

**KIM IL SUNG**

**ON THE FOUNDING  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

**Foreign Languages Publishing House  
DPR Korea  
Juche 109 (2020)**

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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# **ON FOUNDING A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN OUR COUNTRY AND ITS IMMEDIATE TASKS**

**Report to the Inaugural Congress of the Central  
Organizing Committee of the Communist  
Party of North Korea**  
*October 10, 1945*

Comrades,

We are gathered here today to found a Marxist-Leninist party, the glorious vanguard detachment of the working class.

The preparations for founding a Marxist-Leninist party in our country were steadily being made all through the protracted, sanguinary struggle against the Japanese imperialist marauders. The Korean communists have waged an arduous struggle to establish a revolutionary working-class party and have shed much blood in the process. We are now in a position to found a communist party that we have desired so long; the long, tireless struggle of the Korean communists is bearing priceless fruit.

The founding of the communist party will be a historic event of immense importance for the development of our revolutionary movement and the social and political life of

the Korean people. With the foundation of the party, our working class and toiling masses will have a true representative and protector of their interests, and the Korean revolution will have its militant General Staff.

We must all take an active part in the discussion on founding a Marxist-Leninist party and the weighty tasks confronting it, thereby realizing the historic mission that the Korean communists have assumed for the revolution.

## **1. ON FORMING THE CENTRAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTH KOREA**

Comrades,

The internal and external situation is now developing in favour of our people's struggle to build a new country.

With the Second World War ending in a resounding victory for the anti-fascist democratic camp, the balance of forces in the international arena has changed radically. The fascist states of Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated in the war; moreover, all the imperialist powers have been weakened and the forces of world reaction are on the decline. The international democratic forces, on the contrary, are growing in strength with each passing day. The international prestige of the Soviet Union has risen as never before and its might has increased; many countries in Europe and Asia have thrown off the shackles of fascism and imperialism and have launched out into democratic development; the peoples of colonies and dependencies are



intensifying the national liberation struggle in many parts of the world. A new phase is opening up for the revolutionary struggle of the world's progressive people for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

The situation in our liberated country, too, has turned definitively in favour of the revolution. With the liberation of our country on August 15, our people, who had long been oppressed under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, with no freedoms or rights whatsoever, smashed the Japanese imperialists' last manoeuvres before their defeat in all parts of the country, and embarked on the creation of a new, democratic life, while exposing and denouncing pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. With the country's liberation democratic political parties and social organizations began to spring up all over the country; people's committees, the organs of people's power, came into being under the guidance of the communists; a struggle to eradicate the aftereffects of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and to build a new, free and independent Korea was set in motion through all the political, economic and cultural spheres of life. Today, delighted with their freedom and liberation, all of our workers and peasants and other patriotic people of different sections are bubbling with tremendous patriotic enthusiasm and are taking part in unison in the building up of the country.

The revolutionary spirit of our liberated people is very high and the revolutionary forces are overwhelming the forces of reaction.

However, our present situation is very complicated and

many difficulties and obstacles lie ahead of our revolution.

Pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries are making frantic efforts to obstruct the building of a new, democratic Korea in tune with the intrigues and subversive manoeuvres of the reactionary forces of world imperialism. With the arrival of the US troops south of the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel, the reactionaries, who after the surrender of Japanese imperialism had been overpowered by the triumphant revolutionary spirit of the masses of the people, began to raise their heads, pinning their hopes on the Americans. Pro-Japanese and pro-US elements and traitors to the nation are rigging up reactionary political parties and organizations through ganging up with the forces of reaction. They are scheming to disorganize our revolutionary forces and lead the masses of the people along the road of reaction. Still worse, renegades of the revolution and political swindlers of all hues are trying to capitalize on the present confusion for political purposes and are hindering the organizational unity of the working masses in an attempt to win over the people.

Though their revolutionary zeal is very high, our people still have no clear idea of the road liberated Korea should take and fail to participate in the building up of the nation as an organized force.

In this situation we communists must shatter the conspiratorial manoeuvres of our class enemies and all opportunists; as soon as possible we must unite the broad sections of the patriotic, democratic forces, and lead the masses correctly. For this purpose we must, first of all,

found a Marxist-Leninist party.

Securing the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party is decisive to the successful carrying out of the Korean revolution. Without this leadership we cannot organize and mobilize the masses for the revolutionary struggle fittingly or win victory in it.

This is fully proved by the history of our revolutionary struggle. We already had in our country the March First Movement and many other mass movements struggling against the Japanese imperialist aggressors. However, because of the lack of leadership of a revolutionary working-class party, coupled with the unfavourable international situation, these were spontaneous and unorganized, and ended in a fiasco. We must never forget this bitter lesson.

In order to overcome the present difficulty and carry out the Korean revolution successfully, we must found a Marxist-Leninist party at the earliest date and firmly secure party leadership for our revolution. The correct leadership of a revolutionary working-class party alone will enable us to take advantage of the favourable revolutionary situation and break through the difficulty, and accelerate the building of a new Korea. We must do all we can to found a powerful Marxist-Leninist party for bringing together the broad sections of the masses and rapidly advancing the Korean revolution.

In founding a Marxist-Leninist party we must take into consideration the fact that our liberated homeland is divided into the north and the south, where the situation is quite different.

North Korea, where the Soviet forces are stationed, is provided with favourable conditions for revolutionary development. The Soviet forces respect the freedom and independence of small nations; since their stationing in north Korea they have actively supported and encouraged our people in their struggle to put down the activities of pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and other reactionaries and build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. This being the case, north Korea now has broad prospects for successfully building a new country.

However, the situation in south Korea, occupied by the US forces, is quite different. As soon as they landed in south Korea the US forces enforced a military government south of the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel and proclaimed that everyone must unconditionally obey the orders of the army of occupation. Through the military government in south Korea the US forces are hindering the revolutionary advance of the communists and other patriotic people in every way and are actively patronizing and fostering the treacherous reactionary forces. As a result, south Korea has been turned into an arena where pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries swagger about freely.

In such a situation it is impossible immediately to establish a united party composed of the communists in both north and south Korea. Yet, we should not wait with folded arms until the situation is ripe for forming a united party. The diametrically opposite political situations in the north and the south urgently demand that we press forward with the revolution and the work of building a party, in

conformity with the specific conditions in the two parts of the country. Availing ourselves of the favourable situation prevailing in north Korea, we must form the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, a strong central leadership body of the Party.

Only by establishing the COCCPNK can we unite the Communist Party organizations that have been formed in different localities, realize the organizational and ideological unity of the communist ranks and build up the General Staff of our revolution; only by doing this can we rally the broad masses and efficiently carry on with the building of the country and turn north Korea into a strong base for the Korean revolution.

Through the formation of the COCCPNK we must lead the masses of the people to the right road and promote our revolution with vigour.

## **2. ON THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL LINE**

Comrades,

The Communist Party we are going to found should be the true vanguard detachment of the Korean working class; it should be a mighty political General Staff capable of steadily leading the Korean revolution to victory. If we are to found such a revolutionary party we must base ourselves strictly on the Marxist-Leninist principles of party building.

In Seoul and other places the “heroes” of various factions have come out with their respective claims, and are

trying to set up parties in contravention of the Marxist-Leninist principles of party building. Some of them are even scheming to rig up a sort of “third party.” These are factional, counter-revolutionary activities that are aimed at destroying the cohesion of the communist ranks and causing confusion in party building.

The adverse current of counter-revolution cannot prevail over the righteous current of revolution. We must resolutely shatter all the factional and counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of certain elements and strictly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principles of party building, thus founding a truly revolutionary party.

In our Party building we must, first of all, build up its organizational backbone. We are to form a party with the splendid communists as the core, who have been tried and tested through the long and difficult revolutionary struggle for the country’s freedom and independence.

Building up the organizational backbone correctly is very important in founding a Marxist-Leninist party. A Marxist-Leninist party should be set up with seasoned communists who have a firm revolutionary world outlook and a wealth of experience in fighting. Only then can it become a revolutionary party that will adhere closely to the stand of the working class, a militant party that will be able to fulfil its historic mission definitely, without flinching in the face of difficulty or adversity.

The Korean Communist Party founded in 1925 was dissolved without discharging its historical mission. This was mainly because its organizational backbone was not strong enough. At that time the KCP did not take its roots

deep among the working class and other broad sections of the people. Moreover, its leadership consisted of factionalists; they scrambled for hegemony, seeking only fame and distinction. In consequence, the KCP failed to achieve unity of its ranks; it was unable to withstand Japanese imperialism's repression and was forced to be dissolved three years after its founding. If the KCP had consisted of true revolutionaries, with the progressive elements of the working class at its core, it would have survived, organizing and leading mass struggles, in spite of Japanese imperialism's harsh repression and the unfavourable conditions in which it had to work.

We must bear this historical lesson in mind and direct our attention primarily to building up the organizational backbone of the Party.

During the 15 years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle numerous communists emerged who ardently loved the country and the people and who were boundlessly faithful to the revolution. In the severest days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule the true sons and daughters of Korea fought heroically with arms in hand solely for the liberation of the country and for the freedom and well-being of the people, dedicating their youth and lives to these aims. Through the long, grim anti-Japanese armed struggle they were armed stably with Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and acquired the ability and methods of work with which to educate the broad sections of the masses, and to organize and mobilize them definitely for the revolutionary struggle. Splendid communists emerged also out of the underground revolutionary struggle at home

which was carried out under the direct impact of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. They are, literally, true patriots of Korea, the genuine vanguard of the Korean working class and toiling masses.

Our Communist Party should be formed with these revolutionary fighters as its core. Only then is it possible to consolidate and develop the Party into a powerful, militant Marxist-Leninist party that is capable of leading the masses.

We should build the Party around the fine communists tested in the long revolutionary struggle, embracing the communists who have participated in various forms of anti-Japanese struggle at home and abroad.

Quite a few communists who have been active at home and abroad have failed to undergo ideological training through systematic organizational life. As a result, some of them are behaving in a way unworthy of communists, exaggerating their past services. Such cases are very few, however. We must not assess all of them negatively for that reason.

As we are founding our Party now, we must not be prejudiced against people; we must not mistrust or shun them without reason. We must treasure those communists who took part in revolutionary activities with a resolve to carry out the revolution during those trying days when our homeland was in trouble. We must see to it that they all join our Party ranks and contribute actively to Party work and the building of the country.

In order to safeguard the interests of the workers, peasants and other working masses as the vanguard of the



working class and perform its role suitably as the General Staff of the Korean revolution, the Communist Party must build itself up from a class point of view by steadily improving its composition and root itself still deeper among the working masses. We must actively admit progressive workers and peasants to the Party ranks, so that our Party would really grow into a mass-based political party with a strong proletarian foundation.

The Communist Party should be organized and guided by a monolithic Marxist-Leninist guiding ideology.

The Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, must have no other idea than Marxist-Leninist ideology. Only when the whole Party is equipped with, and guided by, a unitary Marxist-Leninist guiding ideology, can it secure rock-firm unity and cohesion, and proficiently pursue its mission in storm and stress. If any idea contrary to Marxism-Leninism is allowed to exist in it to even the slightest degree, the Party will lose its militancy as an organized detachment and will be reduced to a mere club.

The source of a Marxist-Leninist party's might lies in its unity of ideology, purpose and action. We must strive to achieve the unity of the whole Party in ideology, purpose and action based on the Marxist-Leninist guiding ideology.

Because of the unique development of the communist movement in our country, the struggle for the unity of ideology, purpose and action is today a particularly important problem in the formation of our Party.

We have so far had no united Marxist-Leninist party in our country; quite a few of our communists have been engaged in scattered activities at home and abroad. In

consequence, tendencies to liberalism, individual heroism and parochialism have become engendered in the minds of some people. Factionalism which appeared in the early days of our communist movement has not been eliminated completely and the factionalists have carried on their manoeuvres in various forms. To cap it all, the nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule implanted all sorts of bourgeois ideas in the minds of our people.

This shows that our efforts to guarantee the ideological purity of our communist movement can be obstructed to a considerable extent, that counter-revolutionary ideological trends can infiltrate the Party, and that unorganized, undisciplined practices may still exist. We must be vigilant and resolutely combat all sorts of anti-Marxist ideological factors.

In order to secure the Party's unity of ideology, purpose and action, it is necessary, first of all, to root out factionalism and parochialism.

Factionalism is an extremely harmful anti-Marxist idea which must not be tolerated in our Party. Without liquidating it, it is impossible to bring about the Party's unity and cohesion and enhance its militancy.

Factionalism greatly harmed our communist movement in the past, and is today in various ways still hampering our building of the Party and the country. Those infected with factionalism are only eager for fame and distinction. They slander their comrades and alienate them from each other. Outwardly they agree to everything and pretend to observe discipline but, behind the scenes, they form factions and carry out sabotaging activities. Some of them are not yet

free from their factional habits. They, acting in groups, try to make good their political ambitions; they are engrossed in random talk, claiming that not to support the “Seoul Centre” is a factionalist act or that such-and-such persons must hold leading posts in the Party.

Parochialism does not differ in essence from factionalism. Local separatists behave arrogantly; they regard themselves as the smartest people in the world and their “theory” as second to none. They set their organizations, their superiors or even the Party Centre at naught. At present certain persons in localities, standing on their dignity, are claiming that they alone are taking the “right path”; they act as they please on the spot, obstructing our Party building and the development of the Korean revolution as a whole.

We must well understand the harmfulness of factionalism and parochialism and direct the spearhead of struggle to uprooting them. We must never tolerate the slightest expression of factionalism and parochialism and keep a sharp eye on the activities of the factionalists and local separatists. As for the people who were earlier involved in factions, we should, of course, guide those in the right direction who deeply repent of their errors and strive to rid themselves of their factional habits. However, we must wage an uncompromising battle against those who still continue their factional activities, undermining the unity and cohesion of the communist ranks.

In order to warrant the unity of the Party’s ideology, purpose and action we must also combat “Left” and Right opportunism.

The tendencies to “Left” opportunism are now emerging within our communist ranks. Some people have advanced an ultra-Leftist “theory” and are claiming that they alone are true revolutionaries. They say our revolution is a “class war” and only clamour for the “struggle” among the classes. At such a time, when we have to rally all patriotic, democratic forces, it is really outrageous to only shout about the “struggle” among the classes. There is no difference between the activities of the “Leftists” and those of the imperialist lackeys designed to split us from within and prevent us from organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people for the building of the country. The wrong, unrealistic “Leftist” claim shows, in the final analysis, that they are bogus communists.

On the other hand, certain people are inclined towards Right opportunism. On the pretext of forming a national united front, the Rightists ignore the independence of the working class and try to draw even pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation into the united front who betrayed the country and the people. Our formation of a national united front is aimed solely at establishing a people’s government and successfully accomplishing the Korean revolution. Therefore, we will never propose unprincipled “grand unity.” The Rightists’ attitude has nothing to do with the attitude which the communists are to take. If they do not discard their erroneous point of view, they must leave our revolutionary ranks.

These tendencies that find expression in the communist ranks are a great obstacle on the path to ensure unity of the Party’s ideology and purpose, and to carry out our

revolution. We must intensify our struggle against all kinds of “Left” and Right opportunism and firmly uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

However, we must not stigmatize people as opportunists at random just because we oppose “Left” and Right opportunism. Some of our comrades’ political and theoretical level is still low, and they are not able to assess problems correctly; they may even advance erroneous claims. We must not regard these people as if they inclined towards “Left” or Right opportunism; we must patiently educate them to analyze all problems specifically and judge them correctly.

We should sweep away factionalism, parochialism and all other counter-revolutionary ideological trends and resolutely provide the entire Party membership with a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology. In this way we must see to it that the whole Party thinks and acts with a single revolutionary idea and achieves rock-firm unity and cohesion.

Tightening Party discipline is a decisive guarantee for strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically, and successfully implementing its lines and policies. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist party must pay serious attention to establishing revolutionary discipline.

Our Party members have not yet been armed with a Marxist-Leninist theory; they lack experience in the revolutionary struggle and, what is more, they are still affected with factionalism. Therefore, tightening Party discipline is particularly important.

The discipline of the Marxist-Leninist party is based on

democratic centralism. When mapping out its lines and policies the Communist Party should make it an iron rule to rely on the creative views of its members; they should be encouraged to advance constructive views frankly and offer their opinions freely on the activities of the Party to all its bodies, up to the Central Committee. But we must make sure that centralist discipline is not violated on the pretext of promoting democracy. Unprincipled democracy is harmful to the strengthening and development of the Party.

It is necessary in our Party to strictly observe the principle under which the individual submits himself to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower unit to the higher unit and the whole Party to the Central Committee. The opponents of this principle of democratic centralism are violators of Party discipline. We should not allow the slightest violation of the discipline of democratic centralism within the Party.

There is no difference between the superior and subordinate in observing Party discipline; Party members are duty-bound to adhere to a single Party discipline. All our Party members should faithfully observe the set Party discipline.

What is particularly important in strengthening Party discipline is that all its members should unconditionally obey its decisions. True, before the Party adopts a decision on any problem, all can discuss it in accordance with the democratic principle. However, once the decision is adopted, no one is allowed to criticize it or fail to carry it out. We must see to it that Party members have the revolutionary habit of adhering to Party lines, policies and

decisions without reservation and implementing them.

Revolutionary Party discipline can be established only when Party members have a high degree of consciousness. The Communist Party must intensify the education of its members in Party discipline so that they will observe it voluntarily and resolutely combat undisciplined practices.

We must effect a truly revolutionary Party discipline and thus develop our Party into a powerful integral organization which will act with one ideology and purpose under the monolithic leadership of its Central Committee.

The Marxist-Leninist party must have its own rules. The party rules are the standard of action for party members and organizations. Our Party Rules should explicitly provide for the eligibility of new Party members and the procedure of their admission, their duties and rights, Party discipline, its organizational principle and structure, its financial matters, etc. We must quickly prepare the Party Rules and make all Party organizations and members act in strict accordance with them.

We must thoroughly implement the Marxist-Leninist principle underlying party building and thus turn our Party into an ever-victorious tempered party, into an authoritative General Staff of the Korean revolution.

### **3. ON THE PARTY'S POLITICAL LINE**

Comrades,

The Korean communists are now confronted with the important task of correctly leading our liberated people to

the successful building of a new country.

If we are to carry out this task properly, we should, first of all, fully understand the character and duty of the Korean revolution at the present stage. Quite a few comrades do not understand the stage of development reached by the Korean revolution well enough and, consequently, are not fully aware of our revolutionary tasks. We should make a coherent analysis of Korea's realities and thus get a clear understanding of the character and duty of the Korean revolution at the present stage, before conducting any activities.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists, occupying our country for many years, enforced vicious colonial policies and seriously hampered the development of capitalism in our country. Although Japanese imperialism was defeated and Korea liberated, the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudal relations still exist in our country and constitute a grave obstacle to the development of our society. Therefore, our country is now at the stage of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. We should base ourselves on this character of the Korean revolution in defining our tasks.

In terms of military science, there are immediate and ultimate tasks. When hitting out at the enemy the immediate task is to break through his front line, and the ultimate task is to strike at his stronghold. Likewise, in carrying out the Korean revolution, we can say there are immediate and ultimate tasks. Right now, we are in the phase of fulfilling the immediate task.

For the present, we must mop up the remnants of



Japanese imperialism and feudalism, achieve the country's democratic development and win its complete independence and sovereignty. To this end, we must establish a democratic people's republic. The democratic people's republic is a genuine people's government capable of defending and representing the interests of the workers, peasants and other broad masses; it is a revolutionary weapon with which to guarantee the country's complete independence and sovereignty and the people's prosperity. We should set up the democratic people's republic and thereby develop our country into a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. This precisely is the basic political task facing us at the present stage.

The following major tasks facing our Party arise out of this basic political task.

First, in an endeavour to build the democratic people's republic that will ensure our nation's complete independence and sovereignty, we must form a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic, democratic political parties and groupings in order to rally the broad patriotic, democratic forces.

In order to set up a genuine people's government and build a new, democratic Korea efficiently, we must go all out to organize and mobilize the workers, peasants and other broad masses of the people. People of different strata are at present not keeping in step with each other in building the country. Different political forces are working separately, each trying to win over the masses into its own fold. Under these circumstances, if we are to knit the masses together and correctly organize and mobilize them

for the building of the country, we should form a democratic national united front.

In forming a democratic national united front the Communist Party should firmly maintain its independence and overcome the vacillations of the native capitalists and middle-of-the-road forces, at the same time adhering maximally to the principle of uniting all forces who love the country and the people. Only then can we isolate the handful of pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries, win over the broad masses of the people and found the democratic people's republic successfully.

We must work energetically to form a democratic national united front that will embrace all the patriotic, democratic forces including not only workers and peasants but also intellectuals, religious communities and even honest native capitalists. We will thus firmly rally patriotic people of all strata to our side and, on this basis, launch a vigorous struggle to found the democratic people's republic.

In order to build the democratic people's republic, we should first of all form a democratic national united front in north Korea at the earliest possible date and establish the north Korean central organ of power through the concerted efforts of the masses. Only when this organ is set up will it be possible to thoroughly carry out the democratic revolution in north Korea, actively promote our revolution and lay solid foundations for building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. We should set up a coalition of different political parties and groupings

and rally all patriotic, democratic forces in north Korea, and thus enhance the work of setting up an interim government, such as a provisional people's committee of north Korea.

Second, we must sweep away the remnants of Japanese imperialism, the lackeys of international reaction and all other reactionaries—the greatest obstacle to the building of a democratic state—thereby expediting the democratic development of the country.

Two months have passed since our country's liberation, but the stooges of Japanese imperialism are still there and the landlords and comprador capitalists have not yet been eliminated. Pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries are lurking among the masses of different strata, engaged in all kinds of conspiratorial manoeuvres to obstruct the building of a democratic Korea. Unless these reactionary forces are eliminated, it is impossible to establish a democratic government or carry out our revolution smoothly.

We must organize the masses and activate them to waging an energetic struggle against all reactionaries, such as pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. We must expose and shatter every enemy conspiratorial manoeuvre in time and prevent them from worming their way into the people's power organs or into the revolutionary ranks. We can then promote the democratic development of the country and build a people's state where the working masses can live happily.

In order to build a new Korea successfully, we should tear out the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism

by the roots, at the same time wiping out the reactionary forces.

Though the Japanese imperialists were vanquished, the virus of the obsolete ideas they implanted in our country is still deep-rooted. Their ideological survivals are in various ways hampering our building of the country.

We should launch a forceful struggle to rid the people of the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism and intensify the people's education in democracy so that they all would have a high sense of national pride and self-confidence, and would arm themselves with the ardent spirit of building the country and with a healthy democratic way of thinking. Everybody will then set out to build a new country with a fresh spirit.

Third, we must form a people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, in each locality, carry democratic reforms into effect, reconstruct and develop the economy and raise the people's material and cultural living standards, thus resolutely laying the main foundation for the building of an independent, democratic state.

If we are to set up a unified all-Korea provisional government, we should first organize people's committees in all localities. By doing this at the earliest possible date, we will enable the people to take an active part in building the country as the masters of government and speed up preparations for establishing a unified democratic government.

Democratic reforms are inevitably required by the developing Korean revolution; our people earnestly desire them. Through these reforms we would be able to liquidate

the survivals of colonialism and feudalism in all spheres and open the way to the democratic development of society, and also meet our people's desire to rehabilitate and develop the economy and culture, and create a new, free and happy life.

Through agrarian reform we could put an end to the feudal relations of production, eliminate the reactionary forces of the landlord class in the countryside, free the peasant masses from centuries-old backwardness and poverty and pave the way to the development of agricultural productivity and the economy as a whole. By liberating the peasants from feudal exploitation and making them the genuine owners of the land, we must develop the rural economy and build a new, democratic countryside; we should encourage the peasant masses to join the working class, the progressive class, in its active endeavours to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state.

In addition, we should introduce a democratic labour law; this will enable us to eliminate the survivals of imperialist exploitation in the sphere of industry, radically improve the working conditions for our factory and office workers, and also the material aspects of their life. We should bring about the democratic liberation of the working class and improve their social and economic conditions so that our working class will play the part of the nucleus fittingly in the building of the country.

In order to democratize society, it is necessary to realize the social emancipation of women who make up one half of the population. In the past our women were humiliated and ill-treated in every way, deprived of all rights and

freedoms; we must emancipate them completely from their feudalistic social status and grant them equal rights and freedoms with men so that they will creditably do their bit in the building of a new country.

In order to build a flourishing, independent and sovereign state, we must lay solid economic foundations; for this, we have to reconstruct and develop our national industries. We must nationalize the factories, mines, railways and other key industries owned by the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, and put them under the ownership of the people. At the same time, we should make every effort to rehabilitate the factories, enterprises and railways destroyed by the Japanese imperialists, eradicate the aftereffects of their colonial rule in industry and develop the national economy. We shall thus be laying the solid economic foundations of the country and stabilizing and improving the people's deteriorated standard of living.

One of the important tasks in building a new Korea is that of carrying through democratic reforms in the spheres of education and culture. In education we must eradicate the survivals of Japanese imperialist education for colonial enslavement, establish a people-oriented, democratic system of education, and train the sons and daughters of the toiling people to work for the construction of a democratic Korea. We should also uproot every aftereffect of the Japanese imperialist policy of obliterating our national culture and construct a genuinely democratic national culture that will serve the people and contribute to the building of a new society.

We should actively organize and mobilize the masses

for a vigorous struggle to lay the foundation of an independent, democratic state. We should establish a people's government quickly, carry out democratic reforms and accelerate democratic construction first in north Korea, where favourable conditions have been created for the building of a new country.

Fourth, in order to realize all these tasks, we must expand and strengthen the Communist Party and dynamically promote the work of public organizations.

The expansion and strengthening of the Party is the primary guarantee for the successful implementation of all the tasks facing us. Unless it is expanded and strengthened, the Party will not be able to plant its roots deep among workers, peasants and other toiling people, enhance its militancy and correctly organize and mobilize the masses for the building of the country. Hence, we must strive to expand the Party ranks constantly and consolidate the Party qualitatively.

In expanding the Party ranks it is essential to recruit progressive workers and peasants, who are determined to advocate Party lines and policies and abide by Party discipline. We should admit progressive people of worker and peasant origin into the ranks of the Party, who are actively participating in the movement for democratic reforms. Particularly, we should enroll many people of working-class origin in the Party. They are very few as far as the composition of Party members in the provinces is concerned. We should admit all the progressive workers at factories and enterprises who have basic qualifications for Party membership. From now on, we should see that all the

workers and poor peasants or farmhands, tried and tested in the revolutionary struggle for democratic reforms, join our Party.

However, we must not allow alien elements to join the Party under the pretext of expanding its ranks. The stooges of Japanese imperialism and other enemies of revolution have disguised themselves cunningly and wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks; they are now clamouring for communism. We should sharpen our revolutionary vigilance to prevent alien elements from sneaking into Party ranks and drive out all undesirable elements who have smuggled themselves into our ranks. While increasing the Party's numerical strength, we must not in the slightest slacken our vigilance against alien elements of all hues and must fully ensure the purity of Party ranks.

