

***ON CORRECTING DEVIATIONS IN IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY ON
INTELLECTUALS***

A Talk to Senior Officials of the Science and Education Department of
the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
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The educational sector is not working with intellectuals properly. It is said that recently a certain university dismissed some lecturers with complicated family backgrounds and socio-political careers on the pretext that it was building up the ranks of lecturers. In the past the field of culture and art attempted to dismiss a worker who had been working well in making films and upholding the artistic and literary policy of our Party, on the pretext of his past political life. So I criticized the people concerned and let the person in difficulties continue in his job. This time educational field has made a similar error. This is a serious problem we cannot overlook.

Firing educators from the university when they have followed our Party and worked honestly for the training of our native cadres and for the development of science and culture in our country, on the pretext of their inappropriate class origins and careers is contradictory to our Party's policy towards intellectuals and represents a mistaken attitude resulting in the weakening of the trust of the masses in the Party, a divorce of the masses from the Party.

There are many intellectuals who have problematic family backgrounds and socio-political careers. Most of our old intellectuals were born in rich families and therefore studied and served Japanese institutions as Korean intellectuals. They worked there not for the Japanese imperialists but for their own survival. Therefore, there is no guilt involved. Although our intellectuals have served Japanese institutions or the capitalists, they suffered national humiliation and discrimination as colonial intellectuals, so they possessed an anti-imperialist, revolutionary spirit and patriotic feelings. The position of those who lived in south Korea when it was occupied by US imperialism following liberation was the same as the position of those who worked under Japanese imperialist rule.

Immediately following liberation, the great leader, trusting in the anti-imperialist, revolutionary spirit and patriotism of the intellectuals, put forward a policy of enlisting them and making them serve the working people and he gave them broad scope to apply their techniques and knowledge fully in the building of a new country. After liberation large numbers of intellectuals came to the northern half of the country from south Korea to seek shelter in the bosom of the leader, and they made devoted efforts to train our national cadres and to develop the country's science and culture at the university and other educational and cultural institutions, supporting the leader's idea of nation building. Intellectuals followed our Party without wavering during the

days of temporary retreat in the grim Fatherland Liberation War and they performed great exploits by actively participating in postwar reconstruction and the socialist revolution. Our old intellectuals have been tried and tested in the difficult and complex struggle for the democratic and socialist revolutions and socialist construction. There are no reasons for us today to distrust old intellectuals who have steadily followed our Party in the difficult years of our revolution, dedicating their wisdom and talents to the struggle for the Party and revolution, for the country and the people.

It is tantamount to helping the enemy to find faults with old intellectuals who have carried out the revolution with us for over 20 years on the pretext of their family backgrounds and so forth.

Imperialists spread false propaganda about communists employing intellectuals temporarily when necessary and later abandoning them. If old intellectuals who have worked well till now are fired from their jobs as lecturers because their family backgrounds or careers are a little problematic, we will provide the enemy with fine pretexts for anti-communist propaganda.

Dismissing people with complex family backgrounds from the university will have a bad political influence on other people. If you think that dismissing a few lecturers from the university is not a big social problem, you are mistaken. The socio-historical conditions and specific features of the revolutionary development of our country have made its social and class composition very complex and there are many people with problematic backgrounds. Among the masses of people whose family backgrounds and socio-political careers are complicated, those who are weak in their confidence and the revolutionary world outlook may feel dubious about our Party's intellectual policy and the Party's policy of enlisting and re-educating problematic people after seeing old intellectuals fired from the university, and they may waver ideologically as they consider the future. This will raise great obstacles to the work of uniting the broad masses around the Party.

The people fighting for social democracy and national reunification in south Korea today include many from the propertied class and intellectuals. From their own position, large numbers of south Korean intellectuals are paying close attention to our Party's intellectual policy. It is also said that south Korean journalists who come to Phanmunjom to collect news ask our journalists about their future after the reunification of the country. You must clearly realize that if you fail to deal with old intellectuals properly according to the Party's policy you will not only cause the Party grave political loss but exert negative influence on the cause of national reunification.

Dismissing old lecturers from their posts is, in essence, the same as the anti-Party factionalists attempting to expel old intellectuals whom the leader has trained with loving care from the revolutionary ranks, by distorting our Party's intellectual policy. Officials who have expelled old-line intellectuals from the university, contrary to our Party's intellectual policy, because their family backgrounds and socio-political records are chequered should assume the responsibility before the Party for their mistake.

The educational sector has committed this grave error that distorts our Party's intellectual policy, mainly because the leading officials in this sector have not thoroughly grasped the Party's monolithic ideological system and lack firmness in thinking and acting in accordance with the Party's policy.

In order to implement our Party's intellectual policy correctly, it is necessary first of all to remedy the wrong viewpoint concerning old-time intellectuals.

Some officials now say that they trust old-time intellectuals, but in practice they are prejudiced against them in one way or the other. This means that officials themselves have not properly grasped our Party's intellectual policy.

