korea but also from all the honest-minded people of the world. But the US ruling circles and south Korean authorities have rejected all these proposals.

The Korean people are fully resolved to wage an indomitable struggle for reunification of their country in order to become masters of their own destiny. In this struggle they enjoy the support of the peace-loving people all over the world. Our people will attain their goal without fail.

ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS

**Speech Delivered before the Newly Elected Members
of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth League**

November 9, 1956

The Fourth Congress of the Democratic Youth League held in very complex internal and external circumstances, successfully wound up its work along the lines called for by the Central Committee of our Party. Authorized by the Central Committee of the Party, I highly appraise the success of the DYL congress and offer my congratulations to the newly elected members of the Central Committee of the DYL.

You are confronted with the important task of conducting DYL work better in accordance with the decision of the DYL congress.

The Central Committee of the Party has called you together today to stress once more certain tasks to be carried out by the newly elected Central Committee of the DYL and to exchange views with you about the work. Now I would like to remark on some immediate tasks confronting the DYL organizations.

1. ON ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK

What I should like to emphasize today is, first, that the DYL

organizations at all levels including its Central Committee and all the youth should unite firmly around the Central Committee of our Party.

As you all know, the present internal and external situation is very complex. Some time ago the imperialists provoked a counterrevolutionary riot in Hungary and invaded Egypt. As a result, the international situation has become complex. Internally, anti-Party elements framed plots within our Party.

The enemy is launching a frantic campaign to shake and undermine the unity of the socialist camp. In step with this, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are noisily inciting people to stage a riot in the northern half the same as in Hungary, and are howling that if a riot does break out, they will force their way into the north.

The Party Central Committee has taken a series of measures to cope with these insidious moves of the enemy. The 12th Session of the Supreme People's Assembly adopted a letter to the "House of Representatives of the Republic of Korea" and the entire public of south Korea. And in all parts of the country mass rallies and demonstrations have been held expressing a firm resolve to oppose the war policy of the imperialists, preserve and consolidate peace, safeguard the people's democratic system we have won, smash the enemy's plot to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and further intensify friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries.

How can we relinquish to the enemy the democratic gains our people have won and defended at the cost of their sweat and blood in the ten-odd years following liberation, that is, the lands distributed to the peasants, the factories, enterprises and schools placed under the people's ownership and various other achievements of the democratic reforms? Emphatically no. We will never tolerate any aggressive machinations of the imperialists, but firmly defend our democratic gains.

Since the situation is becoming more complex, the Central Committee of the DYL should firmly unite broad sections of the youth around the Party Central Committee, actively support the Party leadership, conduct its work in strict accordance with the Party line,

and wage a resolute struggle against subversive elements and saboteurs of all shades who attempt to nullify the unity of the Party and disunite the ranks of the youth. These are the important tasks assigned to the Central Committee of the DYL by our Party Central Committee.

The more our forces are united and strengthened, the more the enemy will be dissuaded from attacking us and, accordingly, the sooner the peaceful reunification of our country will be realized.

The country's peaceful reunification simply depends on our strength—whether we are strong or not. Therefore, we should not cry out for peaceful reunification in words only. More important than anything else is to build up our strength in every way possible to achieve peaceful reunification.

The enemy is always ready to take advantage of any weak link. In connection with the plots of anti-Party elements within our Party, the enemy has been trying recently to split and disintegrate the ranks of our Party and the youth.

In order to crush such insidious moves of the enemy, the people in the southern half should build up their fighting forces and, at the same time, we should consolidate our own forces more than ever before. With this aim in view, we should strengthen our Party, the General Staff in the revolution, build up the ranks of the working class and the youth more solidly, intensify the work of the united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, consolidate the economic foundation of socialism in the northern half and raise the material and cultural standards of the people. As was already emphasized at the Third Congress of our Party, only when all this is achieved can we smash every underhand machination of the enemy and peacefully reunify the country.

The Party's unity and cohesion had to be strengthened at all costs. However, as was revealed at the August Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists had committed misdeeds in the past in an attempt to undermine the unity of our Party by various crafty means. They plotted to weaken our Party's unity and cohesion and isolate our Party from the masses of the

people under various untenable pretexts.

Especially, they attempted to alienate the intellectuals from the Party. They slandered intellectual-cadres who are faithfully working today for the Party and the people, calling them “pro-Japanese elements”.

Why did we merge the Communist and the New Democratic Parties into the Workers’ Party? As you are well aware, this was aimed at building up our Party into a broader-based mass political party.

Immediately after the August 15 liberation, both the number of communists and workers in the northern half was small. This being so, we were unable to expand and strengthen our Party with communists alone. It was therefore necessary for us to found the Workers’ Party and admit to the Party workers, peasants, a large number of working intellectuals and even progressives of petty-bourgeois origin so as to strengthen it and build it up into a mass political party. This enabled us to make our Party strong.

We were also correct in reorganizing the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League. Immediately after liberation there were very few young people who believed in communism. And so it was impossible to build up the YCL into a broad-based mass organization of the youth. At the time Jo Man Sik went as far as plotting to set up a youth league in order to rally young people around himself. In such conditions, if we had not reorganized the YCL into the DYL, our Party would have lost large numbers of youth.

In view of the situation prevailing after liberation we founded the Workers’ Party and reorganized the YCL into the DYL. As a result, a great number of intellectuals joined the ranks of our Party and the DYL.

Indeed, many intellectuals received their education in the old days of Japanese imperialist rule because their parents were more or less well-off. They served in Japanese imperialist establishments to earn a living. But the intellectuals of today are not the intellectuals of the past. The social status is not immutable but changes as the days go by.

Since August 1946 when the Communist Party merged with the New Democratic Party to found the Workers' Party, many intellectuals have worked selflessly for the Party and the people as members of the Party Central Committee or officials of the Party or government bodies or economic establishments.

What is the aim pursued by such anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists as Choe Chang Ik and Yun Kong Hum today when they brand as "pro-Japanese elements" those people who have worked devotedly for the Party and people for as long as 11 years since liberation? Nothing but intrigue to alienate the intellectuals from our Party. This intrigue of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists has been dashed to pieces.

Ever since its inception our Party has pursued a correct policy towards the intellectuals. As a result, our intellectuals attained their growth in the course of practical struggle after liberation, and are firmly united around our Party Central Committee.

This was clearly proved in the course of the fierce, three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War. During the difficult temporary retreat the professors, scientists, technicians, writers, cultural workers and artists and many other intellectuals who had gone as far as the Raktong River sector on the Party's instructions, retreated in the wake of the People's Army, crossing steep mountains in their bare feet. If our intellectuals had not supported our Party, they would not have come back to us, breaking through the enemy encirclement at the cost of hardships.

At the Third Congress of the Party held last April, we emphasized that in the light of our Party's character and of the socialist construction now under way in the northern half, the Party Central Committee could not consist of veteran revolutionaries alone, but should include a large number of intellectuals including technicians and scientists. The delegates to the Party congress unanimously gave their approval to this suggestion of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and elected the Party Central Committee by common consent. But shortly after the congress the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists slandered and spoke ill of the

intellectuals, calling them “pro-Japanese elements”. On no account should we be led astray by such an underhand move of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists.

The DYL Central Committee should relentlessly expose the disruptive acts and crimes of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists before the entire youth, thereby arousing hatred for them among young people and closely uniting all of them around our Party Central Committee while guaranteeing unity and cohesion of the ranks of the youth. Profound attention should be paid to work with young intellectuals to encourage them to actively support the correct policy of our Party Central Committee and devote themselves to the great task of socialist construction, especially, in view of the machinations of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists such as Choe Chang Ik and Yun Kong Hum.

The Party Central Committee expects the DYL Central Committee to promote education of the youth in the Party’s policies and Marxism-Leninism and bring them up as excellent workers.

As you all know, candidates for Party membership are submitted by the DYL. That is why we call the DYL the reserve force of the Workers’ Party of Korea.

It can be said that the DYL is a school for training reserves of Party members. Therefore, the DYL Central Committee should intensify education of the youth in the Party’s policies and Marxism-Leninism and train reserves who could make good Party members with a strong Party spirit.

Today everyone who joins our Party experiences life in the DYL for a certain period. Therefore, if the DYL organizations fail to educate the youth properly, this can greatly interfere with the qualitative growth of our Party. Clearly realizing that proper training of reserves of Party members by the DYL organizations is very important in building up our Party into a stronger, steel-like party, you should pay deep attention to this work.

Proper education of the youth is of major importance in strengthening both our Party and the state bodies. The ranks of the

DYL are the source from which the reserves of Party and state cadres are drawn. Therefore, the DYL organizations should be deeply concerned about rearing young cadres. The DYL Central Committee should train a great number of young cadres from among the youth and supply them to the Party and state bodies.

The keynote of youth education is to ensure that all young people arm themselves firmly with our Party's revolutionary ideas, Marxist-Leninist ideology, acquire advanced scientific knowledge, and become healthy and brave persons. All the young people should thus be made ideologically steadfast, proficient in everything and healthy.

Another matter I should like to mention is the education of all the youth in the spirit of preserving cultural treasures and beautifying their native places.

The DYL organizations should make this work a mass movement among the children and youth.

Some children and youth have the tendency to make light of cultural treasures instead of valuing and taking good care of them. The three-year war laid waste to nearly all the beautiful cultural treasures created by our forefathers. Only a few have survived. We should preserve, cherish and take loving care of what few treasures we now have. Created by our ancestors in ancient times, they are now our pride and treasure-store.

Further, our land which we defended at the cost of our blood should be made more beautiful. Fruit and other trees should be planted along the roadsides and rivers should be neatly repaired.

We planted many trees in the past, but they have been left uncared for; many of them have died or have been spoiled. This indicates, after all, that we lack a feeling of valuing and taking loving care of forests and roadside trees.

The DYL organizations should step up their information work and education among the children and youth to preserve cultural relics and take good care of the forests. School textbooks, magazines and newspapers should also be used to widely disseminate the idea of

making the rivers and mountains of the country more beautiful so as to build a paradise where future generations can live in happiness. Meanwhile, our children and youth should be brought up to cherish and take good, loving care of public buildings and facilities.

Another most important task of the Central Committee of the DYL is to improve and strengthen the work of the united front among the youth.

The DYL is a mass youth organization that widely represents young people of different social strata. In other words, the DYL organization can be said to be in the nature of a united front. Therefore, the DYL Central Committee should see to it that youths from all walks of life including young workers and peasants are admitted to its ranks and their unity strengthened.

You should not mistrust or shun even those young men and women who believe in religion. For instance, you have no need to fear in the least one religious young man mingling among 80 young workers. Seventy-nine youths cannot succumb to the influence of religion on account of one person. Rather, if a spiritualist young man who professes a religion is left in the company of working youths and educated, he will be remoulded into a builder of socialism.

Yet, some DYL organizations still fail to skilfully tackle the work of the united front among the youth, and continue their practice of giving wide berth to certain sections of the youth.

Religious young people ought to be given a good deal of Marxist-Leninist education. Yet, on the contrary, some officials do not provide conditions for learning advanced ideas even to those religious youths who are anxious to study Marxism-Leninism. Even worse, a certain school went so far as to give failure marks to a pupil who was doing well, simply because he was a son of a pastor. We should do away with such practices in no uncertain manner.

The first thing required of us in conducting the united front work well with the youth is to go deeper among the young people of various social strata. Without coming into contact with them we cannot remould their thinking. However, some Party and DYL officials do not

clearly understand our Party's policy on the united front yet and fail to appreciate correctly in their hearts the importance of the united front work with the youth. That is why they do not pay due attention to the work with the youth of different strata.

We should take along with us those who want to follow us. Why should we forsake them? There is no need to do so.

The youth and students can be of considerable help in the socialist transformation of private traders and industrialists. If we encourage the sons and daughters of private traders and industrialists to advise and urge their parents to take part in the socialist transformation of trade and industry, we will be able to achieve a great deal.

We should not turn our backs on the sons and daughters of religious men, traders and industrialists and of those who went to the south, but be friendly towards them and work among them to a greater extent. We should educate them in Marxism-Leninism to remould their thinking, and even transform the thoughts of their parents through their medium. Even if their parents do not change their thoughts, the old thinking will live its last days in the generation of the fathers, and the sons and daughters will grow up as a new generation.

A father and a son might differ in party affiliation—one being a member of the Workers' Party and the other, a member of the Chongu Party. We need not worry if the father is a member of the Chongu Party while the son has joined the Workers' Party. We can say this is a welcome phenomenon. For the practice of praying before a bowl of water may last as far as the end of the father's generation, but it will disappear in the son's generation.

The DYL organizations should strengthen the work of the youth's united front by all means and methods. You should not be timid in working with the youth of different social strata, but boldly make contact and win them over. Because we are guided by advanced Marxist-Leninist theory, we are quite capable of embracing and educating broad sections of the youth and bringing them up as fine builders of socialism.

Highly important for the DYL in strengthening the united front

work among the youth is to get a firm grip on the hard cores. When the hard-core ranks are strong, the united front work will go with a swing.

For the sake of the country's peaceful reunification, our Party advocates today free traffic between north and south Korea and holds that freedom of activity should be guaranteed for the democratic political parties and public organizations in the southern half. From now you should learn how to work with different sections of the masses. Only then will you be able to go to the south in the future and rally broad sections of the youth around our Party when traffic is opened between the north and the south or the country's reunification is realized. If we do not unite the youth in the southern half around our Party, they will join religious organizations or reactionary political organizations.

It is also possible then that the youth organizations in south Korea will demand opportunities to come and function in the northern half. In that case we cannot stop them. If, then, our influence fails to penetrate everywhere, the south Korean youth organizations may lure young people away from us. Therefore, we should not simply declare in a loud voice that we are for traffic between north and south but first unite our forces firmly and lay the ground so that the enemy does not gain a hold of any kind in the north.

For this purpose, we should further close up the hard-core ranks, warmly embrace different sections of the youth, strengthen unity with them and educate them in Marxist-Leninist ideas.

As you saw by the recent machinations of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists, they sought to strike their roots where the Party's influence was not felt. In view of this, the DYL should approach the unorganized young people and unite with them.

You should understand that if we fail to weld together and educate the youth, evil elements will play havoc among them. In order to be friendly and unite with them, it is advisable to organize sports games, cultural activities and so on on a wide scale. In this way you should make contact and have friendly talks with them, patiently propagating

our Party's policies. You should do so not only with the youth but also with the children.

We have stressed this ever since the moment of liberation. At that time many young people used to go to church. But we could not stop them by force because there is freedom of religious belief. At the time we skilfully organized cultural and entertainment work and got the young men and women interested in it in order to prevent them from going to church.

Young people always love new things and are fond of cultural and entertainment work. Nevertheless, if you do not organize this kind of activity but conduct work in a dry-as-dust way on the pretext of doing political work, you cannot win over young people.

I emphasize once more the need to be fully prepared in case a situation arises where free intercourse between the north and the south is possible and conditions are created for both sides to form youth organizations.

In particular, you should pay attention to those young people who are religious or whose families are engaged in trade and industry. At the same time, you should not forget that the united front work is a class struggle.

It is especially important to strengthen work with young men and women who have come from the southern half and thus prepare in advance cadres who some day will go and work in the south.

In the past our Party and the DYL in the southern half were destroyed owing to the subversive activities of spies and factionalists such as Pak Hon Yong and Ri Sung Yop. We must restore DYL organizations in the south when north-south traffic is opened in the future.

With this aim in view, we should start to prepare the ground. If we sit idle without making preparations and dispatch youths from Hamgyong Province to Jolla Province to form DYL organizations when north-south traffic is realized, we shall encounter great difficulties. If, however, we give a good training to youths from Jolla Province and then send them there, it will be easy to form DYL

organizations because they are familiar with local conditions and, what is more, have many relations and friends there.

We derived some lessons from our work in the newly-liberated areas in the past. At first, cadres of local origin were small in number in the newly-liberated areas; most of the cadres came from other areas. Therefore, the Party Central Committee discharged from the army personnel who had come from the newly-liberated areas and sent them home, thus bringing about greater success. We must make good use of this experience.

The DYL is not of north Korea but of Korea. Accordingly, an important task of the DYL is to select many staunch young people from among the youth who have come from the southern half and train them as reserve cadres.

Today we have tens of thousands of youths from the southern half who had joined the Volunteers. They are a very valuable asset. To train them as cadres, various methods can be employed: We can send them to Kim Il Sung University, the Songdo Institute of Political Science and Economics or other educational institutions; we can create more posts of vice-chairman at provincial and county DYL committees and fill them with men from the south so as to train them as reserve cadres for the southern half. When we set up a Central DYL School in the future, we may also set up classes to train cadres from the southern half.

If the young men and women from the south are reared as reserve cadres, they themselves will also be able to take a long-sighted view of their future work. They will work tirelessly feeling that it is an honour, having come from the south, to assume the responsibility of setting up DYL organizations in their native places when the country is reunified.

The young people from the south should be trained in such a way as to be fit for work in their respective native provinces. Since we now have many young people from the southern half, we have every chance of selecting and training cadres from among them.

Even if the country is now divided, the Korean question will certainly be solved in the future, and the country will not always

remain artificially divided as it is now. That is why, from now on, we must train cadres from the southern half.

While making full preparations in this way, we must forge ahead with the struggle to bring about the country's reunification.

Next, the Central Committee of the DYL should ensure that the work of the DYL in school is improved and Juche is established in instruction and educational work. Establishment of Juche means that Marxist-Leninist theory is applied creatively to conform to the realities of the Korean revolution.

We study Marxist-Leninist theory for the purpose of applying and developing it creatively to suit every stage of the Korean revolution. Carrying out the Korean revolution well means at the same time accomplishing a part of the world revolution. Therefore, establishing Juche does not in the least contradict but rather contributes to internationalism.

Our students should clearly know why and what they are studying for. All of them must pursue their studies in the knowledge that they are studying for the sake of the Korean revolution and the building of socialism and communism in Korea.

We also learn foreign languages to carry out the Korean revolution well. In the past the Japanese imperialists taught us Koreans their language so as to convert us into Japanese. However, we are now studying foreign languages in order to learn the advanced science and technology of other countries and use them effectively for the building of socialism in our country. This is the idea with which we should study science and Marxism-Leninism at school.

We should also study techniques which are of practical use in Korea. In an agricultural college, for instance, the study of agronomy should be adapted to the soil of Korea. If we acquire techniques unfit for the realities of life in Korea, they will be of no use.

Our youth and students should not waste their energies on useless things just to make a name for themselves. At school teaching and studying should all be in accord with the realities of life in Korea.

Further, the DYL organizations should resolutely combat the

remnants of obsolete ideas at institutions of higher learning. Backward thinking always hinders our movement forward. Colleges and universities are also subject to the influence of outdated thoughts. Students cannot be free from old ideas simply because they are young. The DYL organizations should wage an energetic ideological struggle to prevent the old ideas from exerting influence, thus inducing the faculty and student body to act invariably on the line and policies of the Party and uniting them firmly around the Party and the Government.