If our Party is to play its leadership role appropriately in the building of a new Korea, the whole of its membership should be firmly armed with revolutionary theory and be thoroughly steeled organizationally and ideologically. We must see that the Party members have a good knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and are capable of applying it creatively to the realities of our country; they should intensify their Party organizational life, in order to have the revolutionary world outlook take root, and play a distinctive vanguard role as Party members.

To this end, we should build up the organizations of the Communist Party and decisively enhance their role. We have not yet formed them in all localities; the existing organizations are still unable to work properly or to actually lead the Party life of their members. We must form



Communist Party organizations as early as possible at factories, mines, farming and fishing villages and all other units, build up Party bodies at all levels with the best core elements, who have a high class consciousness and excellent work ability, and also direct the Party organizations to work well with their members.

We should expand and strengthen the ranks of the Party, and constantly enhance its role to convincingly lead all the people along the road of democratic revolution and, further, along the path to its ultimate goal.

While expanding and strengthening the Communist Party, we should increase the activities of public organizations.

Public organizations are the transmission belts that link the Party with the masses. Only by energetically promoting their work, can we organize and rally the broad masses of all walks of life closely around the Party so that it can correctly exercise its leadership of the people.

We must unite the masses of the people of all strata in the public organizations under unitary organizational systems, according to their respective social standings and trades. We should reorganize and readjust the public organizations formed sporadically in different localities after liberation, affiliate without exception youth and students with the youth league, women with the women's union, workers with the trade unions and peasants with the peasants' unions.

We should devote particularly serious attention to uniting our young people and students, the future masters of the country, in a single organization. Being affiliated

with different youth organizations, our young people and students are not united in one organization; in some areas they come together on a factional basis because of the manoeuvres of the factionalists and local separatists. We should reorganize the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League to rally all our working youth and students around it.

We should guide the trade unions, the peasants' unions and all other public organizations in forming their central bodies and in settling their own well-regulated organizational systems as soon as it is practicably possible, and should vouch for our Party's firm leadership in them. In this way, we would knit the broad sections of the population closely around our Party, organize and mobilize them actively for the building of the country.

We must make every effort to carry into effect the above-mentioned immediate tasks so as to hasten the founding of the democratic people's republic and convert north Korea into a mighty, democratic base for the building of a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Comrades,

The Korean revolution places a historic task before us today; the country and the people are watching the communists' activities. We must have a clear understanding of the importance of our historic task and devote all our talents and energies to pursuing this honourable revolutionary mission.

It is the lofty duty of the communists to fight devotedly for the interests of the country and the people, for the

interests of the revolution. I firmly believe that all our communists will consolidate our Party in every possible way and take an active part in the struggle to carry out the revolutionary task facing the Party.

Let us all fight on energetically, under the unfurled revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, for the implementation of the Party's organizational and political lines and for the victory of the Korean revolution.

# **FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED PARTY OF THE WORKING MASSES**

(Excerpts)

**Report to the Inaugural Congress  
of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

*August 29, 1946*

## **3. THE MERGER OF THE TWO PARTIES IS INEVITABLE AND MOST APPROPRIATE**

Comrade delegates,

The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is indeed of epochal significance for cementing the unity of the democratic forces in our country. In particular, the merger of the two parties marks great progress in closely uniting the broad masses—workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

In the course of the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, diverse opinions were expressed as to what sort of a party the Workers' Party should be and what it should do.

The Programme of our Workers' Party explicitly declares its aims, character and tasks. As is clearly stated at the beginning of the Programme, our Party is a party that

represents and defends the interests of the Korean working masses, its aims being to build a prosperous and democratic, independent and sovereign state. The Workers' Party is the vanguard of the labouring masses of Korea and it is rooted in the broad masses—workers, peasants and working intellectuals. That is why it ought to become the leading force in the struggle for the independence, sovereignty and democratization of Korea and to play the central role in the Democratic National United Front. Our Party fights to overthrow the pro-Japanese, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists, to achieve the complete liberation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialism, and to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state. This is the aim which both the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party have been pursuing.

What, then, is the task of the Workers' Party? The basic task of our Party at the present stage is to carry out anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic reforms thoroughly on a nationwide scale, and to establish a democratic people's republic by mobilizing the broad masses of the people. Today the programmatic tasks of our Party are: to confiscate the land of the Japanese imperialists and the landlords and distribute it among the peasants; to nationalize the industries, transport, communications, banks, etc., belonging to Japanese imperialism and the comprador capitalists and transform them into the property of the people; to introduce an eight-hour working day and a social insurance system for factory and office workers; to grant women equal rights with men; to ensure the people

freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief; to institute a democratic system of public education and establish compulsory education; and to develop science, national culture and the arts.

These democratic tasks represent the earnest demands of all sections of the working people throughout Korea. Without introducing democratic reforms, it is impossible to build a fully independent and democratic country, to rescue the working masses from poverty and the lack of rights, and to develop the economy and culture of our country.

The Communist Party and the New Democratic Party have striven and are striving to meet the earnest demands of the labouring masses of Korea. Therefore, it is inevitable that the two parties, which have similar aims and tasks, should merge into one.

Today our struggle is not for the old parliamentary democracy of capitalist countries but for genuine democracy for the new Korea, democracy for the broad masses, progressive democracy. The struggle confronting us for the rights of the masses in the political, economic and cultural spheres is arduous, complicated and protracted. The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is urgently needed for the fulfilment of this task.

Disunity of the working masses constitutes the greatest danger in their life-and-death struggle with the enemy. In order to bring our fighting tasks to victory, the working masses must stand together more firmly and forge closer unity. Most decisive of all for fulfilling the great democratic tasks facing the Korean people is the formation

of a unified general staff of the working masses, the sole militant vanguard of the working people. This problem could only be solved by founding the Workers' Party.

Therefore, the Central Committee of the New Democratic Party proposed the merger of the two parties, and this met with the full agreement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Then, at a joint session of the central committees of the two parties, it was formally decided to merge the two and build them into a party of the masses—the Workers' Party.

All the people, not to speak of the members of the two parties, warmly welcomed this historic decision. This was because they were convinced that the merger of the two parties would greatly contribute to strengthening the democratic forces and speeding up the building of democracy.

Thus, the merger proceeded smoothly in all provinces, cities, counties and sub-counties in an atmosphere of very high political enthusiasm created by the entire membership of the two parties and the entire working masses who supported the merger. So we have today convened the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party. This is graphic evidence that the merger of the two parties was inevitable and most appropriate.

In the course of the merger, however, we discovered wrong tendencies in some Communist Party members. Here are a few examples.

I would like to point out, in the first place, the self-righteous, arrogant attitude of some Communist Party members. They said, "How can we merge with the New

Democratic Party?” We should ask them, “When did you become Boyi and Shuqi like that?” This is, above all, an expression of self-important attitude of looking down upon others, an exclusionist tendency of thinking oneself the only one engaged in revolutionary work. It is an error resulting not only from ignorance of our Party’s line and policies but from a lack of understanding of even the simple truth that revolutionary work will be victorious only when all revolutionary comrades are united and all the masses of the people stand together. To put it more strongly, it is a factional tendency, and a dangerous one, against which we must be most vigilant in establishing a mass-based political party. If a tendency of this sort is allowed to grow, it may totally ruin our work.

Another grave tendency finds expression in the talk that our Party would be “diluted in the New Democratic Party” or become a “party of the petty bourgeoisie.” This is, on the one hand, an expression of “Leftism” that does not like the merger but, on the other hand, it contains Rightist venom, and it is this, I think, that we especially need to sharpen vigilance against.

We should resolutely combat any tendency that impairs the organizational discipline and ideological unity of the Party, any tendency that seeks to reduce the Party either to a club of the labouring masses or a kind of fraternity of the petty bourgeoisie. The creation of the mass-based Workers’ Party, which champions the interests of all the working masses and can embrace all progressive elements among the working masses, in no way means that it is permissible to lower the Party’s political prestige or weaken the unity



and iron discipline of its ranks. The Workers' Party is an organized combat unit and a vanguard of the working masses. We should at all times firmly defend its unity, purity and strict discipline. If our ranks are lacking in monolithic ideology, will and discipline, we will be unable to prevail in the fight against the enemy.

Another thing I would like to bring to your attention is the speculation that there will be a "large-scale purge" in the Party. This, too, is a manifestation of a passive dislike of the merger and a tendency to distrust the Party.

It is natural for the Party to purge itself of alien elements in order to maintain the purity of its ranks. We should always heighten our vigilance against alien elements, prevent all of their machinations and expel them from Party ranks as soon as they are discovered. Such elements, however, are very few in number, and therefore there will be no "large-scale purge" in our Workers' Party. Any talk about such a "purge" is quite wrong.

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

(Excerpts)

*March 28, 1948*

**III. THE PARTY**

Comrades,

Our people's great victory and successes in the democratic reforms and in economic construction confirm the correctness of our Party's lines and policies and prove that our Party has grown into a powerful organized force fully equal to the task of building a rich and strong country.

The fact that in the struggle for the country's reunification, independence and democracy our Party is able to tackle its great mission as it does today is entirely because it has achieved organizational unity and unity in ideology and will, because the entire Party has rallied around its Central Committee, and because it has solidly united the broad masses around itself. Our Party has now become a reliable mass-based political party defending the interests of the Korean working masses. It is victoriously

fulfilling the great historic task of building a democratic country.

## **1. The Struggle for Party Consolidation**

Immediately after liberation, our Party laid down its basic political line: to set up a sound democratic base in north Korea for emancipating the Korean nation completely and for building Korea into a mighty and prosperous, independent and sovereign state by thoroughly carrying out the democratic reforms and accelerating the building of democracy in north Korea. Of decisive importance in building and consolidating a democratic base in north Korea was to develop our Party into a powerful mass-based party and rally the broad masses around it.

Hence, our Party deemed it necessary to unite the local Party organizations that had been loosely set up in different parts of north Korea and establish a powerful central leading body capable of implementing the Party's political line successfully in conformity with the favourable conditions and circumstances found in north Korea. Therefore, we formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea on October 10, 1945.

At the time, the need to set up this committee was abundantly clear to everyone. Nevertheless, some people in the Party came out against it on the pretext of supporting the centre. They failed to understand the political situation in Korea correctly because they were held captive by old

factionalist habits and the mentality of individual heroism which they had developed earlier when, without experience of Party life and ignorant of the fundamentals of discipline which call for submission to the Party organization and the higher Party organs, they bossed the small local groups in the manner of “I am my own lord,” like the big frog in a little pond. They attempted to tear our Party apart into local groups, as of old, and to continue to live the musty life of a factionalist grouping, with each one lording it over his own local sphere of influence.

In order to conceal their real intentions, the factionalists and those who went in for individual heroism alleged that “the establishment of the Central Organizing Committee in north Korea would mean splitting the Party” and made loud noises as if they were concerned about the preservation of Party unity. But the fact was that they themselves refused to submit to the centre and wanted to continue to display individual heroism and to carry on their factionalist activities, bossing the show in their respective districts.

...

What would have been the situation in north Korea and the destiny of our country if, as the factionalists wanted, we had not set up the Central Organizing Committee then but, looking only to Seoul, had failed to give unified leadership to the Party organizations scattered in the provinces? Undoubtedly our Party, far from growing into a mass-based political party as it is today, would have been manipulated and torn asunder by the factionalists. Thus, we would have failed to secure the victory of the democratic reforms and to set up a firm democratic base in north Korea from which

to bring about full independence and sovereignty for the country.

In the early days of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, many elements who were infected with tendencies to liberalism and individual heroism and steeped in factionalist ideas made their way into the organizations and leading bodies of the Party at various levels, hampering its unity, fostering a scramble for posts and local separatism and continuing factionalist activities in the Party. In those Party organizations where such persons had ensconced themselves in the leading bodies, the situation worsened to such an extent that many pro-Japanese elements wormed their way into the Party ranks and carried on harmful activities infringing upon the interests of the masses and alienating the Party from them.

Some factionalists who had sneaked into leading Party bodies opposed the reorganization of the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League and made deliberate attempts to prevent it, in the hope of causing confusion concerning the Party's united front policy and of preventing the Party from uniting broader sections of the masses around it. These persons were utterly ignorant of the Party's united front policy and did not want to understand it, either. That is why they accused us of "steering the Party backwards" and "swaying the Party to the Right." There is no need to say who really sought to steer the Party backwards and sway it to the Right. Had we yielded to their insistent clamours and not reorganized the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth

League, we would obviously have been unable to unite around the Party, as we are doing today, the several million young people who are playing an important part in building our country.

In those days, persons who were ignorant of the Party's organizational line and the elementary standards of Party life, and yet pretended to know them, entrenched themselves in the leading bodies and manipulated the Party at will, instead of appointing capable people to put its organizations in order. Consequently, no organizational discipline or organizational system was established within the Party. System and order were absent in all work, such as preparing Party statistics and keeping Party documents, and even the principles laid down in the Party Rules with regard to the admission of new members were not observed.

In many Party organizations where elements strongly infected with factionalist provincialism held leading posts, fine cadres of working-class origin and other promising and faithful cadres were not promoted, but instead cadres were promoted on the basis of kinship and fellow-provincial ties. The result was that some organs were staffed entirely with persons from the same place, such as Hongwon or Seoul. All the leading posts thus came to be held by persons without ability and, as a result, good, competent people in the localities had no opportunity of being promoted. In recruiting to the Party, too, the factionalists indiscriminately admitted urban loafers and petty-bourgeois elements and formed Party cells among them in which there was no one the Party could rely on, instead of taking in fine, advanced

elements from among the working class—the main force for building a democratic country—and from among its most reliable ally, the poor peasantry.

In order to rescue our Party from this grave situation, we called the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea in December 1945, and took resolute measures for overcoming the wrong organizational, political and ideological tendencies within the Party. The meeting initiated a great change in Party work and Party life for the first time since the founding of our Party, and this marked the beginning of its growth into a truly sound and powerful party.

We assigned new, competent cadres to the Party Central Committee and Party committees at all levels, fought determinedly against those who were infected with provincial and family favouritism and those with tendencies to factionalism, sectionalism, individual heroism and liberalism, and worked energetically to establish a well-adjusted system for Party organizations, from the centre down to the cells, and to ensure the organizational and ideological unity of the Party. Thus, organizational discipline, which permits no factionalist activity within the Party and requires unconditional obedience to the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs, began to be established.

Parallel to this, throughout the Party we conducted the work of checking up on the Party ranks, of issuing membership cards and of organizationally strengthening the Party organizations. As a result, the pro-Japanese and

alien elements lurking within the Party, who were committing acts which infringed upon the interests of the masses and divorced the Party from the masses, were exposed and expelled, and great progress was made in ensuring the purity of the Party ranks.

Our Party organizations, which had seemed suspended in the air, struck root among the reliable and unswerving working class and poor peasantry, and Party cells were formed among them and were expanded.

Information work for the Party's lines and policies was conducted widely, within and without the Party, through the media of its newspapers and other publications. Exemplary Party members were selected and given systematic education in Party schools. Thus began the mass training of cadres who were to play an important role in Party building. In addition, political education was energetically conducted within the Party in order to acquaint every member with the Party's stand and policies and enable him to be clear on the duties of a Party member and on how he should live his organizational life. Members started to get active in explaining Party policies to the broad masses and rallying them around the Party.

Thus, after the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting, our Party work and Party life were put on the right track and from that time on our Party developed into a powerful party equal to the great task of democratizing the country and capable of skilfully mobilizing the broad masses to carry out democratic reforms and economic construction.

As Party organizations became consolidated and it came



to enjoy the enthusiastic support of the working masses, we were confronted with the task of turning it into a mass party with a broader base, in keeping with the social progress and rapid changes in the political life of the state. In other words, there arose the need for a mass-based party representing the common interests of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia in order to strengthen their alliance which had been solidly built up in the course of implementing the democratic reforms and to lead the working masses in taking a more active part in the political life of the state.

Thus, in August 1946, a congress for the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was convened, at which the glorious Workers' Party of North Korea, the leading force in building the country, was founded.

As you see, our Party has grown amidst a struggle to consolidate its organization since the time of its predecessor and, on this basis, it has developed into today's powerful mass party.

## **2. The Growth of Party Ranks and the Work of Organizational Leadership**

Since the merger, the ranks of our Party have grown rapidly. Whereas the total membership at the time of the merger was more than 366,000, it had grown to over 708,000, a 1.9-fold increase, by January 1, 1948.

Though the Party ranks grew at such a rapid rate, some

Party organizations committed Rightist or “Leftist” errors in the course of recruiting. Some of them recruited members as if they were forming an association, thus providing conditions for many alien elements to worm their way in, while others closed their doors on the plea of strict selection of members, to the detriment of our Party’s development into a mass party.

In order to overcome such deviations, the Party Central Committee issued standard membership cards to all members immediately after the merger and guided and checked up on recruitment as a whole. In this way, it helped the local Party organizations correct their errors in good time and took measures not only for quantitative but qualitative growth of the Party, making possible a marked improvement of the composition of the Party. The number of workers in the Party has grown from more than 73,000 at the time of the merger to more than 143,000 today. In the same period, the number of poor peasant members has increased from over 185,000 to 374,000.

With this rapid growth and strengthening of the Party, the question of establishing organizational principles and an organizational system posed itself more urgently. So, the Central Committee of the Party took measures to build up firm leading organs at all levels, from the centre down to the cells, establish iron discipline in the Party and strengthen every member’s Party life.

Above all, the main effort was concentrated on strengthening Party cells. The cell is the basic organization of our Party, and we must strengthen it if we want to consolidate the entire Party and increase its fighting

strength. The Party Central Committee has taken important steps to readjust cell organization and strengthen cell life. As a result, factory and farm village cells have made remarkable progress, and Party members have established the habit of earnestly discussing immediate political and economic tasks at the general cell membership meetings and of making every effort to implement the directives of the Party Central Committee and Party committees at various levels and the decisions of the cells.

...

However, there are shortcomings in the building of our Party and in the leadership of its organizational work, which must be rectified without delay.

First, the cell, which is the basic organization of our Party, is not yet sound enough and cell work is not yet on a high level. The Party cell is the basic organization which gives the members day-to-day education and training, ensures ideological and organizational unity in the Party ranks and translates the lines and policies of the Party into practice. Strengthening the cells is fundamental for strengthening the entire Party.

In spite of this, many Party organizations have failed to raise the work of the cells to the required level. This results in cell meetings being held in a perfunctory way, without plan and adequate preparation, and in cells not relating their work to the specific conditions in the factories, workplaces and farm villages and failing to give detailed assignments to each member so that many members find themselves at a loss what to do. The assignments given are vague and, moreover, their fulfilment is not checked up and

reviewed. The work of helping the members carry out their Party assignments correctly is almost entirely neglected.

In order to eliminate these shortcomings and strengthen the Party cells, it is necessary for every cell to devote its main efforts to fostering a Party core. It should give assignments properly and always scrupulously lead and check up on the members' Party life and activities. Effective cell meetings should be held according to a plan and discussions and decisions on the direction and plans of work should be related to the actual situation the cell finds itself in. The cell should wage a vigorous ideological struggle against every negative tendency and actively encourage criticism within the cell on Party principles. Thus, all our Party cells will be turned into militant, living organizations, brimming with vitality.

Second, inadequate checkup on how Party organizations are implementing the Party's policies and decisions constitutes a serious defect in our Party's work of organizational leadership.

If we are to know exactly what Party organizations are doing and get to know their members and cadres, we must be meticulous in leading and checking up on the lower-level organizations, and it is most important to organize this work effectively. Proper checkups serve as a searchlight on the activities of Party organizations, a powerful means of exposing and eliminating manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism in Party work. Grave shortcomings still persist in the work of some of our Party organizations because, in most cases, the Party organs do not concretely and carefully lead and check up on the work

of Party organizations at lower levels.

If Party organizations are to be guided and checked up on effectively, it is necessary, in the first place, that this work be done regularly and systematically, not in spasms, and, in the second place, that responsible cadres personally undertake the checkup work, instead of leaving it to junior officials.

But some of our Party organizations do not do this work regularly and, if they ever conduct checkups at all, do so perfunctorily, entrusting them to junior officials. Moreover, in many cases, the checkup is not done to help the Party organizations at lower levels in their work and to correct their defects, but is done by summoning the officials of subordinate bodies to higher Party organs in order to scold and shout at them and to work out resolutions.

We must make it a rule to check up regularly on how the lower levels are carrying out Party policy and decisions, and we must do away with all formalistic attitudes towards checkups, so as to raise the level of this Party work decisively. To this end, the aims and methods of the checkup must from now on be explained clearly to the Party members who are sent out to do it. Scolding and penalizing must not be made a substitute for checking up, but checkups must be conducted by going down to the lower Party organizations to give them effective assistance and help them overcome their shortcomings, and by getting to know, educating and training the officials and members of the Party organizations.

Third, an important thing that must be done without fail in the sphere of the Party's organizational leadership is to

improve the officials' style of work.

The bureaucratic, formalistic style of work is still much in evidence in our Party. Some leading Party officials continue a bureaucratic style of work. Instead of going among the masses to breathe the same air with them, mingle with them and lead them, they work like lords over the masses, blustering at them, threatening and browbeating them. They apply Party penalties and dismiss subordinates for minor errors or shortcomings, instead of assisting them in their work, giving them advice on the basis of Party principle and patiently educating and training them.

There are other leading Party officials who cannot shake off their formalistic style of work. They deal with all affairs mechanically, never undertaking any serious study and analysis, but only sending down innumerable decisions and directives without even troubling to find out how things are dealt with at the lower levels. They gloss over things and stick to formalities. Officials of this type seem to believe that everything will be all right, without ever organizing actual struggles for winning victory, if they adopt decisions or directives and send them down.

Such bureaucratic and formalistic styles of work are most harmful, undermining our Party work and estranging the Party from the masses. We should, therefore, wage a persistent struggle to eliminate these work styles once and for all and establish a genuinely people's style of work in the Party.

We must acquire the work method of explaining matters to the masses rather than commanding them, of going deep into the midst of the masses to get to know their feelings,

teach them and learn from them, of making friends and uniting as one with them and then leading them to attain our goal.

We must also acquire the work style of getting down to each matter and settling it after finding a practical and correct solution on the basis of a deep analysis of its essence, and seeing it through to the end once we have taken it up. In tackling all matters, we must not stick to superficial appearance and form, but direct our main efforts to delving deep into their essence and achieving substantial results.

A very important function of the Party's organizational leadership is to give correct guidance to the mass organizations of the working people.

In the final analysis, our Party consolidates its ranks in order to unite the broad masses around it and mobilize their strength for victoriously accomplishing the tasks of the revolution. The history of the international working-class movement shows no instance of a party winning victory when it failed to win over the broad masses and was divorced from them. That is why our Party, since its inception, has paid deep attention to uniting the broad masses around itself by drawing them into social organizations of various kinds.

Our Party has organized a number of social organizations, such as the trade unions, the Peasants' Union, the Democratic Youth League, the Democratic Women's Union and the Federation of Art and Literature, thereby uniting millions of organized people around itself. These mass organizations have established their own

well-regulated organizational systems. They have branches in all districts and production units—towns, farm villages, factories and other enterprises and institutions. Their members are under the leadership of both the Party and the social organizations. By leading all these social organizations, our Party has mobilized the strength of the broad masses for carrying out the democratic reforms and economic construction, and has already achieved great results.

...

One of the worst consequences of the long years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule is that we are short of cadres. Our Party, which has embarked on the building of the country, is conscious of the acute shortage of cadres in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture, and this is a serious obstacle to our advance.

So, on the one hand, our Party started to enlist new cadres from among the people and to educate and train them through practical work and, on the other, began to train cadres for the Party and state organs at permanent educational establishments. During the period under review, over 4,000 Party cadres have already passed through central and provincial Party schools, and many cadres have been re-educated through various short courses.

The training of cadres and their correct selection and placement are of decisive importance in all work, all the more so with us in view of the shortage of cadres and the complicated composition of their ranks.

One of the important principles of our Party's cadre



policy is to promote new cadres who come from among the masses and serve the people, constantly educating and training them, and to remould the old cadres who are of, and who formerly served, the ruling classes, so that they might now serve the country and the people.

Selecting and assigning a cadre does not mean promoting him and giving him an office to write all kinds of directives in, nor does it mean keeping a lot of people constantly on the move by transferring them from one post to another for no purpose. By proper selection and placing of cadres we mean, as Comrade Stalin said, valuing and respecting the cadres as the most precious assets of the Party and the state. We mean learning all about the cadres to get a full and intimate knowledge of their political level and professional abilities, their merits and demerits. We mean educating them, training them in the course of practical work and making persevering efforts to raise their ideological consciousness and practical ability. We mean promoting promising young cadres boldly and in good time and assigning them to the right posts where they can bring their talents and abilities into the fullest play.

Yet, we still have many defects in implementing the Party's cadre policy. There are many serious defects. Work with cadres, and particularly that of drawing in, educating and remoulding the old cadres, is not up to the mark. Too much hesitation is shown in promoting young cadres, and cadres are selected not on the basis of loyalty to the Party, the country and the people and on the basis of their professional ability, but according to personal considerations, ties of friendship or, worse still, to

factionalist connections. Such wrong tendencies of ignoring Party principles in personnel management may, in the end, provide opportunities for alien elements to worm their way into our state institutions. They may lead to unfaithful and incompetent persons holding important posts and neglecting state affairs or making a mess of things.

Party organizations at all levels, therefore, must not tolerate the slightest departure from Party principles or lack in political vigilance in the selection and allocation of cadres, but must fight uncompromisingly against such practices. Party organizations must pay primary attention to the correct implementation of the Party's cadre policy so as to successfully ensure the work of discovering able, new cadres among the working class and other sections of the working people and boldly appointing them, of educating inexperienced young cadres patiently and giving them political training through practical work, and of re-educating the old cadres in the progressive ideas of the new society. For the thoroughgoing implementation of the Party's cadre policy, it is necessary to improve the work of the Party's personnel departments and to replenish them with new, competent cadres tested in practice.

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

(Excerpts)

*April 23, 1956*

## **III. THE PARTY**

### **2. The Organizational Leadership of 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 people-oriented 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 objective 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 people-oriented 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.

...

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.

...

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.

...

### **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.

...

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.

...

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.

# **ON THE METHOD OF PARTY WORK**

(Excerpts)

**Speech at a Short Course for Party Organizers  
and Chairmen of the Party Committees  
at Production Enterprises and Chairmen  
of Provincial, City and County Party Committees**

*February 26, 1959*

I would like to take advantage of the opportunity offered by this short course for the organizers and chairmen of factory Party organizations and chairmen of city and county Party committees, and speak about the work of factory and county Party organizations.

The main points I want to stress to you today are the duties of factory and county Party committees, the work style Party officials should have, the education of Party members and self-cultivation of Party officials, the composition of Party membership, and some other issues arising from Party work.

## **1. ON THE DUTIES OF FACTORY AND COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES**

The first duty of the factory and county Party

organizations is to conduct day-to-day educational work so that Party members will have a correct understanding of the Party's policies and a firm position on the Party's line; to unite the Party organizations and all Party members with one will and one purpose around the Party Central Committee; to motivate each Party member to always participate in Party life faithfully and join in all revolutionary work voluntarily; and to strive for the continued growth and strengthening of the Party ranks.