Our Party's policy towards intellectuals is by no means a tactic for exploiting their knowledge and technology temporarily. When founding our Party the leader regarded intellectuals, together with the working class and peasants, as the motive force of our revolution, he defined them as a component of the Party and set out a policy on enlisting and re-educating old-time intellectuals. Our Party's intellectual policy has always remained constant. Today our intellectuals are not an intermediary stratum of society with a dual character who can serve one class or the other, as is the case with intellectuals in an exploitative society. They are socialist working intellectuals who serve the Party, the revolution, the working class and the masses of the people; they are our comrades in the revolution who are advancing with us along the road of socialism and communism.

Our Party's consistent stand is that we should move towards the communist society with those who follow us, by trusting and re-educating all of them, no matter how complicated their family backgrounds and socio-political history may be.

Judging from the fact that these officials have dismissed the people with complex family backgrounds from the university on the pretext of strengthening the ranks of the instructors, they do not appear to have a correct understanding of the question of family origins. If they wished to consolidate the ranks of instructors, the officials should have educated all of them on revolutionary lines so that they were unfailingly loyal to the Party and the leader and worked devotedly to carry out their revolutionary tasks successfully. The method of replacing people with chequered backgrounds with those who have clean backgrounds will get you nowhere.

The revolution is carried out by means of one's thought, not through one's family background. Whether one devotes oneself to the revolution or not is not determined by one's family background but by one's thought. Of course, family background has an influence on the formation of people's world outlook and the development of their ideological consciousness, but it is not the same as people's thoughts. A man's ideological consciousness can change for better or worse according to education he receives. Even a man with good family origin can degenerate ideologically and become a laggard in the revolution unless he receives constant revolutionary education and training, and a man with a chequered background can become a stalwart revolutionary

if he receives practical revolutionary education and training. The history of our country and that of the international communist movement show that people from rich families have worked for the revolution by following the road of justice, and many revolutionaries have consciously devoted their lives to the cause of the working class after vacillating during complex class struggles. The people who participated in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle organized and led by the great leader included not only people with complex family backgrounds but even some intellectuals who had studied in Japan. Though their family backgrounds were complicated, they embarked on the road of revolution, following the great leader, grew up into ardent revolutionaries under his guidance and remained loyal to the noble cause of the freedom and liberation of our country.

Today, when our revolution has advanced a long way, to judge a man's reliability by the personal files of his father and grandfather or by the family background written in his personal history is an unscientific and metaphysical mode of thinking from the point of view of the principle of revolution and the situation in our country. Our Party's consistent policy is to judge a man not by his personal file but primarily by his present life. Officials must correct their erroneous manner of judging a man by his family backgrounds or by his records. We should be prudent in judging people.

A man's ideas are expressed in his words and actions, so his thoughts can be judged by his words and actions. However, a man's thought is not reflected in his words and actions just as a thing is reflected in a mirror. Therefore, you cannot read a man's real mind only by looking at phenomena and appearances. A man's life is complicated and varied and every man has his own character. Some people say good things in public and make plenty of promises, but behind the scenes they act differently. Some people pretend to be enthusiastic though they are not so, and to be intensely loyal to the Party, though they are not. Whether a thing in a bundle is red or black only can be known when it is unwrapped. Likewise, a man's idea and inner thought can only be known when his life is analysed closely. If this is not done well a good man can be judged to be bad and vice versa.

We must not be prejudiced in our dealings with old-line intellectuals, connecting a slip of the tongue with their family backgrounds and records and unreasonably branding them politically. Of course, you must uncompromisingly combat those who dispute our Party's policy and act contrary to the Party's monolithic ideological system. Such people must not be allowed to teach. Educational work is important for the training of students into communist revolutionaries loyal to our Party. Therefore, people who have not grasped the Party's monolithic ideological system are not qualified for teaching. However, when there is a problem with an instructor, we must not make a hasty judgement, but correctly appraise his case after analyzing the information in hand from various angles.

We must work hard to make intellectuals revolutionary and assimilate them to the working class.

In order to encourage intellectuals to continue to follow our Party and

work for the revolution all their lives, they must be transformed into revolutionaries and assimilated to the working class. Revolution?ary transformation and assimilation to the working class are neces?ary for every one, particularly for intellectuals. They have few chances to temper themselves in a revolutionary manner due to the nature of their work, and they retain more petty-bourgeois ideas and other outmoded ideological remnants than others. Without expunging the outmoded ideas lingering in the minds of intellectuals, it would be impossible to train them to be communist revolutionaries or enhance their role in socialist construction. If an intensive campaign to trans?orm intellectuals into revolutionaries and assimilate them to the working class is not launched, egoism, liberalism and other outmoded ideological survivals may increase and they may degenerate ideologi?cally under the influence of dogmatism and revisionism.

Ideological education and organizational life should be strength?ened in order to transform intellectuals into revolutionaries and assimilate them to the working class. Doing this is not a matter of a struggle against the intellectuals themselves or of firing them, but an attempt to reform their thinking by eliminating the outmoded ideas from their minds and arming them with communist ideas. Therefore, success cannot be achieved by administrative methods.

Ideological education should first of all be intensified in order to arm intellectuals firmly with our Party's revolutionary ideas.