The fact that our students suffered bitterly from their life of colonial slavery under Japanese imperialism in the past prompts them to advance with great pride in our socialist construction today, and makes them steadfast ideologically. But we should not rest content with this. We must launch a vigorous drive to prevent capitalist customs and influence from infiltrating into our schools.

In particular, it is necessary to improve work with teachers in the sphere of general education. For only when they themselves are armed with the ideas of the Party can they instruct and educate their pupils in correct ideas. That is why we must further strengthen political education among teachers engaged in general education.

2. ON THE TASKS OF THE DYL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Now I should like to stress certain points which concern the DYL organizations in the field of economic construction.

As is stated in the documents of our Party's Third Congress, next year we will set to work on the First Five-Year Plan. We have overfulfilled the Three-Year National Economic Plan with success, thus exceeding by far the prewar level in many fields and solving many problems essential for national economic development. However, this is not enough yet. If we are to carry out the First Five-Year Plan

successfully, we will have to overcome many difficulties and hardships.

The technical revolution presents the most important problem in fulfilling the First Five-Year Plan. Therefore, the DYL Central Committee must pay close attention to the technical revolution.

Our country had no machine-building industry before. If we are to strengthen the foundation of our economy, we should develop the branches of the machine-building industry we need. At present we have to develop the mining industry on a large scale, for instance. And this requires the manufacture of mining machines in large quantities.

If, instead of making the necessary machines ourselves, we import them by mining gold and silver and selling it to other countries, nothing will remain, and consequently, we will find it impossible to consolidate our economic basis. Therefore, we must further develop the machine-building industry.

Even if an engineering industry capable of producing planes, automobiles and suchlike is beyond our means at present, we should have machine-building plants which can produce the mining, building, farming and electrical machines we badly need. If we do not have them, but import these machines from other countries, much foreign currency will be needed.

This year we have produced by ourselves the transformers, copper wire and electric motors needed for irrigation projects. As a result, we have been able to economize more foreign currency than the total yearly foreign currency earnings of the Holtong, Suan, Songhung and Taeyudong Mines. From this instance alone, we can clearly see how serious are the consequences of the colonial one-sidedness of industry and how important it is to eliminate them.

We have already reconstructed many factories and enterprises including machine-building plants during the Three-Year Plan. The ones not yet rehabilitated are those which are difficult to restore because they need a large amount of money and require a high level of technology. Although we have built many factories during the Three-Year Plan, the utilization of equipment at these factories is

very low and, consequently, they fail to turn out products in large quantities. The reason is that we lack techniques to utilize the equipment to the utmost.

Some time ago I visited the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory. The factory was furnished with the latest equipment, but its utilization was very low and the products were of inferior quality. Although we have installed good machines, we cannot operate them to full capacity, increase the variety of products and improve their quality. All this is due to the low technical level.

We have now built a huge textile mill equipped with modern machines. However, the fabrics produced there are still of inferior quality. Therefore, people demand imported goods. As you see, the cotton fabrics produced in our country fail as yet to satisfy the people.

According to some technicians this is due to the lack of facilities for bleaching and dyeing. True, the lack of bleaching and dyeing workshops may be the reason, but the main reason is the low technical level of our workers.

The same is true of tobacco. If we sell a well-processed tobacco rather than a raw one, we can earn more foreign currency. However, we cannot do so because of the low standard of our processing technique.

Likewise, we mine large quantities of ores, but the rate of dressing-plant output is low because of our backward dressing technique. Our smelting technique, too, is still poor. Although we mine high-quality wolfram ore, we can separate no more than 60-70 per cent of wolfram from it, throwing away all the rest. However, I am told that the figure in other countries is 80-90 per cent.

Fishing also has its technique. We now have practically enough equipment to catch fish. But our fish catch is not big because of poor technique.

Therefore, the most important task before us is to increase the utilization of the existing facilities to the utmost, although it is also important to reconstruct factories. In other words, it is very important to learn technique so that the existing facilities built during the

Three-Year Plan are run at full capacity and good-quality products are turned out.

The question of technology should be solved not only in industry but also in agriculture. Although we have now brought 76 per cent of all farm households into the cooperative economy, we fail to increase productivity owing to the low level of agricultural engineering. As things are at present, the superiority of the cooperative economy over the private peasant economy cannot be fully displayed.

Our agricultural cooperative members know little about soil science and also have a poor knowledge of how to apply fertilizers, raise seeds, use farm machines rationally, get rid of the damage caused by blight and pests. We cannot farm well merely by relying on the experience handed down from days gone by. If agricultural cooperative members are to raise fine crops, they should definitely learn agricultural engineering.

As I mentioned at the August Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and the recent Cabinet meeting, our country's level of technology is still very low. If we are to carry out the Five-Year Plan, we must definitely solve the question of technology.

The DYL organizations should make it their central task to raise the technical and skill levels of the entire working youth, and launch a vigorous campaign to achieve it. Cadres who are ignorant of technology cannot guide economic work, either. Therefore, our leading officials should also strive to learn technology. Only by so doing can we overtake and outstrip the advanced countries.

If we are to solve the question of technology, the institutions of higher learning and specialized technical schools should train good technical cadres and, at the same time, the factories and enterprises should intensify the struggle to raise the technical and skill levels of all the workers and widely introduce advanced techniques into production. This precisely is the central link in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan.

We have now ample possibilities and conditions to improve the technical level.

Our situation at present is radically different from 1946, the year immediately after liberation. At that time college and university graduates were few, but today they number several thousands. We also have hundreds of people who have studied abroad. Besides, the number of junior and senior middle school graduates in factories and farm villages equipped with secondary school knowledge is gradually increasing, and many technical books are also being published. So, better results will be attained in improving our technical level provided the organizational work is good.

Some time ago, when visiting a factory in Jonchon of Jagang Province, I inquired about the workers' composition. The factory had 900 young men and women. Nearly 500 of them were secondary school graduates and their cultural level was also high. At the Ragwon Machine Factory, too, secondary school graduates accounted for nearly 30 per cent of the total number of young workers.

Taking the country as a whole, nearly 30 to 35 per cent of the youth who have graduated from junior and senior secondary schools enter factories and enterprises. This is a big asset for us to raise our technical level, and signifies a progress for us. We should provide them with technical books and systematically organize technical studies for them, and thus raise the general technical level of our country to a higher plane.

At present the situation in the countryside is a little different from the towns. The agricultural cooperatives have very few junior and senior secondary school graduates. Therefore, the Party and the Government have taken measures to send junior and senior secondary school graduates to the countryside for its consolidation.

However, because we Koreans lived in poverty and could not get schooling in the past, we now have a tendency after finishing secondary school to look down on farming. This is a grossly mistaken idea.

In the present conditions it is impossible to send all graduates of junior and senior secondary schools to colleges and universities. We have to raise the technical level in the countryside by making junior and senior secondary school graduates play the principal role.

And we should improve the work of the technical supplementary class. At present this class is making a poor showing. It is a “reviewing class” more than a technical supplementary class. We should strengthen the work of this class and raise its standards. Students should study in the technical supplementary class for a year such subjects as soil science, fertilizer science, botany, methods of eliminating damage caused by blight and pests, ways to use farm machines and the procedure for growing seed so as to develop agricultural technology after graduation.

Our country has very little arable land. Therefore, we must raise the crop yield per hectare, which requires an all-out effort to introduce advanced farming techniques.

As you see, a major problem to be solved during the Five-Year Plan is to raise the technical level and widely introduce advanced techniques into production both in industry and agriculture. In solving the technology question it is indeed important to come forward with new ideas and inventions, but in the present conditions it is more important to popularize the techniques invented in advanced countries.

By developing technology we will be able to raise labour productivity substantially, increase the range of products, economize on materials and labour to a greater extent and, furthermore, fulfil the Five-Year Plan with success. During the Five-Year Plan we should break the technical bottleneck and lay the technical basis, though an initial one.

Next, a massive movement to economize should be launched in all branches of the national economy.

To economize is not only a law of economic life under the people’s democratic system but also one of the major levers for constantly increasing production and multiplying the wealth of the state and society.

A regime of economy has not yet been properly established in all branches, and a serious waste of raw and other materials continues to reveal itself in the course of production and construction.

Let me cite an example. We have now reached the prewar level of coal production—3 to 4 million tons. However, we still fail to supply an

adequate amount of coal to the inhabitants. This is because we have made little effort to economize on coal.

Although we have built many new factories, there are less boilers installed in the factories than before the war. There are less dwelling houses, consequently less kitchens. Then, why are we short of coal? Some technicians give various excuses for this. However, we do not believe them. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed this problem on a number of occasions and has come to the conclusion that our workers squander coal in many places.

According to Comrade Minister of Light Industry, we can economize nearly 20 per cent of coal if only boilers are readjusted properly and correct heat insulation arrangements are made. At present the combustion rate of coal is only 60 per cent because we have no arrangements for burning coal dust. Moreover, the steam cools down while passing through pipes owing to the poor heat insulation, and so we have to burn larger quantities of coal. The ultimate result is, we consume much coal. We have a situation where coal is being wasted on the one hand, while, on the other, fires cannot be lit regularly because of the shortage of coal. What a serious situation this is!

Our people do not understand exactly what is happening, and so keep asking the Party and the Government for coal. After all, this is a result of poor management by our factories and enterprises. If the factories and enterprises check the heat of boilers properly and strive effectively to economize on coal, a considerable amount of coal will be saved. We must make greater efforts to economize on coal and thus increase supplies for domestic use.

If we are to raise the wages of factory and office workers in the present situation and build plenty of dwelling houses next year, we should launch an extensive campaign to economize on raw and other materials from now on.

The Central Committee of the DYL should firmly ensure that all young people understand correctly what is meant by economizing and take the lead in the drive to economize on raw and other materials including coal, electric power and steel.

Better utilization of equipment and existing buildings is of great importance in gigantic economic construction.

Frequently our officials only ask for new factories to be built, instead of thinking how to make proper use of the buildings we have already constructed with great pains. Maybe this is because it is the fashion of the moment to build new things.

For example, the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory demands that a new building be erected, although more machines could be installed in the existing buildings if they were placed fairly closely. If we are to construct a new building without making good use of existing facilities, we shall need a lot of funds. In North Hamgyong Province there are many private dwelling houses quite fit for use once they are repaired, but without bothering to repair them people there ask the state for money to build new houses.

All this can be summed up as an expression of the old ideas that do not consider state property as valuable as one's own. Our youth should resolutely combat such tendencies and kindly help the managers of their factories and enterprises to make better use of the facilities and the production area.

In order to carry out the tremendous tasks of economic construction efficiently, the DYL organizations at all levels should further enhance the exemplary role of the youth.

We are going to assign somewhat tough production plans to factories and enterprises next year. The DYL organizations should ensure the overfulfilment of next year's plans at all costs through a general mobilization of the youth.

Only when we produce goods in plenty can we further improve the working people's living standards. We have raised the wages of factory and office workers. But if we fail to produce more goods, the wage increase will prove of little use.

In south Korea today Syngman Rhee simply issues money without producing goods. This gives rise to inflation and a continuous spiralling of prices. We should not do this by any means, nor could we.

Recently we revised the work norms. Some people complain that

the work norms have been raised to compensate for the wage increase. They say this because they do not clearly understand the significance of revising work norms. We have recently raised the wages of factory and office workers by 35 per cent on an average, but this has nothing to do with the work norm revision. If the workers fulfil their new work norms, this will mean that though their wages have risen by 35 per cent, their real wages have increased more than that.

It will be good to live in greater affluence by raising the work norms and producing more. But how can it be good to be badly off by keeping the work norms as they are and doing less work? No one will say he prefers to work less and remain poor.

In connection with the recent wage increase, we shall have to pay out an enormous sum of money amounting to thousands of millions of *won* to factory and office workers. We should produce larger quantities of goods to enable us to draw in this huge sum of money in order to use it properly for the development of the national economy. To this end we should overfulfil the production plans. If we fail to carry out the production plans, prices will inevitably rise. In that case real wages cannot go up despite the 35 per cent wage increase.

The DYL Central Committee should see to it that the entire youth have a keen realization that production plans should be reached and exceeded at all costs, and that a mass campaign should be launched for this purpose.

In many factories and enterprises numerous youth shock brigades and youth workteams have been organized and are now making a fine showing. The DYL organizations should strive to further raise the exemplary role of youth workteams both in the fulfilment of production plans and in the struggle to economize. The youth shock brigades and youth workteams should be turned into a mighty driving force in the emulation campaign for increased production.

Lastly, the newly elected Central Committee of the DYL should endeavour to win the complete confidence of the youth by doing well in the performance of its duties.

Indeed, it is a fact that you have been elected to the DYL Central

Committee this time precisely because you enjoy the complete confidence of the youth. This does not mean you should be satisfied or become self-complacent. You are people who represent millions of Korean youths, and so you must play the role expected of members of the DYL Central Committee.

No man can be flawless. When one makes even a trifling error in one's work, it is important to correct it perseveringly. There should be no disparaging remarks of one another or making mischief between people. And nobody is allowed to remain indifferent like an outsider towards matters that are in the forefront.

All members of the DYL Central Committee should actively help those comrades who are working in leading posts of the DYL. At the same time, the comrades who work in leading posts should always be modest, adopt a work style whereby they rely on members of the Central Committee in all their work and discuss matters with them before taking actions, and guarantee collective leadership. Further, members of the DYL Central Committee should always play an exemplary and core role at their workplaces. As the saying goes, example is better than precept. Only when you act in an exemplary way first, will all the youth follow your example.

Members of the DYL Central Committee should, in the course of work, seek the opinions of the youth in good time and judge correctly whether or not they conform to the Party's line and decisions, and submit them, if they are just ones, to the Central Committee of the DYL and, if they are bad opinions, should give correct explanations to make them have a correct understanding.

All members of the DYL Central Committee should rely on the youth, learn from them modestly, value their opinions and proposals, unite with them closely, and faithfully carry out their duties.

The Party Central Committee is satisfied with the newly elected Central Committee of the DYL, and is firmly convinced that the members of the DYL Central Committee will overcome all difficulties and hardships in close unity and achieve notable successes in the fulfilment of their duties.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A JOURNALIST
OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPER
*YOMIURI SHIMBUN***

November 21, 1956

Question: What do you think about diplomatic relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Japan?

Answer: The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already clarified more than once its desire to establish normal relations with Japan in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Despite our desire, the Japanese government has not yet had normal relations with our country, its closest neighbour. This is an abnormal state of affairs which runs counter to the desire of the Japanese people and the interests of world peace as a whole. If the Japanese side shows a sincere attitude to normalization of relations between the DPRK and Japan, we are ready for negotiations on this question at any time.

The sooner normal relations are established between the two countries, the more beneficial it will be for the two peoples and the cause of consolidating the peace in the Far East.

Question: What are your intentions with regard to economic and cultural interchanges between the DPRK and Japan?

Answer: At present we are concentrating all our efforts on peaceful

construction and production. Therefore, our economic and cultural interchanges and cooperation with adjacent countries have an important significance.

In my opinion, the signal success achieved by the Japanese people in industrial, scientific and technological spheres may be a considerable help for our economic construction, and the great achievements made by our people in the economic and cultural spheres during the ten years after liberation will help the Japanese people in their economic and cultural development.

Economic and cultural interchanges between the DPRK and Japan can be conducted more effectively when diplomatic relations between them are normalized. But we consider that economic and cultural interchanges between the two countries are possible even before the normalization of diplomatic relations, and we are making consistent efforts to bring about the interchange.

Many business people, social figures and men of culture in Japan have visited our country in recent years. Each time we negotiated with them on the question of economic and cultural interchanges between the two countries, there was a complete unanimity of views. There is no doubt that continued economic and cultural interchanges will facilitate the normalization of diplomatic relations.

To my mind, it is of great significance in economic and cultural exchanges to arrange the exchange of economic and technical missions and collective or individual mutual visits of people engaged in scientific and cultural spheres, and open something like a sample fair to promote trade between our two countries.

Question: What attitude should be taken by the peoples of Asian countries including Japan towards the military actions against Egypt by the allied forces of Britain and France?

Answer: The Korean people support the just measures adopted by the Egyptian people in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company, and oppose the British and French colonialist invasion of Egypt. This stand

of our people was expressed clearly in the statement of the DPRK Government which denounced the British and French invasion of Egypt.

Together with the people of Asia and the rest of the world, the Korean people are condemning the aggression in Egypt by Britain and France, and waging a nationwide movement to support the righteous struggle of the Egyptian people.

We express great satisfaction at the fact that the progressive, peace-loving forces in Japan, our neighbour, have taken the same stand as ours and are backing the Egyptian people.

In face of the courageous struggle of the Egyptian people who rose to defend their sovereignty, freedom and honour, and the strong protest of the peace-loving people all over the world, the British and French aggressors have been forced to agree to ceasefire. But they still remain in Egypt with their crooked hands of aggression stretched out and have not yet given up the plunderous designs they pursued when launching the aggressive war. This shows that their manoeuvres continue to menace peace.

We strongly demand that the British and French colonialists withdraw their troops from Egyptian soil. We will stand firmly by the Egyptian people who have risen for justice.

We always remember that there are a handful of reactionary circles in Asia who act as flunkies to the Western colonialist powers and oppose the sovereignty and freedom of their own peoples.

As you know, the Syngman Rhee clique in south Korea, under the US imperialist manipulation, do not denounce the British and French colonialist aggression in Egypt. On the contrary, availing themselves of this opportunity, they are manoeuvring to intensify tensions in Korea. This is not only quite contrary to the desire of the Korean people but also a very dangerous action which threatens the peace of Asia. Following their actions with vigilance, the Korean people fight on stubbornly for the country's peaceful reunification.

Question: The Japanese people hope that normalization of diplomatic

relations between Korea and Japan would be promoted simultaneously with that between China and Japan. What do you think about it?

Answer: It is a good thing, of course, to promote normalization of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan simultaneously with that between China and Japan. I think it is also a good thing to promote the normalization between Korea and Japan earlier than between China and Japan.

Question: What do you want the Japanese government to do with regard to the question of normalizing diplomatic relations between the DPRK and Japan?

Answer: We deem it necessary for the Japanese government to accept boldly and sincerely our explicit stand and desire concerning this question.

Question: The Japanese traders concerned want to visit the northern east coast of Korea for trade, but the “Syngman Rhee Line” prevents it. In view of this situation could the DPRK Government protect Japanese vessels coming there?

Answer: If Japanese trading vessels enter our territorial waters, we will protect them. We regard it as our duty to do so.

But, as you know, our country is in a state of ceasefire at present, and the traitorous Syngman Rheeites continue to perpetrate piratical acts in the West and East Seas of Korea. Therefore, we cannot say definitely that no unexpected incident will occur against our wishes.

As for the “Syngman Rhee Line”, it has nothing to do with us because it was established unilaterally by the Syngman Rhee clique.

Question: What is the DPRK Government’s stand on Korea’s reunification?

Answer: Our stand on national reunification is already known widely to the world.