This is the duty of the Party committee, as explicitly stipulated in the Party Rules. At present, however, our Party committee chairmen often forget this primary duty.

Everyone knows that the Party is the General Staff in the revolutionary movement. Without strengthening the Party there can be no victory in the revolution. Yet, many comrades neglect this most important work of strengthening the Party organizations and are concerned with trifling matters, trailing behind the administrative workers. If the Party organizations are not strengthened, all other work will not be done properly.

The second duty of the factory and county Party organizations is to rouse the chairmen of the Party committees and all Party members to do work among non-Party masses. The Party organizations should always propagate our Party's policies among the non-Party masses and educate them in revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, thereby rallying the masses around our Party.

In order to work among the masses the Party organizations should give correct leadership to those organizations that are closer to the Party, such as the



Democratic Youth League, trade unions and the Women's Union. The Party should always propagate its policies and conduct revolutionary education among the masses through its peripheral organizations.

The revolution cannot be carried out by our Party alone. The revolution is an undertaking for the good of the masses, for the good of the people. Therefore, it cannot be successful unless many people take part in it. Many of our comrades, however, still fail to understand this simple truth or, if they are aware of it, do not put it into practice. It is of the utmost importance to rally as many people as possible around our Party and to induce them to support its policies.

We should accept whoever repents his past faults and wants to go along with us today, even if he served landlords or capitalists or was influenced by them in the past. If he turns against us, that is another question. But, as long as he wants to follow us, why should we not allow him to join us?

And we cannot brand all those who oppose our Party's policies as our enemies. Some are against our Party's policies because they are not yet fully aware of these policies. The information work of the Party is necessary precisely because there are people who are still unawakened. If it was not so, there would have been no need of information work.

It is a consistent policy of our Party to educate even the waverers and get them to come along with us, and to enlighten those who have not yet fully awakened. So, the basic task of the Party organizations is to propagate the Party's policies and conduct revolutionary education, so

that everyone supports our Party and comes along with us.

Once our Party officials do this kind of organizational and political work efficiently, everything will go on without a hitch.

Yet another duty of the Party organizations is to carry out immediate revolutionary tasks.

In the past, we accomplished the tasks of the democratic revolution against imperialism and the feudal system, and now we are carrying out the tasks of socialist construction.

Economic work represents one of the most important tasks in the building of socialism and, at the same time, it is a revolutionary task for us. After all, we are strengthening the Party and uniting the masses around it to be able to successfully carry out this revolutionary task. Effective Party organizational work by no means implies that economic work may be neglected. We must take it firmly in hand and direct it efficiently.

Which method should then be adopted by the Party organizations to direct economic work? Though economic work is an important revolutionary task which the Party should not neglect, the chairman of the county Party committee must not directly execute this work, taking the place of the chairman of the county people's committee. While dealing with economic work, he should not play the same part as the county people's committee chairman but should direct it by laying down the guidelines at the executive committee of the county Party committee in accordance with the policy and line of the Party Central Committee, and by giving assignments and by checking up on the results of their implementation.

...

In short, the county people's committee should be made to work under the leadership of the county Party committee. Any concessions in this sense will lead to the Party forfeiting its leading functions, and this might give rise to liberalism and to cases of unscrupulous elements riding on the Party's back.

The drawing up of correct guidelines by the county Party committee is only the initial step in its work. It should be closely followed by a thorough explanation of the line of the Party Central Committee and the guidelines of the county Party committee to the officials of the county people's committee who must directly put them into practice. Next in importance for the carrying out of the task is to allocate cadres, mobilize the people, and check up on and supervise the process of its implementation.

In checking up, it is necessary to have talks with those who lead the work, but the best method is to go down below directly and have discussions with Party members and the masses. You may go to the factories, farm villages, schools, offices or any other places and talk with the people there. Through discussions you can find out how the work is progressing and at the same time you can educate the Party members.

If things seem to be going wrong, an intensive investigation may be carried out in order to get a better understanding of the situation. If the results prove that the defect is not so serious, it should be settled through some sort of discussion, and if it proves serious, another county Party executive committee meeting should be called to take

measures for its rectification. And the officials of the county people's committee should go down to the lower levels to implement these measures.

Thus, the officials of both the county people's committee and the economic institutions should always be actively involved in implementing the tasks assigned to them by the Party.

Meanwhile, Party officials should find time for internal-Party work. In other words, they should study the policies and lines of the Party more profoundly, prepare lectures or educate Party members through dialogue.

In many cases, the county Party committee chairmen do not act this way, and, when instructed to merge the cooperatives, they set aside all other work and, ignoring the chairmen of the county people's committees, push themselves forward and go scurrying about for a time. Where such work methods are adopted, the Party organizations cannot fulfil their role as organizers and leaders properly. Comrades who work in such a way claim that they do not find enough time to carry on their proper jobs as they are incessantly being asked to attend provincial-level meetings, short courses, etc., and are also told to go down to the lower units.

Whether you have time or not depends on how you organize your work. If you organize your work well, you will have as much time as you want. Then you will have time to call the chief of the internal security station and ask him how the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries is going on; to talk with the internal security personnel and learn what they are thinking and what their level of

ideological consciousness is. You will also find time to attend study courses, lectures and general meetings of primary Party organizations, etc., and acquaint yourselves with the actual situation; or to visit the workers' homes and see how they live and listen to their demands. By doing so, you will be able to give correct guidance to all kinds of activities.

If a county Party committee chairman works in this way for a year or so, he will be aware of the actual situation in his county like he knows the palm of his hand. The number of Party members would be around 2,000-3,000 in a county where there are not any large factories; and if you work properly for about two years, I think you can get a full understanding of every Party organization in your county.

But if the county Party committee chairman fails to do so but carries duties like those of the chairman of the county people's committee, he will not be able to tell whether things are going well or not, nor will he be able to find the time to attend to his regular job as a Party official.

With regards to Party organizers at factories, there is also a notable tendency to assume the function that should actually belong to the management. If the Party organizer is going to take upon himself the function of the manager, it would be better to appoint him manager at the outset. Why, then, should a separate manager be appointed? A distinct line should be drawn between the work of the chairman of the Party committee and that of the manager.

It is easy to put your signature on paper instead of the manager, but it is a very difficult job to educate a Party member to carry through the Party's policies. Many Party

officials put aside this difficult job and trail behind the administrative workers so as to take the easy way in work. Because everyone tries to do his work in such an easy way, the administrative workers, on their part, simply give orders to finish this or that job by such-and-such a date, and that is all.

If things go on like this, the ultimate result will be that neither Party nor mass nor economic work will be carried out properly. And it will be difficult to find out what is wrong, who is wrong and why.

There is nothing new in what I am saying today. It is all explicitly stated in our Party Rules. The Party Rules are for all of us to abide by, yet many comrades take them lightly.

There are two tendencies among our chairmen of factory and county Party committees. One is to perform the functions of administrative bodies, brandishing the authority of the Party. Party committee chairmen who are fairly capable often fall into this habit. On the other extreme, some of the slow-witted Party committee chairmen act as adjutants to the administrative officials. This is the second tendency. Both are wrong.

The relationship between the Party committee chairman and the administrative official can be compared to that of the helmsman and the oarsman of a boat. Only when the administrative worker rows in front, while the Party committee chairman, sitting in the stern and taking the tiller, directs the former to the right or left to keep the boat on the right course, can the boat move straight ahead. On the contrary, if both men are in front and occupy themselves with rowing, the boat may seem to go fast, but

it will not make much progress in the long run, for its course will be zigzag rather than steady.

Once again I emphasize that the necessary Party work methods are to build up the Party ranks as firm as a rock, rally the masses around the Party and mobilize them to carry through the Party's policies, supervise the execution of these policies, rectify deviations manifested in the course of their implementation in good time and draw out a new policy to fit in with the actual conditions at all times.

## **2. ON THE STYLE OF PARTY WORK**

There is a serious defect in our Party work that must be corrected. It is the wrong style of conducting Party work by administrative methods and by issuing orders.

Ordering people about is, by its very nature, not the way Party work should be carried out. The method of administration and command, that is, the method of giving orders, might be used in the state organs, but it has nothing in common with Party work. Giving orders is necessary in the case of an army in battle, but it is not only unnecessary but even entirely harmful in Party work.

The way of conducting Party work is to induce the Party members and the masses, mainly through education and persuasion, to take part in the revolution voluntarily and purposefully.

Of course, imposing something upon the people by force of orders is much easier than persuading and educating them.

I have been thinking about the reason why our Party work was conducted in such a way.

Our Party had very few cadres who had been trained through a long period of underground activities or guerrilla warfare. So, after liberation we found ourselves in a situation where our basket, so to speak, was too small for the things we had to put in it. Therefore, we could not give our Party workers an adequate training in the revolutionary work methods. In addition, our Party was organized and developed in the relatively easy circumstances that followed liberation.

The only work methods that many of our comrades had seen and learned were the work methods of the Japanese imperialist officials. On top of this, the notorious bureaucrat Ho Ka I was in charge of the organizational work of the Party for several years and spread bureaucratic methods of work throughout the Party.

If just one of the revolutionary nuclei, who had been engaged in guerrilla warfare, had been assigned to each Party cell, Ho Ka I, the bureaucrat, would not have been able to spread his bureaucratic style of work throughout the Party, even though he had a leading position in the Central Committee. But, at the time of the formation of the Party, few people knew how to educate Party members and perform Party work by revolutionary methods, whereas there were many who practised bureaucracy. This led many people to believe that Party work was something that should be conducted only by a sort of administrative method and by means of issuing orders. From the very beginning, this has never been an acceptable method for Party work.



Party members should do their work consciously and voluntarily. However, there are still quite a few cases of our comrades who are doing work in a passive manner because they have been dictated to do so from above. Such an attitude towards work should no longer be tolerated.

...

True, Party work has made great progress, but quite a few administrative and bureaucratic practices still exist in our Party work.

There have also been many defects in the recent struggle against conservatism. We gave instructions to educate those conservative intellectuals to correct their views, shatter their conservatism and thus rescue them. But the matter was handled in such a wrong way that it created discontent among a considerable number of Party members.

At the Kangson Steel Plant, production showed an upward swing in 1957, but it has been dropping since the second half of last year. Our recent on-the-spot investigation into the matter indicated that the cause was the defective Party work. Party work was carried out by an administrative method and by issuing orders. This caused complaints and discontent among many people and dampened their eagerness to work. If things go on like this, no work can be done well.

Bureaucracy among Party workers also finds expression in their brandishing of Party authority. Ho Ka I was the ringleader who propagated this evil style in our Party.

Since the April 1955 Plenary Meeting, a continued struggle has been waged against the brandishing of Party

authority, but the ulcer has not yet been completely removed.

Recently, there has been a tendency to scare people because of their lack of Party spirit, which is another way of brandishing Party authority. As people are apt to be branded as lacking in Party spirit for their slightest mistakes, they are impelled to say that everything is their fault for fear of being expelled from the Party.

It goes without saying that everyone should have Party spirit, should love and support the Party. No one is allowed to deviate from the Party's line or shun Party life. The standards of Party life must be constantly observed.

The standards of Party life, however, should not be forced upon Party members. On the contrary, Party members should be induced to observe them consciously, and the prestige of the chairman of a Party organization should be maintained by his real ability of leadership, not by brandishing Party authority.

Nor should you try to boost your prestige with the help of a big desk and an armchair. No red tape is needed in our Party work. A Party committee chairman cannot do his work well as long as he simply puts on airs and be happy to mark the names of others with a red pencil.

If certain persons do not come to see you, then you should go and see them first. What is wrong with that? There is nothing wrong with it, even if you visit them ten or a hundred times.

As I have always said, Party members should be encouraged to call on the chairman of their Party organization. Managers, intellectuals and all others should

be induced to come to the Party committee for consultation. With this in mind, Party workers should first of all be modest and earn prestige among the masses. If the Party organizer or Party committee chairman implements the Party's policies correctly, gives ready assistance in administrative work and deals with all matters wisely, then Party members will naturally come to him to discuss their work, and even their private affairs.

The Party organizer or Party committee chairman should find out what is wrong with his own work when Party members fail to call on him. But he is doing the contrary, marking down the names of those who do not call on him as men lacking in Party spirit. And when asked about how these people work, his usual answer is that they work all right but are somewhat lacking in Party spirit. This is wrong. If the manager does not come to him, the Party committee chairman should look for his own faults and endeavour to study the Party's policies more, propagate them well and work better.

At present many feel very unhappy to be transferred from a Party organ to an administrative body, because they take it as being dismissed from an organ of authority. This is really lamentable. After all, administrative work is Party work, too. Why, then, do they hate to go over to administrative work? There is no difference between guiding the Party organizations directly and carrying out the Party's policies on assignment from the Party. The reason is that these people regard the Party bodies as organs that wield power.

Whether he works at an administrative organ or a social

organization, or in any other place, a Party committee chairman should be the standard-bearer, not the one who issues commands. It is not the Party committee chairman but the manager who should give commands in a factory. The Party committee chairmen should march in the vanguard holding high the banner; they should set an example for others in all work. Some of them, however, fail to hold up the banner and only give commands and order people to follow them. Party work will not be successful where things are done this way.

Furthermore, the Party committee chairman or Party organizer should not only be an example to Party members but should also be like a mother. As a mother looks after her children and educates them, so should the Party organ and its chairman look after Party members and educate them.

The Party committee chairman should always be attentive to what the Party members are concerned about, what they are thinking and what their ideological maladies are. In this way, he should give them appropriate and timely education, prevent them from committing possible errors and help them rectify any mistakes they may have made. This will make the Party members respect their chairman and look at him as if he was their mother.

Then, even if he does not brandish Party authority, Party members will voluntarily support the Party committee and the people will rally around the Party.

The enhancement of the leadership role of the Party and the strengthening of Party control, which we call for, should be achieved in this way. We can never strengthen

Party control and elevate its leadership role by brandishing authority.

The rulers used to brandish their power, but there is no room for such behaviour by the Workers' Party members. Today there is no one who will bow to authority, even though some people may wield it.

Laying the main stress on persuasion and education in Party work does not in the least mean compromising with liberalism. But defects revealed in people's work and life cannot be remedied overnight by issuing orders. Although such methods seem to eliminate defects, the time will soon come when the same defects will reappear.

The same applies to the disease of bureaucracy. This disease cannot be cured overnight and this is clear from the fact that, even though we have been combatting bureaucracy for a long time, it still persists in some way or another. Therefore, a tireless struggle should be waged to wipe out completely the hangovers of wrong work methods of the past.

Moreover, there is another dangerous tendency in the style of work, namely, fame-seeking and formalism.

What other fame do we Party members need than to be loved and respected by the people? Is there any greater fame for us revolutionaries than the recognition by the masses of our loyalty to the interests of the revolution and the people? Apart from this, there can be no individual fame for us.

There will be a great change in our work if the methods of command and administration are eliminated completely, if the brandishing of Party authority is stamped out and fame-seeking and formalism are eradicated from Party work.

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

(Excerpts)

*September 11, 1961*

**IV. THE PARTY**

Comrades,

All the brilliant victories our people have won in the struggle for socialist construction and the peaceful reunification of the homeland are attributable to the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and testify unequivocally to the correctness of the Party's lines and policies.

Our Party has confidently led the Korean people to victories along the path indicated by Marxism-Leninism and honourably fulfilled its duty as the experienced General Staff of the revolution.

Thanks to its wise leadership, its unshakable Marxist-Leninist principles, its infinite fidelity to the interests of the Korean working class and working people and its uncompromising, resolute struggle against the

enemy, our Party today has won the absolute support and confidence of the Korean people. It has become their reliable guiding force and they completely trust it with their destiny. The Party has been further tempered and seasoned and has grown and developed into a Leninist party with iron-like unity and cohesion in the fierce struggles against internal and external enemies, and in the course of carrying out arduous revolutionary tasks.

The period under review has been one of harsh trials and historic changes in the development of our country's revolution and our Party.

During these years in the international arena, the imperialists continued their malicious anti-communist campaign in an attempt to destroy the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement. In line with the imperialists, the international revisionists came out wildly against Marxism-Leninism.

...

Class struggle at home and abroad also was reflected within the Party, and anti-Party factional elements came out against the Party and the revolution at the crucial moment.

But our Party has overcome every trial and emerged victorious on all fronts of the struggle.

The more vicious the machinations of the enemy, the higher the Party held the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, waging a decisive struggle to smash the enemy's intrigues to bits and struggling to build up its revolutionary ranks more firmly than ever and to uphold the revolutionary cause in Korea to the very end.

In the struggle against imperialism and for the common

cause of socialism and communism, our Party has always fought resolutely to uphold Marxist-Leninist principles and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and proletarian internationalist solidarity among the fraternal parties. At the same time, it concentrated its primary efforts on firmly building up our country's revolutionary base, a link in the whole chain of the international revolutionary front.

The Party has pushed ahead more vigorously with its revolutionary work to convert the northern half of Korea, our revolutionary base, into a powerful bastion of socialism in a short time. It has simultaneously waged the struggle against the enemy of the revolution through a movement of all the masses. This has enabled us to prevent the enemy from setting foot on our soil and to safeguard the socialist gains firmly from its encroachment, rallying all the masses of the people around the Party.

First of all, we have reinforced the organization and ideology of the Party ranks and strongly protected Party unity and cohesion.

The Party has constantly waged a vigorous ideological struggle against infiltration of revisionism and all shades of reactionary bourgeois ideas, and against factionalism, nepotism and other anti-Marxist, anti-Party ideological elements within the Party, thus all the time ensuring its ideological purity and unity of will and action and carrying its just revolutionary lines through to the end. In particular, with the impetus of the August 1956 Plenary Meeting and the Party Conference in March 1958, the Party cleared itself of anti-Party factional elements and attained a great victory in the battle to defend its unity and cohesion. The



anti-Party factional elements were the enemies of the revolution who were forced to reveal their true colours, no longer able to remain in hiding within the revolutionary ranks as the social revolution became more intense and the class struggle raged fiercely in our country. They were a gang of capitulators and alien elements who degenerated in face of the arduousness of the revolution.

Through its stubborn struggle against the anti-Party factionalists and their harmful ideological hangovers, our Party crushed the factions which had so much damaged the working-class movement of our country over a long period of time. Thus it decisively strengthened its unity and solidarity and accomplished the historical cause of unifying the communist movement in Korea. This is the most precious gain won by the Korean communists in their protracted, difficult struggle and a great victory of historic significance in the development of our Party.

While battling against the ideological aftereffects of factionalism and against revisionism, the Party continued a vigorous ideological struggle to overcome the harmful effects of dogmatism divorced from revolutionary practice and thereby established Juche more firmly in all areas of our work, leading Party members and the masses to give full play to their initiative.

Through these ideological struggles, the Party spirit of all members has been further enhanced. Moreover, the Party ideological system has been firmly established within the whole Party: each member always resolutely upholds Marxist-Leninist principles and the Party's lines in every circumstance and fights to the last with all his power to

carry through its policies. This has immensely strengthened the unity and fighting capacity of our Party and has constituted the basic guarantee for all our victories.

While reinforcing its ranks and waging a vigorous struggle against internal and external enemies, the Party organized and mobilized the revolutionary force of the masses of the people, firmly united around the Party, in the struggle to build a socialist economy.

In the course of carrying out the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting, which convened under extremely difficult internal and external circumstances, the creative zeal of the masses grew further, a great upsurge began in our socialist construction, and the historic Chollima Movement of the working people started. The Party has trusted the masses, and the masses, in turn, have followed the Party. United as one, the Party and the masses have fought untiringly for the triumph of socialism, overcoming each and every obstacle. We have thus victoriously accomplished the historic cause of laying the solid foundations of socialism at an unprecedentedly high speed on the soil of our country, a country which was once a backward colonial semi-feudal society and which was reduced to ashes by war. We have built up a strong bastion of peace and socialism at the eastern outpost of the socialist camp.

Through the struggle for rigid adherence to its Marxist-Leninist position and its practical achievements in socialist construction, the Party completely shattered all enemy plots and vividly demonstrated the invincibility of the Marxist-Leninist cause and the united strength of our

people. In doing this, we have been consistently loyal to our national and international duties to the Korean people and the international working class.

The great victories won in the complex class struggle and the building of socialism have enabled our Party to rally the entire working masses more closely around itself and strengthen its ties of kinship with the masses. These victories have brought about great changes in all fields of Party work.

All the Party organizations, from the Party Central Committee down to the primary Party organizations, and all Party members have been closely tied with unity of ideology and will. The old pattern has been eliminated in Party work, and the revolutionary work style and method have come to prevail throughout the Party. All Party members breathe as one with the Party Central Committee, and the entire mass of our people march ahead in high spirits towards victory, going through fire and water under the banner of the Party. Never before in the history of the working-class and communist movements in our country has our Party been so organizationally and ideologically solid as it is today. Never before have the whole Party and the entire people been as strongly knit together and united with a single ideology and will as they are now.

Today we can say with confidence that we have a powerful Marxist-Leninist party that can definitely lead the Korean people to victory, braving any adversity or difficulty.

This, in the main, summarizes the great victories attained by our Party in the course of its development

during the period under review.

...

During the period under review, the Party Central Committee, in view of the particular history of our Party building and its difficult revolutionary tasks, has done everything within its power to reinforce the organizational and ideological unity of the Party and decisively strengthen its leadership role.

As our Party was rapidly developing into a mass party, improving the quality of its members became the basic task in Party building. In particular, because of the fierce class struggle and immense task of socialist construction in our country, it was imperative that the Party expand and consolidate its forces in urban and rural areas even more and strengthen the fighting capacity of all its organizations.

Our Party has always given special attention to reinforcing its ranks in accordance with Leninist principles of Party building.

The most important thing in consolidating the Party's ranks and increasing its fighting capacity is work with cadres.

Cadres are the nucleus of the Party and its commanding staff in carrying out revolutionary tasks. Work with cadres is not only crucial in fortifying the Party's ranks of nuclei and strengthening its leadership. It also constitutes the most important factor in the allocation of Party forces.

During the period under review the central tasks that confronted our Party with respect to personnel affairs were to improve the qualitative composition of the cadres' ranks and to build them up more firmly in Party and state organs,

including lower Party organizations and local power organs.

We have observed the principle of forming the core with the old revolutionary cadres who had taken an active part in the struggle for the liberation of the motherland and with the cadres of working-class origin who have been tested in practice, and of boldly promoting a large number of new, young cadres who have developed rapidly among the working people after liberation.

We have extensively selected and trained cadres of working-class origin, and boldly given them major leading posts. We have firmly built up the ranks of cadres in factories and in the countryside with many excellent ex-soldiers and with nuclear Party members who have been steeled in the struggle for construction. At the same time, we have systematically sent competent cadres from the centre down to local areas to reinforce the ranks of cadres there steadily.

While training large numbers of new intellectuals among the workers and peasants, the Party has boldly promoted old intellectuals to cadres and steadily developed them through education. The Party further improved the leadership ability of the ranks of cadres by correctly combining those of working-class origin with those who had an intellectual background.

We have encouraged all Party organizations to give prime attention to personnel matters at all times. In the selection and allocation of cadres we have fought against tendencies of nepotism and regionalism and against having illusions about cadres, and tried to overcome arbitrary

judgment and subjectivism on the part of officials.

In view of the fact that the composition of the cadres' ranks was changed and many new cadres promoted, the Party has directed special attention to their guidance and education. We have steadily trained cadres through practical work; we have also taken both Party and state measures to induce them to study harder and have established a habit of study throughout the Party.

All this has resulted in decisively strengthening our Party's personnel matters, improving the qualitative composition of the cadre ranks and raising their political and ideological level. The proportion of cadres of worker origin in Party and government organs has increased from 24 per cent at the time of the Third Party Congress to 31 per cent now, and old revolutionary cadres and those of working-class origin play the nuclear role at important Party and state posts. The ranks of cadres in all major branches from the capital down to local areas have been built up with nuclear Party members who are boundlessly loyal to the Party. Competent revolutionary commanders who can carry through the will of the Party thoroughly and are capable of organizing the work of implementing its policies properly have been formed on all fronts—in politics, the economy and culture.

During the period we are reviewing, we have exerted a great deal of energy to consolidate primary Party organizations and increase their fighting power. This was the main content in our work to strengthen the Party qualitatively, as well as to expand and consolidate its forces on all fronts of socialist construction.

In guiding their subordinate units, all Party organizations, from the Party Central Committee down to the provincial, city and county Party committees, devoted their primary attention to strengthening the primary Party organizations. In particular, city and county Party committees concentrated their main forces on helping and directing the work of primary Party organizations by regularly sending them their leading officials.

In strengthening its primary organizations, the Party first gave its attention to steeling the Party spirit of the entire membership.

Party spirit means infinite loyalty to the Party. It is the strong class consciousness based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the indomitable revolutionary spirit of fighting through thick and thin in order to safeguard the Party and the revolution and carry out the Party's policies. We have consistently steeled all our members' Party spirit by intensifying their education in Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies, while at the same time waging a vigorous ideological struggle inside the Party and guaranteeing an intimate link between their Party life and the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

As an important step in fortifying its primary organizations, the Party has paid great attention to training its core members and to steadily expanding their ranks. This was especially important in our Party because its ranks grew rapidly and there was great disparity in the political preparation of its members.

Each Party organization has systematically educated its core members and consistently trained them through

practical work, constantly guiding them so as to enhance their vanguard role in the inner-Party ideological struggle and in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. Party organizations have actively enlisted their core members to educate and help new members, as well as all others with a low political level. The Party life of the entire membership was also improved by the exemplary role of these core members.

With the tempering of Party spirit and the numerical growth of our nuclei, the Party members' vanguard role has been strengthened and all the primary Party organizations have sunken deep roots among the masses. They have thus become militant and vital organizations capable of actively carrying out their revolutionary tasks.

In our Party today there has been established a revolutionary tone of Party life based on Leninist standards. All Party members are growing into revolutionary fighters with the Marxist-Leninist Party spirit of always being ready to defend the interests of the revolution and the class position.

In the area of Party building, intensive guidance to lower Party organizations was one of the major undertakings of the Party Central Committee during the period under review.

In order to improve the work of Party organizations at all levels and rapidly bring it up to the standard set by the Party Central Committee, we followed a line of conducting intensive work to strengthen lower Party organizations one by one, allocating a considerable number of leadership personnel to the guidance of specific bodies.



Under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee, guidance groups consisting of hundreds of thousands of able cadres were dispatched to provincial, city and county Party organizations. These groups studied the actual state of affairs in all the work of the respective Party organizations and gave them thorough guidance in their work for several months until radical changes took place.

During our intensive guidance, we detailed the Party's policies and methods of work to the lower-echelon officials and did all we could to raise the quality of their work and to remove obstacles and difficulties from their path. We also took measures to radically improve their work through a comprehensive understanding of the strength and weaknesses of Party organizations. This concrete guidance and assistance to Party organizations not only helped give the Party members and the working masses a deeper understanding of the correctness of the Party's policies and improve the work of lower Party organizations decisively; such work also made it possible to eliminate the wrong tendency of fearing and avoiding guidance and checkups by higher organizations and cement unity with officials at the lower levels to an even greater extent.