The anti-Party revisionists who were once in charge of the Party's ideological and educational sectors did not give proper ideological education to intellectuals, claiming that it was not necessary for them to study Party policy and the reminiscences of the anti-Japanese guer?illas because they were at such a high intellectual level that they could understand the contents of Party policy and the reminiscences if they read them just once. As a result, some of them were influ?enced by bourgeois, revisionist and feudal-Confucian ideas, and degenerated ideologically. One does not acquire the revolutionary world outlook simply because one has knowledge and a theoretical understanding of the law of social development and Party policy.

Ideological education is not aimed merely at giving people politi?cal knowledge, but at enabling them to make our Party's revolution?ary ideas and the Party's policy their own flesh and bones and apply them thoroughly in practice. Intellectuals should be educated in the Party's policy, revolutionary traditions, working-class and communist ideas so that they are firmly armed with our Party's revolutionary idea and think and act as required by the Party's policy at all times in all places.

An important aspect of the transformation of intellectuals into rev?olutionaries on the working-class pattern is rooting up survivals of outmoded ideology such as selfishness and liberalism and encourag?ing them to acquire the revolutionary spirit, organization, and disci?pline of the working class and a strong revolutionary will. Intellectu?als, unlike the working class engaged in production, in many cases act individually, and consequently they lack organization, discipline, the spirit of collectivism, and the will power to overcome difficulties.

Strengthening revolutionary organizational life is the best way to arm

intellectuals with the revolutionary spirit, organization and discipline of the working class and to temper them politically. Intellectuals should not regard organizational life as a burden or resent the guidance and control of the organization. Dislike of the guidance and control of the organization, regarding it as a restraint of the individual's liberty is a bourgeois liberalistic viewpoint. Those who dislike and neglect organizational life will become degenerate ideologically and, in the long run, stray from the path of the revolution.

To further their revolutionary education and tempering intellectuals must intensify their involvement in criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are the most powerful weapons for eliminating outmoded ideological survivals lingering in the minds of the people and educating the people in a revolutionary spirit. Our Party's policy is to conduct the ideological struggle by means of criticism and to educate people in a revolutionary way in the crucible of ideological struggle. Those who fear and evade criticism cannot remedy their shortcomings. Some intellectuals suffer from the conservative tendency of fearing frank criticism of their shortcomings and mistakes before the masses and of hesitating to criticize others' shortcomings, for various reasons. Intellectuals should be encouraged to take an active part in the ideological struggle, with a correct understanding of the role of criticism and to further temper themselves politically and ideologically through the ideological struggle. There should be no indulgence with old-time intellectuals, and no conniving at their shortcomings.

Close attention should also be paid to work among young intellectuals. Thanks to our Party's correct policy on the training of national cadres, a great number of new intellectuals of working-people's origin have been trained and they constitute the main force in the ranks of our national cadres. Most of the young intellectuals who have been newly trained have been tempered to a certain degree through their working lives and in the army, their revolutionary enthusiasm is high and they have a strong sense of principle. These are the strong points of our young intellectuals. But it does not follow that it is not necessary for young intellectuals to transform themselves into revolutionaries and assimilate themselves to the working class. Young intellectuals have been tempered to a certain degree in the practical struggle and received socialist education in our universities. However, they, too, retain outmoded ideas which may affect them badly.

It is said that some young university instructors behave rudely and arrogantly because they are trusted and spoken of highly by the Party, and the names of some are on everybody's lips because they are behaving badly, claiming that they alone are loyal to the Party and possess a strong class spirit. All this is an expression of inadequate political training and revolutionary qualities. We must educate young intellectuals more effectively, so that they work and live as befitting new intellectuals educated and trained by our Party.

University instructors must work hard to improve their qualifications. Their scientific and theoretical levels are in general not very high now. That is why the quality of education is poor and some university

graduates cannot even write a public lecture plan properly. In spite of the low level of their qualifications these instructors are not making strenuous efforts to raise their scientific and theoretical levels. Some of them complain that they have no time to study because they have to attend too many meetings and do other work beside their own duties, but this is a mere excuse. They complain that they have no time to study, but an analysis shows that one instructor gives no more than 1,000 lectures annually. Such a complaint is unjustified. Not every university instructor is devoted to study. It is necessary to tighten up on guidance and direct their study so as to prevent them from idling away their time without studying. In particular, more intensive guidance and assistance should be given to young instructors to ensure a rapid improvement in their scientific and theoretical qualifications. The Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee plays a very important duty and role in transforming university instructors into revolutionaries and raising their scientific and theoretical levels so that they can serve the Party and the revolution with honourable responsibility. Whether the Party's intellectual and educational policies are carried out to the letter or not depends on the work of the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee which organizes and guides educational work. The officials of this department must not regard themselves as perfect or, on any account, think that they have the right to guide others but no obligation to learn. Deviations which occurred in the implementation of the Party's policy on intellectuals and shortcomings in educational work in the universities clearly indicate that these officials of the Party Central Committee do not themselves possess a correct understanding of the Party's policy and their political insight and level of guidance is rather low. The officials of this department must continue to transform themselves into revolutionaries, raise their levels of political and theoretical understanding, and work hard to assimilate the revolutionary work method and the popular style of work.

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