We have consistently held that the country's reunification must be achieved by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, through peaceful means, in keeping with their will and interests, without any interference by outside forces.

We have put forward reasonable proposals time and again for the peaceful reunification of the country and exerted tireless efforts to put them into effect. However, all our reasonable proposals and suggestions have been rejected by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, and none of them have been implemented.

In order to reunify the country peacefully to meet the will and interests of the entire Korean people, the Government of the Republic will continue to explore reasonable ways and means which will enable north and south to reach agreement.

Question: How do you assess the action taken by the Soviet Union in connection with the recent situation in Hungary and the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies?

Answer: The Soviet Union took the action with regard to the Hungarian situation in accordance with the Warsaw Pact and at the request of the Hungarian Government. It was, therefore, entirely justified.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and strengthen and develop as the days go by.

Question: What is your opinion on the question of the Koreans in Japan?

Answer: The Koreans in Japan are our overseas citizens.

Therefore, the Government of the Republic is greatly interested in their question.

We consider that the Koreans in Japan should, first of all, be ensured vital rights. The Japanese government should help the Korean citizens in Japan to get jobs so as to lead stable lives, and guarantee them all democratic freedoms and rights, including the right to return home.

On the other hand, the Koreans in Japan should observe the Japanese state laws since they live in Japan.

We expect the Japanese government to make sincere efforts to guarantee their livelihood and enable those desirous of returning home to come back to their country as early as possible.

If the Japanese government designates a definite port to open a route for the Koreans in Japan desirous of returning to the DPRK, their homeland, the Government of the Republic will send a ship there to bring the compatriots home.

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, could you send a message to the Japanese people to promote friendly relations between our two countries?

Answer: I would like to offer my warm congratulations and encouragement to the Japanese people who are striving for national independence and the democratic development and peace of the country and for the establishment of normal relations between the DPRK and Japan.

I firmly believe that they will surely achieve brilliant successes in their just struggle, supported and encouraged by the Korean people and other peace-loving people the world over.

I hope you will convey my greetings to the Japanese people through the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

ON SOME TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZERS AT THE PRESENT TIME

Speech at a Short Course for Party Organizers

November 25, 1956

Comrades,

Today I am going to speak on the national and international situation and some tasks facing Party organizers.

Notable in the international situation today is that the imperialists and their stooges are working harder than ever to destroy the communist and national-liberation movements and overthrow the socialist system in Europe, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

This, of course, is not the first time that the enemies are doing this, hurling slanders upon them. So we need not be frightened at their moves. But we must sharpen vigilance against their plots which have been growing more pernicious in recent years.

Recently a certain fraternal country underwent a trial because of the reactionary attempt to subvert its party and government. Taking advantage of the complicated situation, the accidental figures, factionalists and opportunists who had been lurking in the brother party also worked viciously to attain their wicked aim. The reactionaries in particular are trying to reject the veterans with long records of revolutionary leadership, split and undermine the party, and trigger off a revolt against the government. Today this looks like an international trend.

Backing the reactionaries in their scheme to destroy brother parties,

the US imperialists are infiltrating spies, subverters and saboteurs into fraternal countries, and are resorting to all sorts of plots to undermine their parties and governments. At the instigation of the US imperialists and their lackeys, an anti-government revolt took place in Hungary. Recently the enemies have been making frantic efforts to overthrow the socialist system, revive the capitalist system, and split and destroy the international working-class movement.

In order to repress the growing national-liberation movement in colonies in the Middle East and to facilitate the attainment of their designs for recolonizing that part of the world, the imperialists are trying to divert world attention to the socialist countries in Europe. The incident in Hungary is also a link in the whole chain of such imperialist moves. They are working overtly to aggravate the international tension and ignite a war. This is clearly proved by the armed imperialist intervention in Egypt.

Our country, too, is now in a tense situation.

At present, the US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique are clamouring for a “northward expedition”. They are shouting: “North Koreans, rise up against the government, and we’ll start northward expedition.” Ever since the outbreak of the Hungarian incident, the south Korean puppet clique has been staging demonstrations against the northern half of Korea almost every day.

Fussing about the “northward expedition”, the puppet Syngman Rhee clique is sending many spies into the north, and they are engaged in subversion and sabotage. According to the report from the Ministry of the Interior, these spies have three objectives in general.

The first objective is to collect information on the members of the Workers’ Party and its hard-core elements; the second is to hatch a riot in cooperation with the agents already active in the northern half of the country; and the third is to rally the survivors of the hostile class and disgruntled elements, keep them ready for action, and set off a revolt when the chance comes. Some of them are said to have been sent on a mission to scatter leaflets against the people’s government in the north. The enemies are trying to plant spies in the People’s Army as well.

The south Korean puppet clique is clamouring that the “time has come to abrogate the Armistice Agreement” and Syngman Rhee himself is visiting military schools ordering them “to be fully ready”. He has also banned the holidays for the puppet army officers. His attempt, in the final analysis, is to overthrow the people’s democratic system set up in the north by driving wedges in our Party and brewing discontent among the people.

What, then, should you do in this internal and external situation?

You are Party officials who should work directly among the working class as Party organizers dispatched by the Party Central Committee. You should strive to fulfil your responsibility, clearly aware of its importance under the complex situation at home and abroad.

1. ON UNITING THE WORKING CLASS CLOSELY AROUND THE PARTY

The most important task now confronting the Party organizers is to unite the workers solidly around the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic and uncompromisingly combat even the slightest attempt to split the ranks of the working class.

You must not feel relaxed and get slack and indolent, assuming that nothing serious will happen however the Syngman Rhee clique clamours for a “northward expedition”, now that the anti-Party factionalists have been eliminated from the Party. The more complex the situation is, the harder you must work among the workers to knit all of them around our Party and the Government of the Republic and constantly enhance their Party spirit.

To this end, you should, first of all, imbue the workers with Party line and policy through proper explanation.

Equipping the workers solidly with our Party’s idea in this way is

essential to defeat the enemy's divisive moves promptly and ensure the unity and solidarity of our revolutionary ranks.

For the present, Party organizers should re-explain to the workers the document of the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and see to it that they study it deeply. This document is very important. If they study it profoundly, they will be able to solve successfully all problems arising in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

Party organizers should encourage the workers to trust our Party, actively support its policy, defend it and carry it out.

Our Party is organized with the working class as its core. So it is natural that the workers should be loyal to our Party. The working class should never tolerate others' interference in the policy of our Party and Government, and should stoutly combat it. We should give the workers a clear understanding that the question arising in implementing the policy of the Party and Government should be solved by themselves and that an inner Party question should be resolved within the Party.

Party organizers should educate the workers well to enhance their class consciousness,

Today, the working class in our country is the hard-core force of the revolution, to whom belongs the state power. All the manoeuvres of the puppet Syngman Rhee clique are directed against our working class. The struggle against the puppet clique, after all, is a serious class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. In order to emerge victorious in this struggle, we should constantly raise the class consciousness of the workers.

Heightening their class consciousness is all the more urgent in view of the fact that our working class is young.

As we said at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, our working class is very young because of the characteristic features of our history. Accordingly, not many of them are fine workers experienced and tempered in the revolutionary struggle. Moreover, fine workers joined the People's Army during the war and were promoted to jobs in the Party, administrative and

economic bodies. As a result, the composition of the working class is now very complex, its ranks having been replaced with young people and those from different strata.

Immediately after the armistice we proposed the task of raising the class consciousness of the workers. I think this was an absolutely correct step both in view of our working-class makeup and the present situation.

What is important in heightening their class consciousness is to ensure that the workers staunchly fight against the class enemy, clearly aware of their being masters of the country and the leading class in the revolution.

The puppet Syngman Rhee clique is now stepping up its manoeuvres against the northern half of Korea to revive the capitalist system and lord it over here. Can our working class tolerate it? Absolutely not. Only under the people's democratic system can the workers be masters of state power and participate freely in the state affairs. At present, none of the workers is represented in the puppet Syngman Rhee regime. We can never tolerate the enemy moves to set up such a reactionary "government" in the north; we must determinedly counter them.

We must bring home to the workers the fact that the power in our country is in the hands of the people and that the factories, enterprises and their machinery and equipment, too, belong to the people and serve the people themselves.

Besides, we must instil in the minds of the workers the sense of honour and responsibility of being the vanguard detachment of our revolution and also the leading class of the entire Korean people. Only when every one of them has a correct understanding and a high degree of class awareness that he is one of the leading class of the Korean revolution can he love his social system and the factory where he works and can hold out in their defence in any adversity.

The education of fresh workers needs special attention. Training them to be a part of the revolutionary working class is very important. But this cannot be done all at once. So we must first bring up hard-core

elements among the workers and through them give revolutionary education to all the recruits and unite them closely around the Party.

Party organizers should intensify the struggle against the tendency towards factionalism.

In the past Choe Chang Ik and other anti-Party factionalists worked viciously in an overt and covert attempt to achieve their despicable factional aim within the Party.

Of course, we had been aware of his factional record. He had formerly belonged to the M-L group and also conspired with south Korean factionalists. For the purpose of educating him through work, however, we entrusted him with important jobs of the Party and state. Nevertheless, he betrayed the Party's trust and committed grave factional acts against the Party.

We were always highly vigilant against the moves of the anti-Party factionalists. For this very reason we were able to expose and frustrate promptly the plot of Choe Chang Ik and his anti-Party factionalist band.

Well, what are the crimes of the anti-Party factionalists?

Their major aim was to seize Party leadership. So they first threw mud at our Party Central Committee and slandered its policy.

The factionalists attacked the Party, arguing that its personnel policy was mistaken. Criticising the makeup of the cadres on the Party Central Committee, Yun Kong Hum and Ri Phil Gyu said that the cadres of working-class origin were ignorant, that the cadres of intellectual origin were pro-Japanese and that the cadres with the records of revolutionary struggle were flatterers. If we listen to the factionalists and reject all these cadres, with whom are we to make the revolution?

Forming the ranks of Party cadres mainly with those of working-class origin is an important principle of our Party's personnel policy. True, their level of knowledge is low, but their class consciousness is very high. Therefore, we are training workers in a planned way and promote them to cadres.

As for intellectual cadres, they have been educated and promoted

by our Party since liberation. Among them are the persons who have been working as members of the Party Central Committee ever since the foundation of the Party. Some intellectuals, of course, had grown in well-to-do families and studied in Japan, but they have been trained into revolutionaries in the decade since liberation. Why, then, should we suspect them as pro-Japanese and refuse to promote them to cadres? We must not regard intellectuals as pro-Japanese indiscriminately.

Our Party is building its cadre ranks with the revolutionaries and people of working-class origin as the main force, and integrate it properly with those of peasant and intellectual origin. Our Party's policies on cadres, industry, agriculture and all the rest are correct; none of them is incorrect.

After all, the factionalists cavil at our Party's personnel and other policies in one way or another simply to disgrace the Party Central Committee and split and destroy the Party. You must know this clearly.

The emergence of the factionalist tendency in the Party at present seems somewhat unavoidable. The existence of capitalism in the world and the survivals of obsolete ideas in people's minds are reflected as factionalist tendency in the Party. We must thoroughly overcome the factionalist tendency to slander the Party Central Committee and wreck the Party by combatting it mercilessly and with a high degree of vigilance and must uphold the Party Central Committee's leadership till the end.

As in the past, so in the future, too, we must go on intensifying the struggle against factionalists and defend our Party staunchly.

In this struggle it is important to distinguish correctly between criticism for the development of Party work and the factional acts to wreck the Party. Criticism for improvement in Party work must be widely encouraged, but factional acts which impair the Party's authority and prestige and split the Party must not be tolerated on any account. We must launch an uncompromising struggle against those who try to harm the Party's authority and prestige and undermine it, just as Yun Kong Hum did in the past, arguing that our Party was not a

Marxist-Leninist party. We should thus defend the unity and solidarity of the Party like the apple of the eye.

The source of our strength lies in increasing the class consciousness of the workers and rallying the masses closely around the Party. If the workers are highly class-conscious and if the masses of the people are united solidly around the Party, the anti-Party factionalists will be certainly defeated, no matter how they manoeuvre, and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique will not dare to attack us. This puppet clique is afraid of the united strength of our people more than anything else.

The enemies are trying to break the firm unity and cohesion of our Party and the masses of the people, but their efforts are based on a gross miscalculation. They do not reckon with the fact that our Party has grown powerful in the past decade. Our Party led the three-year Fatherland Liberation War to victory; it is wisely guiding the work of gigantic postwar reconstruction and has close ties with the masses of the people. We have demonstrated once more our people's unity and cohesion in the election to the people's assemblies at the *ri* (township, workers' districts) held on the 20th of this month. It delivered a hard blow at the enemies. But we must not be indolent and slack even for a moment. We must intensify more than ever the struggle against the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary tendency to split and wreck the Party and disrupt the unity of the working class.

2. ON FULLY ACQUIRING REVOLUTIONARY VIEWPOINT ON THE MASSES

Great progress has been made in Party work in the past, but the bureaucratic style of work is still in evidence considerably among some Party officials.

Their bureaucratic practice is due to lack of a revolutionary viewpoint on the masses. In other words, they practise bureaucracy

because they lack the spirit with which to subordinate everything to the desire and interests of the masses and fight in their interests.

If they are to make revolution, they must unite the masses of the people because it is an undertaking for the masses. A socialist, communist society where all the people live happily, cannot be built by the efforts of a few persons; it can be built successfully only by the united efforts of the masses. Hence the importance of the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Party organizers must fully acquire the revolutionary mass viewpoint, bearing in mind that this is an essential guarantee for victory in the revolutionary struggle.

One thing that deserves attention in this regard is that you should not only listen to the voice of the masses and comply with their request promptly, but also give them a principled explanation when they make an unjustifiable request.

Recently the state raised wages for the workers, technicians and office workers. This measure was taken to improve their living standards, and actual conditions existed for taking the step.

The revolutionary mass viewpoint does not mean acquiescing in the demand of the masses without considering actual conditions. When the masses make an impossible request, you should give them a good, principled explanation.

Let me take an example. Immediately after liberation, the workers of the Pyongyang Railway Factory made a disturbance, unable to endure the food shortage. At that time we went to the scene, and they asked us for rice. So we retorted: From whom are you asking for rice? What rice can we give you when we are just back from the battle in Mt. Paektu? Work alone will bring you rice. Rice will come from nowhere if you do not work. You should, therefore, work, overcoming the difficulties. We have had to starve many days on end now and then during the guerrilla struggle, but won ultimately by overcoming the difficulties by ourselves. We told them this. Hearing my speech, they went to their workplace quietly and started working.

When I tell you to listen to the voice of the masses in the matter of

establishing a revolutionary mass viewpoint, I never mean that you should accept any and all opinions. You should not misunderstand gossip as the voice of the basic masses. We must always hear the voice of the basic masses.

The struggle for the revolutionary mass viewpoint literally means the struggle for the masses. So one of the important questions in acquiring the mass viewpoint is to educate the masses, lead them along the right path and organize them for the fulfilment of the revolutionary task on the agenda.

Recently, when we were on a visit to the Kangson Steel Plant, officials there said that they were short of living houses and requested for them. We asked them why they should not build them with sun-dried bricks or with something like that and told them that they would be able to build such houses as many as they wanted if they mobilized the masses and used materials locally available. This is precisely the way to implement the principle of the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Work among people must be done by the method of education in any case. At present, some Party officials are doing this work in an administrative way. They should not do so. The administrative method is a method of government. Party work should be done by the method of education in every respect.

Beating children is not an effective method for parents to educate them at home. For the education of mischievous children, it must be properly explained to them why mischief is wrong so that they will truly repent their misbehaviour.

Education is basic to work among Party members as well. Our Party members are all fine people. Even if some of them have shortcomings, you must educate them properly rather than try to punish them indiscriminately. Punishment should be applied only to cases of serious mistakes and only when it is significant in educating a large number of fellow Party members.

There are two ways of educating the Party membership—individual education and group education. If these methods are combined correctly, the education of Party members will be successful.

We should further strengthen Party leadership over trade union organizations. In the past, some of the trade union workers failed to deliver a timely blow at So Hwi, a factionalist, who rejected Party leadership, arguing that the trade unions should get rid of the tutelage of the Party. How is it that our officials pass such utterances against the Party uncountered? It would be improbable that all those who participated in the revolutionary struggle in the past be always flawless communists. Even such veterans could degenerate if they retained capitalist ideas in their minds. Besides, So Hwi did many wrongs. We must intensify Party leadership over the trade union organizations to help them to clean off the poison spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists. After this, the trade union organizations should be brought thoroughly to work under Party leadership.

3. ON PROPER PARTY GUIDANCE TO PRODUCTION

The foremost thing in the Party's guidance to production is to ensure a higher rate of equipment operation at factories and other enterprises. We have rebuilt many of them in the three postwar years. It is important to ensure that the rebuilt factories and enterprises operate their machines and equipment to full capacity and increase production. Party organizers must bring this policy of the Party home to the Party members and working people.

The economy drive must be intensified among the working people.

A lot of iron, cement and coal are now being wasted in different branches of the national economy. This makes it imperative for the working people to strive for economic use of raw materials and other supplies.

A movement to economize coal in particular should be intensified

and the waste of coal combatted relentlessly.

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided on reducing coal import to the utmost in view of the strain on foreign currency in the country. At the same time we must mass-produce gas coal and highly calorific coal at home and economize in coal as much as possible.

For economizing coal, its burning rate should be increased and the control of heat supply improved at the factories and enterprises.

On account of the low rate of burning, a lot of precious coal is now being wasted at some factories and enterprises including those under the Ministry of Light Industry. Quite a few industrial establishments are also wasting coal because of the poor control of heat supply. They should strive to use pulverized coal by converting boilers, and improve heat control.

At homes, too, they should strive to save coal. Inhabitants of mining areas now request only for coal instead of using as fuel maize stalks and dry grass which would serve the purpose quite well. That is not a proper attitude. Nowadays some people do not even think of papering the windows of their houses for themselves, houses newly provided by the state. We must do by ourselves whatever is within our power. A powerful campaign should be launched among the inhabitants to save coal by using substitutes for it.

Formerly the people in Ryanggang Province even did not know how to heat their rooms with coal. But nowadays they want to use only coal. They ask for coal when they throw away sawdust and the like. Instead, in that province, they should use sawdust, treetops, brushwood and maize stubs. A revolution should be brought about in using coal economically.

Coal-mining industry should strive to increase coal production.

In the past the Party and Government gave much assistance to the coal-mining industry in its effort to increase coal production and helped it resolve all its problems. But there has been no tangible growth in the coal output. At present, it falls short of the mark set by the Party. Efforts should be directed to raise the coal output radically in

order to meet the demand of the national economy.

Tapping and using locally available materials is a matter of tremendous significance in intensifying the struggle for economy.

In provinces they should carry on construction by using locally available materials as far as possible. In mountainous areas they should use readily available stones in housing construction rather than try to build only brick houses. I am told that in Ryanggang Province they are now bringing bricks from Chongjin for housing construction. This means much waste of manpower and coal. Similar tendencies should not recur in the future.