Through intensive guidance we also roused the Party members and the broad masses of the working people to struggle to improve their work. We also helped them in a positive way to discover shortcomings in their work independently in the light of the Party's policies, as well as to overcome these shortcomings through determined struggles on their own. This helped tighten the Party life in Party organizations, give full scope to inner-Party

democracy and further steel the Party spirit of the members. Intensive guidance also allowed us to correctly identify core members and fortify the leading bodies of the Party organizations by incorporating them into these bodies.

...

During the period under review, a radical change has taken place in the struggle to improve the style of leadership and method of work in the Party.

The fundamental requirement of the Party's revolutionary leadership is to steadily raise the political awareness of the masses and to organize and enlist their inexhaustible energy and creativity to the maximum in the implementation of the Party's policies.

This revolutionary work method of serving the masses wholeheartedly, relying upon them, and enlisting their creative power is a tradition of our Party inherited from the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

But many of our officials who were trained after liberation had no experience in working with the masses—winning them over and rousing them to action under difficult conditions. At one time the bureaucratic style of work, which is fundamentally incompatible with the style of Party work, was spread among more than a few officials by certain unsound elements. Therefore, arming all officials with the revolutionary mass viewpoint and their mastery of revolutionary leadership methods presented itself as a very important task for our Party.

In the past period, in order to rectify the officials' work style and improve their work method, we have exerted all

our efforts to take over and develop all aspects of our Party's traditional revolutionary style of work.

First of all, we have categorically rejected the armchair work style which is divorced from the masses and have strengthened guidance at production sites. In all guidance we have endeavoured to give priority to political work designed to heighten the political awareness of the masses and bring their activity and creativity into full play; we have tried to solve all problems in a revolutionary way by relying upon the strength of the masses.

The Party Central Committee has systematically sent responsible Party and Government cadres down to factories and villages to continue to conduct on-the-spot guidance as one of its routine activities, explaining and bringing the Party's policies home to the working people and consulting directly with them to find ways and means to overcome obstacles and difficulties arising in the course of carrying out revolutionary tasks.

In such on-the-spot guidance, the Party has always solved the principal problem in one given place and made it a model. Then it systematically generalized all concrete experience and lessons gained in that one area and, in this way, combined general and specific guidance and successfully overcame subjectivism and formalism in its leadership.

In order to ensure correct revolutionary leadership for the masses, we should constantly improve and perfect the method and system of Party work in conformity with our continually developing realities and working conditions.

The new situation that has prevailed in our country in

the last few years demanded that the whole system and method of Party work improve accordingly. The main characteristics of the new circumstances are: due to the completion of the socialist transformation of the relations of production the socialist economic sector became completely dominant in the national economy; the productive forces developed at a very high rate and the scale of production expanded rapidly; and the political enthusiasm of the masses grew even stronger. The old work system and method adapted to a scattered and spontaneous private economy had become incompatible with the new circumstances in which a planned and organized socialist economy was dominant, and the officials' standard of work could not keep up with our fast changing and developing reality.

This situation found concentrated expression, above all, in the rural economy which had been transformed into a socialist cooperative in a short time and in which the cooperatives had rapidly grown larger as they were amalgamated with the ri as a single unit.

The Party Central Committee gave on-the-spot guidance to the Party organizations in Chongsan-ri and other villages in Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, and found concrete ways to decisively improve the work system and work method in Party and state organs. The Party Central Committee generalized this experience in all areas of our work, thereby bringing about a great change in all Party work.

Through the struggle to generalize the experience acquired in guidance to Chongsan-ri, we managed, first of

all, to thoroughly establish the work system whereby officials from Party and state organs would personally go to lower units and give concrete assistance to their subordinates and the masses. The centre has been able to help the province, and the province assist the county. In particular, the officials of county organs, the lowest leadership units of the Party and the state, have been encouraged to go down regularly to the ri, which has become the basic production unit in the countryside, and to assist in its work in a responsible manner, personally organizing and carrying out Party and economic work together with the ri officials.

...

Comrades,

During the period under review, our Party has been tremendously successful in reinforcing its ranks.

We must advance even further towards new victories, consolidating the successes already gained. There is no reason at all for us to become complacent.

Our Party now faces the momentous task of successfully carrying out the Seven-Year National Economic Plan and building up the democratic base in the northern half into an impregnable bastion in order to realize the historic cause of the country's reunification. This revolutionary task demands that we further strengthen our Party—the Korean people's guiding force and the organizer of all its victories—into an indestructible force and solidify the unity of all the masses of the people under the leadership of our Party.

Today, the destiny of all the Korean people and the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution depend

completely upon the leadership of our Party. The fortification of the Party is a decisive guarantee for the triumph of our revolution.

We must continually exert every possible effort to consolidate the Party organizationally and ideologically and to strengthen its leadership role.

The most urgent task in Party work at present is to continue reinforcing the ranks of the cadres and sharply raise their level of leadership.

In all fields our reality, which is advancing dynamically at the speed of Chollima, requires more competent commanders with revolutionary sweep.

A weak point in our current work is that the cadres' level of leadership can hardly keep up with the revolutionary spirit of the masses who have wholeheartedly supported the Party's correct lines and policies or with the rapidly changing and developing reality. We should make every possible effort to raise cadres' level and, in particular, rapidly improve the qualifications of the officials in ministries, management bureaus, and in local Party and power organs, and of the leading personnel in factories, enterprises, and in the countryside, who are directly responsible for carrying out the Party policies in building a socialist economy.

Revolution is a complex and difficult task of remoulding nature and society. To carry it out successfully we must possess both revolutionary will and the weapons and means for reorganizing life and building it. Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge are the powerful revolutionary weapons which shine brilliantly

down the road to victory and ensure our advance in the complex, arduous struggle.

Despite the fact that they are good workers who developed through difficult struggle and are loyal to the Party, some of our officials lag behind reality, just marking time, because they neglect to study science and technology and cling to their limited experience. Some of them are also so cautious that they cannot have faith in the revolutionary power of the masses, and do not work boldly in a revolutionary way.

The most important thing in raising the cadres' leadership ability is that all the officials study Marxism-Leninism, acquire scientific knowledge, and equip themselves with the revolutionary spirit of the working class. Every single one of them should learn, upholding at all times the slogan, "The entire Party must study."

All cadres must study Marxist-Leninist theory and the Party's policies profoundly and master them to be able to analyse reality scientifically and carry out the Party's policies correctly in any complex situation. In particular, they must thoroughly prepare themselves with scientific knowledge about socialist economic construction, our principal revolutionary task in the present period. All the cadres must systematically study Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy in connection with our Party's policies. They must acquaint themselves with technology and with concrete economic problems relative to industry, agriculture, construction, transport, trade, and so forth. In addition, all cadres must profoundly study the

revolutionary traditions of our Party and understand them, and arm themselves with revolutionary spirit so that they may defend the Party's policies to the utmost and carry them out with revolutionary sweep.

Cadres of working-class origin should acquire knowledge and technology from the intellectuals. The cadres who are from the intelligentsia should, in turn, acquaint themselves with the revolutionary spirit and organization of the working class.

We must all learn from each other and, particularly, from the masses.

Our best instructors are the masses of the people and reality. All cadres should humbly learn from the masses, raise their own level through practical work, constantly sum up the results of their own work, and generalize their experience.

The Party organizations at all levels must further expand cadre-training institutions, improve the quality of instruction and education, and extensively re-educate the cadres on the job. The cadres at the county and higher levels should be encouraged to complete a university or university-level college course in the shortest possible time either through the Central Party School, the University of National Economy, and the communist universities or through correspondence courses offered by institutions of higher education. The system of learning while working should be established so that managers, chief engineers, shop managers, chairmen of the Party organizations in all production units and management personnel of the cooperatives can master specialized knowledge and



technology in their respective fields.

All the cadres should, in this way, become competent workers who are not only infinitely loyal to the Party, well-prepared both politically and theoretically and knowledgeable about their job, but also have a high cultural level.

One of the important tasks still before us is the problem of further consolidating the primary Party organization, the Party cell.

The primary Party organization is the base for the Party life of each member. It is our Party's basic organization and combat unit which unites the masses around the Party and carries out the Party policies directly with them.

Only strengthening the primary Party organizations makes it possible to strengthen the whole Party and mobilize all its members and organizations as one man to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

In particular, to make sure that the large-scale work of socialist construction now under way in our country is successful and to enlist the exceptionally high revolutionary zeal and initiative of the masses for this work to the greatest possible extent, it is necessary to make every primary Party organization a militant one which functions actively, is quick to perceive new things, enjoys prestige among the masses, and is able to unite the masses and lead them with vigour.

Every primary Party organization must concentrate on inducing all members to fully discharge their duties as provided for in the Party Rules in strict accordance with Leninist standards of Party life. It must also concentrate on

actively developing the practice of criticism and self-criticism in Party life and on energetically conducting both Marxist-Leninist education of the members and inner-Party ideological struggle so as to steel their Party spirit and establish the Party's ideological system more firmly among them. All Party members should be educated and trained in this way so that they can courageously combat negative phenomena of all kinds, resolutely defending the Party lines and policies and striving to put these policies into practice to the fullest possible extent wherever and whenever they may be.

The primary Party organizations must continuously expand and reinforce the Party's ranks of nuclei while at the same time mobilizing every single member to carry out revolutionary tasks. Each Party organization must correctly assign Party duties according to the character, ability and physical condition of each of its members, daily assist them in the implementation of these assignments, and review and sum up the results promptly. Thus, we should lead all members to always act as required by the Party and to advance at the head of the masses in their fight to carry out the Party policies.

The Party organizations must strengthen their ties with the masses, educating them in Party ideology from one day to the next. At the same time, they must pay close attention to the steady expansion of Party ranks by properly recruiting members from the working people.

Party members are self-conscious revolutionary fighters who make a total commitment to the struggle for the revolution and the final victory of socialism and

communism. Our Party members assume the heavy responsibility of leading all the masses and carrying the Korean revolution to completion for the country's prosperity and the happiness of the working masses.

Every Party member must tirelessly endeavour to be infinitely loyal to the revolution, to further cultivate the qualities of a revolutionary fighter in order to be a model for the masses in every respect, and to improve his political level and practical abilities. All of our members should be firmly equipped with Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies. They should become capable political workers, not only defending these policies and carrying them through to the end, but also explaining and propagating them among the masses and leading them forward by educating and remoulding them with the Party ideas.

Furthermore, Party members should be well versed and proficient in their work. They must all make special efforts to learn science and technology and raise their educational and cultural levels.

Every member of the Party should thus become a conscious revolutionary fighter armed with Marxism-Leninism as well as a knowledgeable and competent builder of the new life—a person who has the high standards of technical expertise and culture.

In order to enhance the leading role of the Party, it is essential that Party committees at all levels be reinforced and their functions and role strengthened.

The Party committee is the supreme leading organ in its respective unit; it is the general staff in every aspect of work. Correct implementation of the Party's policies in all areas

depends entirely upon the leadership of Party committees.

Today, the socialist system has been established completely in our country, and our Party assumes full responsibility in politics, economics, military affairs and culture and in all aspects of the people's daily life. This demands that Party committees at every level improve their leadership and supervision in all fields.

By the strengthening of Party supervision we do not mean that the Party should do administrative work itself. Rather, supervision by rank-and-file Party members and the collective leadership of Party committees in all work should be improved.

If Party committees are to perform their role as the general staff effectively, they must, before anything else, be made up of core members who have strong Party spirit and leadership qualities. The committees must be composed of men and women familiar with the problems of a given field and capable of efficiently performing their work properly incorporating the wishes of the masses. In particular, the committees should take their members largely from the working people and specialists directly involved in production. All the Party committees should thus be more closely linked with the masses and capable of organizing and enlisting their wisdom to the full.

Party committees should properly assign duties to their members, continually increase their activity and political and practical levels so that all members can strictly abide by Party principles in solving any complex problem and actively organize their work on the basis of the Party's policies.

Collective leadership is the basis of the Party committees' activities. Working from the Party policies, the Party committees must collectively discuss all important matters arising in a given field, decide on how to proceed, give assignments and correctly mobilize their forces.

Leadership and supervision should be strengthened over all state organs, working people's organizations and economic and cultural institutions, and their work should be checked and analysed in good time so that they are able to fulfil their assignments responsibly in accordance with decisions of the Party committees.

Here, further improvement of the Party guidance and supervision in economic construction becomes a matter of great importance. The Party committees must supervise the work of ministries, management bureaus, and economic bodies in fulfilling the national economic plan so that they know how to execute the Party policies correctly. It is incumbent upon provincial, city and county Party committees, in particular, to intensify their guidance and supervision of industry and agriculture.

We must strengthen Party guidance and supervision in all spheres so that each state body and working people's organization fully exercises its functions in the struggle to implement the Party policies under the unified leadership of the Party.

The people's power is the executor of all the lines and policies of our Party, a powerful weapon for socialist construction, and a reliable defender of our revolution.

Party committees at every level are obliged to strive persistently to consolidate the people's power organs and

increase their functions and role in fulfilling revolutionary tasks.

The momentous task confronting people's power bodies at present is to improve their functions as organizers of the economy and as educators of culture.

The power organs at all levels should raise the quality of planning in economic management even higher than it is now, and put the socialist principles of planned production, planned accumulation, planned distribution and planned consumption into practice in a thoroughgoing way. The power organs should organize production and construction and push them ahead in a planned way in order to ensure the speedy development of the productive forces and the systematic rise in labour productivity. They should also be trying at all times to raise the working people's standards of technical know-how and skills and to improve and strengthen labour administration. The government bodies at all levels should have a greater sense of responsibility for the people's living conditions, steadily promote their material well-being by properly guaranteeing supply services for the working people and paying serious attention to education, public health, town administration and rural construction; and they should vigorously fulfil the task of the cultural revolution put forward by the Party.

The government bodies from top to bottom are required to abandon bureaucratic, armchair work methods in every one of their activities and conclusively establish the Party habit of giving priority to political work, observing and analysing phenomena from a political framework at all

times, and dealing with current problems promptly and accurately.

Thus, our people's government bodies should become powerful institutions of political power that champion the people's interests, serve them more faithfully and, as a weapon of the revolution, responsibly carry out the Party's policies.

We should strengthen in every possible way the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat represented by people's power, thereby to firmly protect the gains of socialism and the people's happy life against encroachment by the enemy.

...

The organs of people's power should totally smash such manoeuvring by the enemy. It is necessary that we fortify the People's Army and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards politically and ideologically; we must reinforce the internal security organs, public prosecutors offices and judicial bodies, further enhancing their role and functions. Sharp vigilance should be maintained against the enemy at all times, revolutionary discipline and order established in every sphere and a vigorous struggle against counter-revolution fought unremittingly in an all-people movement. In this way, we will defend our coasts and borders firmly, capture enemy infiltrators at the right time, and thoroughly expose and frustrate all enemy subversion and sabotage at every step. We must prevent the enemy from worming his way into our place—we must make it impossible for him to set foot on our soil.

In addition, we have to increase the role of the working

people's organizations as transmission belts linking the Party with the masses.

During the past period, our working people's organizations have scored great successes in establishing the Party's ideological system in their ranks, rallying the working masses around the Party, and organizing and mobilizing them to fulfil its policies.

Today the working people's organizations face the important task of giving more positive support to the Party through a greater display of activity and initiative in executing its policies.

It is of tremendous significance in organizing and mobilizing our revolutionary forces to enhance the role of trade union organizations, whose ranks embrace all of the factory and office workers.

Trade union organizations should, first of all, fully establish a system of work which will permit them to stick to their proper duties and to fulfil them responsibly and concretely.

They should devote great efforts to rallying all factory and office workers more closely around the Party and establishing its ideological system firmly within the working class, thus helping our working class to act with a single will and purpose in response to the Party's call and faithfully serve the interests of the Party and the revolution.

Trade union organizations should encourage workers' active participation in the management of enterprises by further improving and intensifying the work of the production conferences; they should ensure fulfilment and overfulfilment of production goals by organizing and



developing socialist emulation on a broad scale. Above all, they should exert their utmost efforts to expand and develop the Chollima Workteam Movement so as to give fuller scope to the enthusiasm and initiative of the working people in socialist construction, and educate and remould them along communist lines.

Trade union organizations should instil in all working people the spirit of observing consciously state discipline and social order and protecting and valuing state property, and should steadily improve their technical and cultural standards.

An important duty of trade unions is to try to improve the working conditions of the working people and raise their material and cultural standards. They should feel a greater sense of responsibility to ensure the working people labour protection and safety on the job and should actively work to organize and improve this work. At the same time, they should continue to develop cultured practices in production. They should also pay great attention to cultural activities, to recreation and holidays for the working people, and to improving their material conditions. In this way, they should thoroughly implement the Party's policy of promoting the welfare of the people.

The Democratic Youth League organizations, composed of broad sections of young people, face the vital task of educating all the younger generation to be reserves on which the Party can rely.

The DYL organizations should energetically conduct communist education and education in the revolutionary traditions among all the youth so that they may equip

themselves with the strong spirit of faithful service to the Party and the revolution and carry the Party's policies through to the end, overcoming valiantly any obstacles they may face and taking the lead in tackling difficult and toilsome jobs.

The DYL organizations must constantly stimulate young people's interest in their studies and firmly guide them all towards systematic study habits so that they may develop a deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party and acquire an adequate scientific background. In particular, they must guarantee that every youngster acquires more than one technical skill and that student youth become competent, able builders of socialism by strengthening their study discipline and correctly combining academic pursuits and productive labour. In this way, they will ensure that all young people actively participate in socialist construction, particularly in carrying out the technical revolution, and display their energy and talent to the fullest extent.

The DYL organizations must strive to firmly establish moral conduct befitting a communist among the youth. Young people must resolutely combat all manifestations of immorality and indolence along with the penetration of old bourgeois customs; they all must have the revolutionary traits of frugality in life and diligence in work.

The DYL organizations should constantly train the younger generation physically as well as mentally and prepare them more competently for productive labour and national defence by vigorously carrying on physical culture and sports among the youth and children on a mass basis.

In this way all of our youth will be educated to become men of a new kind, versatile and imbued with revolutionary optimism and creativity, ever energetic, bold in thought and action, innovative—who vigorously march forward to build a bright future.

The Democratic Women's Union organizations should intensify communist education among women, raise political consciousness and cultural standards, and encourage working women to take a more active role in socialist construction.

In view of the fact that women have entered the life of our society in full force and their numbers have increased considerably in all fields of economic and cultural construction, the branches of the Democratic Women's Union should strengthen their organization in factories, enterprises and rural districts, bring their activities closer to production centres, and actively educate and remould people, uniting front-rank women firmly.

Party committees at all levels should solidly build up the working people's organizations such as the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Democratic Women's Union, set lines and methods of work at the right time, and continue to strengthen Party leadership so that the role of these organizations is enhanced. In particular, the Party organizations should strengthen the work of all the committees of the working people's organizations so that they may take on the tasks assigned by the Party immediately at a given moment and keep pace with the Party in their struggle.

Party committees at every level are required to carry out

the Party's revolutionary mass line thoroughly and steadily develop the revolutionary method and style of work in all activities.

These committees should go deeply among the masses, bringing leadership closer to the lower levels, seek out and popularize exemplary deeds—the new buds blossoming in the midst of the masses—as soon as they appear and skilfully enlist and organize the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses in realizing Party policies.

...

Comrades,

The Party's unity of ideology and will is our heart and soul. It is the decisive guarantee of all our victories.

The struggle for the unity of the Party is the sacred, supreme duty of all Party organizations and every Party member.

Our Party has achieved today's strong unity within its ranks after a long and bitter struggle against the vicious enemies of the revolution.

Unsound ideas of various shades which are inconsistent with the ideas of the Party are, in the final analysis, diverse manifestations of bourgeois ideology. Should they grow unchecked within the Party, great harm may come to the Party and the revolution. As long as imperialism exists and the class struggle continues, we must constantly sharpen our vigilance against the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the Party and struggle without compromise against any attempt, no matter how small it may be, to undermine the Party's unity.

Party organizations at all levels should arm their

members more thoroughly with Marxist-Leninist ideas and fully acquaint them with the historical experience our Party gained in its struggle for unity and cohesion. They will thus encourage all of them to struggle vigorously and unceasingly against revisionism, dogmatism, factionalism, parochialism, nepotism and all other types of opportunism, and at all costs, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the Party ranks.

Consequently, all Party members and Party organizations should think and act in the same way that the Party Central Committee does. They should fight to the last, joining their fate with that of the Party Central Committee no matter how difficult the circumstances.

When the Party's ranks are firmly united and rallied by one and the same will, we can repulse the attack of all enemies no matter how malicious they may be, overcome all adversities and difficulties and advance triumphantly.

We must always cherish the unity of the entire Party around its Central Committee as the apple of our eye, rally all the people in a rocklike unity around the Party, and with the Party and the masses united as one body, march on with high revolutionary spirits from victory to victory.

# **ON SOME TASKS OF IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

(Excerpts)

**Speech before the Heads of Departments  
of the Party Central Committee and Chief  
Secretaries of Provincial Party Committees**

*March 3, 1969*

Today I am going to talk about some immediate tasks of all Party organizations.

## **1. ON TIGHTENING THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE**

I would like first to mention some of the Party's organizational principles which the Party Central Committee and local Party organizations must observe in future, in connection with the matter which was criticized at the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Committee of the People's Army.

This recent enlarged meeting and the plenary meetings of unit Party committees at all levels exposed and criticized the fact that some officers of the People's Army had committed acts of military bureaucracy and had done

tremendous harm to the work of the People's Army.

The military despots in the army not only neglected the execution of the Party line and policy, but rejected Party leadership over the People's Army. They did not report their work to the Party nor did they pass on Party instructions to their subordinates as they should have done. They were absorbed in making themselves important. They abused their authority, threw their weight about, and behaved haughtily. As a result, they went in for individual heroism and finally degenerated into anti-Party, counter-revolutionaries.

Some officials still behave in contravention of organizational discipline, a practice similar to that which occurred in the People's Army. On their inspection tour of factories and local areas, they abuse their authority by telling their subordinates to use money as they please, and by ordering the supply of more goods than are needed. They behave in a despotic manner, by ordering the dismissal of their subordinates at will even without going through organizational procedures.

Our Party's organizational discipline is based on the revolutionary organizational principle of the Party. All Party members are in duty bound to observe this discipline strictly and willingly. We must tighten this discipline and ensure that all officials and Party members abide by it to the letter. We must adopt thoroughgoing organizational measures to prevent the senior officials of the central authorities in particular from abusing their official powers by taking advantage of Party authority on their inspection of provinces.

Vice-premiers of the Cabinet, secretaries of the Party Central Committee and other senior officials of the central authorities must stop convening meetings at will in the provinces and deciding or disposing of matters in hand carelessly. They are entitled to convene meetings in provinces only on the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and its Secretariat or on the authority of the General Secretary.

The organizational discipline of our Party demands, by nature, that everybody, regardless of his position, should do all work under assignment by his Party organization. Therefore, no individual officials can direct local Party organizations and administrative bodies or convene any kind of meetings as they wish.

Today, an individual's authority does not exist in our Party, separately from unitary Party authority. Since they belong to their organizations, vice-premiers of the Cabinet can only inspect provinces, call meetings and settle matters which are raised, on the authority of the Premier and of the Cabinet, and secretaries can do so only when empowered by the General Secretary or by the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. Even in these cases, they must get the approval of the provincial Party committee and the local Party organization concerned.

But it is a different matter when senior officials of the central bodies visit provinces and call consultative meetings on the affairs which concern their specific sectors. When necessary, and according to their plans, they can visit provinces and convene such meetings of the officials concerned.



For example, a secretary in charge of an economic department, even when he is not authorized by a decision of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, may visit factories and enterprises and convene consultative meetings of their managers, chief engineers and other officials concerned to see if production has been organized properly, how equipment is maintained technically, what their output is, and what their problems are in production, and so on. Such gatherings can do no more than exchange the opinions of producers: these meetings are not entitled to make any decision, and, accordingly, the matters debated there do not become effective there and then. If the items discussed are to become effective, they should be brought to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, to its Secretariat, or to the Cabinet for the necessary decisions to be made. The information which individual officials obtained and the items discussed at local consultative meetings should be reported to the Party Central Committee and its General Secretary. Then, problems which, according to their categories, require settlement by the Cabinet will be discussed at the Presidium of the Cabinet, matters which concern inner-Party work will be debated at meetings of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, and important questions which are related to economic policy will be considered at the Political Committee for the relevant decisions to be made. Only when the information which was collected by individual officials at subordinate units and the issues raised at the consultative meetings have been discussed and decided on

at such meetings, can these decisions become effective.

To proceed, individual officials should not be allowed to punish or dismiss their subordinates at will without going through the organizational procedures.

No official can, or is authorized to, punish or dismiss his subordinates without following organizational formalities. The organizational discipline of our Party does not permit it.

During the past 40-odd years of our arduous revolutionary struggle, we have never peremptorily dismissed people in violation of Party discipline or dealt with personnel affairs contrary to the organizational formalities.

But the military despots, abusing the high authority of the Party and their official powers, have dismissed officials from their posts arbitrarily in the past by totally ignoring organizational procedures. As a result, many people were afraid of them, fawned upon them and followed them blindly. Even now some officials on their local inspections punish or dismiss subordinates without circumspection.

This undisciplined practice must be stopped once and for all, and, in every circumstance, organizational procedures must be followed before officials are punished or dismissed.

What is meant by following these procedures? It means that if an official is to be punished or dismissed, his case should be discussed and decided on collectively by the Party committee which appointed him. For example, if an official who was appointed by the Political Committee, or by the Secretariat, of the Party Central Committee, is to be

punished, the Political Committee or the Secretariat must discuss his case and decide on it.

In a battle situation, a commander can, of course, use his authority to punish on the spot a soldier who disobeys his orders. With the exception of such a special case, the organizational formalities must be observed in all circumstances in punishing officials.

If a senior official of the central authorities finds a culpable subordinate when directing a lower echelon, he should suggest to the Party organization concerned how to handle his case, instead of dismissing him irresponsibly. The Party organization which receives the suggestion must not blindly obey him simply because he is a high-ranking official, but must convene a Party meeting to consider whether the suggestion is justified and examine in detail how the man in question has worked. On this basis, the case should be handled correctly.

Next, officials should make it a rule to inform their subordinates of the Party's policy promptly and correctly.

The policy of our Party mirrors the essence of the intention and thinking of its Central Committee; it constitutes food indispensable for Party members in the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the decisions of the Party and the instructions of the General Secretary must be passed on to the subordinates promptly and correctly.

In the past some officials neglected to do this, and even when they did, they did not convey them correctly in the established order, but in such a way as to make it impossible to distinguish between the General Secretary's instructions and their own statements.

In informing their subordinates of Party decisions or of the General Secretary's instructions, officials must not mix their own words with them; they must say distinctly which are Party decisions and which are the instructions of the General Secretary.

Furthermore, individual officials must not arbitrarily change Party and Cabinet decisions and state laws and decrees.

No one is authorized to change them as he pleases. No decisions of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, for example, can be amended by a secretary or by a member of the Political Committee at his discretion.

When there is a need to amend Party or Cabinet decisions, the organization which has adopted them must adopt new resolutions or approve the amendments. The decisions of a provincial Party committee, too, cannot be cancelled by a secretary of the Party Central Committee or by the chief secretary of the provincial Party committee at his discretion. These decisions can be revoked only by resolutions of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee or of the provincial Party committee concerned.

No one but the General Secretary or the Premier is authorized to change his directives. What would happen if a secretary or a vice-premier on a visit to provinces arbitrarily changed the instructions given by the General Secretary or altered an arrangement made by him?

Secretaries of the Party Central Committee are assistants to the General Secretary, so they must act upon his instructions and do the work organized by him. To assist the General Secretary in his work, the secretaries in

charge of the departments of the Party Central Committee should report to him on the situation and activities of their departments, give him opinions on the policy of their respective sectors and inform the departments concerned of his instructions.

Party discipline must be tightened in future, so that individual officials will refrain from arbitrarily altering Party and Cabinet decisions, state laws and decrees and the instructions of the General Secretary and the Premier. Only then can we prevent the appearance of anti-Party factionalists like those who existed in the Party in the past and, even if such elements do appear, can we forestall them from doing any harm.

Next, all Party organizations should make it a rule to tell the Party Central Committee promptly about any officials who act contrary to the monolithic ideology of the Party.

An official, whoever he may be, is liable to make mistakes, unless he observes Party discipline. An official cannot acquire the monolithic ideology of the Party without effort simply because he is a cadre. Even those who have waged the revolutionary struggle for a long time, can degenerate if they do not make untiring efforts to revolutionize themselves. Even those who have so far worked devotedly can become corrupt tomorrow if they are not armed with the Party ideology. This is illustrated by the case of the anti-Party elements who appeared in the People's Army.

The military despots in the People's Army spoke ill of the policy of our Party on many occasions. But Party organizations and officials failed in the past to strike out at

such anti-Party moves promptly, neither did they report them to the Party Central Committee. The failure to report is due partly to the fact that our officials could not judge whether their doings were right or not. But the main reason is that, lacking Party spirit, they feared possible persecution which they might invite if they reported these misdeeds to the Party Central Committee. Some people even flattered those military despots, instead of informing the Party of their anti-Party acts.

In future all Party organizations and officials must strike hard against people, irrespective of their position, who speak against the monolithic ideology of the Party or slander its policy, and immediately tell the Party Central Committee about them.

The discipline of our Party has not been established by any one individual. It is the revolutionary discipline which we have observed for the 40-odd years of revolution. Party organizations at all levels must thoroughly observe our Party's revolutionary discipline in all circumstances, and at all times.

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

(Excerpts)

*November 2, 1970*

**V. FOR THE STRENGTHENING  
OF PARTY WORK**

Comrades,

The great victories and successes which we achieved in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction during the period under review are due to the correct lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and its wise leadership. Taking Marxism-Leninism as its constant guiding principle, our Party mapped out the correct lines and policies best suited to the specific conditions of our country in each period of the development of the revolution and effectively organized and mobilized all Party members and working people to implement them.

In the course of carrying out difficult and intricate revolutionary tasks and through the fierce struggle against internal and external enemies, our Party has been increasingly seasoned and steeled, and it has strengthened

itself and developed into an indestructible revolutionary party.

Today a monolithic ideological system has been firmly established within our Party, and the whole Party has attained firm unity and cohesion based on Marxist-Leninist ideas—the Juche idea of our Party. This is the most important result of Party work during the period under review; it is the basic factor behind the increase in our Party’s fighting capacity.

...

As the aggressive designs of the imperialists became more intense and revisionist ideological trends penetrated from outside, revisionist elements lurking within the Party did not implement the Party’s policies sincerely, resorting to underhanded methods, and intrigued in the open and under cover to resurrect bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas.

By rousing its organizations and the rank and file to action, our Party thoroughly exposed and smashed the insidious moves of the bourgeois and revisionist elements and battled unflinchingly against every single tendency to oppose its lines and policies and to undermine its unity. We also developed a forceful ideological struggle to root out the poisonous aftereffects of all the different reactionary and opportunist ideologies which they spread.

While resolutely combatting the bourgeois and revisionist elements and their dangerous ideological influence, our Party worked untiringly to equip its members and the working people with its revolutionary ideas and to instil in them the spirit of defending and implementing



Party lines and policies to the end.

Consequently, today our Party is pervaded throughout with Marxist-Leninist ideology, the revolutionary ideology of our Party, and all Party members and the working people are armed with unshakable faith, so that they admit no other ideas than the revolutionary ideas of our Party. They are capable now of judging anything that arises according to the standards of Party policies and of waging a principled struggle, without the slightest compromise, against anything incompatible with these policies. With all its members fully equipped with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its unity and fighting efficiency have been further strengthened. All Party organizations and members have come to think and act with one mind and one will based on the monolithic ideology of the Party, and they have been rallied closely around its Central Committee. The Party has turned into an integral living organization like a biological organism—into a revolutionary and militant organization which is capable of withstanding any stress.

Today our Party's unity and cohesion have reached a new, higher level—vital and solid as never before. We can say that only today have the Party's unity and cohesion which we communists wanted so much to see, been fully realized, on the basis of the monolithic ideological system of Juche. This is a splendid fruit of our long drawn-out efforts and a great victory of historic significance in the construction of our Party.

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist Juche idea constitutes the quintessence of the revolutionary ideas of our Party, the monolithic ideology of the Party, and the monolithic

ideological system of our Party is the ideological system of Juche.

Closely linked with the battle to establish Juche in all domains of revolution and construction during the period under review, the Party mounted a campaign to cement its unity and cohesion based on the monolithic ideological system. Thus it not only attained unity in its ranks but also ensured the overall victory of the Juche idea. This idea has now become the firm and unchangeable guiding ideology of our Party and the very correct guiding principle in all our revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. This, too, is an extremely notable result of our Party's activities during the period under review.

To establish Juche means, in brief, to approach revolution and construction in one's own country with the attitude of a master. This means adhering to the independent stand of rejecting dependence on others and of taxing one's ingenuity, believing in one's own strength and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, thus solving all problems for oneself on one's own responsibility. It also means maintaining the creative stand of opposing dogmatism and of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism as well as the experiences of other countries to suit the actual conditions and national peculiarities of one's own country. The Juche idea is in full agreement with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; it came into being as a reflection of the new stage of development of the international communist movement and its essential requirements.

The question of establishing Juche assumed particular

importance for us because of the peculiarities of the historical development of our country, because of its geographical environment and conditions, and because of the complex and arduous nature of our revolution.

Flunkeyism has a long history in our country. For a longtime some of our people maintained the servile idea of doubting their own strength and blindly worshipping and following others. Even after liberation, flunkeyism was still a great obstacle to revolution and construction on the one hand and to the consolidation and development of the Party on the other. When allied to dogmatism, it wrought greater damage.

Even when the people became masters of the country and attained their own state power and Party, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism did not study our own situation, but sought to copy foreign things mechanically, continuing to doubt their own strength and relying on others. The harmfulness of these tendencies was glaringly revealed during the war, and it became all the more intolerable when the socialist revolution and socialist construction proceeded on a full scale after the war. With the trend towards opportunism spreading widely in the international communist movement, the flunkeyists and dogmatists went so far as to import it into our country. Without eradicating flunkeyism and dogmatism and thoroughly establishing Juche, it was impossible to carry on the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction successfully in strict adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The experience of history shows that when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes

an idiot; when a nation takes to flunkeyism their country falls into ruin, and when a party acquires flunkeyism it makes a muddle of revolution and construction.

From the beginning of its leadership of the revolution, our Party carried out an untiring fight against flunkeyism and dogmatism and for the establishment of Juche, developing it more effectively as the revolution and construction developed in depth and scope. During the period under review in particular, the struggle to establish Juche in the revolution and in construction proceeded on a wider scale and in greater depth than ever before. This process was closely linked to the struggle against opportunism. The Party waged a powerful ideological struggle against flunkeyism, dogmatism and opportunism of every kind among cadres and Party members. At the same time, it educated them in the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party, patiently teaching them, in particular, to arm themselves firmly with its lines and policies and to solve all problems according to the actual conditions of their country and, mainly by their own efforts.

The struggle to establish Juche has brought about a fundamental change in the ideological life of the Party members and the working people and in their way of thinking, and it has resulted in a great surge forward in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction. The practice of blindly despising our own things and accepting foreign things completely is no longer in evidence among cadres and Party members; their national pride and awareness of independence have increased further and the

revolutionary trait of relying on their own efforts has been thoroughly instilled in them. Now we can say that flunkeyism, national nihilism and dogmatism have mainly been eliminated as ideological trends amongst our Party members and our people. The establishment of Juche in ideology is a great victory in the realm of the ideological revolution; it has freed our people from the shackles of obsolete ideas which poisoned their awareness of national independence.

Our Party has endeavoured to embody the Juche idea thoroughly in all areas of the revolution and construction in the same way that it established Juche in ideology. All the lines and policies of our Party stem from the Juche idea, and they are permeated with it. Our Party's consistent principle of independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-defence in guarding the nation is the embodiment of the Juche idea in all realms. Under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea our country has turned into a socialist state with complete political sovereignty, a solid independent national economy, strong self-defence power and a brilliant national culture. The establishment of Juche has made our contribution to the international revolutionary cause today greater than ever before. All our achievements represent a shining victory for the Juche idea of our Party and are the fruitful results of the independent line of our Party.

During the period under review our Party has also taken a great step forward in improving its work system and work methods in conformity with the requirements of the developing situation.

We endeavoured, first of all, to change Party work into work with people and we established the work system with the main stress laid on work with people in all Party organizations. The system of working with cadres and the system of guiding the members' Party life were completely established throughout the Party, and we instituted the work system and method of both educating the masses to rally them around the Party and organizing and mobilizing them dynamically to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

In particular, we continued to pay particular attention to embodying the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method fully in Party work.

In its method and style of work, a ruling party should always guard against the tendency to abuse party authority and practise bureaucratism. After a party has come into power, the danger of putting on airs and violating the mass line increases among some officials who are not firmly armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. That is why the party should constantly improve its method and style of work in order to implement the mass line and provide proper leadership for the revolution and construction.

During the period under review, the Party intensified the ideological struggle against bureaucracy amongst officials and perseveringly strove to raise their spirit of allegiance to the Party, the working class and the people and to put into effect the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in all spheres of Party work. Thus the Party brought about a radical improvement in its style of guidance and method of work and strengthened the performance of Party work.

Through the struggle to introduce the Chongsanri method the outmoded bureaucratic style of work which had blocked the progress of Party work for a long time was basically eliminated, all the officials came to possess the revolutionary style and method of work, and democracy was given full scope within the Party. The Party also established a well-organized work system in which the officials of higher organs personally visit lower units to give material assistance to their subordinates as the Chongsanri method requires. The national level was made to help the provinces, the provinces to help the counties, and the officials of county organs were encouraged to continually visit the ri in order to solve problems there promptly and to help the subordinates in their work in a responsible way, by working with them. The Party ensured that the senior officials went to outlying places and organized many model and demonstration lectures to teach the work method to the lower-unit officials by presenting examples. The Party also made sure that senior officials further consolidated the foundations of Party work and actively educated the junior officials on the spot by using the new form of travelling lectures.

An essential requirement of the Chongsanri method and a revolutionary work method emanating from the very nature of the communists is to give precedence to political work so as to raise the political awareness of the masses of the people all the time, and to encourage them to carry out their revolutionary tasks on their own initiative. Our Party strictly adhered to the principle of giving precedence to political work in all its activities, and in fulfilling any

revolutionary task it made a point of fully explaining and disseminating the relevant Party policy to all Party members and the masses so that they could join in the campaign to carry it out with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm. In conducting political work, work with people, the Party maintained the revolutionary work method of rousing the whole Party and all the people to action in such a way that one person rouses ten to activity, ten persons a hundred and a hundred persons a thousand. First we gave proper training to cadres and nuclei to educate and assist Party members; then we improved the vanguard role of Party members so that they could educate the broad masses, stimulating them to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

...

Comrades,

During the period under review we have recorded major achievements in Party work and gained many valuable experiences and lessons.

Important and numerous as they are, our successes and experiences are no more than a basis for strengthening our Party further and for winning new victories. We have to continue to consolidate and develop the Party organizationally and ideologically and increase its leading role in the revolution and construction.

The most important thing in strengthening the Party is to establish a monolithic ideological system amongst all its members and, on this basis, to continue to ensure the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks.

The oneness of ideology and will is the life of a



Marxist-Leninist party and a decisive factor in all victories. If any alien idea incompatible with the monolithic ideology of a party is allowed to infiltrate the party to even the slightest degree or if unity of action is not secured, such a party can, in fact, hardly be called a party. Factions are bound to arise in a party which lacks unity and cohesion based on a single guiding ideology. Consequently, a party of that type cannot unite the masses around itself and ensure unified leadership in the revolution and construction, and it cannot even guarantee its own existence satisfactorily.

We must continue to improve and develop Party work, being firm in making it our general task to establish the monolithic ideological system more thoroughly in the Party with Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Party's Juche idea, as our unshakable guiding doctrine and, on this basis, to strengthen the singleness of ideology and will within the Party ranks.

The essence of Party work is work with people. In other words, Party work is precisely the organizational and political work with people needed to arm cadres, Party members and the masses with a single ideology and will so that we can rally them closely around the Party and organize and mobilize them to implement the Party's policies. We must oppose any deviation towards reducing Party work to a technical or professional affair and should always put emphasis on our work with people.

The Party organizations should, above all, direct great efforts to the work with cadres.

Cadres constitute the main nuclear force of the Party

and the commanding personnel of our revolution who directly organize and guide the execution of the Party's lines and policies. The Party's leadership in revolution and construction is, in the last analysis, carried into effect through cadres, and they are the ones who will solve all problems.

The most urgent task in the work with cadres today is the decisive acceleration of the struggle to raise their political and practical qualifications.

...

Our situation is such that socialist construction has developed to a high level and, in particular, the ideological revolution has been strengthened; this requires competent cadres now more than ever before. It is only when the cadres themselves are thoroughly revolutionized and more firmly prepared politically and technically than anyone else that they can run an advanced socialist society properly, guide the ideological revolution correctly, speed up the revolutionization and working-classization of society and be fully prepared to meet the great revolutionary event of national reunification. To raise the qualifications of the cadres—this is a precondition for the successful settlement of all questions that will arise in our revolution and construction in the present period.

We must first of all pay attention to the work of educating the cadres and wage a more powerful Party-wide struggle to revolutionize them and raise their political and practical levels.

To begin with, Party life should be tightened decisively amongst the cadres. Experience shows that when cadres,

whoever they may be, neglect Party life and get away from Party supervision, they become, without exception, indolent, lax and arrogant and cannot perform their revolutionary tasks properly. We must resolutely combat the tendency among cadres to shun Party life and see that all of them, without exception, take an active part in Party life and willingly observe the organizational discipline of the Party. Our cadres should all make conscious and continuous efforts to rely on the Party organizations in their work and in their life and let themselves be supervised by these organizations and by rank-and-file Party members.

It is particularly important to temper the cadres through the practice of sharp criticism. An atmosphere of principled criticism should be created among the cadres and they should be criticized regularly. All cadres must try hard to act like revolutionaries who know both how to criticize themselves promptly on their own shortcomings and how to accept criticism made by rank-and-file Party members sincerely. The Party organizations should lead cadres to intensify the ideological struggle through the practice of criticism and steadily steel themselves in a revolutionary way in the course of a relentless ideological struggle.

In order to improve the qualifications of cadres, it is also necessary to get them to study hard.

Studying is the first and foremost task for a revolutionary. Without studying one can scarcely become a genuine revolutionary or carry on one's revolutionary work.

All cadres should study the Party's policies hard in order to arm themselves firmly with the ideas of our Party

and become completely familiar with the Party's policies; they should take them as the standard by which to conduct their work at any time and in any place. The cadres should constantly acquire knowledge on political, economic, cultural, military, and all other activities and should be proficient in the work assigned to them. Everyone must study, and the cadres in responsible positions in particular must study harder. The Party organizations should strictly supervise the studies of senior cadres and pay particular attention to establishing the habit of deliberate study in them.

We should continue to operate the system of one-month training courses properly. The viability of these courses has been proved in practice, and we should make it compulsory for all cadres to undergo the training once a year. Also, we should see that in sending people who have not undergone any systematic education to cadre-training institutions for further education, preference is given to managers and chief engineers of factories and enterprises, chairmen of cooperative farms and other officials who personally organize and guide production. We should also make strenuous efforts to educate and temper cadres through practical work, create examples in all fields and arrange model lectures to publicize these models on a wide scale, so as to keep improving the levels of the cadres.

In educating cadres it is very important to establish the system of individual education. The Party organizations at all levels should guide senior personnel to constantly study the cadres for whom they are responsible and patiently educate them on an individual basis. A well-regulated,

Party-wide system of educating cadres should thus be established under which all cadres educate others and are themselves educated at all times; the system should be organized in such a way that cadres at upper units educate the men and women at lower units, and these cadres, in turn, educate their subordinates.

The Party organizations, while strengthening the work of raising cadres' qualifications, should continue to pay careful attention to the correct selection and allocation of cadres. In selecting cadres they should adhere strictly to the Party's consistent principle of placing the main emphasis on a person's political qualifications while giving sufficient consideration to his work qualifications; the Party organizations should choose as cadres those workers who have been tested and steeled in practical struggle and other people of basic class origin, such as former hired farm hands and poor peasants. The Party organizations should strictly guard against the mistaken tendency of going only by family and social background in selecting cadres, and should, under all circumstances, choose cadres mainly in terms of political and ideological readiness. In this way the ranks of our cadres will be built up on a firmer class and political basis.

In order to consolidate the cadres' ranks and supply the new cadres required by all fields of the revolution and construction, a system of reserve cadre training should be correctly established. The Party organizations must mark out active-duty cadres as reserves for higher positions and train them well; at the same time, they should choose many reserve cadres from among nuclear Party members who

have been tried and tested in practical work, especially core workers of factories and enterprises in the key industrial branches, and train them systematically.

In strengthening the training of reserve cadres it is important to build up cadre-training institutions and enhance their role. We should conscientiously build up the teaching staff of these institutions at all levels with people who are politically and technically qualified, base the education on Party policies, combining it closely with practical activities, and further raise the scientific and theoretical levels of our training.

The Party organizations must select, appoint, educate and train cadres on the basis of their Party life. This work should be one of the Party committees' central tasks. In particular, to strengthen cadre ranks they should discard, once and for all, the subjective work attitude of judging cadres only in the light of their personal records; they should always test cadres through their Party life and practical activities and systematically study and get to know them.

Another important aspect of the Party's responsibilities is to work well with its members, and especially to intensify their life within the Party organization.

The Party is a political organization which unites the mass of Party members. For a Party to be a powerful, active and militant organization, all the members must be politically and ideologically sound and must work well according to the Party's organizational principles. Party life is the organizational and political life of its members; it is the activity of discharging their duties as laid out in the

Party Rules. The main element in Party work lies in guiding the members' Party life correctly. And the foundation of Party building also lies precisely in strengthening the Party life of all members. Only when Party life is strengthened will the Party spirit of the members be tempered, their vanguard role enhanced in revolution and construction, and our revolutionary tasks carried out with success.

In the first place, to tighten their Party life all members should be encouraged to participate in it of their own free will. Nothing is more honourable and necessary than such participation. The entire Party membership must endeavour to rely entirely on the Party organizations and participate faithfully in Party life in accordance with the Party's organizational standards. We must ensure that in Party life democracy is given fuller play and that the weapon of criticism is maintained to establish a revolutionary atmosphere within the Party.

The correct organization and guidance of the Party life of the members is an important guarantee for strengthening Party life. Party organizations should give each member a specific task suited to his particular abilities, check to see whether or not it has been fulfilled in good time, and actively help to implement the task; when the given job has been completed, it should be reviewed and a fresh task assigned so that every member always has a new Party task and is active at all times. The Party organizations should regularly review the members' Party life in an atmosphere of sharp criticism and organize and hold Party meetings on a high political and ideological level. All Party members

should thus become ardent political activists, strong both politically and ideologically, who work resolutely to carry out the Party's lines and policies at the head of the masses.

While giving Party members revolutionary education, we should continue to expand the ranks of the Party and improve the quality of its members. In our country today, members of the new generation who have received a great deal of socialist education since liberation are emerging as reliable masters of the country, and they are playing an important role in all sectors of revolution and construction. The Party organizations should admit fine people into the Party from amongst the new generation which it has raised, especially from amongst the working-class youth. In this way, the quality of the Party ranks should be further improved and its nuclei steadily increased, and our Party should develop into a party which is always alive with revolutionary spirit.

In order to strengthen work with cadres and members, the Party cells should play an ever-increasing role. A Party cell is a combat unit directly executing the Party's policies among the masses. It is the most basic organization of our Party—every member belongs and operates within this unit. We should build up the nuclei of Party cells firmly and steadily enhance their function so that all the cells carry out their work with cadres and members more skilfully.

At the same time, we should bolster the work of the Party committees at all levels. They should put right the system of work with cadres and Party members and make organized efforts to give more effective guidance to their Party life.



With a view to making the Party committees militant general staffs which function actively, the Party committees at all levels should be correctly composed of cadres and core Party members. In particular, large numbers of nuclear Party members who are workers directly engaged in labour at production sites should be enlisted in the Party Central Committee and provincial, city and county Party committees. The proper representation of core workers in the Party committees will not only increase the working-class character of our Party but also make it possible for the Party to strike deeper roots in the masses and closely study and learn how matters stand at the lower units and take correct and timely guidance measures. This will also make it possible to educate large numbers of new working-class cadres and enable cadres to learn the working-class viewpoint and the revolutionary spirit and fighting efficiency of the working class through Party committees.

It is very important to improve the role of the organizational departments of the Party committees at all levels in strengthening work with cadres and with Party members. The Party organizational department is a section which takes charge of the Party ranks and directly supervises and leads the Party life of the members. Whether Party organizations are active or not and whether the Party ranks are built up firmly or not depends chiefly upon the role of the Party organizational departments. The Party committees should further improve the work of the organizational departments so that they can give correct guidance to the Party organizations, systematically study

and learn about the Party life of the cadres and members and direct and supervise it properly.

To intensify the guidance of the Party life of cadres and members the organizational and the information and publicity departments of the Party committee must conduct effective concerted operations. We can say that the organizational department plays the role of a doctor while the information and publicity department plays that of a pharmacist in guiding cadres and members in their Party life. In order to cure a person of a disease the doctor must diagnose the case accurately and the pharmacist must prepare medicine in accordance with the diagnosis. Likewise, for the strengthening of the Party life of cadres and members, the organizational department should always understand their Party life, analyse it scientifically and judge both the defects and their causes correctly; then, on this basis, the information and publicity department should conduct the appropriate ideological education to correct these problems.

In this way, we shall help all cadres and members to follow the organizational principles of the Party and convert all Party organizations into living militant bodies which carry out their functions correctly.

The Party organizations should strengthen work with the masses still further.

The revolution is for the people's benefit and is the work of the masses of the people themselves. Unless the broad masses are organized and mobilized, the revolution cannot emerge victorious, and in the final analysis, the fundamental question which decides the triumph and

success of the revolution and the work of construction is whether or not an overwhelming majority of the people are won over. Therefore, a Marxist-Leninist party, while reinforcing its ranks, must always work hard to educate and transform the masses and rally them closely around it.

The line consistently followed by our Party in work with the masses is to combine the class line and the mass line properly so that the class positions of our revolution are solidified and all people, except a handful of the reactionary class enemies, are educated and reformed in such a way that they will unite firmly around the Party.

...

In order to strengthen work with the masses the role of the working people's organizations must be raised further.

It is a Marxist-Leninist principle in the guidance of the masses to work with them through the working people's organizations. Only by rousing these organizations to positive action can we knit the masses closely around the Party and correctly organize and mobilize them for the revolution and construction.

An important task in the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations is to increase their independence so that they can take the initiative in organizing and carrying out their activities. By strengthening the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations we do not imply that the Party should take their work upon itself. The substance of Party guidance of the working people's organizations lies precisely in helping them carry on their activities effectively in an independent and creative manner in accordance with the Party's lines

and policies. The Party organizations should persuade officials to hold a proper opinion about the working people's organizations, actively put them in the lead in work with the masses and boldly assign them tasks. The working people's organizations should be provided with proper working conditions and given clear directions on work to do and ways and means of carrying out their tasks to suit their respective characteristics, so that they can organize and conduct work with the masses actively and skilfully.

In order to improve the work of the working people's organizations the ranks of nuclei should be firmly established amongst the masses. The Party organizations must steadily expand those nuclear ranks in the working people's organizations and give them firm guidance to reinforce the cadres, who are their basic cores. In this way all the working people's organizations should be able to rouse the nuclei to action, educating their members effectively and mobilizing them to fulfil their basic tasks accurately.

The most important task confronting the working people's organizations today is to carry out the movement for revolutionization and working-classization among the working people effectively.

The working people's organizations should increase ideological education among their members and, in particular, make them all take an active part in organizational life, patiently educating and tempering them. The General Federation of Trade Unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist

Working Youth and the Democratic Women's Union should always do good work inside their organizations and make all their members Red fighters of the Party, staunch builders of socialism and communism; and they should organize and mobilize them dynamically to implement the Party's policies.

It is particularly important to strengthen the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth. The LSWY, as a militant organization of the young people who are heirs to our revolution, is a reliable reserve and active second to our Party. The future of the country and the prospects of the revolution depend, in the long run, on how young people are brought up. Consequently, to raise the role of the LSWY is an important matter which affects the future of the country and the nation.

The LSWY must organize and conduct work with the young people from all backgrounds in a more active way, with the main emphasis on their ideological education. The LSWY organizations should work hard to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party thoroughly amongst the league members, to organize diverse activities suited to young people's qualities and to educate them in a revolutionary way. All the young people should thus be induced to acquire great pride and self-respect in their important contribution to the revolutionary struggle, to the cause of building socialism and communism and to the sacred work of transforming nature and society; they should always be taught to lead a revolutionary life full of revolutionary optimism for the future, high spirits and vitality. The LSWY organizations should particularly

strengthen their work with young people and children in school to bring them up as heirs to our revolution with infinite faith in the Party, as versatile builders of socialism and communism who are knowledgeable, virtuous and healthy. We must ensure that the young people, always maintaining the policies of our Party, discharge their honourable duty as the vanguard, as the shock brigade creditably, taking the lead in difficult work in national defence and all spheres of economic construction.

One of the important tasks before the Party organizations is to improve Party ideological work.

As well as Party organizational work, Party ideological work is an important inner-Party task and it is unthinkable that the two could be separated. Only when Party organizational and ideological work is well coordinated is it possible to strengthen the Party in these two areas and steadily increase its combat capacity.