The director of the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory said that building houses with stones was beneficial from the standpoint of the state, but not from the standpoint of the enterprise. That was an expression of an erroneous idea. He has no Party spirit. Factory Party committee chairmen should not simply tail after the directors, but help them well politically.

Technical and skill levels of the workers and technicians should be enhanced further. This is now an important question for raising the rate of equipment operation and the quality of products.

We have built the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory to our satisfaction, but we are not running it properly because of the low levels of technique and skill of the workers and technicians. Needless to say, its inefficient operation is also due to the inadequate supply of spare parts from the Ministry of Machine Industry. This ministry has implemented only 30 per cent of its task of spare parts production this year. After this, a factory should be rated below the mark in case it fails to fulfil the assignment for the production of spare parts even if it hits other production targets.

On account of the inadequate supply of spare parts from the Ministry of Machine Industry, many machines have to suspend operation and production. The problem of spare parts causes difficulties also in coal and other mines. Profound attention should, therefore, be directed to the production and supply of more spare parts of good quality. Raising of the quality of spare parts also requires

higher technical and skill levels of the workers and technicians. All factories and enterprises should strive to enhance these levels.

It must be ensured that officials refrain from conducting capital construction carelessly. Some of them now tend to build only new factories, not rebuilding the existing damaged ones, on the assumption that plenty of capital construction undertaken by them would raise their prestige and present them as efficient workers. Such tendency was also noticeable in building the Ryongsong Machine Factory and the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory. The latter was built so large without concrete estimate that it has too big a marginal area of production and looks empty inside. This is due to the fact that the director got the factory built carelessly, affected by his “capital-construction disease”. Such a shortcoming must be corrected.

The tendency to set production targets low should be eliminated from among the directors of factories and enterprises. Such a tendency now evident among some of these directors has something to do with the funds laid aside for them. Financial regulations authorize them to use the funds only when they have fulfilled their production plans 100 per cent. That is why factories and other enterprises want to put up as low production targets as possible. Of course, this is a wrong tendency. But the matter of directors’ funds should be further studied for removing irrationalities, if any. At the same time, directors’ wrong tendency to plan low production targets should be corrected.

Strenuous efforts should be made to raise the living standards of the people.

If the people are to be better off, plenty of daily necessities should be produced. The state raised the wages for the workers, technicians and office workers, but this will be meaningless because prices will rise unless the output of consumer goods is increased. Light industry factories and enterprises and producers’ cooperatives should strive to fulfil their production plans and radically increase the output of consumer goods. To this end, manpower should be organized rationally, and equipment run at full capacity in the light industry factories and enterprises, and more producers’ cooperatives should be formed.

In order to improve the people's living standards, all sectors and units of the national economy should tap and use internal reserves actively, instead of just depending on the state. This is important. At present, some officials are not making efforts to find out reserves for themselves, but only turn to the higher-ups for what they lack. This is not the attitude worthy of the officials who are responsible for the livelihood of the people. We must fill up the shortage by our own efforts and overcome our difficulties by struggle. Production plans should be fulfilled and overfulfilled in all branches of the national economy by tapping their internal reserves to the maximum. If any of the economic sectors lags behind, it will hamper the effort to heighten the people's living standards. Factories and other enterprises should find out and hew out the way to increase production with the existing facilities and manpower, without further capital construction.

I believe that you will carry out your duties to the letter with all your efforts and improve Party work further.

**ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AT HOME
AND ABROAD AND SOME PROBLEMS
TO BE CONSIDERED IN CHARTING OUT
THE 1957 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN**

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

December 1, 1956

Today, I would like to dwell on the present situation at home and abroad and some problems to be considered in drawing up the 1957 national economic plan.

I will begin with the external and internal situation.

As you all know, the British, French and Israeli aggressors unleashed an aggressive war against Egypt recently. However, the aggressors suffered an ignominious defeat in face of the resistance of the Egyptian people. Instead of drawing a lesson from their failure, the British and French imperialists have not yet taken their hands off Egypt. For this reason, the situation in the Middle East still remains tense.

The imperialists carried out activities to overthrow and destroy socialist countries in Europe, too. Because of their activities an anti-government uprising took place in Hungary some time ago. Needless to say, the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres were put down promptly. But the Hungarian situation is still complicated owing to imperialist manoeuvres abroad and the machinations of the counter-revolutionaries surviving at home.

The situation in our country is also complex.

With the backing of the US imperialists, the puppet Syngman Rhee clique has been perpetrating more malicious activities against the northern half of Korea since the imperialists unleashed the aggressive war in Egypt.

It organized a large-scale demonstration campaign against the northern half of Korea; it conscripted “reserve soldiers” and students to get them combat ready and ordered the puppet army troops to finish war preparations by the end of December this year. It is building military installations in a big way along the Military Demarcation Line to step up the preparations for invasion and is continuously sending spies to the northern half of Korea. The enemy is viciously manoeuvring to destroy our revolutionary forces from within. He has gone so far as to scatter in the north leaflets urging people to “rise against the government”. These enemy activities have been intensified in the last three to four months. According to the reports of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, the puppet Syngman Rhee clique is clamouring that it will carry out “northward expedition” if an anti-government revolt breaks out in the northern part of Korea. Coinciding with the war racket by the US imperialists and their lackeys, Choe Chang Ik and other anti-Party factionalists intrigued against the Government in the north.

The danger of war still remains unremoved in our country. The analysis of the current international situation shows the danger of a world war breaking out. If it breaks out, the US imperialists may ignite another war of aggression against the northern half of Korea. Even if a world war does not break out, the US imperialists may instigate the puppet Syngman Rhee clique to set off a civil war in our country. They do not care about Koreans fighting and killing each other.

We do not want war. It is our Party’s consistent policy to struggle to prevent war and safeguard peace.

In order to prevent the outbreak of war in our country, we must strengthen our forces. If we are strong, the enemy will not dare unleash a war. We must not get caught in the enemy’s provocations, but

consolidate our forces in every way.

First of all, our officials and working people must prepare themselves well ideologically and sharpen their revolutionary vigilance.

At present some officials have slackened their vigilance, captivated by a pacifist mood. Officials must not be carried away by peace, show ideological laxity, and slacken their vigilance.

At present we are making a revolution, and half of the country is lost to the US imperialist aggressors. All officials must fully prepare themselves politically and ideologically, always maintain sharp vigilance and keep themselves alert and ready. In particular, the education of the working class and the rest of the people should be intensified to prepare themselves thoroughly for emergency.

In line with ideological preparation, it is necessary to make adequate material preparations.

At present, our officials neglect preparations to cope with emergency. This also is an expression of laxity. As long as imperialism remains on the globe, the danger of war will not vanish. Nevertheless, some officials do not prepare themselves for war. What is worse, they leave the war out of consideration in the work of construction. And some other officials think that war is fought by the People's Army and they have nothing to do with it. We must correct this wrong tendency immediately and make full preparations for war.

In order to make adequate material preparations for emergency, economic construction must be conducted well.

The more tense the situation, the faster we must step up economic construction; we must overfulfil our plans in all fields of the national economy and accumulate much material reserves. Especially, steel, coal, provisions and other strategic goods must be stored in plenty. One of the factors of our victory in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War is that we accumulated large quantities of strategic materials including rice and coal in the period of peaceful construction after liberation. Because we laid in a large stock of coal during the period of peaceful construction, we could endure when the mines could not

produce coal during the war. At present, however, coal-mining industries even fail to carry out their plans properly. All branches of the national economy must acquire the habit of carrying out their plans without fail.

We should mass-produce necessary arms and ammunition. In the last Fatherland Liberation War, we were very short of them. Making good use of our experience in the war, we must take all necessary measures.

We must intensify our struggle against reactionaries. We must not show mercy to reactionaries but intensify our struggle against them. We must apply severe legal sanctions especially to those who plot to destroy our revolutionary ranks from within.

Next, I would like to refer to some problems to be considered in mapping out the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan.

Efforts should first be exerted to improve the living standards of workers and office employees and to increase the production of daily necessities.

When I talked with factory and office workers in provinces, they said that their wages increased 35 percent on an average and that their monthly income was very high. If we are to make the increased income really beneficial to them, we must prevent price rise. In order to stabilize the prices, more daily necessities must be produced. Therefore, deep attention must be paid to this problem in drawing up the 1957 national economic plan.

Last year, some people proposed to cut the production plan for daily necessities, saying that the goods did not sell. Of course, this was possible because the peasants' purchasing power was low last year. However, we must not decrease the production of daily necessities.

We envisaged next year's state and cooperative retail turnover amounting to 73,000 million *won* or a 23.7 per cent increase over this year. But even this figure seems small. As for the rate of growth in the turnover of commodities and that in the purchasing power of working people, the relative increase of the former does not accord with that of

the latter. The peasants have ample stocks of rice, for they had a bumper harvest this year, and their income from sidelines increased considerably. Today, in the countryside, various sidelines including the breeding of pigs are encouraged. This is a great source of peasants' income. The purchasing power of workers and office employees, too, has increased greatly as a result of the wage increase and the price reduction. Taking all these things into account, the problem will not be solved by increasing the turnover of goods by only 23.7 per cent next year as against this year.

We did a good thing by raising the wages of workers and office employees but, in order to consolidate the success, we must produce more consumer goods.

To do this, we must augment the utilization of equipment at the existing light industry factories and turn to account all manual machines, too.

At present there is a tendency not to use manual machines. This is wrong. In wartime manual machines are more effective. Since quite a few people are unable to get jobs at present, using manual machines and equipment is also an important means to provide conditions for them to work.

In order to increase the production of day-to-day requirements, by-product shops should be set up and run well at all factories and enterprises. They say that in a certain country an aeroplane factory produces such daily essentials as milk-cans. But our officials give no thought to this sort of thing. We must do it in a big way.

To augment the production of daily necessities, officials who are responsible for the people's livelihood must work well with an attitude as masters.

Some time ago I called at the Kangson Steel Plant to find that the workers were supplied with vegetables, but they could not pickle kimchi because they had no jars. I was told that they do not produce jars in South Phyongan Province, so they go to the far-off Hoeryong in North Hamgyong Province to get them. Why cannot they produce domestic utensils like jars in their own province? At present, our

officials do not do what they can do easily for themselves.

Leading officials' indifferent work attitude unworthy of masters responsible for the people's livelihood is also seen in the fact that goods for exhibition are elaborated, whereas those to be supplied to the people are made roughly. When we visit an exhibition, we see a wide variety of daily necessities, but, actually, we cannot find them in shops. You should not confine yourselves to manufacturing samples for exhibitions, but mass-produce goods of high quality for the people.

We must increase producers' cooperatives and expand and develop local industries.

We should develop the fishing industry.

To supply ample subsidiary foodstuffs to the people, it is important to develop stock raising, but it is more important to develop fisheries. If we are to raise pigs, we need feed but, as for fish, it will do just to catch them which grow for themselves.

The Ministry of Fisheries has so far failed to do a good job and catch much fish. The officials of the ministry must develop the fisheries and take measures to catch fish in large quantities. The State Planning Commission must allot larger production quotas to the fisheries for the coming year.

In order to develop the fisheries, fishing boats must be built in large numbers. It is particularly important to build a large number of such boats as those with angle-fishing nets. We must build more fishing boats and give them to fishing and agro-fishing cooperatives, so that they catch a lot of fish. We must take steps to develop agro-fishing cooperatives in a big way next year.

We should revise the management system for the fishing cooperatives. These cooperatives should be separated from the Ministry of Fisheries and developed independently.

We must augment the production of coal and intensify the campaign to save it.

Because we cannot import much coal next year, we must increase its production decisively. At present, however, our coal production falls short of the plan. This year the state provided the coal-mining

industry with more manpower and made more investments in this field. But it is expected that coal output will be no more than 3.8 million tons. Next year, the Ministry of Coal-Mining Industry must be assigned larger production quotas and be made to fulfil them without fail.

As the demands of the national economy and the people for coal grow daily, the nation's coal shortage cannot be filled up only through increasing coal production. In order to make up for the shortage, it is important to intensify the campaign to save coal.

At present, this campaign is not conducted well. In towns and farm villages and even at homes there is a tendency to regard coal as the only fuel. Even workers of factories and enterprises in the countryside demand only coal; they do not think of using the maize stumps abundant in the neighbourhood. There is plenty of brushwood around the city of Pyongyang but nobody tries to cut and use it for fuel. The people of Ryanggang Province also ask for coal, while throwing away sawdust which they have in plenty.

At present, quite a few practices of wasting coal are seen in different branches of the national economy. When we visited the Kangson Steel Plant recently, the leading officials of this plant said they would save 3,000 tons of coking coal this year, and asked for anthracite, instead. This tells, after all, that they have wasted 3,000 tons of coking coal every year to this date. Factories and enterprises do not endeavour to increase the combustion rate of boilers.

A widespread campaign must be waged in all sectors and units to save even a gramme of coal. Factories and enterprises must take better care of heat and increase the combustion rate of coal. The State Planning Commission must set low the norm of coal consumption in mapping out the plan so as to create a precondition for economizing in coal.

Coal must be saved at homes, too, by using as much peat, treetops, brushwood, and so on as possible.

We must produce more steel. The Ministry of Metal Industry must have consultations with technicians before the end of the year and take measures to turn out more steel.

We must conduct capital construction well. The building industry

must increase the building speed and complete quickly the factories now under construction and, at the same time, build many houses. In provinces houses must be built by making the most of local materials. Even at ore and coal mines far up in the mountains they are now insisting on building brick houses. They must not do so. In local areas it will do to build houses with sun-dried bricks. The Kangson Steel Plant is making such bricks and building good houses with them by mobilizing the families of the workers and office employees.

At present factories and enterprises are inclined to set their production plans low, and this seems to have something to do with the directors' funds. Therefore, we should reconsider the question of the directors' funds, while at the same time correcting promptly the wrong tendency to set the plans low.

Deep attention must be paid to raising the utilization of equipment and decreasing the non-productive work force. Our officials talk much about the need to do so, but, actually, they are neglecting the matter. These problems must be given profound attention in mapping out the national economic plan.

There may be many difficulties in implementing the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan. We must educate the working people in a resolve to fulfil next year's national economic plan definitely by tiding over all hardships.

I hope that you will always work with a tense posture to meet the requirements of the prevailing situation, and formulate a precise national economic plan for 1957 and carry it out with success.

FOR A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY UPSWING IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

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

December 13, 1956

Comrades,

At this plenary meeting we discussed the national economic plan for 1957, the task for the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, and made the unanimous resolve to fulfil this plan without fail, valiantly getting over all hardships and trials ahead of us. When the meeting is over, members and alternate members of the Party Central Committee and all other comrades who are present here will return to their respective posts where they must wage a dynamic struggle to implement the decision of the plenary meeting and fulfil their pledge to the Party come what may.

As many comrades said in their speeches, the national economic plan we are going to fulfil next year is a very tight plan. However, it is by no means a totally impossible plan framed against our will. It is a scientific and practical plan well within our power. We have all the possibilities and conditions for carrying it out successfully.

The 1957 national economic plan was drawn up in accordance with our Party's basic line of economic construction to give priority to the development of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. As in the past, so next year, we are planning to concentrate money on heavy industry and direct much

effort to it. This is an entirely correct measure.

It is said that in some countries there has been much debate as to whether heavy industry should be curtailed or not. However, in our country this sort of problem can never arise because unless heavy industry is developed first, it is impossible to consolidate the foundation of the national economy as a whole or raise the people's living standards. The priority development of heavy industry is an objective requirement of the socialist economic construction in our country.

Particularly, the heavy industries on which we are concentrating our efforts are directly related to the people's livelihood. If we do not concentrate our efforts on the chemical industry and produce plenty of fertilizer, we cannot increase the per-hectare yield in agriculture and, accordingly, we cannot solve the food problem of the people. And only by quickly developing the chemical industry and securing large quantities of chemical fibres, can we supply an adequate amount of cloth to our people.

The same is true of the mining industry and other branches of heavy industry. Unless we exert our efforts in the mining industry and exploit more mineral ores, we cannot obtain much foreign currency, to say nothing of providing raw material to the metal industry and, accordingly, cannot import different kinds of goods badly needed for the people's lives. So, in order to further consolidate our country's economic foundations and more quickly raise the people's living standards, we must continue to make large investments in the machine-building, electric, mining, chemical and other heavy industries.

Needless to say, our population increases very quickly every year and we have to feed our people evenly. In particular, we have to take deep interest in lightening the peasants' burdens and improving their living conditions. In this situation, it is hardly likely to increase the rate of investment in heavy industries next year over this year. However, next year also, we should maintain the proportion of the production of means of production to the production of consumer goods, at least at

the same level as this year. We consider that the current proportion in this regard fits in with our nation's present level of industrial development.

We must not hesitate or vacillate in the least in fulfilling next year's plan. Let me again stress that if we work well, we can fulfil next year's plan, and we must do so by all means. Only when we carry out next year's plan without fail, even though it may be a bit hard, can we increase state accumulation and secure reserves. This will enable us to carry out the plan for 1958 without difficulty and readily cope with any emergency which may be caused by change in the situation. Therefore, all of you must clearly realize that the struggle for successful implementation of next year's plan is a hard but a worthy and honourable struggle.

In the last few years we were confronted with many more hardships than now, but we audaciously overcame them through an intense struggle and thus we could victoriously fulfil the Three-Year Plan. As a result, our people now have laid foundations and assets with which to live on their own efforts and are able to draw up a tremendous long-range perspective plan such as the Five-Year Plan and get down to its implementation.

We are planning to increase the total industrial output value next year, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, by 21 per cent over the estimated figure for this year. This is 2.4 times as much as that in the prewar year of 1949. It is obvious that if we had not laid the solid foundations and assets during the Three-Year Plan, we could not have set this high goal.

Under next year's plan we have also envisaged many specific measures for improving the people's living conditions. Right here at this plenary meeting, we have discussed interesting problems—producing more consumer goods, improving the quality of goods, turning out more chemical fertilizers for the countryside to increase grain production, and building more boats to catch more fish next year. What does this mean? It means that we have grown stronger and have increased our assets which enable us to do all these things by our own efforts.

Today we have such a great strength and solid assets solely because we have had our Party's correct line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and because, under the Party's leadership, all our people have striven to carry out this line with credit, tightening their belts.

If we had not concentrated our efforts on the advancement of heavy industry in the Three-Year Plan period in accordance with the Party's policy, and if we had just consumed all the aid from the fraternal countries allegedly to raise the people's living standard, we could have been well-off for a year or two, but we would have found ourselves in a hard situation today where we could not do anything for ourselves.

If in the last few years we had not built machine factories to produce weaving machinery and build textile mills, saving every penny, we could not have silk clothes today, however much we wanted them, and could not have adopted a decision on producing more silk cloth at this meeting. And if we had not built solid centres of the machine-building industry during this period, we could not eat fish, however much we wanted, nor could we confidently draw up and send directives on the production of a definite number of vessels such as angle-net boats and carriers.

However, displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, we have created the machine-building industry of our own and laid strong centres of heavy industry. As a result, at this plenary meeting, we could freely discuss and decide on all essential matters for next year and have a firm conviction that we are quite capable of executing the decision. In other words, we can now resolve to do anything necessary for the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living conditions, and can fulfil this resolve. The question is that from now we must set a clear-cut goal of struggle and rush bravely and quickly towards this goal.

We cannot go at a slow pace on any account; we must rush ahead several times, scores of times, faster than others. However great the achievements we made in postwar economic construction, we must

never be satisfied with this. Our achievements are just initial ones, nothing but a foundation for the attainment of a still greater victory in the future.

Our country's economic foundation is still weak as a whole, and the people's living standard is not high. Moreover, we have not yet achieved national reunification, our people's most anxious desire. In this situation, how can we idle away our time or go at a slow pace? We are never allowed to do so. We must never lead slack and easy lives; we must wage an intense struggle, every hour and every day.

Particularly, the present internal and external situation is more strained and complex than ever before. Not long ago, in the Middle East the imperialists headed by US imperialism put up the Zionists as their shock brigade and unleashed a savage war of aggression against the Arab people. In Hungary they incited their agents to a riot against the government. Of course, all these foul manoeuvres ended in ignominious fiasco. However, instead of drawing a lesson from their setbacks, the imperialists, following the two incidents, are conducting crazy anti-communist clamours without precedent.

On the one hand, the imperialists are blowing a vociferous anti-communist trumpet, maliciously slandering the socialist countries and, on the other, they are resorting to every possible means to drive a wedge between the socialist countries and subvert the socialist camp from within. At every opportunity they send spies, saboteurs and wreckers into the socialist countries, and manoeuvre to seek a pretext for military aggression.

In our country also, as if they were given a golden opportunity, the US imperialists and their lackeys, the Syngman Rheeites, are running mad and hurrying with preparations for aggression against the northern half of Korea. The US imperialists have brought their Pacific Fleet near our territorial waters and the Syngman Rheeites, in keeping with this, have reportedly ordered the puppet armed forces to complete all preparations by the end of the year to take military action for "northward expedition".

In addition, they are trying to use for their subversive plots the

remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes and anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists in the northern half of Korea. Of late, every day the Syngman Rheeites are openly urging the handful of counter-revolutionaries to “rise in a riot as in Hungary, then we will attack again.” Furthermore, they are dispatching many spies into the northern half of Korea to align them with wicked elements lurking within our ranks, in an attempt to hatch sinister designs against our Party and the Government of the Republic. The number of the spies, saboteurs and wreckers worming their way into the north with this purpose is considerably increasing these days.

Meanwhile, the class enemies and anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists hiding in our ranks are raising their heads in line with the aggressive activities of the US imperialists and Syngman Rheeites and are opposing our Party and our social system. The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists have been dealt blows by our Party, but they are still playing tricks on the sly. These fellows are criticizing the Party’s policy with regard to cadres and slandering the Party’s line and policies from various angles.

The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists are aiming at undermining the deep trust of the Party members and the people in our Party’s Central Committee and destroying the Party’s unity and cohesion. They are thus trying to frustrate our revolutionary cause. The analysis of their different arguments shows that in many respects they are exactly the same as those of the Syngman Rheeites.

All these manoeuvres of the enemies at home and abroad place tremendous obstacles in the way of our Party and people and prevent our advance.

We must sharpen our vigilance against all their manoeuvres. Needless to say, it is obvious that whatever manoeuvres the enemies make, they will fizzle out in the long run. As long as our tested Party Central Committee leads the revolution and the Party and the masses are firmly united as one body, neither the “northward expedition” plan of the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique nor the conspiratorial manoeuvres of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists will

succeed. However, this never means that we are allowed to slacken our vigilance and feel at ease.

If we are drunk with our victory, soften our vigilance and fail to secure unity and solidarity of our ranks, the situation may be different. Then, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rheeites may actually attack us and our revolutionary cause may face a grave difficulty.

The most important guarantee for our victory in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction is our Party's steel-like unity and solidarity. This is the conclusion we have drawn in the course of our long revolutionary struggle.

We must not permit any factional activity within the Party and must not allow any alien element to infiltrate into our ranks. We must mercilessly shatter in time the attempts to split the Party, the working class and the masses. We must wage the anti-factional struggle throughout the Party more powerfully and see to it that all cadres and Party members protect the Party's unity and cohesion like the apple of the eye.

At the same time, we must make sure that all our cadres and Party members correctly form their revolutionary mass viewpoint and work among the masses well, so as to firmly unite them all around our Party. It is especially very important to strengthen ideological education of the working class and raise their class consciousness. Only when their class consciousness is increased, can they unhesitatingly defend and firmly protect their Party and state power in any difficult and complicated situation, and play a vanguard role among the masses of the people.

While fighting to consolidate the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary forces in our country, we must strive to defend the socialist camp and increase its might.

As I have mentioned, at present the imperialists are resorting to every manoeuvre to estrange the socialist countries from each other and undermine the might of the socialist camp at all costs. We must not be deceived by their crafty manoeuvres for alienation. The more they intensify their manoeuvres for our estrangement, the higher we must

raise the banner of proletarian internationalism and defend the socialist camp more actively and protect it more firmly than ever before.

Next, we must sharpen our vigilance against our class enemies who obstruct our advance and further intensify the struggle against them.

At present our Party is carrying out the revolutionary tasks of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and building socialism in the midst of a harsh class struggle. In the northern half of Korea there still remain quite a few landlords deprived of their lands by us, capitalists deprived of their factories, and pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation expelled from power organs. On the other hand, the spies, saboteurs and wreckers of US imperialism and the Syngman Rheeites are unceasingly infiltrating from south Korea. They are working hard to seize every opportunity to destroy our revolutionary gains, foil our socialist construction, overthrow our socialist system and restore the old exploitative system.

We must keep a sharp watch over every movement of our class enemies, and when they manoeuvre against us, we must never compromise with them, but resolutely mete out judicial punishment to them. At present, because of their wrong understanding of our Party's united front and class policies, some of our officials just leave the wicked criminals alone or, even if they arrest them, they hesitate in applying judicial punishment to them. This is very dangerous.

Having mercy on the class enemies is not the attitude of the revolutionaries. Clamours for "legality" and so on are part of the manoeuvres of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists to weaken the function of our state's proletarian dictatorship. We must thoroughly crush these absurd manoeuvres of theirs and must mercilessly fight against all attempts to compromise with the class enemies. Especially, Party officials and personnel of the People's Army, interior security organs, judicial and prosecutors offices must conduct this struggle vigorously.

We must secure steel-like unity and solidarity of the revolutionary forces and intensify the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces, and, on this basis, we must organize and mobilize the revolutionary

zeal of the masses for fulfilment of next year's national economic plan and bring about a new upswing in the socialist economic construction.

The goal we are going to achieve next year is very high and we have many hardships ahead of us, so we must fight an intense battle. Members of the Party Central Committee and other comrades present here have all made a firm resolve, but if we do not rouse the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses, we cannot succeed in next year's plan nor bring about a great upswing in socialist construction.

Our victory in socialist construction depends largely on how commanding personnel organize and mobilize the masses of the people. If you conduct political and organizational work well and make sure that the working class and broad sectors of the people uphold the Party's call as one man, there will be no hardship which we cannot get over and no fortress which we cannot occupy.

On your return to your places, you must inform all your cadres, Party members, all the workers, technicians and office workers about the intentions of this plenary meeting and forcefully organize and mobilize them for their implementation. Particularly, you must make sure that at a time when the internal and external enemies are carrying out their obstructionist activities more overtly than ever before, all Party members and working people have firm conviction of victory and fight without the slightest vacillation.

It is said that at present some people who are not politically awakened are ill at ease and do not work well, saying, "At a time when Syngman Rhee is saying he's going to attack us again, what's the use of continuing with the work of construction?" This is very bad. We must conduct a proper explanatory work among the workers and all the rest of the working people so that this sort of thing will never recur.

We need not be in the least afraid of Syngman Rhee's "northward expedition" trumpet. The more the enemy blows the "northward expedition" trumpet, the better we must build socialism and show them our mettle again. To do this we must educate our people well and unite them around the Party more firmly; and all the Party members and

working people must be roused to work in a state of alert and mobilized readiness and build more and produce more in all branches of the national economy.

Our slogan is: "Let's produce more, practise economy, and overfulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule!" If we produce more and economize more, fulfil next year's plan and overfulfil the Five-Year Plan before schedule, our country's economic foundation will be consolidated much more, the people's living standard quickly raised and, accordingly, the day of national reunification hastened.

In all branches and units of the national economy, you must uphold the slogan of increased production and economy and step up innovation movements, so as to overfulfil the plan daily, monthly, and quarterly without fail, from the very first day of the new year.

Indeed, our Party and our people have grim trials ahead. However, we must not flinch from the trials; we must not stop even for a moment our great advance to push ahead with socialist construction. Under the leadership of the Party, we must wage an all-Party, all-people struggle against the subversion and sabotage of the enemies at home and abroad, while at the same time, dynamically mobilizing the people's heightened revolutionary enthusiasm for socialist construction; thus we will smash to atoms all the anti-communist clamours of the imperialists, the "northward expedition" hullabaloo of the traitor Syngman Rheeites as well as the manoeuvres of the class enemies and anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists lurking in our ranks. By doing this, we must again demonstrate to the whole world the indomitable, revolutionary mettle of our heroic working class and the masses rallied firmly as one man behind the Party.

ON SOME PROBLEMS IN IMPROVING PARTY WORK

**Talk to Instructors and Senior Officials of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 17, 1956

I intended to discuss Party work with officials of the Central Committee of the Party immediately after the August Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, but was so hard pressed for time that I could manage to spare some time only today.

I am not going to deliver a lecture today, but talk about some problems arising in actual Party work.

1. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

Organizational work is the most important aspect of Party work. When it is done well, it is possible to build up the Party and increase its combat efficiency. And when the Party is built up and its combat efficiency rises, the revolution and construction can be carried out successfully. Therefore, it is very important to improve and strengthen Party organizational work.

There have been quite a few shortcomings in Party organizational

work over the past years, though there have been successes, too.

What, then, is the main shortcoming? Briefly, organizational work was conducted in a superficial manner rather than taking it seriously. This led to many shortcomings in Party work as a whole.

Among other things, personnel administration was not conducted properly. This is eloquently proved by the fact that anti-Party factions appeared at the August Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party.

Personnel administration is the first and foremost task of Party organizational work. It can even be said that Party organizational work is nothing but personnel administration. The Party can be built up only when personnel administration is conducted well.

A major defect in personnel administration is the lack of a deep study of the cadres and their improper selection and allocation. This is evidenced by So Hwi's case alone.

So Hwi had long been engaged in anti-Party activities. He slandered Party policy on personnel administration, insulted cadres and incited workers to oppose the Party and the people's government. This year he visited the Kangson Steel Plant and held a meeting of trade union officials, at which he reportedly declared that the trade unions were at present under the tutelage and that it had to break out of this tutelage in the future. This is an anti-Party utterance which refuses the Party's leadership to trade unions. Besides, So Hwi had been leading a dissipated life, indulging in drinking bouts by day and night. For a long time he had been ambitious and had done mischief systematically. But the Party did not know of this; it thought he did his work well.

Due to lack of a deep study of the cadres, quite a few of them were promoted out of personal considerations, rather than by taking into account their qualifications.

In the past years many people from Hamgyong Province have been appointed as cadres. The reason is that personnel administration was conducted not on Party principles but in such a way that officials concerned asked their acquaintances about certain persons and, on

receiving favourable opinions, promoted them.

Needless to say, we do not oppose many Hamgyong Province people being appointed as cadres. Hamgyong Province was greatly influenced by the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the past; the peasant movement was developed there and large factories and enterprises and, consequently, workers were also concentrated there. Therefore, it is all right that many people from this province are appointed as cadres. But why should we appoint people from Hamgyong Province as chairmen of sub-county Party committees even in other provinces? We cannot regard this as proper because North and South Hamgyong Provinces are themselves short of cadres.

The promotion of the wrong kind of people as cadres due to lack of a close study of them or out of personal considerations was manifested in the way personnel were appointed to lower as well as higher bodies.

A big shortcoming was that the officials engaged in personnel affairs did not have a full grasp of the cadres through their practical work.

Take the workers of the Central Committee of the Party dealing with cadres. Vice-Chairmen used to meet provincial Party chairmen only twice or thrice a year, and that too after plenary meetings; the former would gather the latter in their office rooms and give them tasks to implement the decisions taken at the plenary meetings. That was all. Therefore, they were unable to know how provincial Party chairmen were functioning, what they were thinking about and what books they were reading.

Both provincial and county Party chairmen conducted their work with their subordinates in the same way. So the former failed to understand the latter well. There is nobody among our leading officials who meets his subordinates on a regular basis, finds out about their work and life and helps them solve difficult problems. If they work like this, they will neither be able to acquaint themselves well with cadres, nor will they be able to develop themselves or work well.

In the past they did not have a full grasp of the cadres through actual work but, in most cases, assessed them in terms of their personal histories.

They not only failed to conduct personnel administration properly, but neglected the work of forming Party committees at different levels.

The Organizational Leadership Department should always see to it that all Party committees are properly formed and that they are active the way they should be. But the department has not been doing this kind of work satisfactorily.

The case of the Pyongyang City Party Committee can be cited as an example. While Yun Kong Hum was its chairman, this committee indulged in nepotism and other harmful activities and he drew many of his friends into the committee. Then, he was replaced by Ko Pong Gi who behaved in a similar fashion. But the Organizational Leadership Department neither knew about this nor did it bother to study the composition of the Pyongyang City Party Committee.

The same holds true for the composition of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions. Since the first days of its formation we had stressed more than once that they must take care to prevent unworthy elements from penetrating into the organization. This was neglected, however. If the Organizational Leadership Department of the Central Committee of the Party had kept a constant check on whether the GFTU Central Committee was composed of good people and its primary Party organization was properly built up, elements like O Ki Sop and So Hwi would not have been able to spread their evil influence at will and their crimes would have been promptly revealed.

Another defect in Party organizational work in the past can be found in work with intellectuals.

Our Party's policy towards intellectuals is correct. Basing ourselves on the analysis of the characteristic features of intellectuals we have trusted, constantly re-educated and worked side by side with them to this date since liberation. We should lead them to follow the Party and take an active part in the revolutionary struggle and should rally them firmly around it. But many Party workers kept them at a distance.

When the North Phyongan provincial Party conference was held, the Party officials did not let a man who was engaged in devoted work

at the Ragwon Machine Factory attend the conference simply because he was an intellectual. At this conference a higher middle school principal made a speech in which he pointed out that some Party workers looked askance at intellectuals and treated them like anti-Party elements, claiming that they were a vacillating stratum. Intellectuals cannot be happy about this.

The training of Party nuclei was not being done well, either. Besides these, there were many other shortcomings in Party organizational work.

The shortcomings came to the fore because the Organizational Leadership Department in charge of this work concentrated on campaigns, neglecting its main task.

A campaign achieves instantaneous success, and is easy to conduct. But Party organizational work, personnel administration in particular, does not show immediate results, and it is difficult. Therefore, some officials are fond of campaigns which obtain immediate results but neglect intra-Party work which does not. This tendency was spread by Ho Ka I when he was in charge of Party organizational work, though it has decreased to a considerable degree through struggle. However, quite a few of our officials are still suffering from the “campaign disease”.

The Organizational Leadership Department has not done its main work but has been occupied with unnecessary business. Therefore, they have failed to build up the Party’s ranks or to expose bad elements in good time.

Instead of indulging in campaigns, this department must concentrate on conducting its main work. Its basic duty is to consolidate the ranks of the Party and strengthen the Party life of its members. In a nutshell, it should continually consolidate the Party organizationally. In the strengthening of the Party lie the guarantee of all our victories and the source of the might of our forces.

We must improve and strengthen Party organizational work decisively. Where organizational work is not done properly, accidents frequently occur and negative trends manifest themselves.

In order to improve Party organizational work, it is necessary, first and foremost, to correct the work methods of people who are in charge of organizational work.

These people must not remain at their desks only doing paper work, but must go out among their subordinates—ten to fifteen days a month. Particularly the officials of the Organizational Leadership Department and the vice-chairman for organizational affairs must directly visit provinces, cities, counties and factories, enterprises, farming villages and ministries to acquaint themselves with the work of the Party organizations and officials there and help them in their work.

Those officials and vice-chairman should go out to the units under them, help them to carry out their work according to plan and also attend Party meetings. And, if they find something wrong, they should help rectify it opportunely. They should also meet and talk with individual cadres. Only then can they come to know everything—the work of the Party organizations and the cadres' level of ideological consciousness, work ability, work style and so on. And only then can they know the merits and demerits of the cadres and help them correct their shortcomings in time, prevent mistakes and promote worthy people as cadres.

If the people in charge of organizational work do not work this way but in a superficial manner as before, they will not be able to handle personnel affairs or organizational work well and, consequently, will not be able to build up our Party either.

We must try and understand our cadres correctly and allocate them to the right posts.

Building up the ranks of cadres is a highly important task which is decisive to the success of revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Only by doing this can we strengthen our Party and prevent anti-Party factionalists from doing mischief. Whenever the situation becomes complicated and they have a chance, they manoeuvre things in furtherance of their own ambitions, just like the anti-Party factionalists who appeared last August did.

The Organizational Leadership and Personnel Departments must be

concerned first and foremost with understanding cadres correctly and allocating them to the right posts.

In order to do this, they should meet them frequently, instead of leafing through their personal records at the desk.

Personnel administration is work with the people. In understanding cadres, we must not rely only on documents about them but must get to know them specifically through actual work. Meanwhile, we must not harbour any illusions about people. If you think those who took part in the past revolutionary struggle are all good people, you are gravely mistaken. Building up illusions about people is unscientific. You cannot assess people correctly only through the records of their revolutionary struggle or imprisonment. This, of course, is a factor that helps in understanding cadres but, if you are to assess them correctly, you must make it a rule to meet them frequently and find out specifically how they work in practice. In trying to understand cadres you must abandon all illusions about them and avoid working in a detective manner.

We should eliminate the practice of assessing or allocating cadres on the basis of their being relatives or friends but, instead, must, in strict accordance with Party principles, select and assign as cadres qualified people who are able and ideologically sound. Party cadres, particularly, should be built up with good people.

We must work well to develop Party nuclei.

This will enable us to consolidate the ranks of the Party and achieve success in the work of educating and mobilizing all Party members and the broad masses.

Developing Party nuclei posed itself as a more important problem as our Party strengthened and developed into a mass party. After liberation we proposed and carried out splendidly the line of amalgamating the Communist and New Democratic Parties to found the Workers' Party, a mass political party. This was an absolutely correct line which conformed with principles of Party-building and revolutionary development. As a result of the formation of the Workers' Party through the merger of two parties, the ranks of our

Party expanded quickly, its composition became complex and there arose marked discrepancies in the levels of ideological consciousness of the Party members. Therefore, developing Party nuclei came up as a very urgent question in Party building.