The central task before us in the field of Party ideological work is to continue to go ahead with the thorough establishment of the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party. Party organizations should strengthen education in the Party's policies and revolutionary traditions and escalate the campaign against all such unsound ideologies as bourgeois ideas, revisionism, flunkeyism, dogmatism, factionalism, regionalism and nepotism—thereby arming all members and working people more firmly with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its Juche idea. At the same time, Party members and working people should be constantly brought to class consciousness and solidly equipped with the spirit

of combatting the enemy uncompromisingly as well as with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

A particularly important task in Party ideological work at present is to strengthen ideological education against revisionism amongst Party members and the working people.

...

We must continue to increase ideological work against revisionism amongst Party members and the working people. While they are all closely armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, they should be given a clear idea of the essence and harmfulness of revisionism, and a resolute struggle must be waged to prevent the infiltration of the virus of revisionist ideology into the Party.

Revisionism is generated and breeds upon the soil of bourgeois ideas and spreads widely by means of such ideas. Revisionism is also the main factor in reviving bourgeois ideas. Therefore, in order to overcome revisionism we should thoroughly uproot the noxious aftereffects of bourgeois ideas. We must further intensify our fight against all the harmful effects of the obsolete ideologies including bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas among Party members and the working people, and continue to conduct strenuous ideological education so that we leave no room for the revival of old ideologies. In particular, a determined ideological struggle must be waged against all forms of unhealthy behaviours which lead individuals to refuse to participate honestly in

socialist collective labour and to abuse state and social property.

...

In order to carry out the tasks now facing the Party in ideological work smoothly, it is necessary to improve the organizational leadership of the Party bodies in this field. The Party organizations from top to bottom should conduct their ideological work efficiently to conform with the Party members' levels and the prevailing conditions and in close association with the pressing revolutionary tasks. We must link information work correctly with motivation work and properly coordinate their different media, thus organizing an ideological offensive and ensuring its promptness. The Party organizations must organize their ideological work in conformity with specific reality, check to see whether it is implemented punctually, review the results, and then organize it again; this is the way to intensify Party ideological work steadily and thus eliminate formalism without fail.

In order to strengthen Party ideological work we must strengthen the ranks of officials engaged in this work and increase their role; we must also help all cadres conduct political and ideological work amongst Party members and the working people in a responsible way, combining it with their practical activities. All Party workers and officials of administrative and economic organs have to propagate Party policies widely among the masses in a variety of forms including lectures, talks and explanations everywhere they go; and they should conduct political and ideological work according to a regular routine.



Comrades,

While consolidating the Party organizationally and ideologically and rallying the broad masses of the people closely around it, we must not stop increasing the Party's role in leading the revolution and construction.

...

First of all, Party guidance of socialist economic construction has to be strengthened.

It is important in such guidance that Party committees be expert at steering economic activities. The Party's steering includes defining the directions and suggesting ways to execute the Party's policies, adopting correct decisions on the basis of collective discussion at Party committees, and politically ensuring the correct implementation of these decisions by rousing the Party bodies and members concerned to action. The Party committees should make it a rule to adopt correct measures through collective discussion on all important questions which arise, do organizational work to mobilize lower-level Party bodies and their members, the working people's organizations, and the masses to work hard to carry out Party policies; then they should check and review the implementation of committee assignments and decisions so that they can be carried through correctly. This alone will allow us to do away with the subjectivism and arbitrariness of the individual in economic guidance, enhance the independence and sense of responsibility of officials in ministries, management bureaus, economic organs and enterprises, and rectify deviations and shortcomings revealed in their work promptly.

The Party committees should ensure that the state and economic organs run our economy in a more scientific and rational way by constantly improving their guidance and management in line with the requirements of the Taaen work system and the new system of agricultural guidance—both excellent forms of management of the socialist economy created by our Party—by thoroughly implementing the policy of unified and detailed planning of the national economy, and by systematizing the management of enterprises.

The people's committees at all levels are the most comprehensive transmission belt linking the Party with the masses; they are the executors of our Party's lines and policies and the householders in charge of the people's living conditions.

The Party organizations should try to build up the people's committees at every level with good workers who are firm in their class positions, infinitely loyal to the Party and popular with the people and to enhance their functions in the revolution and construction. Party organizations should both help the people's committees politically to exercise good control over all bodies, enterprises and residents in the area under their jurisdiction and lead them to fulfil their role as householders with direct responsibility for protecting the people's well-being, as well as state and public property, for managing all economic affairs.

We should strengthen Party leadership over organs having many functions of proletarian dictatorship such as the People's Army, public security organs and judicial and procuratorial bodies.

To increase the leadership of the Party over the army is

a fundamental requirement for the building of revolutionary armed forces. It is only under such leadership that the People's Army can become strong and grow into an invincible revolutionary armed force which will fulfil its lofty duty.

During the period under review we promptly overcame the tendencies to weaken the leading role of the Party, ignore political work, hinder adequate military training and implant military despotism in the army; we also strengthened the Party's leadership and political work there, thus making it possible to increase the fighting power of the People's Army.

In the future, as well, we should guarantee that the work of the Party committees in the army is positively strengthened and that everything the People's Army does is organized and conducted under the leadership of the Party committees. All military and political affairs in the army should be discussed in the Party committee of each unit and decisions should be made collectively. In addition, a work system should be firmly established under which military personnel engage in military activities, political workers in political work, and logistical personnel in logistic work according to the decisions of the Party committee. These committees should be especially careful to tighten Party control over the military commanders so that they always rely on the Party committees in their work and participate faithfully in Party organizational life.

While strengthening the Party committees, we should raise the role of the political organs and their workers and,

in particular, the political commissars who together directly organize and execute the Party's political work in the People's Army. The political organs and workers should carry out the politico-ideological education of the soldiers effectively and make every effort to ensure both combat and political training and the absolute combat readiness of the units, on Party lines and in a political way.

As well as Party leadership in the army, the Party guidance of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards should be strengthened. The Party committees at all levels should lead the Worker-Peasant Red Guards to consolidate its ranks, intensify military and political training among its members and perfect its combat readiness and commanding system still more.

Party leadership over public security, judicial and procuratorial work should be further strengthened. The Party committees ought to discuss this work on a regular basis, steer it in the right direction, and thoroughly guide and control all the activities of the public security, judicial and procuratorial organs. These bodies, as political defenders of the Party, should energetically protect its policies and supervise their implementation everywhere and, in particular, uncover and thoroughly suppress all spies, subverters and saboteurs who attempt to damage our state and social system. In addition, we must work hard to establish a strict system and order and strengthen revolutionary discipline in all sectors of state and social life.

By doing this we shall promote an active campaign to

strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhance its leading role in the revolution and construction, thereby increasing the fighting capacity of the Party in every way and driving our revolutionary struggle and construction work ahead still more dynamically under the leadership of our Party.

# **ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK**

(Excerpts)

## **A Letter to Those Attending a Short Course for the Party's Organizational Workers**

*July 31, 1974*

In accordance with the plan of the Party Central Committee, a short course for the Party's organizational workers has now been taking place for about a month.

At the course urgent problems arising in Party work at the present time have been dealt with widely and in great depth. I believe that this course will produce an important advance in raising the political and theoretical levels and improving the practical qualifications of Party workers, Party organizers in particular, and in broadening and developing all aspects of Party work.

On this occasion when Party organizers have gathered from all parts of the country, I should like to emphasize a few points on the strengthening of Party work at the present time.

Today our revolution has entered a new stage of development.

The ideological, technological and cultural revolutions

are deepening and developing on the whole and a great improvement is taking place on all fronts of the building of socialism.

The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is gaining in scope and strength with every day, despite severe trials, and the trend towards national reunification is spreading amongst them.

The international position of our Party and the Government of our Republic has improved greatly and the scope of our foreign activities has broadened tremendously. International solidarity with our revolution has been further strengthened.

A great change has also taken place in the development of our Party itself.

The monolithic ideological system has been established firmly throughout the whole Party, the unity and cohesion of Party ranks based on the Juche idea have been strengthened and the fighting power of the Party has increased tremendously. The mass foundation of the Party has been consolidated and the Party's authority and prestige have risen greatly in the eyes of the masses of the people. A well-regulated system of Party work has been established throughout and the methods and style of Party work have markedly improved. Today a new turn is taking place in our Party work.

The developing situation has set a new, higher task before our Party. We must carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting our Party successfully by further strengthening Party work based on the changing situation.

## **1. ON STRENGTHENING THE PARTY RANKS AND ORGANIZATIONS STILL FURTHER**

Our Party is the General Staff for the Korean revolution and the guiding force of our people. It assumes complete responsibility for all matters, large and small, arising in the Korean revolution, for our people's life today and their fate tomorrow. In the final analysis, the issues of the Korean revolution and the destiny of our people depend on the strengthening of our Party.

It is the basic duty and primary task of all Party organizations to work actively to strengthen our Party ranks into an invincible revolutionary force.

The most important task in the work of consolidating the Party ranks is to build up the ranks of cadres solidly.

The cadres are the core force of our Party and the commanding personnel of the revolution. Only if the ranks of cadres are strong, can our Party's ranks be strong and only if the cadres fulfil their role satisfactorily, can all of our Party work be successful. The practical experience of the revolution shows that the cadres decide everything.

The correct selection and placement of cadres and their development into competent, commanding personnel of the revolution must be the starting point, the basis of our Party work.

What kind of people does our Party want as cadres today? In brief it needs people who are infinitely loyal to



our Party, firmly determined to work with total devotion for the benefit of the Party and the people, for the revolution and construction, and who are well prepared to cope with the revolutionary tasks assigned to them by the Party.

Fidelity to the Party is the first criterion of a cadre. A cadre should arm himself with the revolutionary thought of our Party, the Juche idea, defend the Party politically and ideologically with his very life, be unshakable in his working-class positions and revolutionary principles, and remain faithful to the Party at all times without retrogressing or vacillating in any conditions or circumstances. Fidelity to the Party should be manifested in practical activities. Cadres should go through fire and water in their efforts to carry out the Party line and policy and perform revolutionary tasks unconditionally and honestly.

A communist of the Juche type with pure blood of this type coursing through his whole body, competent and highly conscious politically and working with total devotion to implement the policy and intentions of the Party—this is the type of person qualified to be a cadre.

Party organizations should pay paramount attention to the work of personnel administration so as to build up the ranks of cadres solidly with such people who measure up to the demands of the Party.

While abiding by the class principle in considering and selecting and appointing cadres. Party organizations should strictly observe the principle of evaluating people primarily on their own merits. To do this, they must

thoroughly do away with the old method of judging people simply by their personal files. Man is a social being with ideological consciousness and so it is impossible to assess people correctly only by looking into their personal files. Only when they are observed in practical life and tested through practical activities, can people be correctly placed. We should observe people themselves, know their thoughts, instead of studying their personal files and prying into their family backgrounds, and we must appoint people who are genuinely loyal to the Party as cadres.

In personnel administration work today, the question of revolutionizing the cadres thoroughly should be particularly stressed.

People are not unalterable, but change constantly. As iron left in the open air gets rusty by the action of oxygen, so people can become mentally rusty and degenerate under the influence of bad thoughts, when left to their own devices without education. If a man is not educated and tempered tirelessly under organizational control after his appointment as a cadre, he may become lax and easygoing and arrogant, no matter how good he may have been. It has been noticed amongst some of our cadres that such practices exist as working half-heartedly in an irresponsible manner, acting from expediency, instead of a revolutionary and master-like way, lacking the working-class trait in their style of work, putting on airs, domineering and acting bureaucratically. This is a manifestation of the fact that cadres have not been revolutionized. If cadres are not quickly cured of such practices, our Party will not be able

to organize and guide the revolution and construction properly and may lose many cadres.

Party organizations should continue to work hard to revolutionize cadres. They must ensure that no cadre degenerates and that all of them remain infinitely loyal in their revolutionary work with an untarnished revolutionary spirit and unfailing revolutionary drive and enthusiasm.

In conjunction with the struggle for revolutionization, the battle to improve qualifications must be strengthened amongst the cadres. By studying harder and raising their political and practical levels steadily, all cadres should carry out their assigned revolutionary tasks smoothly.

Another important aspect of consolidating the Party ranks is to train all members of our Party to be hard-core revolutionaries.

The party is a political organization of its members, and so if the party is to become a powerful organization, each of its members must be healthy and staunch and perform his role with credit. Basically, a Marxist-Leninist party is the advanced detachment of the working class, and only pioneers of the working class, the best core elements of the working people, can join it. To build up the party ranks with hard-core revolutionaries is one of the basic principles in Marxist-Leninist party building.

Our Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and working people of Korea, has now put out the fighting programme of infusing the whole of society with its revolutionary thought, the Juche idea, and is working to bring this about. The task of infusing the whole of society with one revolutionary thought is difficult and very

demanding. To carry out this difficult task successfully, all Party members must be brought up as loyal, hard-core revolutionaries. The level of every Party cadre should be raised one grade and all Party members elevated to the level of cadres. We should thus train all Party members to be elite cadres.

To make hard-core revolutionaries of the Party members, Party organizations must resolutely strengthen the guidance of their organized Party lives and their political and ideological education. All Party members should thus become communists who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and politically and ideologically tried and tested.

Building up the Party to be a collective of hard-core revolutionaries requires proper handling of the work of increasing Party membership.

It is only when the Party ranks are continuously reinforced with the best progressive elements of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals of the younger generation, that it will be possible to improve the quality of the Party ranks constantly and increase the Party's fighting efficiency.

Paying particular attention to the work of Party growth, Party organizations should get to know and register reserves of members amongst the working masses including the working class, rear them systematically, and admit to the Party those qualified core elements who are firmly equipped with the monolithic ideological system of the Party and are exemplary in carrying out revolutionary tasks which are assigned to them.

We must develop our Party as a revolutionary party which is always fresh and full of vitality, by admitting a large number of young people who are well-trained with the Juche idea and vibrant with revolutionary drive and spirit. And all members must be well educated to prevent them from becoming stale and sluggish.

To strengthen the ranks of our Party and increase its fighting efficiency, it is necessary to firmly ensure the unity and cohesion of the whole Party based on the monolithic idea of the Party, the Juche idea.

The unity and cohesion of the whole Party, based on its monolithic idea, is our Party's life and soul. Only if the unity and cohesion of the ranks is firmly ensured on the basis of the monolithic idea of the Party, can our Party become a revolutionary party with invincible fighting strength to guide the revolutionary struggle and construction successfully. Therefore, Party organizations must always make it the main factor in Party work to guarantee the Party's unity and cohesion based on its monolithic idea, and constantly deepen and develop this cause.

Arming the cadres and members firmly with our Party's monolithic idea, the Juche idea, is of the utmost importance in strengthening the Party's unity and cohesion.

The Juche idea is the guiding idea of our Party and the ideological basis for its unity and cohesion. Only the Juche idea can exist in our Party, and the unity and cohesion of the Party which we need is unity and cohesion based on the Juche idea.

Party organizations should further strengthen the

education of cadres and members in Juche to equip them solidly with the Juche idea and unite them closely around the Party Central Committee, thereby firmly establishing the ideological system of Juche in our Party. Party organizations should resolutely combat all unsound ideas which are incompatible with the Juche idea: capitalist ideas, feudal-Confucian ideas, revisionism, dogmatism, worship of the great powers, factionalism, parochialism and nepotism. They should also wage a determined ideological struggle against disloyalty to the Party and anything which is contrary to its monolithic ideological system. They must not connive at the slightest manifestation detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the Party, but strike quickly and overcome it thoroughly.

Enforcement of rigid organizational discipline throughout the Party to move under the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee is an important condition for assuring the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks. Without the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee, unity of thought and will cannot be ensured in the Party and the Party cannot be an organization existing as a complete whole acting as a single man. We must ensure that iron discipline prevails throughout the Party so that all Party organizations act together under the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee, unconditionally accepting and thoroughly implementing all its policies.

The key to the successful solution of all problems arising in consolidating the Party ranks and organizations lies in tightening the life of Party members within the Party organization.

The tightening of the life of Party members within the Party organization is vital for the work of revolutionizing the cadres, building up the Party ranks with hard-core revolutionaries and of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the whole Party based on the Juche idea. Therefore, Party organizations should make great efforts to tighten the organizational life of Party members.

Party organizations should thoroughly establish a revolutionary norm of Party life amongst members, ensuring that all members participate in the Party's organizational life willingly and actively, according to the standards of Party life. Party organizations should regularly give assignments to all members to see that they are always active with a high degree of revolutionary consciousness. Their Party life must be regularly reviewed and Party meetings must be conducted at a high political and ideological level so that Party members are constantly tempered in the crucible of criticism and ideological struggle.

In particular, the cadres' life within the Party organization should be tightened. This is the best way to ensure their revolutionization. Party organizations must ensure that all cadres participate unflinchingly in the organizational life of their Party cell and are always under the control of Party organizations and members.

To tighten the life of Party members and cadres within the Party organization, it is necessary to improve the role of the organizational department of the Party. This department guides life within Party organizations by directly controlling and guiding the Party life of members. So the

tightening of the life of Party members within the Party organization depends largely on the proper fulfilment of the organizational department's role. Party committees at all levels should improve the role of their organizational departments decisively so as to know and register the Party life of their members systematically and to exercise better control and guidance.

#### **4. ON IMPROVING THE METHODS AND STYLE OF PARTY WORK**

Our Party's line and policy are correct and the measures and ways for implementing them have also been correctly developed. The proper implementation of the Party's line and policy depends entirely on the methods and style of the work of the officials. If the officials work badly, they will not be able to achieve success, despite the correctness of the Party's line and policy and the measures and ways for their implementation. Improvement of the methods and style of Party work is an important guarantee for the successful realization of the Party's line and policy.

Party organizations should do away completely with the old work methods and style and create a radical change in Party work.

To improve the methods and style of Party work it is extremely necessary to inspire Party work thoroughly with the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, our Party's revolutionary work method.

Work with people is basic to Party work. In other



words, Party work is the work of re-educating people and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle and construction. An administrative method such as issuing orders and instructions, receiving reports and statistical statements and sending out copies of decisions, cannot re-educate people and stir up their willing enthusiasm. Party work must always be conducted in combination with political work and explanations, persuasion, education and admonition as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

To inspire Party work with the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, Party workers should understand the existing situation. The objects of Party work are Party members and the working people. Party officials should always go to the lower units where Party members and the working people are, to explain and spread our Party's line and policy amongst them. They should see whether the line and policy are being properly carried out, and instruct and aid their subordinates by setting them an example.

The elimination of the abuse of Party authority and bureaucracy is important in improving the methods and style of Party work.

Our Party is neither an organ of power nor an organization wielding authority. The abuse of Party authority and bureaucracy have nothing to do with our Party's work method. If Party officials abuse Party authority and act bureaucratically, they will cause alienation between the Party and the masses and make it impossible to spark the creative spirit and self-awareness of the masses.

Party workers must never abuse Party authority or practise bureaucracy, and this applies particularly to Party organizers. Party workers should always treat Party members and the working people with a parental affection, learn their problems and needs and solve them quickly. While possessing a strong Party spirit. Party workers should be humane and highly cultured, modest, simple and courteous in their behaviour.

To improve the methods and style of Party work we must do away with formalism and expediency.

Formalism and expediency are very harmful manifestations among our officials. Some officials lack a master-like attitude in work. They work superficially to keep up appearances and try to shirk responsibility for their work on various pretexts.

Party officials should thoroughly rid themselves of formalism and expediency, tackle all work responsibly like masters, and work honestly for the Party, the working class and the people with a clear revolutionary conscience in difficult conditions.

To improve the methods and style of Party work it is also necessary to abolish the secret-inspector method of work.

The secret-inspector method of work is a conspiratorial work method of spying upon people. In the work of our Party which fights in the interests of the people for a righteous purpose and objectives, no conspiratorial method can ever be permitted.

If Party work is conducted by the secret-inspector method, it is impossible to know in detail the real state of

affairs in the lower units, to get rid of subjectivism and to deal correctly with all matters including human affairs. And the secret-inspector method in Party work may make people suspect one another and cause unrest. In the final analysis, if Party officials use the secret-inspector method in Party work, there may be serious consequences. This is even more true for Party organizational workers.

Party workers should refrain from secretly finding fault behind people's backs and from keeping a list of people's faults only. When they visit lower units, they should find out through organizational means how work is progressing there and, if the officials have shortcomings, they should admonish them and help them rectify their shortcomings. They should report questions that arise correctly without exaggeration or distortion, and dispose of the problem with discretion after the confirmation of the material submitted.

Improvement in the work methods of county Party committees is highly important in improving the methods and style of Party work.

The county Party committees are our Party's lowest leading bodies which control and guide basic organizations and the executive units which directly undertake the implementation of Party policy amongst the masses. So it is impossible to mobilize the masses properly for the execution of Party policy without improving the work methods of the county Party committee and enhancing its fighting function and role.

We have worked hard for a long time to improve the work methods of the county Party committee and raise its

fighting function and role, and recently we have taken a number of important measures. Some time ago we instituted county Party committees of a special category in large counties, with the primary intention of improving the county Party committee's work methods and increasing its function and role.

But many county Party committees are still working by the old method and are not fulfilling their function and role.

Because the county Party committee is an executive unit, it should not work by sending copies of decisions and directions to the primary Party organizations of ri and factories and demanding statistical reports from them. The staff members of all departments of the county Party committee including the organizational, information and publicity departments, should visit the ri and factories and give guidance to primary Party organizations. They should mix with the masses to observe and organize work and educate the masses.

Work methods and style are not based on the working ability or character of officials, but are an expression of their thinking. Therefore, without correcting the ideological viewpoint of officials, it is impossible to improve their work methods and style.

To improve the methods and style of Party work it is necessary to wage a vigorous ideological struggle to eliminate the old ideas amongst Party workers. Party organizations should launch a vigorous ideological struggle to abolish the old work methods and style and ensure that all Party officials work well for the Party, the working class

and the people with revolutionary work methods and a popular style of work.

I believe that after this short course you will bring about a new change in Party work and make a positive contribution to further strengthening and developing our Party, hastening the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

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

(Excerpts)

*October 10, 1980*

## **5. LET US INTENSIFY PARTY WORK**

Comrades,

All the successes achieved in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of construction during the period under review are the precious fruits of the seasoned leadership and energetic struggle of our Party. Our Party has, under the banner of the Juche idea, overcome obstacles and hardships and staunchly followed the glorious revolutionary road and skilfully led the people's revolutionary struggle along the straight road to victory.

Our Party has been tempered and seasoned in the course of the hard, complicated struggle to lead the revolution and construction and has developed into an invincible revolutionary party. Through the triumphant advance of the revolution and construction the Party has entered a new stage of development, and a radical change has taken place in Party work.

The major success achieved in Party work in the years we are reviewing was that solid organizational and ideological foundations were laid for carrying our revolutionary cause through to completion and for developing our Party into an ever-lasting, Juche party. This represents a splendid solution to the fundamental question decisive to the destiny of the Party and the revolution.

During the period under review the Party's monolithic ideological system was established more fully and more firmly and its fighting efficiency grew immensely. The unity of ideology and will of the Party members and their revolutionary cohesion based on the Juche idea were further strengthened, and a well-regulated work system and revolutionary discipline were established to ensure Party leadership of the revolution and construction.

It is the fundamental principle in building a revolutionary party to strengthen its unity and cohesion and ensure its leadership of the revolution and construction. By striving to cement the unity and cohesion of its members and to strengthen its leadership, our Party found an excellent solution to this important question that arises in the building of a working-class party.

Our Party's unity and cohesion have now reached an ever higher level. The whole Party is rallied rock-solid behind its Central Committee and is knit together in ideology and purpose on the basis of the Juche idea. Our Party has no room for any idea other than the Juche idea, and no force will ever break its unity and cohesion that are based on this idea.

Throughout the Party the revolutionary habit of

accepting its decisions and instructions without question and carrying them through to the end has been established. The Party's decisions and instructions represent the Party's organizational will, and it is the solemn duty of Party members to carry them out without question. Our Party organizations and members now accept the Party's lines, policies, decisions and instructions as absolute truths and carry them out to the letter.

Iron discipline has been established under which the whole Party acts as one body under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. It is a fixed practice in our Party that all its organizations act as one organism, according to the principle of democratic centralism, and that all its members work and live according to the established regulations and norms of behaviour. Our Party's discipline is voluntary discipline based on its members' unflinching loyalty to the Party and on the high sense of responsibility they feel for the revolution. This is why our Party's discipline has such great vitality.

With the further strengthening of the unity of ideology and purpose and of the revolutionary cohesion of the Party ranks based on the Juche idea, and with the establishment of a well-regulated work system and revolutionary discipline that can firmly guarantee the Party's leadership of the revolution and construction, our Party is now stronger than ever before. The source of our Party's invincibility and the decisive guarantee for all our victories lie in the fact that the whole Party is fully imbued with the Juche idea and that all its members actively support the Party's leadership.



During the period under review our Party paid profound attention to the work of raising the militant function and role of its organizations and achieved great successes in this respect.

In order to enhance their function and role, it is necessary to build up the Party committees and strengthen their collective leadership by giving full scope to democracy. We built up Party committees at all levels, including the provincial, city and county Party committees, by appointing people who were unfailingly loyal to the Party, together with Party hard cores who were working at production sites; and we made sure that the Party committees met regularly to discuss problems and adopt decisions in a democratic way in accordance with the wishes of the Party membership and that the committee members enhanced their sense of responsibility and their role in order to guarantee the implementation of the decisions.

In enhancing the function and role of Party organizations it is extremely important that the upper organizations always supervise and guide the lower ones. With the establishment in all Party organizations of a well-regulated system for supervising and guiding the lower organizations, Party organizations are now in a position to obtain a clear understanding of the activities of and true state of affairs in the lower bodies at all times and to give them appropriate guidance whenever it is required. Under the system of guidance to the lower echelons, officials of Party organizations at different levels always go to acquaint themselves with the true state of affairs at the

lower bodies and give their officials effective help, with the result that the function and role of Party organizations has improved considerably. In particular, the intensive guidance given systematically by the Party Central Committee to the local Party organizations has been highly instrumental in enhancing the function and role of these organizations.

Today our Party organizations at different levels are operating well as the general staff in their respective units. Party organizations are giving satisfactory guidance in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks and are supervising all affairs in their respective units responsibly so that these affairs are conducted in conformity with the Party's lines and policies.

All Party organizations are rooted deep in the masses and work actively among them. Wherever there are the masses, Party organizations are active, and wherever Party organizations are active, the Party's pulse is always felt. The people are linked to the Party through its organizations and feel its care in the activities of these organizations.

During the years under review Party members made great progress in their Party life.

Tightening Party life is the key to the successful solution of all the problems that arise in Party work. It is the basic guarantee for increasing the Party's fighting efficiency and for successfully implementing revolutionary tasks.

As a radical step to tighten the Party life of its membership, our Party established a new system of Party life. Being a creative development of the Party life of the

anti-Japanese guerrillas which is suited to the situation today, the new system of Party life serves as an excellent school for training Party members to be true revolutionaries of the Juche type.

Party members have acquired the habit of conducting their Party life consciously and the level of this life has risen considerably. Every member participates in Party life in good faith, regarding it as a great honour and noble duty, and through this life continually tempers himself politically and ideologically.

With the establishment of a thorough system and a revolutionary way of conducting Party life, the organization and discipline of the membership have increased and their vanguard role in the performance of the revolutionary tasks has been enhanced. Our Party members work, study and live in a revolutionary way at the head of the masses, displaying a high degree of Party consciousness and a strong drive. This is now their noble trait.

A new advance was made in Party ideological work during the period under review.

Our Party ideological work is now free from formalism, and the content and methods of ideological education have improved radically. Party ideological work is conducted extensively and in depth with the main stress laid on education in loyalty to the Party and the revolution and education in the monolithic ideology of the Party; and it is conducted flexibly in close combination with the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. The old practice of sticking to formality and glossing over things has disappeared in Party ideological work, and substantial ideological education is

conducted in all fields and in all units.

An important objective of our Party's ideological work is to stimulate the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of its membership and working people for the successful building of socialism. Party organizations have energetically propagated the Party's economic policy and have conducted brisk motivation for increased production. In this way they motivated Party members and other working people to implement the Party's economic policy and made a positive contribution to victory in grand socialist construction. Great vitality was displayed in mass political work and in the diverse and vigorous motivational work which inspired Party members and other working people to perform heroic feats at the sites of grand socialist construction.

During the years under review, the revolutionary habit of study was established throughout the country. In our country at present the entire Party membership and working people regard study as their prime revolutionary duty and the primary requirement of life and study diligently anywhere, anytime under the slogan "The Party, the people and the army must all study!" Cadres in particular are exemplary in studying. Every cadre strictly observes the study discipline laid down by the Party and makes it part of his daily routine to study with a high degree of consciousness as a Party member.

The role of the media in Party ideological work improved. Juche was firmly established in media activities, and the ideological and theoretical levels of the media showed a marked improvement. Today, our media

performs its mission and role excellently as an effective instrument of Party ideological work.

The success achieved in Party ideological work in the period under review is clearly seen in the fact that the ideological and moral characteristics of Party members and other working people have undergone a change and that the building of socialism continues to advance. Today, the whole of society is pulsating with unflinching loyalty to the Party and the revolution and with revolutionary enthusiasm; and miraculous successes are achieved one after another in the revolution and construction to the amazement of people the world over. This is a result of the vigorous ideological work conducted by our Party in keeping with the requirements of the developing situation.

During the period under review a noticeable change also took place in improving the method of Party work.

A conventional work method had persisted in our Party for a long time, and this had obstructed the development of Party work. Through a vigorous struggle to improve its work method, our Party eliminated the outdated bureaucratic work method and fully restored the work method of the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

The application of the anti-Japanese guerrilla method in all aspects of Party work gave the Party a new look and fundamentally changed its style of work. The whole Party now vibrates with revolutionary spirit, and all work is done with a strong drive and great vigour. This is our Party's characteristic and its style of work today.

During the period under review brilliant success was achieved in the work of our Party, and this really gladdened

our Party members and other people. Such success is a sure guarantee of a bright future for our Party and our revolution.

Comrades,

Our Party is the General Staff of the Korean revolution; it is the organizer of and the inspiration behind all our people's victories. The victory of the Korean revolution and the destiny of our people hinge entirely on our Party. Only under its leadership can our people reunify the divided country, achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea and, further, carry out the historic cause of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

Drawing on the successes already scored in building the Party, we must further improve Party work and thus forge ahead with the revolutionary struggle and construction work and carry our revolutionary cause through to completion.

The most important aspect of Party work at the moment is to establish the monolithic ideological system more thoroughly throughout the Party. The work of establishing this system should continue as long as the Party exists; the further the revolution deepens and develops, the more this work should be intensified. Holding fast to the idea that establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system is the basic line of Party building, we must continue with it powerfully.

Our Party's monolithic ideological system is the ideological system of Juche. All Party members should be equipped closely with the Juche idea, and this idea should

permeate throughout the whole Party. Party organizations should step up the education of Party members in the Juche idea so that they all believe implicitly in this idea, think and act as required by it and adhere strictly to the standpoint of recognizing no ideas other than the Juche idea.

An important task in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system is to strengthen the unity of thought and will and revolutionary solidarity of the Party ranks on the basis of the Juche idea.

It is only when the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks are achieved in full on the basis of the Juche idea that our Party can defend its Juche character constantly and overcome bravely and without hesitation whatever difficulties and trials may stand in its way. No matter where and when, Party organizations must defend and cherish the Party's unity and cohesion and combat without compromise all practices of undermining them. All our Party members must display boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and must unite closely around the Party Central Committee and fight resolutely for the victory of the Juche idea.

Establishing a revolutionary work system and revolutionary discipline in the Party is very important in setting up the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Our Party's ideology is put into effect and its leadership function is realized under the revolutionary guidance of its Central Committee. Only under its correct guidance can the revolution and construction advance along the straight road to victory and be carried through to completion. Only when Party leadership is fully guaranteed can the purity of the

Juche idea be preserved and the unity of thought, will and action of Party members be achieved.

We must further strengthen the revolutionary work system in the Party. It is essential to establish throughout the Party the habit of accepting Party decisions and instructions without question and carrying them through to the end, and to tighten the revolutionary discipline under which the whole Party acts as one body.

An important task in Party work is to improve its work with people and so consolidate the ranks of the Party and the revolution.

Work with people is basic to Party work. Only when, through the Party's skilful work with people, the Party ranks are strengthened politically and ideologically and the broad masses are rallied closely around the Party, will the revolutionary struggle and construction work be successful.

Party organizations should first pay close attention to strengthening the ranks of cadres.

Cadres are the hard core of the Party and leading officials in the revolution. When their ranks are strengthened, the Party can increase its fighting efficiency and implement its lines and policies properly.

The first criterion for being a cadre is loyalty to the Party. He must be thoroughly equipped with the Juche idea and have a high ideological resolve to devote his all to the Party and the revolution. He must also be competent enough to perform his role as a revolutionary commander satisfactorily and be equipped with the revolutionary work method and people-oriented work style. Party organizations should build up the ranks of cadres by selecting people who



are unfailingly loyal to the Party and well-qualified politically and practically and whose work method and style are good.

It is an important principle of personnel administration to continually improve the quality of the body of cadres. The ranks of cadres should be formed of both old and young people in a proper proportion and the proportion of cadres from a working-class background should continue to increase. Party organizations should actively help the veterans who have always been loyal to the Party to continue to work well and, at the same time, boldly promote to the post of cadre those young people who have recently been trained through a Juche education. Many cadres should be selected from among the workers who have been tempered at work over a long period, especially hard-core workers at factories and other enterprises of the key industries.

Cadres should be given proper education in order to strengthen their ranks. The selection and appointment of cadres is only the first step in personnel administration. If they are left to their own devices without education after being promoted, they may throw their weight about and indulge in bureaucratic practices, regarding their position as something in the nature of an old-time government post, and in the end they may degenerate under the influence of obsolete ideas. Intensifying the education of cadres is all the more pressing today because many young people who lack revolutionary tempering are joining the ranks of cadres. Party organizations should make all cadres thoroughly revolutionary by intensifying their education.

If we are to meet the demand for cadres which grows with the progress of the revolution and construction, we must train future cadres well. The work of cadre-training institutions should be improved so as to produce more cadres who are qualified well politically and practically. Party organizations at all levels should register those people who are eligible as cadres from among those already working and train them in practical work and, at the same time, develop certain major factories and enterprises and excellent cooperative farms into cadre-training centres to produce large numbers of cadres for the future.

The Party life of the membership should be improved.

This is an important way of tempering Party loyalty. Only when their Party loyalty is tempered steadily through improving their Party life can Party members be trained into the elite of the revolution and the Party ranks be consolidated organizationally and ideologically.

Party loyalty implies infinite loyalty to the Party. It means a high degree of class consciousness based on the revolutionary Juche world outlook and a noble revolutionary spirit of devoting one's all to the struggle to defend the Party and carry out its lines and decisions. Every Party member, no matter who he is, should temper his Party loyalty ceaselessly throughout his life. This is the way for him to preserve and develop his political integrity and remain loyal to the Party and the revolution to the last.

In order to improve Party life it is necessary to enhance Party members' sense of organization. Regarding the Party organization as one's own mother and relying entirely on it in one's life is a noble trait which our Party members must

acquire. Party organizations must enhance their members' sense of organization so that they participate in Party life conscientiously and observe the Party rules and norms voluntarily with a high degree of political awareness.

Enhancing the role of the Party cell is essential to improving the Party life of the membership. The Party cell is the basic organizational unit of the Party and the basis of Party life. It is the Party cell that is entrusted with the responsibility for organizing and guiding the Party life of its members. A Party cell should put Party life on a regular basis, encourage every one of its members to participate in it, and organize Party assignments properly so that all Party members are active at all times.

...

Party organizations should further intensify ideological work.

The Party is a political organization and ideological work is its main duty. Party organizations should, at all times, pay primary attention to ideological work and should solve every problem by giving priority to this work.

The most important task to be done in Party ideological work is to intensify educational work aimed at establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system. Party organizations should strengthen education in our Party's monolithic idea to closely arm all their members and other working people with our Party's revolutionary idea and to imbue them with unbounded loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

Intensifying ideological education to make the whole of society revolutionary and working-class is an important

task in Party ideological work. Party organizations should intensify revolutionary, communist education and so root out any obsolete ideas that remain in the minds of Party members and other working people and train them all to be true revolutionaries.

In Party ideological work it is also necessary to make great efforts to strengthen motivational work. Party organizations should conduct this work flexibly at the sites of socialist construction and at all revolutionary posts in order to arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm of Party members and other working people and inspire them to creation and innovation.

To establish the Party's monolithic ideological system fully among Party members and other working people, make them thoroughly revolutionary and working-class, and arouse the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses greatly and thus step up the modelling of the whole of society on the Juche idea—these are the principal tasks in Party ideological work today. The whole content of Party ideological work should be geared to these tasks and the ways and means of conducting ideological education should also serve the same aim.

An important task in Party work today is to carry forward our Party's glorious revolutionary traditions honourably.

Resolutely defending and honourably carrying forward these revolutionary traditions is a decisive guarantee for the victory of our revolution and an essential requirement for continuing the revolutionary cause of Juche through the generations and carrying it to completion.

Our Party's revolutionary traditions are the revolutionary traditions of Juche. Formed during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, they were embodied admirably in all fields of the revolution and construction after liberation and, in the process of this, were further developed and enriched. Our Party's revolutionary traditions embody the Juche ideology, theory and methodology in a comprehensive way and contain a wealth of precious achievements and experience gained in our revolution.

Carrying forward our Party's revolutionary traditions means, in essence, inheriting and completing the revolutionary cause of Juche. The struggle to carry forward our Party's revolutionary traditions is a struggle to defend firmly and embody the Juche idea to the end; it is a struggle to defend our Party's revolutionary achievements resolutely and expand and develop them unceasingly.

...

Another important task in Party work is to strengthen the Party's leadership of the revolution and construction.

Such leadership is an important duty of the Party. In our country today socialist construction has reached a high stage and the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are striking their roots deeper. This makes it necessary to strengthen the Party's leadership of the revolution and construction.

Party leadership of the revolution and construction is political leadership and leadership to ensure the implementation of policies. Party organizations should lead the revolution and construction by means of explaining and

disseminating the Party's policies to Party members and other working people, stimulating the masses and meticulously organizing the work for implementing the policies, reviewing their execution regularly and helping to rectify any defects as soon as they are revealed.

First of all, Party organizations should lead socialist economic construction well.

Socialist economic construction is an important revolutionary task facing our Party at present. Our Party work today should be geared towards efficient socialist economic construction, and success in Party work, too, should be displayed in the success of socialist economic construction. Every Party worker should be involved in economic work and every Party organization should take this work firmly in hand.

Party organizations should actively promote economic work, give prominence to the role of economic officials and give them effective assistance. Party organizations should make sure that, with the attitude of masters of the revolution, economic officials introduce the Tsaen work system fully in their work and conduct economic organizational work and direct production in a responsible manner.

Party organizations must combat the tendency towards self-centredness which some economic officials display. At present this tendency is glaringly evident among them, and this hampers socialist economic construction to a considerable degree. Self-centredness is an expression of egoism and of a fame-seeking attitude. Self-centred people are fame-seekers who work for their own personal glory

and career. Party organizations must wage a major ideological battle against the self-centred tendency revealed by economic officials, so that they work responsibly in the overall interests of the revolution from a firm Party and state standpoint.

We should strengthen Party leadership of the organs of people's power.

It is a noble duty of the organs of people's power to show concern for the people's well-being in a responsible manner. Party organizations should give them active help so that they run the nation's economic affairs scrupulously, furnish adequate material and cultural conditions for the people and perform their role well as housekeepers who are responsible for the livelihood of the people.

An important task confronting the organs of people's power today is to improve the observance of the socialist law. They should enhance the law-abiding spirit of the people so that they observe laws and regulations voluntarily and strongly combat any violations of the legal order of the state. In particular, leading officials of state and economic organizations should conduct all their work in accordance with the laws and regulations and set an example for the masses in observing the legal order of the state.

Party leadership to the People's Army should be strengthened.

The People's Army is the revolutionary armed force of our Party. We must thoroughly establish the Party's monolithic ideological system in the People's Army and firmly guarantee Party leadership of the army, so that it

defends the Party resolutely and becomes the armed defender of the Party's revolutionary cause.

The Party organizations in the People's Army must, by strengthening Party leadership of military affairs, carry out the Party's military line. The People's Army should strengthen combat and political training and in this way not only steadily improve the soldiers' fighting and moral qualities and their military technical levels, but also further improve the fighting capability and combat preparedness of the units.

Our People's Army is a revolutionary army, and so the basic means for increasing its might lies in conducting proper political and ideological work. The Party organizations in the People's Army should intensify political and ideological work to equip all the servicemen with noble loyalty to the Party and the revolution and an indomitable revolutionary spirit, to establish voluntary, revolutionary discipline in the army ranks and to suffuse the ranks with our fine traditions of solidarity between officers and men and between the army and the people.

Commanders and political workers in the People's Army should help and lead each other forward, administering their units better and pooling their efforts to fulfil all their military and political tasks with credit.

Party organizations should lead public security organs and judicial and prosecutor's bodies to defend the Party's lines and policies resolutely and thoroughly protect the people's lives and property.

If we are to strengthen the Party's leadership of the revolution and construction, we should enhance the role of



Party committees at all levels. In particular, it is necessary to strengthen the collective leadership of provincial, city and county Party committees and the Party committees at factories and enterprises. Only when the Party committees' collective leadership is strengthened is it possible to guarantee democracy within the Party and reflect in full the will of the rank-and-file Party members in Party activities. The Party committees should hold collective discussions on important matters according to democratic principles so as to adopt correct measures to cope with them and should establish the habit of carrying out every decision once it is made.

Meanwhile, we must decisively improve the qualifications of Party workers. The workers in a party which leads socialist construction should have a good knowledge of politics, the economy, science and technology, and should have high cultural levels, too. All Party workers should study diligently to prepare themselves to be able workers with broad political vision and wide knowledge.

Further, we should steadily improve the Party's work method.

It is only then that we can carry out the Party's lines and policies successfully and rally the broad masses closely around the Party.

Our Party's work method was created in the flames of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and is based on the profound principles of the Juche idea. Our Party's Juche-based work method is the most revolutionary work method and it enables the working masses to maintain their

position firmly as the masters of the revolution and construction and perform their role as such with credit.

Party organizations must bring about a change in their work by strictly adhering to the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method which embody our Party's traditional work method and revolutionary principle of mass leadership.

The Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method demand that political work be given priority in all activities, that superiors help subordinates and that officials always go and work among the masses.

Party organizations should give definite precedence to political work in all undertakings, as required by the Chongsanri method. Giving precedence to political work means making the education of people the first priority in all activities and carrying out the revolutionary tasks in hand by arousing the voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the masses. By giving priority to political work Party organizations should mobilize the broad masses for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks and stimulate all Party members and other working people in such a way that one person rouses ten to activity, ten people a hundred, and a hundred people a thousand.

Party workers should always go out to teach officials at lower levels with kindness, and give them effective help and, living among the masses, should seek new ways and means of carrying out Party policy and solve all problems in compliance with the demands and interests of the masses.

Party workers are the true servants of the working

masses. In order to perform their duties as servants of the people, they must have a people-oriented work style. They must not wield authority or put on airs; at all times and in all places they must live as simply and as frugally as the people live. They should become close comrades and friends of the masses who respect them, are generous to them and share good times and bad with them. They must reject indolence and laxity and work and live in a revolutionary way as befits workers of a revolutionary party, a militant party.

We should further intensify Party work so as to fulfil the heavy yet honourable revolutionary tasks confronting the Party.

# **THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

(Excerpts)

**Lecture Delivered to the Teaching Staff  
and Students of Kim Il Sung Higher Party School**

*May 31, 1986*

Last year we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, and today we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Higher Party School.

Over the past 40 years our Party has traversed a road of brilliant victory and glory, and made great achievements, which will shine long in history. Since its founding, our Party has steadily increased and strengthened its ranks, and led the revolution and construction along the straight road of victory. It carried out the democratic and socialist revolutions successfully by giving leadership to the masses, and developed our country to become a socialist state which is independent, self-supporting and capable of self-reliant defence, by pressing ahead with socialist construction. It preserved the security of the country and the revolutionary achievements with honour from imperialist aggression. Through a long period of

revolutionary struggle it has earned the unqualified support and trust of the masses, and become an unconquerable party which is firmly united, has rich experience and has the ability to give seasoned leadership.

Our Party is a veteran party which has done a great deal of work, blazing the long and thorny trail of the revolution. It is a virile party, full of stamina and ardour. Our revolution has reached a new height at which the whole of society is being modelled on the Juche idea, and our Party has laid solid organizational and ideological foundations on which to carry forward the noble cause of Juche to the end throughout the generations. Our Party is fighting vigorously with a high aim and firm confidence in the justice of its cause and in its victory.

The people's struggle for independence can only advance victoriously under the leadership of the party. In order to model the whole of society on the Juche idea, meet the people's desire for independence and realize their ideal, it is necessary to consolidate the party organizationally and ideologically, and increase its leadership function and role continuously in keeping with revolutionary advance and social progress.

If we are to develop our Party as a Juche-oriented revolutionary party forever, we must adhere to the revolutionary principles of party building and implement them thoroughly in all spheres of its activity. To this end, Party officials must clearly understand the historical experience of building our Party.

Kim Il Sung Higher Party School is a centre for the training of our Party officials.

During the past 40 years since its founding, the Higher Party School has shared the fortunes of our Party and achieved brilliant success in training Party cadres. It has always been in the forefront of the struggle to establish the system of the Party's monolithic ideology. It has produced a large number of competent Party workers and continuously given refresher courses to the Party officials on the job, and thus contributed greatly to the development of our Party and to the cause of our revolution. I am extremely satisfied with this.

Today the Higher Party School is facing the heavy but honourable task of producing a greater number of qualified Party workers so as to meet the needs of the developing situation.

It must give the students and Party workers a sound knowledge of our Party's history and experience, and train all of them to be infinitely loyal to the Party and to become qualified and competent Party workers.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Higher Party School, I should like to speak about some of the historical experience of our Party building in order to help the school in its educational work.

## **1. THE STRUGGLE OF THE KOREAN COMMUNISTS TO FOUND THE PARTY**

Our Party has grown from deep historical roots. It was founded in 1945, but the struggle to establish it in our country had begun a long time before. Through many years

of arduous struggle, the Korean communists had laid a solid foundation for the revolutionary party and, on this basis, founded our Party.

Under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Marxism-Leninism spread through our country, and as the working class took an active part in the struggle, the communist movement started to develop here. But the Korean communist movement in its early years had serious weaknesses and limitations.

Campaigners of the early communist movement only paid lip-service to the revolution and competed for “hegemony”, divorced from the masses, instead of mixing with the people and educating, organizing and rousing them for the revolutionary struggle. Affected by flunkeyism, they did not think about strengthening the party by their own efforts. Groups of these campaigners travelled all over to obtain the recognition of the Communist International, each arguing that it was the “orthodox group” or the real “Marxist group”. In consequence, the early communist movement in our country was unable to develop smoothly. It traversed an anguished and tortuous course, and the Korean Communist Party which was organized in 1925 not only failed to perform its function properly as the vanguard of the revolution, but was unable even to maintain its existence for long under the repression of the Japanese imperialists.

The Korean revolution required a new type of revolutionary party, and the noble cause of organizing this party was put before the young communists of the new generation.

We young communists of the new generation learned the important lesson that we would be unable to carry out the revolution if we followed the same path as the early communist campaigners. We chose a completely new path of revolution. We firmly believed that in order to make a revolution we had to mix intimately with the masses and fight by depending on them, build a party ourselves and provide leadership for the revolution to suit the specific situation in our country. And we believed that if we did this we would naturally win recognition and sympathy from the people of other countries. We fought with this conviction. This was the new revolutionary line and the policy of building a revolutionary party adopted by the young communists of the new generation.

In the course of blazing the trail of the revolution and fighting independently by applying Marxism-Leninism to our own conditions creatively, we conceived a new revolutionary idea, the Juche idea. The Juche idea, in addition to Marxism-Leninism, became an unswerving guideline for our revolution.

The Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU), which we organized in 1926, was the vanguard to lead the revolutionary cause of Juche to victory. It was the first true communist revolutionary organization in our country.

The programme of the DIU was to achieve the liberation and independence of Korea, build socialism and communism in Korea and, further, fight for the victory of communism throughout the world.

The formation of the DIU was the historic declaration of a fresh start for our revolution. With its formation, our



people's revolutionary struggle broke with flunkeyism, dogmatism and every other trend of outdated ideas, and entered upon a new era of advancing under the principle of independence, and the Korean communist and national-liberation movements became capable of developing forcefully with correct fighting objectives, strategy and tactics.

The birth of the DIU marked the starting point of building a new type of revolutionary party in our country, and the glorious roots of our Party began to grow from the DIU itself. The Young Communist League of Korea, which succeeded the DIU, played an important part in the struggle to found the revolutionary party. It worked hard to achieve the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks by overcoming the intrigues of factionalists and flunkeyists to divide them. At the same time, it organized and united progressive young people and trained them to be the backbone of the party which was to be founded, and gave unified leadership to the anti-Japanese organizations of the broad masses so as to lay solid foundations for the party.

At the historic Kalun Meeting held in 1930, we adopted a Juche-oriented revolutionary line. Guided by this line, we made preparations for an armed struggle and worked hard to form basic party organizations and organized the first party of its kind with young communists of the new generation.

The first party organization, which was formed at Kalun, was the glorious origin of our Party and the prototype of those party organizations which were formed, one after the other, afterwards. We increased party

organizations quickly on the pattern of the first parent party organization. In a short time we formed a large number of basic party organizations over a wide area, including the district on the Tuman River, and established the system with which to give them organizational leadership. As party organizations were formed and as their activities intensified, the Korean communists became more closely organized and waged the revolutionary struggle more intensively under the guidance of these party organizations.

The struggle to found the party became more widespread when the anti-Japanese armed struggle started.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle was a noble war of liberation to save the country and the nation. It was also an all-out fight for the victory of the noble communist idea as well as a glorious struggle to found the revolutionary party of the working class.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle opened a decisive new phase in the effort to found the party. In the crucible of the armed struggle we were able to train a large force as the organizational backbone of the party which was to be founded, achieve the unbreakable unity and cohesion of the communist ranks and lay a solid mass base on which to build the party.

We set up party organizations of different levels in the anti-Japanese armed ranks and in the guerrilla zones, and steadily increased their function and role. We also formed a large number of party organizations in the area on the northern borders of our country and in the Korean settlements in northeast China. As the party organizations grew rapidly, and as the anti-Japanese armed struggle

became stronger, we organized the Party Committee of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in order to give unified leadership to the party organizations at different echelons and ensure successful party leadership to the armed struggle. The Party Committee gave unified leadership not only to all party organizations in the army but also to those which were active in many regions in the homeland and abroad.

With the Party Committee of the KPRA performing the function of unified leadership, the system of directing party organizations in all echelons became well integrated, and the armed struggle and the Korean revolution as a whole came securely under party leadership. All the party organizations became integrated organizationally and acted under the leadership of the KPRA Party Committee.

With the Party Committee as the centre, we extended the network of party organizations over wider areas in the homeland and abroad. We formed a large number of basic party organizations, particularly in industrial centres and farming and fishing villages of strategic importance in the homeland, and gave them effective unified leadership. As a result, party organizations became deeply-rooted amongst broad sections of the masses, including the workers in major industries, and the preparations for the founding of the party proceeded more forcefully throughout the country.

Thus we worked hard to found the revolutionary party of the working class during the whole period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. In the course of this, the fatal weaknesses of the early Korean communist

movement were overcome, and a solid basis was laid on which to found the revolutionary party.

During the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the organizational and ideological foundations of the party were laid.

Laying these foundations was the basic requirement for the building of a revolutionary party. The work of building a working-class party begins with the struggle to lay its organizational and ideological foundations. If these foundations are not laid it is impossible to found a revolutionary party; even if a party is founded, it will be unable to play the role of General Staff of the revolution as it should and avoid being destroyed by a counterrevolutionary attack. This has been proved by the historical lesson of the early Korean communist movement and the experience of the international communist movement.

An important factor in laying the organizational and ideological foundations of a party is to form party organizations, establish the party's organizational leadership system thoroughly and develop its organizational backbone by training hard-core communists.

As I explained earlier, during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we formed basic party organizations and those of different levels, and established a system with which they could be given unified leadership. We formulated and worked hard to implement the policy of founding the party by forming basic organizations first on the basis of adequate preparations and then by extending and strengthening them, instead of declaring the setting up

of the Party Central Committee. Of course, it may be possible to organize a party by the method of declaring the setting up of its Central Committee by rallying hard-core communists and then forming subordinate party organizations gradually. But this was impossible in our country. In those days most of the people who claimed to be communists were factionalists and flunkeyists. They clung to the coattails of others and were engrossed in factional strife and lip-service. So it was impossible to found a revolutionary party by relying on them. If we were to found a revolutionary party we had to form basic party organizations which struck roots deep among the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the masses, train fresh communists from the new generation unaffected by factionalism and flunkeyism through party organizational life and revolutionary struggles, and ensure the unity of ideology and will among the communist ranks as well as their solidarity. Therefore, we made sure that basic party organizations were formed first, that this was followed gradually by the formation of higher bodies to suit the specific situations in the units and districts concerned, and that all party organizations acted under the unified leadership of the KPRA Party Committee.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we trained a large number of hard-core communists.

By hard-core communists I mean people who have acquired the revolutionary outlook on the world, who never falter in any difficulty or adversity and who are able to carry out the revolutionary tasks they have been given on their own responsibility. Hard-core communists are

indispensable for forming the organizational backbone of the party, ensuring unity of ideology and will amongst the communist ranks and their solidarity, and consolidating the mass basis for the founding of the party.

The quickest revolutionary way of training hard-core communists was to enlist people in the anti-Japanese armed ranks and harden them in the practice of the arduous revolutionary struggle. The anti-Japanese armed ranks were a school for hardening and training people to be stalwart revolutionaries and hard-core communists. We enlisted fine sons and daughters of workers and peasants in the anti-Japanese armed ranks and hardened them steadily in the bloody fight against the enemy. Thus we trained them to be indomitable revolutionary fighters possessing the communist revolutionary spirit, to be hard-core communists qualified both politically and militarily.