The Party nuclei represent those who have a strong Party spirit, or those who can fight through thick and thin for the sake of the Party.

Although it is a long time since our Party proposed the policy of developing nuclei, it has not yet been carried out satisfactorily.

We must therefore direct great attention to this work. The question cannot be solved only by preparing a roster of the nuclei. We must select excellent Party members and educate them systematically to form the nuclei. They will then provide the leadership to backward Party members.

Party workers must sharpen their vigilance against the manoeuvres of anti-Party factionalists.

This time the anti-Party factionalists were foolish enough to try to split our Party. But thanks to our Party's united strength, their manoeuvres were exposed and smashed in good time. As they are now unable to manoeuvre openly, they have been of late slandering cadres through anonymous notes. But we need not be alarmed at such manoeuvres. After all, the anti-Party factionalists are few in number. We must further intensify the struggle against the factionalists and lay bare their criminal activities.

2. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Today we are living in circumstances in which a fierce class struggle is going on. So long as imperialism remains on the earth, the struggle between capitalist and communist ideologies will continue. The imperialists are making vicious efforts to annihilate communism.

In addition, the virus of capitalism is still surviving among us to a considerable degree. In such a situation, if we do not intensify ideological education, capitalist ideology may infiltrate and harmful tendencies appear among us, too. Therefore, we must intensify the ideological education of Party members and working people to arm them firmly with our Party's ideology and arouse them vigorously to the revolution and construction.

First of all, it is necessary to theoretically elaborate on the correctness of our Party's lines and policies and disseminate it to Party members and working people.

A major shortcoming in ideological work now is that the correctness of the Party's lines and policies is not amplified profoundly in theory.

At present, some people try to explain and verify the correctness of the Party's policies by quoting a few Marxist-Leninist propositions. Our efforts for the theoretical amplification of the correctness of the Party's policies are aimed at making Party members arrive at a correct understanding of these policies and educating them. But because our officials fail in this task the theoretical correctness of Party policies is not deeply understood by Party members.

What is important in this theoretical amplification is to explain the Party policies profoundly in the close context of the specific situation and the historical conditions of our country. In other words, it should substantiate the necessity and originality of the Party's policies.

Suppose you are to theoretically amplify the correctness of our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization. You should explain its originality by supporting it with data on the necessity of agricultural cooperativization in our country, how it started in embryo and when agricultural cooperatives were first formed on an experimental basis. Only then will Party members be clearly convinced of the correctness and originality of our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization and take an active part in this movement.

The departmental directors of the Central Committee of the Party should opportunely explain to the instructors of the Central

Committee, problems discussed and decided upon by its Presidium so that the latter will study the Party's decisions and directives deeply. Thus, all workers in the Central Committee of the Party will be able to theoretically amplify the correctness of Party policies. At the same time officials of ministries and economic bodies and technicians and scholars should also be able to do the same.

It is also important in Party ideological work to eradicate dogmatism, flunkeyism and formalism and firmly establish Juche.

In ideological work done in the past tendencies towards dogmatism, flunkeyism and formalism have been seen to a considerable degree. The historical explanation for this is that our country was a colony of Japanese imperialism for a long time, and was very short of its own cadres after liberation and also that Party ideological work was handled mostly by those who had come from foreign countries and who were, moreover, poorly qualified and ignorant of the situation in our country, so that they unthinkingly accepted anything foreign.

Take educational work, for example. Following liberation, we had no intellectuals of our own, who could prepare textbooks, and so we had to translate and use foreign ones. These books, therefore, contained many things which did not conform with the actual situation in our country. A geography textbook described Mongolia as located to the east of our country. Since foreign textbooks were translated mechanically, our students were taught only about those kinds of fish which are rare in our country. Hence, they do not know what to call gilthead fish which abound in our country nor do they know how shad fish tastes.

Dogmatism, flunkeyism and formalism paralyse our people's creativity and seriously obstruct the advancement of our revolution.

We must clearly understand the harmfulness of dogmatism, flunkeyism and formalism and eliminate them decisively. Is it possible for us to eliminate them? Yes, we can do so.

We must strive to do away with dogmatism, flunkeyism and formalism and establish Juche in ideological work.

To us, Juche is the Korean revolution. Therefore, our entire

ideological work must be subordinated to the Korean revolution.

The Korean revolution cannot be made by foreigners for us; it must be made by us Koreans on our own responsibility. It is we Koreans who know our country's situation better than anybody else.

We must solve all problems arising in the Korean revolution by our own efforts, to suit the situation in our country. Therefore, we must use our own brains. Even when drawing on the experiences of fraternal parties, we must not do it mechanically but critically, so as to make judicious use of them in the Korean revolution.

Another important question in Party ideological work is to rally the entire membership more firmly around the Central Committee of the Party.

We must first convince Party members fully of the essence and harmfulness of factionalism which hampers the unity and cohesion of the Party. Factions existed in the past; and they may emerge in the future, too. Therefore, it is necessary to inform Party members of the crimes committed by and harmfulness of factions so that they will never get involved in factionalism.

It is important to arm all Party members with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our Party has always been faithful to Marxism-Leninism and will be so in the future too. Today the imperialists are indulging in malignant activities aimed at dividing our ranks and disorganizing the socialist camp. In these circumstances, we must adhere to Marxism-Leninism and be more loyal to it and must educate the entire Party membership with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

We must fully guarantee the singleness of ideology and purpose of the whole Party. There cannot be two ideologies in our Party; our entire Party must think and act in accordance with only one idea. For instance, when asked about any matter, all Party members must give the same answer. Of course, when problems are discussed, Party members can express their opinions freely. But, once a problem has been discussed and decided upon by a majority of votes, they must not have any objection to the consensus and must execute the majority decision unconditionally whether they like it or not. As is stipulated in

the Party Rules, the minority must obey the majority and every Party member must carry out the Party's decision without reservation. Unless this strict discipline is established in the Party, latitudinarianism will raise its head and, in the long run, factionalist activities will manifest themselves.

3. ON IMPROVING WORK STYLE

We must eliminate bureaucratism completely from among Party workers.

The bureaucratic style of work still finds expression to a considerable degree among some Party workers.

Some comrades think that just shouting orders about is bureaucratism. They are mistaken. The criterion of bureaucratism is whether one is divorced from the masses or not. In whatever way it may be expressed, if one is divorced from the masses, it is bureaucratism.

The question of ridding officials of bureaucratism has not been raised today for the first time. From the first days of its formation, our Party has put the main stress on our officials establishing a correct mass viewpoint and has tirelessly worked towards this end.

Then, why is it that our officials are not yet free from the bureaucratic style of work? This is because in the past a thorough struggle has not been waged to eradicate this work style spread by Ho Ka I in the Party and also because before liberation there was no working-class party in our country.

If there had been a working-class party in our country before liberation, we would have had many cadres who are skilled in working with the masses. But, as we had no party before liberation, there were very few cadres who knew well how to deal with the masses nor were there many revolutionary fighters who had taken part in the

anti-Japanese armed struggle. It was in these circumstances that our Party was founded following liberation and in a very brief period of time it expanded and developed into a mass political party with a membership of hundreds of thousands. Therefore, in the beginning, it was unable to assign cadres skilful in work with the masses to every sub-county and ri. County and sub-county bodies of Party leadership were staffed with many unqualified people who were only used to seeing the work style of Japanese imperialist officials in the past. If the Organizational Leadership Department of the Central Committee of the Party had taken this situation into consideration and given the officials a good training, things could have been a bit better, but they did not do so. Hence, there arose quite a few cases of Party officials behaving in a bureaucratic manner and infringing upon the interests of the masses.

The bureaucratism of our officials was particularly evident during the war. During the war we made sure that a struggle was waged against bureaucratism among officials. But the struggle was not conducted powerfully enough at the time, so it continued to find expression among them later.

The continued manifestation of bureaucratism is ascribable also to the inadequate number of qualified Party nuclei. During the period of peaceful construction our Party had trained some nuclei, but many of them joined the army or were killed by the enemy during the war. As a result, inadequately prepared people played the role of nuclei in the countryside. Thus, there were quite a few instances of bureaucratic functioning in which they were divorced from the masses.

We can say that these manifestations of bureaucratic work style among Party workers are somewhat inevitable. However, this does not mean at all that it is impossible to rid them of such a style of work.

We must eradicate bureaucratism and we are quite capable of doing this.

In order to eliminate bureaucratism, it is necessary to thoroughly establish the mass viewpoint among Party workers, bringing home to them what it is and why it is necessary. At present, there are a few

Party workers who act in a bureaucratic manner, thereby encroaching on the interests of the masses, but, in most cases, they do so because of ignorance. Therefore, we must convince them deeply that we make a revolution for the benefit of workers, peasants and other working masses, that revolution cannot be carried out only by a few people and that it can triumph only by uniting the masses firmly around the Party and relying on their strength. Then, Party workers will strive to establish the mass viewpoint and will desist from bureaucratic behaviour which infringes on the interests of the masses.

Defending the interests of the masses and paying heed to their demands does not mean on any account listening to what some backward elements say or defending their interests.

Party workers must not follow in the wake of some backward elements or tail after them blindly to defend their views, on the pretext of protecting the interests of the masses. Neither must they try to solve problems which cannot be solved immediately in the light of the situation in our country, just because the masses want them to be solved. All this would be a manifestation of the fact that the mass viewpoint is not properly established. Party workers must have a correct understanding of the mass viewpoint.

Party workers should always be modest.

Some of them think that if they behave modestly, their dignity is lowered. They are mistaken in this. The more modest they are, the better. If they are modest, more people will come to see them.

Party workers are much more modest now than before. In quite a few cases, however, immodesty still prevails.

Here is the case of an official who had been a deputy director of the Central Committee of the Party. I have been told that he made a trip to a province, where he gave the provincial chief of the interior a good dressing-down, shouting that the latter failed to recognize a deputy director of the Central Committee of the Party, for he had not greeted him politely. This is a wrong attitude which is due to the ignorance of what the Party is, and what a Party organization is. Party workers must project the ideas and lines of the Party, the policies of

the Party and not their own selves.

Party workers must never put on airs as such. They must not wield undue authority as Party workers or shout orders about; they must act in a modest and simple manner. They must not think that they have any special priority or privilege, but must be deeply aware that they are servants of the people and must serve them faithfully.

An ideological struggle against those who have shortcomings must be conducted in a principled and efficient way.

We must not take the trouble to make enemies or push those who are not our enemies over to the fold of the enemy. But we must keep weakening the enemy. Just as it is an important strategic and tactical matter to weaken the enemy in battle from the military point of view, so it is highly important for the Party to make as few enemies as possible and to try and bring over even one man from the enemy ranks. Therefore, Party workers must conduct Party work well.

When criticizing the officials who have committed errors, the criticism should be made sharply and gently in turn, through varied methods, to conform with their preparedness and character. This will enable them to accept criticisms readily and rectify their shortcomings quickly. At present, however, in many cases criticisms are made in a uniform way, without taking into account the individual characteristics of the criticized. As a result, some officials do not accept justified criticism readily and are dissatisfied. In the worst cases, they are made use of by factionalists or become counter-revolutionaries. Therefore, Party workers should acquaint themselves well with cadres, and when they find them making mistakes, they should offer them timely criticism in keeping with their preparedness and help them correct their wrongs.

When the officials who have been engaged in the revolutionary struggle with me for a long time commit errors, I criticize them very severely. But they continue work well without complaining. Rather, they feel sorry if they are not criticized. This is because they know well that they are being tempered when they rectify their mistakes after having been criticized.

For the sake of the revolution we must strongly combat wrong tendencies, without compromising with them. He who adopts lukewarm attitudes towards such tendencies and does not combat them is no revolutionary. He is either an egoist or a man who tries to fish in troubled waters. Party workers must not behave like good-natured men, speaking only kindly words. Methods of struggle may vary, of course. They must correctly distinguish between friend and foe. Where those who indulge in hostile acts are concerned they must not compromise with them but attack them mercilessly, and as for those who can be re-educated, they must criticize them and lead them along the right path.

4. ON ECONOMIC WORK

Today we have before us the very important task of carrying out the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. This task requires a tense struggle by the whole Party and people.

As you all know, the situation in our country is very difficult now. We are short of materials, funds and manpower, and we have not enough foreign currency. In this hard situation where everything is lacking, the decision of the December Plenary Meeting cannot be carried out successfully unless the whole Party and people conduct a tense struggle. We cannot bring about good results in any work unless we wage such a struggle. We were able to increase production quickly during the last Three-Year Plan because all the people tightened their belts and made strenuous efforts. Therefore, the entire Party and people must rise unitedly and wage a dynamic struggle to implement the decision of the December Plenary Meeting.

First of all, a vigorous struggle must be carried out to increase the production of commodities.

Until last year the people had been so hard up that their demands for commodities were not very high and, as a result, commodities did not sell well. Last year certain people suggested that the prices of fabrics be reduced because they did not sell well. But we objected. In fact, even if we had lowered the prices then, workers and peasants would not have bought fabrics because they had no money. Instead, fabrics might have gone into the hands of profiteers.

But the situation is different now. Thanks to the correct policy of the Party and Government, the people's material and cultural standards of living have risen markedly. This year, the basic wages of workers, technicians and office employees rose by as much as 35 per cent, and the incomes of peasants increased considerably as a result of the enforcement of a new system of fixed tax in kind. As the people's living standards rise, the demands for commodities increase automatically. Therefore, we should increase the production of commodities quickly in keeping with the better standards of living of the people and their increased purchasing power.

The value of the total retail turnover of state and cooperative organizations next year has been fixed at 73,000 million *won*, but this is not enough to fully meet the people's demands for commodities. About 5,000 million *won* should be supplemented to this total amount so as to make efforts to produce more commodities. To this end, the producers' cooperatives under the Ministry of Light Industry, too, should produce a large number of daily necessities.

It is important to increase the variety of commodities, as well as their quantity.

At present our people's demands for commodities are different from those during the war or in 1953. At the time of the war they wanted cotton-padded clothes at most. But, today they want different clothes for each season, and their demands are also high for essential goods made of metal. Therefore, we must produce many kinds of fabrics and also a variety of metallic goods such as smoothing irons, cooking pots, electric irons and razors.

Next, greater efforts should be made for economy in all fields of the

national economy.

We must economize in electricity.

Our country generates plenty of electricity but, as much of it is wasted, we feel the shortage of electricity. At present, because of the shortage of electricity, our factories are unable to work the way they should, and the construction of the ammonium nitrate factory at Hungnam cannot proceed any further. Therefore, we must produce more electricity, while at the same time practising the maximum economy in consumption of electricity in all fields and units of the national economy and refraining from using electric heaters, heating floors with electricity or keeping lights on in daytime.

Coal should be economically used.

The output of coal has now reached the prewar level, but possible shortage of coal still poses itself as an urgent matter. This is partly because many new factories have been built, but the main reason is that much coal is wasted.

Our officials talk a lot about the shortage of coal, but they do not know how to save it. A considerable amount of coal is being wasted at present. The burning rate of boilers at public establishments and enterprises is usually 20 per cent or thereabout; there are not many whose burning rate exceeds 50 per cent. In addition, at private homes they want to use only coal, instead of maize stumps or wood as fuel as they did in the past. Even the people of Ryanggang Province which abounds in timber only demand coal. We must eliminate all these practices and do our utmost to economize in coal.

In Jagang and Ryanggang Provinces they should build houses with wood instead of bricks, in order to save coal. They bring in bricks from other provinces, and much coal is consumed in the production and transport of bricks. If they build houses with wood in these two provinces, they can help make up the shortage of coal and bricks and ease the burden on the railways.

While intensifying our efforts to save coal, we must simultaneously wage a widespread struggle to increase the output of coal.

We must also economize in manpower.

Officials should have a correct understanding of how to effect economy in manpower. Some of them think it unreasonable to insist on saving manpower while emphasizing the necessity for construction in a big way. They are mistaken. Economizing in manpower means to use it rationally and raise the productivity of labour, effect mechanization and reduce work forces in non-productive sectors and transfer them to productive sectors. This will make it possible to save a large amount of manpower.

In fact, at present, even if we want to increase the manpower employed in the industrial sectors, we cannot step up housing construction accordingly, and it is difficult to keep it in balance with food. Moreover, if we are to increase the manpower in the industrial sectors, we must bring work forces from countryside, which is short of manpower. In order to guarantee agricultural production, the Party has taken a number of measures such as sending demobilized soldiers to the countryside and stopping the recruitment of rural youth into the People's Army. Therefore, factories and enterprises should make rational use of their work forces, by reducing those in non-productive sectors and transferring them to productive sectors, and effecting mechanization.

In order to eliminate waste and intensify the struggle for economy in all fields of the national economy, we must annul old regulations and prepare new ones for economic management, to conform with the requirements of changed realities, at the same time, improving the ideological education of the people. This will be effective in systematizing all aspects of work and life and leading all Party members and working people to unitedly strive for economy.

Next all Party members and working people must rid themselves of laziness and work hard.

At present some Party members and working people are inclined to live at ease, captured by a mood of pacifism.

We are carrying out the revolutionary struggle and work of construction in a difficult situation in which we are directly confronted with US imperialism. As long as the US imperialists are in south

Korea, the danger of war will not disappear from our country.

Therefore, we must intensify the education of Party members and working people so that they will always work strenuously.

Also, we must strengthen the People's Army and prepare some material reserves. Before the war we had had plenty of provisions, pig iron and steel in stock. So during the war we were able to make hand-grenades and shells on our own for supply to the front and thus defeat the US imperialists. Therefore, Party members and working people must all make vigorous efforts to increase production.

The workers of the Central Committee of the Party should enhance their roles.

At present some of them unnecessarily meddle in the administrative and economic affairs, including matters concerning the organizational structure of ministries. They must not do so. Administrative and economic work should be handled by administrative and economic officials. Party workers must not take up this work but conduct Party work to good effect.

The departments of the Central Committee of the Party are the apparatuses which assist its Presidium. The officials of these departments should select and allocate cadres correctly and educate them, see how Party policies are executed, help lower echelons implement Party policies accurately and rectify what is wrong in good time. They should also study their work deeply and submit to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party valuable opinions which are necessary for policy-making.

For the present, all workers of the Central Committee of the Party should deeply study the decision of the December Plenary Meeting and seek correct ways and means for carrying it out. They should also go to factories and enterprises and forcefully organize and mobilize the working people in the struggle to economize in manpower, materials and funds. Thus they must ensure that the targets of the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, are carried out.

If we succeed in implementing the 1957 national economic plan,

we will be able to carry out the 1958 national economic plan easily. The successful implementation of these two plans will enable us to solve all the difficult problems which could not be completely solved during the Three-Year Plan and, also ease the shortage of foreign currency.

If we work well and produce just 10,000 tons of rayon thread at the Chongjin Spinning Mill, we need not import the 13,000 tons of cotton which we have intended to. And if we complete the construction of the Tokchon Automobile Plant, we will be able to save foreign currency amounting to eight million rubles, which we have planned to spend on importing automobile spare parts for the army. This is by no means a small amount.

When the problem of foreign currency is solved, we can build more heavy industry factories. Since our heavy industries are linked up directly with the livelihood of the people, their development will bring us more fertilizers and fabrics.

You must make good preparations so that from the New Year onward, you can forcefully mobilize the entire Party and people in the struggle to implement the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party.

ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY TO MEET THE PRESENT SITUATION

**Speech at a Conference of Military and Political
Cadres of Combined Units and Higher Echelons
of the Korean People's Army**

December 20, 1956

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, I would like to offer congratulations to all the officers and men of the People's Army who are firmly defending the people's democratic system and the revolutionary gains in our country.

Comrades, I would like to speak briefly about the present internal and external situation of our country and some tasks facing the officers and men of the People's Army.

Recently, British and French imperialists and Israeli aggressors intervened in Egypt by force of arms against the nationalization of the Suez Canal by its government. This caused a very tense situation in the Middle East.

The peace-loving people of the world resolutely opposed the imperialist invasion in Egypt. Under the powerful pressure of the peace-loving forces of the world, the British and French imperialists and Israeli expansionists were compelled to stop playing with fire and withdraw their troops from Egypt. This is a great victory of the peace-loving forces over the imperialists.

Nevertheless, the imperialists are bent on another military

adventure, now against Syria, instead of abandoning their aggressive designs in the Middle East. This shows that the imperialists have not given up their scheme of colonializing other countries, that they want not detente but the international tension, and that they are creating the danger of a new world war against the people of the whole world who desire peace.

While resorting to military aggression on other countries, the imperialists are using every means and method in their frantic anti-Soviet, anti-communist moves.

The counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary was an outcome of the imperialist plot to destroy the people's democratic system and restore capitalism in that country. Such a counter-revolutionary plot is not confined to Hungary. The imperialists have worked in every way to destroy the international communist and working-class movements and drive wedges between Communist and Workers' Parties. When the Hungarian incident broke out, the imperialists called it a "revolution" and launched a big propaganda offensive slandering socialism. Recently quite a few fraternal parties have undergone a number of trials owing to the imperialist subversive activities.

The enemies tried in a crafty way to spread the so-called "international trend" to our country, too. Some time ago there was a factionalist counter-revolutionary plot against our Party as well. But the Party discovered it in time, dealt a decisive blow to factionalists, and defended its unity and cohesion. Simultaneously with this plot, the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique started a big propaganda campaign instigating the people to "overthrow" our Party and the Government of our Republic. They also dispatched a large number of spies, subverters and saboteurs into the northern half of Korea in an attempt to destroy our people's democratic system and revolutionary gains.

Even after the exposure and defeat of the anti-Party factionalist move in our Party, the south Korean puppet clique continues their propaganda offensive against the north and is plotting by all means to undermine our internal unity. Clamouring that they would start a

“northward expedition” in case there is a rebellious outbreak in north Korea, they are sending spies, subverters and saboteurs to foment what they call a “revolt”.

The Syngman Rhee clique has alerted all the south Korean puppet army and police forces, promulgated an “emergency mobilization decree” and is pressing students into the puppet army en masse.

This situation raises the question whether or not a war will break out immediately in our country.

Although the enemies are making frantic war preparations, I think they will not be able to launch on the “northward expedition” right away because our people are solidly united and we are strong. These days we can hear some of them say that it would be difficult for them to expect another Hungarian incident in north Korea. If our unity is firm and we are successful in the revolution and construction, the enemies can be deterred so much the more from venturing on the “northward expedition”.

But if our unity is weakened and something undesirable happens anywhere about us, the enemies can make an attempt against us. And if the international tension increases and the imperialists choose to unleash a world war, there is the danger that they may first attack our country in view of its strategic position. Historically, Korea has been used by imperialists as a bridgehead for continental invasion. Because of Korea’s strategic importance the US imperialists still refuse to withdraw from south Korea and have even moved the “UNC Headquarters” to south Korea from Japan with the aim to occupy it for ever.

The general international situation is now very strained as a result of the Egyptian war and the Hungarian incident. Since the Syngman Rhee clique, instigated by US imperialism, is preparing for a “northward expedition”, there is a danger of another war breaking out in our country.

What, then, are the tasks confronting our Party and the People’s Army under this situation?

First, we must further strengthen the unity and cohesion of our Party.

In order to ensure its unity and solidarity, we must relentlessly combat the anti-Party factionalists who try to split the Party. We must never tolerate factional acts, localism and nepotism which undermine our Party's unity and solidarity. If anti-Party factionalist acts are allowed even a little, our country, too, may suffer an incident like the one in Hungary.

In our ranks still exist some persons who are so ill-disposed as to cavil at the decision of the Third Party Congress and throw mud at the Party Central Committee. We should strictly distinguish between constructive suggestions aimed at correcting shortcomings in work and abuses and slanders against the Party. Some elements try to disparage Party line and policy under the cloak of "criticism" by abusing inner-Party democracy. Inner-Party democracy should be a means to strengthen the Party and advance its work, not an expedient for intrigues to wreck and split it on any account. All Party members and servicemen must be wide-awake and combat anti-Party factionalists thoroughly.

Second, workers, peasants and all the rest of the working people and soldiers should be awakened to higher class consciousness.

If we are to carry out the revolution in our country successfully, we must heighten their class consciousness by intensifying their class education. The need to strengthen this work among the Party members and working people was already stressed at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Our government belongs to the workers, peasants and other working people, and our Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class. To defend our Party and people's government and the people's democratic system, the People's Army must increase the class awareness of its soldiers. Only then can the officers and men of the People's Army fight to defend the revolutionary achievements of our Party and people from the enemy encroachment at the cost of their lives, clearly aware of their preciousness.

To heighten the soldiers' class consciousness, we must teach them clearly the reactionary nature of the south Korean puppet regime and

its army. The south Korean puppet army is an instrument of aggression and oppression, whereas the People's Army, true to its name, serves the working people including the workers and peasants. The puppet Syngman Rhee regime is composed exclusively of the representatives of landlords and comprador capitalists; it is a "government" against the people in which the workers and peasants are not represented, whereas the Government of the Republic is the state power of the people, which consists of the representatives of the workers and peasants.

We must ensure that the soldiers see clearly the reactionary and anti-popular nature of the south Korean puppet regime and its army so that they love ardently our people's government and people's democratic system and are ready to defend them with lives.

Nowadays, the young people of about 20 may not have a clear idea of capitalist society and the lives of our people who were subjected to oppression and humiliation under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past. So we must tell the soldiers what capitalist society is like and how harshly our people were exploited and oppressed by the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists, and how miserably they lived, starving and going in rags. At the same time, we must show them clearly what happy lives our people have been leading under the people's government since the country's liberation.

We must intensify class education among the soldiers and thus see to it that every one of them devotes his all to defending to the last the precious revolutionary achievements made at the cost of the blood and sweat of his parents and brothers.

Third, we must accelerate economic construction even though the enemy is stepping up war clamours.

On my recent visit to the Kangson Steel Plant, I was told that some of the workers had been asking what was the use of building all the time when everything would be destroyed in case of another war. I had no plan to make a speech that day, but, hearing that, I spoke before the workers. I emphasized that the more pronounced the enemy moves are to ignite a war, the harder must we work, the more must we build to strengthen the nation's economic foundation, improve the people's

living standards markedly, and the more solidly must we unite the entire people around the Party and the Government.

If we are more successful in economic construction, and if the entire people are closely united, the enemy will be scared at our great strength and deterred from falling upon us. Even if he attacks us, we shall be able to defeat him. That is why we must vigorously hasten economic construction in spite of the enemy's intensified anti-communist plots and his "march north" clamour which is growing louder.

We should not slacken the speed of economic construction even a little, nor hesitate in building. The better we build the economy, the higher will the people's living standards rise. And the higher their living standards are, the more firmly will they unite behind the Party and the Government and strive devotedly.

In 1957, we will set about implementing the First Five-Year Plan.

How proud will our country be to frame a Five-Year National Economic Plan and strive for socialist industrialization! How envious we were when we heard that they had undertaken socialist industrialization under a five-year plan in the Soviet Union in the past! Our people, too, are now going to lay the foundations of socialist industrialization under their own Five-Year Plan.

We must unfailingly carry out the Five-Year Plan and strengthen the nation's economic foundations further, raise the people's living standards quickly, and thus develop our country to become a prosperous land which is good to live in.

We must work hard from the first year of the Five-Year Plan and increase the rate of economic construction. If we gain time and increase the speed of economic construction under the present circumstances, we shall find ourselves in a more favourable situation. Efficient economic construction will add to the strength of the socialist camp as a whole, and frustrate the imperialist plot to ignite a war.

The recent December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee shaped a tight plan of the national economy for 1957, the

first year of the Five-Year Plan. The key to fulfilling such a plan lies in intensifying the struggle for increased production and economy. We must use manpower, materials and funds most economically in all areas of the national economy, saving even a brick, even a gramme of cement and even one cubic metre of timber for use in construction.

The factories built during the Three-Year Plan should be operated properly, internal resources should be actively tapped and mobilized to increase production and raise the people's living standards. This is the main direction set by the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic regard it as the foremost principle of their activities to provide the people with higher living standards, and recently they raised the wages for all workers and office employees by 35 per cent on the average. At present, the purchasing power of the working people is high. In the case of workers and office employees it has risen as a result of the wage hike, and in the case of the peasantry it has gone up in consequence of the reduction of the tax in kind and increase in their farm production.

Working people's living levels do not rise merely through wage increase and through the growth in their cash income. If they are to be better off, along with the increase in their income, the production of goods should be boosted sufficiently to meet their demands, and the commodity prices lowered.

The Party Central Committee is now working out measures to produce more goods and lower their prices gradually. If such measures are not taken, the wage rise will not prove its merits, and worse still, will invite a phenomenon like currency inflation.

One of the major causes of the soaring prices in south Korea today is the issue of money at random by the puppet clique. Such blind issuance of currency by the Syngman Rheeites, coupled with south Korea's economic dependence on the Americans, is driving its economy into a more serious crisis.

We must launch a struggle for production of more goods to meet the people's demands which are growing as a result of the wage hike.

Suppose we distributed 50,000 million *won* worth of commodities through the state-owned commercial network this year, then we must send out more than 70,000 million *won* worth of goods next year. Only then will the 35 per cent wage increase prove effective.

Success in economic construction cannot be brought about merely by a decision or a directive. It can be ensured only by the active and creative labour efforts of all Party organizations, cadres and working people.

In order to increase production, we must not only strive to build new factories one after another, but improve and expand the already built factories and other enterprises and make the maximum use of their production area and equipment. This is important.

Party organizations and leading personnel should carefully reckon with the production capacities of the factories and take measures to use them fully. If the Pyongyang Textile Mill, for instance, organizes shifts properly in such a way as to run machines even on Sundays, an additional 10 million metres of fabrics will be turned out every year. In the textile industry, they should also utilize all the handicraft techniques, rather than slight them.

Not only large-but small-scale production should be well organized so that all reserves and possibilities are used to increase commodity production. The Ministry of Metal Industry says that it will develop even small mines from the coming year, though so far it has only directed its efforts to the development of large mines. I think this is an excellent idea.

Economizing in manpower is of particular importance. The number of workers has now more than doubled as compared with the prewar years. A further increase in the industrial work force would necessitate reinforcement from the rural work force. But the countryside cannot afford it. If manpower is drawn from the countryside, farm production will be hampered.

Industrial establishments should strive to produce more with less manpower. The Party is now stressing the need to simplify the organizational setup, reduce non-productive labour, rationalize the

organization of work, mechanize production processes and raise the rate of equipment operation in all areas. The question of manpower should be resolved in all sectors of the national economy by organizing work rationally, mechanizing production and reducing non-productive labour in accordance with the Party's policy.

Investments should be concentrated on important projects in capital construction, giving priority to the urgent ones, in such a way that production can be developed quickly in all branches of the national economy during the First Five-Year Plan period.

The People's Army, though not in direct charge of economic construction, should have a profound understanding of the economic policy of the Party and the Government, actively propagate it, and launch a widespread struggle for economy.

Fourth, as the enemy intensifies his anti-communist clamour and subversive acts against socialist countries, we must further strengthen international solidarity and defend the socialist camp stoutly.

The enemy is fussing about the relationship between our country and the Soviet Union, painting it as if it were unequal. But this relationship is based on the principles of equality and mutual benefits from the outset. We are strengthening solidarity with China and many other People's Democracies on the same principles as with the Soviet Union.

Proletarian internationalist solidarity is unity of class brothers in their common cause against their common enemy; it is the source of unbreakable strength of the socialist camp and the world's working class.

The louder the enemy's anti-communist clamour is, the higher must we hold the banner of proletarian internationalism and the more must we strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp. To this end, we must intensify proletarian internationalist education for the entire people and soldiers.

The People's Army should fight shoulder to shoulder with the armies of the fraternal countries in order to defeat their common enemy. For this reason, proper education should be given to the

soldiers to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the armed forces of the fraternal countries.

Comrades,

Since the specific tasks of the People's Army with regard to the present situation in our country have been raised correctly in the report, I only would like to put further stress on several questions.

First, all the soldiers must be united more closely behind the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic.

All the officers and men of the People's Army should defend the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic with their lives, positively support and safeguard their policies, and wage a principled struggle against the anti-Party factionalists who slander Party policy. It is a sacred duty of the People's Army to defend, from enemy encroachment, the factories, villages and the successes in cultural construction—the achievements scored by our people at the cost of their blood and sweat. We must educate the People's Army soldiers to make sure that they impregably defend our people's democratic system and the achievements of their creative labour.

Second, the one-man management system in the army should be strengthened in every way. This system is a very important factor in increasing the combat power of the People's Army. At present, some people are against it in the army allegedly to give rein to "democracy". But there can be no "democracy" in military command.

I would like to take a case from the guerrilla army in the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. With a view to strengthening unit discipline in those days, we introduced the individual responsibility system based on democracy. But a guerrilla unit formed newly in Hunchun area was only discussing whether to fight back the threatening enemy or to retreat, for the sake of "democracy", only to be destroyed. This prompted us to tighten the individual responsibility system in all the guerrilla units still further and see to it that rigid discipline was set up by which commanders' orders on military affairs were obeyed without reservation.

Experience shows that the one-man management system should be

strengthened in every way in the People's Army and that discipline and order tightened still further. If an army fusses about "democracy" and neglects rigorous discipline by which military orders are implemented strictly, it will not be able to acquire strong combat power and, worse still, may play into the hands of the enemy. So the tendency to weaken army discipline and one-man management system in the guise of "democracy" should be combatted without mercy.

Third, every soldier must have a good command of his weapons and equipment and acquire efficiency in modern warfare in step with the introduction of up-to-date weapons and equipment into the People's Army.

Commanding officers before everyone else should master modern weapons and equipment. Unless commanding officers themselves are good at handling modern weapons, they will be unable to command their units properly, nor will they be able to defeat the enemy.

We are now ceaselessly improving the weapons and equipment of the People's Army in keeping with the requirements of modern warfare. That is why the commanding officers must step up military technical education in their units to suit modern warfare and strengthen tactical training based on modern military technology.

All the soldiers should study hard, making the most of their time. They should acquire not only military know-how but also general scientific knowledge related to military affairs.

Fourth, units should be managed properly and kept ready and alert at all times.

There are quite a few manifestations of indolence, slackness and pacifistic mood now in the People's Army. Laxity and carelessness in unit management result in frequent occurrences of various accidents. How comes it that People's Army officers and men relax themselves even a little when the enemy attempts to conquer us and is clamouring for "northward expedition"? They must study hard, live alertly, and have training with tightened belts so that they are fully ready to defeat the enemy at a stroke no matter when and where he comes in attack.

Fifth, the level of the technical equipment of the People's Army should be raised and cadres trained in large numbers.

Today, our Party's policy for strengthening the People's Army consists in raising its qualities rather than augmenting its numerical strength. Over the past few years the Party has guided the People's Army in this direction and taken steps to equip it with up-to-date weapons and increase technical arms. Accordingly, military technical education for the soldiers should be strengthened, and the personnel of the new technical arms should master their technical specialities.

At present, we need a large number of qualified personnel capable of leading units and sub-units. The People's Army should train a large corps of cadres and, in particular, raise the general level of soldiers so that the men will be able to lead the squad, the squad leader to lead the platoon, the platoon leader the company, the company commander the battalion, and the battalion commander the regiment. If the level of the People's Army soldiers is raised one grade higher in this way, they will be the backbone of an army of one million Party members who are all to come under arms in case of need. Then, we shall be able to destroy the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, no matter how great a force they may throw against us.

Next, we must have armaments in reserve.

Ordnance officers must ensure greater production of modern weapons and, instead of throwing away old weapons, keep all of them in good repair and maintenance. If we are to arm the one million Party membership and all the rest of the people with guns, plenty of weapons will be required.

Had we had plenty of weapons in the Fatherland Liberation War and provided them to the rural Party organizations during the retreat, every village could have organized a guerrilla force. If only that had been done, the enemy could not have marched into villages with impunity, and the "peace maintenance corps", too, could not have been formed.

We are now confronted with the enemy in a state of armistice. We must, therefore, keep ourselves ready and alert at all times and watch

every move of the enemy with a high degree of vigilance. Yesterday, the Syngman Rheeites brought forward an urgency motion for abrogation of the Armistice Agreement before the puppet national assembly session. A certain plot appears to be involved in this motion.

The People's Army should be more wide-awake, without being slack in the least.

I am firmly convinced that all Party organizations and its members in the People's Army and the commanding officers and men will work correctly in the orientation set by the Party Central Committee and that they will defend the people's democratic system in our country and the people's creative labour with credit.

LET US CREATE MANY LITERARY AND ART WORKS REFLECTING REALITIES

Talk to Leading Personnel in the Field of Literature and Art

December 25, 1956

Few works of literature and art reflecting the great changes taking place in our country have been produced of late.

The absence of good works reflecting our great socio-economic change is due to existence in this field of dogmatist, flunkeyist, formalist and formulist tendencies.

At present some writers show a tendency of looking up only to foreign things and trying to copy them. They even try to model after the literary style used in other countries; they think that this is essential for producing good works. This is a gross mistake. Because of such a viewpoint, the writers and artists fail to view the seething reality of our country in the right light and write so as to reflect it.

As you know, under the wise leadership of the Party, a great socio-economic change, unknown in our history, is taking place now in the country.

In the rural areas the agricultural cooperative movement is under way on a wide scale; this movement is original and the like of it cannot be found in other countries. In agricultural cooperativization, the generally established usage in other countries is first to develop industry and carry out technical transformation of agriculture and then reorganize the economic form. However, we cannot copy the experience of the agricultural cooperativization in other countries as it

is, because our socio-economic and historic conditions differ from theirs.

In our country after the war, cooperative transformation of agriculture came to the fore as a very urgent problem the solution of which could not be delayed. Without agricultural cooperativization it was impossible to stabilize and improve the deteriorated living conditions of the peasants or bring agriculture to catch up with the fast developing industry. It was also impossible to promote socialist construction as a whole without building up the rural position politically and economically through agricultural cooperativization. Therefore, our Party took steps to carry out socialist transformation of the economic form before technical transformation of agriculture. When the realities urgently demand the socialist reorganization of agriculture and there are ample forces to undertake it, we should transform the economic form along socialist lines before technical transformation in the rural economy. There is no need to put off agricultural cooperativization simply because industry is not developed.

Now, in our country the agricultural cooperative movement is proceeding successfully, with the result that agricultural production is making rapid progress, the peasants' living conditions are improving, and their political and ideological level is rising steadily. This shows that our Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization is correct.

Like the agrarian reform, the agricultural cooperative movement is a far-reaching socio-economic reform and a great revolutionary movement. In our country today, thanks to the cooperative reorganization of agriculture, old production relations in existence for thousands of years are being transformed into advanced socialist ones and the peasants, the erstwhile small commodity producers, are being remoulded into socialist working people. This epoch-making change serves as a model not only for Asian countries but for all countries which were colonies in the past.

As for industry, the US imperialist aggressors jabbered that north Korea would not be able to restore the destroyed factories and

enterprises even in a hundred years. However, we have already rehabilitated almost all of them, and are now reconstructing and expanding them along modern lines. We are also building many new factories. Today our industry is developing by leaps and bounds.

If you depict such realities of our country well, you will produce excellent literary and art works. At present, however, good plays, films, novels and other literary and art works representing such historical events are not produced. This means that the writers do not see our developing realities and that they have not acquired a revolutionary viewpoint. Some writers now say that they cannot write because the realities offer no subject matters; they talk about the “narrow range of subjects” and “limitation of genres”. This shows that they are blind to the developing realities.

Writers are ardent information workers who explain and propagate our Party’s policy among the people, and true educators who educate the masses. Therefore, they should properly explain and propagate the line and policy of the Party and the Government among the people through literary and art works. Since the line and policy of the Party and the Government are carried out in actuality, the writers should exert great efforts to create many works based on living realities. They should reject flunkeyist and dogmatist tendencies and adhere closely to the creative methods of socialist realism and write many works reflecting the process of socio-economic change taking place in our country.

You should also create many works dealing with our Party’s glorious revolutionary traditions. Now there are few such literary and art works. As a matter of fact, there is a lot of living material for writing such works. The question is that our writers are not keen on such things.

Literary and art works based on the revolutionary traditions play a very important role in educating the people to be infinitely loyal to the Party and the revolution, and in inspiring them to participate vigorously in the revolutionary struggle. The writers should strive to create many good works dealing with the revolutionary traditions.

Along with this, we should produce many literary and art works portraying the proud struggle of the People's Army soldiers and the people who displayed matchless valour and mass heroism in numerous battles including the one on Height 1211 during the Fatherland Liberation War.

We should also produce works which will contribute to the cause of national reunification. National reunification is the supreme national task of our people.

At present no works are produced to show the contrast between the happy life of the people in the northern half of Korea and the miserable life of the people in the southern half who are groaning in dire distress. Neither are there works depicting the struggle of the south Korean people against the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique. The writers should produce works which show the bloody struggle of the south Korean people for national reunification as well as works which vividly illustrate the northern half of Korea, a "paradise", and the southern half, a "hell". These works will greatly stimulate our people to wage a solemn struggle for national reunification.

In the field of literature and art, you must pay due attention to preserving and developing the nation's cultural legacy.

If the tasks confronting literature and art are to be carried out successfully, we should arm the writers with our Party's ideas. There are now various tendencies among the writers, such as flunkeyism and dogmatism. This is ascribable to the fact that they are not firmly equipped with our Party's ideas due to the neglect of their education in Party policy and revolutionary traditions. Only when they are armed with our Party's ideas, can the writers become revolutionaries and produce revolutionary works. If they are not armed with the Party's ideology, they can see not the prospects of the revolution but only the immediate bottlenecks and difficulties just like a man who has not reached the mountain top.

In the field of literature and art, you should establish the revolutionary habit of study among the writers and intensify the study of Party policy and revolutionary traditions and thus see to it that they

are firmly equipped with the Party's line and policy and thoroughly acquire revolutionary world outlook. Along with this, you should get the writers to learn our Party's revolutionary method of work.

It is important to strengthen Party organizational life among the writers.

I have been told that some writers are acting wilfully and tend to loathe organizational life. This is a manifestation of the remnants of bourgeois ideology. Only through organizational life can people undergo revolutionary tempering.

You should strengthen Party organizational life among the writers, and thus make them observe the Party's organizational discipline voluntarily and temper themselves without letup. You should see to it that the writers intensify criticism and self-criticism and always study, work and live in a revolutionary way under the guidance of the Party organization. In particular, you should wage an energetic struggle among the writers against all hues of counter-revolutionary ideological trends including capitalist and revisionist ideas.

The life of a revolutionary is a life of struggle. Revolutionaries should continue struggle. Where there is no struggle, there cannot be progress, and in such places the survivals of obsolete ideology are apt to revive. There is very urgent need to intensify the ideological struggle against all kinds of obsolete ideas especially because their survivals persist in the minds of writers and the US imperialists and their lackeys are manoeuvring to spread capitalist ideology. Unless we fight against the obsolete ideology among writers including capitalist and revisionist ideas, it is impossible to safeguard our Party's ideas on literature and art and develop socialist literature and art.

At present some writers are unwilling to submit to the guidance by the Party organization because they think that the Party organization imposes its views on them through its guidance over their creative work in disregard of their opinions. Besides, some writers even reveal the tendency of yearning after the "freedom of creation" or trying to produce works of pathos.

The fact that they are displeased with the Party organization's

guidance over creative work, cry for the “freedom of creation” or try to write pathetic works, is a concrete expression of the liberalist and revisionist ideological trends that reject the Party’s leadership over literature and art. These liberalist and revisionist tendencies among some writers can be ascribed to the influence of capitalism and revisionism smuggled by the anti-Party factionalists from abroad. Revisionists reject the Party’s leadership over the revolution and construction and manoeuvre to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We should never tolerate liberalist and revisionist tendencies revealed among writers. Our literature and art should thoroughly maintain Party and class character. Our literature and art are one of our Party’s powerful means of ideological education serving the Party and the working masses, and a weapon of class struggle against the imperialists, landlords and capitalists. On no account can we tolerate some writers preaching capitalist ideology and bourgeois liberty while crying for the “freedom of creation”. Our Party demands that the writers wield their pen for an uncompromising struggle against the class enemies and create works of literature and art which are thoroughly of the Party, of the class and of the people.

Some writers do not study our Party’s policy on literature and art but, captivated by flunkeyism, claim that they can learn from revisionist and other opportunist “theories of literature and art”, but they are wrong. Unless the writers are firmly armed with our Party’s ideas on literature and art, they cannot produce revolutionary works nor faithfully serve the Party and the people. The opportunist “theory of literature and art” is a counter-revolutionary ideological trend which paralyses the class consciousness of the people. Writers should fight resolutely against the opportunist “literary and art theory” and thoroughly defend and uphold our Party’s revolutionary theory of literature and art.

I believe that you will do everything possible to thoroughly implement our Party’s literary and art policy.

LET US EXPLOIT INTERNAL RESERVES TO THE MAXIMUM AND PRODUCE MORE STEEL

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Leading Officials and Model
Workers of the Kangson Steel Plant**

December 28, 1956

Today I am going to discuss how to implement thoroughly the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee with the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant who have set an example in postwar reconstruction of the national economy, displaying patriotic zeal.

The December Plenary Meeting held some time ago discussed how to fulfil successfully the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, and step up socialist construction through the maximum production and economization.

Having accepted the decision of the plenary meeting, all Party members and the entire working people are out as one man to carry it into effect. They are actively tapping reserves for increased production and economization in all fields of the national economy.

As you know, we are going to execute the First Five-Year Plan from next year. The national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, is a huge plan.

Can we carry out this huge plan? Of course, we can.

We have economic potentialities to fulfil next year's plan. Take the Kangson Steel Plant. During the Three-Year Plan period, its workers

reconstructed it by their own efforts into a promising and modern plant, more developed than in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. Not only the Kangson Steel Plant, but the Hwanghae and Kim Chaek Iron Works, Songjin Steel Plant and other factories and enterprises are being reconstructed in a modern way, and agriculture is also developing by leaps and bounds.

The masses of the people are in high spirits. All Party members and working people are now coming forward to carry out the next year's plan with credit. The workers of the Kangson Steel Plant are advancing dynamically in high feather, with fresh confidence and pride.

The plan for 1957 is neither a fantasy nor a daydream. If we exploit potentialities properly, we shall be fully able to carry it out.

It goes without saying that there will be quite a few hardships and bottlenecks in fulfilling next year's national economic plan.

In order to carry out the 1957 plan with success a great amount of funds, manpower and materials are needed. But we are lacking in all of them. We need especially steel very badly. The people's living conditions are also hard, because we have barely managed to rehabilitate the ravaged economy.

On top of this, the internal and international situation is extremely strained and complicated. The US-led imperialists are frantically kicking up an anti-communist hue and cry and, in keeping with this, the puppet Syngman Rhee clique are trumpeting for "march north". Taking advantage of this complex situation, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists who infiltrated into the Party have raised their heads and are making a frontal attack on the Party, and revisionists and great-power chauvinists are exerting pressure on us. Conservatives and flunkeyists who have doubts about the prospects of the fulfilment of next year's plan, are taking steps backward in an attempt to slow down the speed of economic development.

We are hard pressed today. But we must not get disheartened and yield to the grave difficulties lying before our revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

Our Party trusts the working class, the main force of the revolution,

and is pinning its hopes on you. In order to tide over the difficulties facing us, you must brace yourselves up to produce in plenty and construct well. Only then, is it possible to check and frustrate the “march north” racket of the US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique, facilitate the cause of the peaceful reunification of the country, and make fresh progress in the socialist revolution and building of socialism.

We must bring about a great upswing in socialist construction in the teeth of all hardships. We lived a hard life in the past and even now we are short of many things. Therefore, we must take ten steps when others take one step, and we must run a hundred steps when others run ten. Only then, can we go over to communism when others do.

The most important task before the Kangson Steel Plant today is to produce more steel.

To fulfil next year’s national economic plan, we need 10,000 tons more of steel than envisaged in the plan. We are unable to manufacture more machines and build more dwelling houses and factories for want of steel. Machine-building workers say if they are provided adequately with steel, they can carry out next year’s plan easily.

The December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee called upon the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant to produce 10,000 tons more of steel next year than planned. If you do this, it will greatly help the country.

After serious discussions to meet the shortage of steel, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee resolved to talk on the ways and means for its solution directly with you, the producers. I have been entrusted by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee to come here at the Kangson Steel Plant.

Solution of the nation’s acute steel problem depends entirely on how the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant will work. You are the very people who must meet the steel shortage, smashing passivism and conservatism which cling to rated capacity and check our advance. After the war, you rebuilt the plant by your own efforts on the debris, didn’t you? You say you will never hesitate to do whatever difficult

task the Party asks you to do. That is the attitude the working class should take. You should understand the Party's intentions correctly and exert all possible efforts to meet the steel shortage.

The plant should explore internal reserves to produce even one ton more of steel.

The basic way to increase steel production is to tap internal reserves. You say you can tap inexhaustible internal reserves if only you try. You are right. If you have a strong ideological resolve to carry through the decision of the December Plenary Meeting unconditionally, you can find internal reserves as much as you want.

The steel shop must eliminate off-grade goods decisively. Making rejects means reducing production and inflicting big losses on the state. The workers of the steel shop proposed to extend the life span of the furnace through an effective arrangement of electrodes. This is a very good idea. Only by extending its life span, is it possible to produce more steel.

The steel shop workers say that they can turn out 7,000 tons more of steel than planned for next year. When the workers, the masters of production, say they can, they certainly can.

The blooming shop should tap many internal reserves.

This shop has searched out a reserve of producing only 760 tons more steel next year. This bespeaks that its workers have not yet grasped the Party's intentions correctly. Next year's steel production quota for this shop is 80,000 tons. But it should turn out 90,000 tons of steel, come what may, by producing 10,000 tons more. The workers of this shop should explore internal reserves so as to hit this target.

At present, this shop operates the blooming mill 275 days and repairs it 90 days a year. This means that the machine is run three days and stopped a day on an average. In future, the plant should improve repair and maintenance and give priority to the production of spare parts, so as to reduce the time of repair of the blooming mill to 75 days or so by saving about 15 days. This alone brings us a reserve of 5,500 tons more steel to produce.

Raising the utilization of equipment is essential in tapping internal

reserves. This is not confined to the blooming shop. All the shops should make great endeavour to curtail the time of repairing equipment and eliminate the time in which it is kept idle, to increase the utilization of equipment decisively. The higher utilization of equipment makes it possible not only to increase production but also economize in coal, electricity and manpower, and lower the production costs of manufactured goods.

The Party's slogan is: Boost production and economize. We should make active efforts in all spheres to tap internal reserves for increased production and economization. When you return to your shops, you should search for these reserves for turning out 10,000 tons more steel next year by organizing and mobilizing the workers.

Ingot shop No. 1, too, should explore such reserves, putting emphasis on raising the utilization of the equipment. If its equipment is stopped 1,200 hours a year because of accidents, it means they work five days and stop a day. You say that if the suspension of the equipment caused by accidents is prevented and part of it remodelled, you can produce 3,000 tons more of steel. This is good.

The plant should strive to turn out all kinds of rolled steel. A lot of steel is wasted because we are not able to produce a wide variety of rolled steel. In order to produce it, it is necessary to raise the level of the workers' technical skill. Only then, will you be able to prevent the equipment from going wrong, raise its utilization and thereby produce more rolled steel.

The plant should make great endeavour to augment the production of round steel bars and wire rods.

This is a prerequisite for a successful guarantee of the construction which is now under way on a gigantic scale.

If we are to build towns including Pyongyang, the democratic capital, rural villages, factories, mines, bridges, ports, irrigation facilities and many other objects, we need round steel bars and wire rods more than anything else. These materials are necessary also to solve the acute housing problem quickly. As the population grows greatly in our country every year, it is impossible to meet the housing

demand rapidly by building brick houses. To meet it in a brief period of time, you should produce blocks and build houses by prefab methods. This requires round steel bars and wire rods. But we have nowhere to import these materials from.

Where round steel bar is produced, too, many reserves have been found for increased production. They should continue to explore them well. What is important in round steel bar production is to increase its specifications. The plant should map out and carry through a detailed plan to produce various standards of round steel bars in larger quantities.

You should produce more wire rods. The plant should bring home to the workers the fact that the state wants to undertake more construction projects but is unable to do so for lack of wire rods; the plant should encourage them to complete the construction of the drawing shop rapidly so as to turn out more wire rods.

To increase the production of round steel bars and wire rods, a large quantity of rollers should be produced. Some officials are satisfied that the casting shop produces rollers as fast as in foreign countries. If they think that way, the demand for rollers cannot be met. At present we are unable to produce more round steel bars and wire rods because of shortage of rollers. We must manufacture more rollers by all means.

While producing rollers in quantities, we must raise their quality. To this end, nickel should be supplied in time. At present, I was told, nickel needed for roller production is not supplied properly. It is wrong. If nickel is short, it must even be imported and supplied in time.

While increasing production, the plant should intensify the drive for economy. What is important in fulfilling the national economic plan for next year is that officials of factories and enterprises should be proficient in management and organization of work and tap reserves so as to produce more while exercising maximum economy.

Serious attention should be paid to economy in manpower. Through a rational organization of work, manpower should be reduced in those spheres not directly engaged in production, and be concentrated on those directly engaged in production.

You should bend vigorous efforts also to economize in foreign currency. You say you will use our anthracite at the Kangson Steel Plant instead of imported coking coal. This amounts to economizing in foreign currency. You should intensify the drive to save coking coal.

Efforts for economy should be made not only at the steel plant but also at the employees' homes.

The plant should set next year's target of increased production by tapping reserves continuously. But you must not set an unattainable goal against your will. On the other hand, officials must not become captives of passivity and set low targets, regarding the possible as impossible. You should work out a correct plan for increased production, by taking into full account technical and other conditions for production. The plant must always put main stress on production and must not be engrossed in secondary matters.

Deep attention should be paid to improvement of workers' living conditions.

First of all, you should be deeply interested in raising the dietary standard of workers. You should run sideline farming well to produce plenty of cabbages, pumpkins, eggplants and other vegetables, and supply them adequately to the workers. And you should catch fish for yourselves so that the workers get them in addition to state supplies. You should also make nutritious and tasty bean curd and grow bean sprouts for workers. For this, the plant should make necessary machines and construct buildings.

Commodity supply services for workers should be improved. The state should have a shop set up at the plant to ensure smooth supply. A production-and-marketing cooperative should also be organized by families of employees of the plant.

You should fully solve the housing problem for workers. The steel plant had better build not two-storeyed but one-storeyed houses. You should build dwelling houses mainly with economized materials and manpower, and erect as many houses as possible, correctly estimating reserves for economy in materials.

While building more dwellings, you should take good care of the

existing ones. At the plant, education should be intensified among the workers so that they keep their dwelling houses and dormitories clean and lead cultured lives. Thus, the workers should plaster the walls of their houses, repair the roofs, and fill up the bomb craters around their dwellings.

The steel plant should build more bathhouses, barber shops and other service facilities so that the workers do not feel any inconvenience.

The working people's organizations, too, should pay attention to workers' life.

The role of the Party organizations of the steel plant should be enhanced.

They should conduct organizational and political work well with main stress on thorough implementation of the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. They should have a firm hold of the work of seeking internal reserves and keep pushing it ahead vigorously. You should not use the exploitation of internal reserves for seeking your credit, but do this work in a substantial way in keeping with the spirit of decision of the December Plenary Meeting. It should not be conducted in a coercive manner but always by rousing the voluntary zeal of the masses.

The Party organizations should conduct proper education of those who are from south Korea. They are precious people who should serve the cause of national reunification. Therefore, they should be trained to be excellent cadres, ideologically sound and possessed of versatile knowledge of politics, the economy, culture and other affairs.

Today you put forth many good ideas on carrying out the decision of the December Plenary Meeting. And all of you said that you would fulfil next year's gigantic national economic plan without fail. I am very much satisfied with this.

You must not rest content with the successes already scored, but stir yourselves to redouble your effort for increased production and economy and thus introduce innovations in carrying out the national economic plan for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, the

first of its kind in our history.

The workers of the Kangson Steel Plant should hold higher the torch of the collective innovation movement in accordance with the decision of the December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. By so doing, they should make it an impetus which will rouse the working people across our country for a great upswing in socialist construction.