A revolutionary organizational life is a powerful means of educating and hardening people. We saw to it that workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals who were highly class-conscious and had been tested in the struggle were admitted to party organizations, and educated and hardened steadily through organizational life. As a result, party organizations trained a large number of people to be fine hard-core communists and to be the organizational backbone of the party, possessing a strong sense of organization and discipline.

The anti-Japanese mass organizations also played an important role in training hard-core communists. We formed various anti-Japanese mass organizations in the guerrilla zones and in wide areas in the homeland and

abroad. Around these organizations we rallied workers, peasants and other broad sections of the masses who were opposed to Japanese imperialism. We gave them revolutionary training in the practical struggle against Japanese imperialism, and thus prepared a large number of people to become ardent communists.

These hard-core communists whom we trained during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle became the backbone of the party which was to be founded.

Another important factor in laying the organizational and ideological foundations of the party is to preserve the purity of the communist ranks and ensure the solid unity of their ideology and will.

A revolutionary party can only be established and its strength increased when the purity of the communist ranks and the unity of their ideology and will are ensured. The unity of ideology and will amongst the communist ranks and their solidarity are the basic condition for the founding, consolidation and development of the party as well as the source of its unconquerable strength.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we worked tirelessly to ensure the purity of the communist ranks and strengthen the unity of their ideology and will. We exposed all the crimes which had been committed by the factionalists who had made a muddle of the early communist movement in Korea, got the communists to fight resolutely against the factionalists and established iron discipline in the organizations so as to prevent the slightest element of factionalism from infiltrating the revolutionary ranks. We also imbued the communists and the members of

the revolutionary organizations with the Juche-oriented Korean revolutionary line, strategy and tactics so as to ensure the ideological unity of the communist ranks and their concerted action.

Laying a solid mass foundation is important in preparing the organizational and ideological foundations on which to build the party.

A mass foundation is an important guarantee for the foundation of a powerful party which is deeply rooted amongst the different sections of the masses. Only a party which has a solid mass base can be invincible.

In order to form the mass base for the foundation of the party, it is necessary to awaken the masses and organize them. Although the people are masters of the revolution, they cannot play their role as such and serve as the party's dependable political base unless they are awakened and organized.

During the whole period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we worked hard to awaken and organize the masses. In those days we sent a large number of political workers to work among the masses in many places. They went deep among the people, educated them tirelessly, revolutionized them, and formed mass organizations so that broad sections of them were organizationally integrated. We made a massive effort to organize and mobilize the workers, peasants and all other people in the revolutionary struggle, and hardened them through the struggle. In the practical struggle, the class consciousness of broad sections of the masses was awakened, and they became a powerful political force.



The struggle to form the mass base for founding the party proceeded in step with the anti-Japanese national united front movement. On May 5, 1936 the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland was formed. This historic event marked a new phase in consolidating the mass foundation of the party.

The formation of this association made it possible to unite the broad masses of all walks of life closely under the banner of national liberation.

The network of the association spread rapidly. Its subordinate organizations were formed widely, not only in the districts on the Amnok and Tuman Rivers but deep in the homeland. These organizations bore different names to suit the specific conditions of their localities. As its organizational network extended over wide areas at home and abroad, broad sections of the masses rallied closely around the association, and even religious people joined these organizations and came out to fight against the Japanese. As a result, a change took place in ensuring party leadership over the masses of different sections, and the mass base for founding the party became stronger.

Because the solid organizational and ideological base on which to build the party was laid during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we were fully prepared to found the revolutionary working-class party in our country as soon as a favourable opportunity arose.

The brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party were established during the arduous revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Through the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, which

cost us a great deal of blood, the system of the Juche idea was established, imperishable revolutionary achievements and fighting experience were gained, and the revolutionary work method and people-oriented work style were created. The anti-Japanese revolutionary traditions contain a wealth of priceless ideological and spiritual assets, and valuable revolutionary exploits and experiences.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary traditions provided a sound base on which to found our Party after liberation and strengthen and develop it, and became the strong historical roots of our Party and revolution.

Relying on the organizational and ideological base for founding the party and on the brilliant revolutionary traditions established during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we immediately set about organizing the party after the country was liberated.

The situation in our country after liberation was very complicated. In particular, because of the US imperialist occupation of south Korea, there was a striking contrast between the situations in the north and the south of our country. In the north all the people, who had become the masters of the country, took part as one in the building of a new country with the joy of liberation, but this was not the case in the south. There, a military government was set up by the United States, the revolutionary advance of communists and other patriots was mercilessly suppressed, and the people's committees which had been formed on the initiative of the people were dissolved by force. In this situation it was difficult to establish a united party including all the communists in north and south Korea

immediately. But we could not afford to wait with folded arms until conditions for founding a united party matured. These different situations in the north and the south of the country required that the revolution be developed and the work of founding the party carried on in both areas in accordance with specific local conditions.

We immediately founded the party in the north, where a favourable situation had been created. This was necessary because only then was it possible to give unified leadership to the Communist Party organizations formed and active in all parts of the country, achieve the organizational and ideological unity of the communist ranks, rally the broad masses around the Party and carry on nation building successfully so as to develop the northern half of Korea into a solid base for the Korean revolution.

We ensured that the Party was founded with the hard-core communists who had been hardened and trained during the many years of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and with those communists who had been active in different areas at home and abroad. At that time, there was a suggestion that the party should be founded only with those communists who had participated in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. It was well within our capability to do so, but we refrained. Had we organized the party with them alone, other people would have tried to form parties of their own, and this would have resulted in the division of the communist movement in our country. That was why we saw to it that every communist was admitted to the Party when it was founded. It was true that some communists who had been working individually in

different areas might lack organizational training, but since there was a dependable corps of the backbone hardened and seasoned in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we were able to admit them to the Party and unite them organizationally.

We sent hard-core communists who had been trained during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to different parts of the country to reorganize and expand Party organizations there and to unite the communists who were working individually, while at the same time accelerating preparations for founding the Party. At last, on October 10, 1945 we formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, a powerful central leadership organ of the Party, proclaiming the founding of our Party to the whole world.

The founding of our Party was the birth of the revolutionary Party of a Juche type, the first of its kind in history. It was the superb result of many years of struggle by the Korean communists to found a revolutionary party of the working class. It provided the Korean revolution with its own powerful, militant General Staff and enabled our people to promote the revolution and construction victoriously under its leadership.

## **2. THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA IS A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF JUCHE**

The Workers' Party of Korea is a new type of working-class party, a Marxist-Leninist party of a Juche

type. In short, the Workers' Party of Korea can be described as a revolutionary party of Juche. It is guided by the Juche idea and is fighting to accomplish the cause of Juche.

A party is a political organization of people who are united on the basis of community of thought and ideas. It represents the common desire of a certain class, social group or society, and fights to fulfil this desire. The character and mission of a party is defined by its socio-class basis and guiding ideology.

The Workers' Party of Korea is a revolutionary party of the working class and a mass party of the working people.

Our Party is composed of a backbone of vanguard fighters of the working class and a large number of excellent elements from among progressive workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Holding fast to the revolutionary stand of the working class, it carries out all its activities in keeping with the desires and interests of the working class and broad sections of the working masses. Its emblem clearly symbolizes its revolutionary and mass character.

The guiding ideology of the Workers' Party of Korea is the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is the revolutionary idea of the working class which represents the masses' desire for independence and the absolutely correct guideline for our revolution and construction. It is a man-centred revolutionary outlook on the world and a revolutionary doctrine to bring about independence for the masses.

The validity of the Juche idea has been fully proved in

the practice of the Korean revolution, and this idea has become the steadfast guideline of our Party in the course of many years of struggle.

Our Party is guided by the Juche idea, and builds itself and carries on all its activities on the basis of this idea.

The Juche idea is the starting point of our Party building and activity. Proceeding from the Juche idea, our Party, in its building and other activities, focuses on man and subordinates everything to enhancing the position and role of the masses, and maintains independent and creative stands.

The Juche idea is the basis on which to consolidate our Party organizationally and ideologically. On the basis of the Juche idea, our Party strengthens itself organizationally and imbues itself with one ideology so as to ensure its unity and cohesion.

The Juche idea is the guideline of our Party in giving leadership to the revolution and construction. Guided by the Juche idea, our Party formulates its line, and strategy and tactics for the revolution and construction. It implements its line and policy by trusting in the strength of the masses and mobilizing their creative power.

Our Party has always advanced under the banner of the Juche idea. It was founded, strengthened and developed in the struggle to implement the Juche idea and has led the revolution and construction to victory by applying this idea.

The basic mission of the Workers' Party of Korea is to fight for the victory of the cause of Juche.

The cause of Juche is the cause of the masses which has

been pioneered and developed under the banner of the Juche idea. It is the noble cause of bringing about independence for the masses by implementing the Juche idea.

When we announced the founding of the Party, we put forward its programme of carrying out democratic social reforms and building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state by applying the Juche idea. This was the fighting programme which we had already published during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Our Party has powerfully mobilized all its members and all the people in the struggle to carry out its programme. As a result, the first objective of this programme has been implemented brilliantly in the northern half of Korea. But it has not yet been accomplished nationwide.

The immediate revolutionary task of our Party today in carrying out the cause of Juche is to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

Our Party has defined as its immediate objective the winning of the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, and is fighting to put this into effect.

Attaining the complete victory of socialism and establishing a classless society is the most important revolutionary task in the cause of building communism after the establishment of the socialist system. A decisive change will take place in the accomplishment of this cause when socialism is completely victorious, the insidious intrigues of the hostile classes and the corrosive actions of

old ideas cease, the differences between town and country and the class distinctions between the workers and the peasants disappear, when the material and technical foundations of socialism are stable, and when working people are free from arduous labour.

Today, it is the mature requirement of our revolution to win the complete victory of socialism. Our Party has already carried out the tasks of national liberation and class emancipation, and pressed ahead with socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, thus laying a solid foundation for the complete victory of socialism in politics, the economy, ideology, culture and all other spheres of social life.

In order to win the complete victory of socialism, we must accelerate the work of transforming the whole of society after the revolutionary and working-class pattern and making them intellectuals, strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism, and further consolidate and develop the socialist system.

On the basis of the successes already achieved in socialist construction, our Party is successfully carrying out the strategic tasks which arise in the course of attaining the complete victory of socialism.

Achieving the independent, peaceful reunification of the country is the most urgent fighting task facing our Party.

It is only when the independent, peaceful reunification of the country is achieved that national sovereignty can be exercised throughout the country, socio-political independence ensured for the south Korean people and the



uniform development of the country and its people guaranteed.

In order to reunify the country independently and peacefully we must strengthen the revolutionary forces in the northern half of Korea and give strong support to the just, patriotic struggle of the south Korean people, and work hard to create an international environment favourable to our revolution.

Our Party is making every effort to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country as soon as possible, and ensure the uniform development of the country and its people.

The ultimate revolutionary task of our Party in carrying out the cause of Juche is to build a communist society by modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

The communist society is mankind's ideal society, in which remnants of the old society no longer exist and where independence for the masses is completely realized.

The communist society, the ideal of mankind, can only be built successfully through the struggle to transform the whole of society as required by the Juche idea. We must model the whole of society on the Juche idea so as to change all members of society into communists of the Juche type, and transform society and nature thoroughly as required by the Juche idea. This is the way to occupy the ideological and material fortresses of communism and attain a communist society in which independence for the masses is realized completely.

Our Party has put forward the loftiest programme of building a communist society by modelling the whole of

society on the Juche idea, and is pressing ahead with the work of transforming people, society and nature as required by the Juche idea.

Our Party is not only fighting for success in the revolution in our country but also for the victory of the world revolution.

The world revolution is the struggle to liquidate imperialism and colonialism, to achieve national liberation and class emancipation, and to build communism throughout the world.

The world revolution is a common international cause of all Communist and Workers' Parties and revolutionary people of the world; fighting for the triumph of the world revolution is the international duty of the working class and other people in every country.

The important task in speeding up the world revolution is to make the whole world independent. An independent world is a world in which imperialism and colonialism have been liquidated completely, a world where the complete sovereignty of all countries and peoples has been ensured. Global independence will pave a broad road for all countries and peoples to build a new, independent and prosperous society, and provide the people with complete independence.

An important task in winning the victory of the world revolution is to give a strong impetus to the international communist movement. This movement is a noble cause for the victory of socialism and communism, and for human emancipation throughout the world. A worldwide victory of communism is essential for the accomplishment of the

revolutionary cause of independence of the working class and the rest of the masses.

If they are to emerge victorious in the world revolution, the working class and other people of the world must strengthen international solidarity and cooperation, and develop a powerful joint struggle against imperialism.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, and of anti-imperialism and independence, our Party will unite closely with the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and other progressive parties in the world, oppose imperialism, colonialism and all acts of aggression and subjugation, and continue to fight to provide independence for the people.

Our Party's cause of independence for the masses can only be achieved through continuous struggle. Our Party will discharge its honourable mission to the end on the road of sacred struggle to bring independence to the masses.

The working-class party is fundamentally different from other political parties both in its character and its mission, in the mode of its activities and in its socio-historical position. Therefore, it must be built on the basis of the theory and principles which are peculiar to its nature and character. It is only then that the party can perform its leadership function and historic mission as it should.

The working-class party must build itself and act in such a way as to ensure political leadership for the whole of society, always keeping a tight hold on work with people. Providing political leadership for the whole of society by concentrating on work with people is the basic principle of building the working-class party.

Since its inception, our Party has regarded work with people as fundamental to Party work and solved all problems arising in its development and in its activities through work with people.

Work with people is an undertaking to educate people in a revolutionary way and rally them organizationally so that they willingly join the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction.

It is a requirement of the Juche idea to concentrate on work with people, regarding this as the main factor in the party's activities. On the basis of the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, the Juche idea requires that everything should be considered as centring on people and should be made to serve them. Therefore, people must always be placed in the centre of party building and party activities, and every problem must be solved through work with people.

Work with people is the basic mode of government of the working-class party. Government by the working-class party integrates the will of the masses, and its basic requirement is that people should be educated and united in conformity with their rights to independence and interests and that they should be encouraged to participate willingly in the revolutionary struggle and construction. The party is not a power organ ruling the people but a political educator and organizer. The objective of party work is people, and the duty of the party is to educate and organize its members and other working people so that they will join in the revolutionary struggle voluntarily and with a high degree of enthusiasm. Therefore, work with people is the main

content of party work and the form of activity proper to the party. So party work and activities must always concentrate on work with people.

The party is the leading political organization of society. Under its leadership the working class and other working masses engage in political activity, and the revolution and construction progress. The working-class party gives unified leadership to the political activities of the masses, and here are to be found its particular position and role in society. It is only when the party provides political leadership for the whole of society that it can truly represent the people's rights to independence and their interests, and serve as a genuinely leading political organization which guides the revolution and construction to meet the desire of the masses for independence.

Our Party has provided political leadership for the whole of society by concentrating on work with people, implementing the theory of building a revolutionary party. It has thus been able to work as a true defender of our people's rights to independence and their interests, and advance the revolution and construction triumphantly.

In order to strengthen and develop the party so that it will be a party which is durable and powerful organizationally and ideologically, a revolutionary party which leads the cause of independence for the masses to victory, we must adhere to the revolutionary principles in party building.

The basic principles which our Party maintains in Party building are, first, to establish a monolithic ideological system in the Party; second, to make the Party one with the

people; and third, to ensure continuity in Party building.

The revolutionary party of the working class must establish a monolithic ideological system.

Establishing a monolithic ideological system in party building means imbuing the whole party with a single revolutionary ideology and, on this basis, ensuring unity of leadership.

The working-class party must be organized and guided on the basis of one ideology. It must be united around one centre, and all its activities must be conducted under unified leadership. In other words, a monolithic ideological system must be established in the party.

The establishment of a monolithic ideological system in the party is the only way for the party to preserve its revolutionary character, achieve the organizational and ideological unity of its ranks, and perform its function and role satisfactorily as the General Staff of the revolution.

There must be only one ideology in the working-class party, and the whole party must be imbued with one ideology. A party which lacks singleness of ideology cannot preserve its revolutionary character, nor can it become an integrated party, all members of which act as one. A party which fails to ensure the unity of ideology and action cannot, in fact, be called a single party.

The unity and cohesion of the ranks is vital to a working-class party; it is the source of its unconquerable power. The unity and cohesion of the party can only be durable and powerful enough to withstand any storm and stress when it is based upon one ideology. If we are to ensure the unity of the Party's ideology and will, and its

revolutionary solidarity, we must arm every Party member firmly with its guiding ideology so as to fill the whole party with one revolutionary ideology.

Imbuing the party with one ideology is the basis on which the party can ensure unified leadership, which in turn enables the party to perform its function and role satisfactorily as the leading political organization.

A working-class party must imbue itself with its guiding ideology so as to ensure that all its members think and act in accordance with the party's ideas and intentions, and that the whole party acts as one man under the unified leadership of its Central Committee.

The principle of establishing a monolithic ideological system is a party-building principle which implies democratic centralism. It requires that democratic centralism should be implemented thoroughly in party activities.

The party's lines and policies are its organizational goals, namely, the crystallization of the aspirations and desires of all its members. It is only when inner-party democracy is given full play that the party's lines and policies can incorporate the will of the masses correctly, and that these lines and policies can be accepted by the masses as their own. In addition, the system of unified leadership can only be established throughout the party when the discipline of democratic centralism is established, a discipline by which all party members and organizations accept and implement its lines and policies unconditionally, and by which party members obey party organizations, subordinate party organizations obey higher party

organizations, and the whole party obeys its Central Committee.

The working-class party must become one with the masses.

The working-class party must strike deep roots amongst the masses and rally broad sections of the masses around itself firmly, so that the party and the masses become a harmonious whole which breathes the same breath, acts as one, and shares the same fortunes.

To be one with the masses is the natural requirement of the working-class party which is fighting for the good of the masses and is carrying out its work by relying on them.

The working-class party can only be invincible when it is one with the people. A party which is not rooted amongst the masses and is unable to win their support is like a castle in the air, and will be unable even to sustain its own existence. Only a party which is deeply rooted amongst the masses and enjoys their unreserved support and trust can be invincible, and continue to strengthen and develop.

By being one with the people the working-class party can link leadership with the masses properly and make them great creators of history. Organic unity between the party and the masses is what makes the party strong and the masses great. It is under the party's leadership that the masses, who are the subject of social history and undertake the revolution, can be the true masters of their destiny and the powerful motive force of the revolution. When it is one with the masses and provides them with revolutionary leadership, the working-class party can awaken and organize the masses, and encourage them to participate in



the revolutionary struggle and construction with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity.

If it is to be one with the masses, the party must be developed to become a mass party of the working people, and must always champion their interests thoroughly and serve them faithfully.

The working-class party must preserve its continuity throughout its development.

Preserving continuity in its development means carrying forward the purity of its blood and maintaining its main principles throughout its development.

Maintaining its original qualities during its development is the law of the communist movement and of the party's development. The communist movement and the cause of party building are things which continue for generations over a long period. Since the revolutionary cause of the working class continues through many generations over a long period, and since one generation is continually taking the place of another in the course of the development of the communist movement, the cause of party building must also continue for generations.

The fundamental thing in carrying forward the cause of party building for generations is to carry forward the oneness of the party's ideology and of its leadership.

If the oneness of ideology and of leadership is not carried forward in party building, it will be impossible to preserve the revolutionary character of the party and the achievements of its struggle, and ensure its leadership role whenever the revolutionary generations change. Consequently, the party will be unable to accomplish the

cause of independence for the people.

The oneness of the party's ideology and its leadership must be carried forward and preserved intact in the whole course of the party's advance and social progress.

It is very important in carrying forward the cause of party building through the generations to preserve, carry forward and develop the revolutionary traditions of the party.

The revolutionary traditions are revolutionary treasures for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of the working class and the cause of party building. They are the lifeline which provides a link between different generations of the party and the revolution. The revolutionary traditions comprehensively include the party's guiding ideology, theory and methods as well as the crystallization of the valuable revolutionary achievements and experience which have been accumulated in the whole course of the revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary cause of the working class and the cause of party building can only be accomplished successfully in the course of preserving, carrying forward and developing the revolutionary traditions. If the revolutionary traditions are not preserved and carried forward it will be impossible to maintain the lifeline of the party and the revolution, and achieve the final victory of the revolution.

The working-class party must regard it as an important task in party building to carry forward and develop the revolutionary traditions. It must carry forward the whole content of the revolutionary traditions, which have been established, developed and enriched during the long course

of the revolutionary struggle, ever since the beginning of the revolution.

Our Party has upheld the theory and principles of building a revolutionary party, and implemented them thoroughly in its development and activities. So it has been able to blaze a new path of party building, and strengthen and develop itself to be the revolutionary party of Juche that it is today. The historical experience of our Party building is valuable in that it has been gained in the course of developing itself into a new type of working-class party, a revolutionary party of Juche, by applying the Juche-oriented theory and principles of party building to all spheres of its development and activities.

### **3. THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY RANKS**

The organizational and ideological consolidation of the party ranks is the main content of party building and the principal task in party work.

In brief, party building is the work of founding the party and steadily strengthening its ranks organizationally and ideologically. The party can only perform its leadership role satisfactorily and carry out its historic mission when it constantly strengthens its ranks organizationally and ideologically as required by the developing revolution. In party work, therefore, the main effort should be devoted to consolidating its ranks organizationally and ideologically.

Always regarding the organizational and ideological consolidation of its ranks as the main task of party work, we have pressed ahead with this work and, in the course of this, gained valuable experience and learned important lessons.

The most important thing in the organizational and ideological consolidation of the party ranks is to establish a monolithic ideological system throughout the party.

Establishing the party's monolithic ideological system is the main guarantee for the organizational and ideological consolidation of its ranks. It is only when the party does this thoroughly that it can build up its ranks firmly, achieve their sound unity and cohesion in ideology and will, and establish strict organizational discipline and a well-integrated organizational structure.

Regarding the establishment of a monolithic ideological system as the basic line of party building from the first days of its foundation, our Party has been working unremittingly to implement this.

The main effort which our Party made to establish a monolithic ideological system was the campaign to introduce Juche.

In order to establish the party's monolithic ideological system, the whole party must be imbued with one ideology. To this end, it is first of all necessary to overcome every expression of heterogeneous ideas which run counter to the party's monolithic ideology.

Our Party's campaign to establish Juche was one to implement the Juche idea in every sphere of the revolution and construction. At the same time, it was a fight to

overcome flunkeyism, dogmatism and every other manifestation of heterogeneous ideas, and imbue the whole Party with its revolutionary idea, the Juche idea.

Flunkeyist and dogmatist tendencies existed widely in our Party for some time in the past because of the peculiarities of our country's historical development and its complicated circumstances.

Flunkeyism is a manifestation of slavish submission to powerful countries and the negative attitude of despising one's own nation. Anyone who is affected by flunkeyism will blindly worship and follow others and injudiciously despise what he himself has, favouring foreign practices. Flunkeyists are, without exception, dogmatists.

Experience shows that a person who adopts flunkeyism, is sure to become a fool. If a nation falls prey to this disease the country is sure to perish, and if a party takes to flunkeyism, it will make a muddle of the revolution and construction. This is precisely the fatal nature of flunkeyism.

In the past, flunkeyism wrought untold damage to the development of our nation and the communist movement in our country. If we look back on our country's history, flunkeyism was the cause of both the ruin of our country and the failure of the early communist movement.

Even after the country was liberated, flunkeyism obstructed the revolutionary struggle and construction work, and created a huge obstacle to the building of our Party. People who were steeped in flunkeyism and dogmatism mechanically tried to copy foreign practices, instead of relying on our Party's line and policies, and tried

to depend on others without believing in their own strength. The evil of flunkeyism and dogmatism was revealed more seriously during the war, and as the socialist revolution and socialist construction were pursued on a wide scale after the war, it could no longer be tolerated. Without eliminating flunkeyism and dogmatism, it was impossible to imbue the whole Party with its revolutionary idea, nor could the Party's leadership in the revolution and construction be exercised properly.

From the beginning of its leadership in the revolution and construction, our Party worked continuously to oppose flunkeyism and dogmatism, and establish Juche. After the war, in particular, it set out a determined policy on establishing Juche and has worked steadily to implement it. Our Party made certain that even the slightest manifestations of flunkeyism and dogmatism were not tolerated, but were overcome promptly through an ideological struggle. It has intensified ideological work so that all the cadres and Party members study our country's prevailing situation thoroughly and work by relying on its line and policies; it has worked hard to get officials to acquire the habit of solving all problems from independent and creative standpoints. It ensured that even when foreign experience was introduced, it was done in such a way as to suit our existing conditions and was not copied mechanically.

Through the endeavour to establish Juche, a great change has taken place in the work of setting up the Party's monolithic ideological system. The whole Party is permeated with the Juche idea, its revolutionary idea, and

all the cadres and Party members think and act as required by this idea. In our Party today, there are no instances of anyone looking up to or submitting to others.

Another major campaign waged by our Party to establish a monolithic ideological system was the fight against factionalism and every other sectarian element.

In order to establish the party's monolithic ideological system, the whole party must be imbued with one ideology and, at the same time, achieve organizational unity. The unity and cohesion of the party ranks can only be achieved successfully through the fight against factionalism and every other sectarian element.

Factionalism is an anti-party, counterrevolutionary element which undermines the unity and cohesion of the party, and destroys the revolutionary movement. Its ideological source is bourgeois ideas, especially individual heroism, fame-seeking and careerism. Therefore, factionalists use every means to become famous, further their careers and fulfil their ambitions to attain higher positions. If even the mildest factional elements are tolerated within the party it will be impossible to achieve the unity and cohesion of its ranks, and, eventually, it will be impossible to preserve even the party itself.

From the outset, our Party had to fight hard against factionalism. This is because we achieved the country's liberation without having overcome factionalism, which was common in the early communist movement. There was no unified working-class party in our country from the time that the party which had been organized in 1925 was disbanded because of factional strife and Japanese

imperialist repression until the liberation of the country. Because of this, it was not possible to systematically investigate those communists who had been working in isolation at home and abroad, nor was it possible to organize a strong attack on the factionalists. For this reason, factionalism continued, and the various actions of the factionalists went unchecked. After liberation our Party faced the historic task of overcoming factionalism, which had done immeasurable harm to the communist movement in our country.

With a view to embracing as many people as possible, our Party maintained the policy of condoning and winning over, and then re-educating even those people who had been involved in factional strife or who were under the influence of such people, provided that they repented of their errors and gave up their factional activities. However, in spite of the Party's unceasing education and repeated admonitions, the factionalists did not renounce their evil practices handed down from the past, but continued their activities, which presented a huge obstacle in the path of Party unity and cohesion. Whenever our revolution faced trials and difficulties, they made an appearance and challenged the Party. In order to achieve their ambitions, they adopted a counterrevolutionary course, teaming up with the enemy during the grim Fatherland Liberation War. And during the difficult period of postwar reconstruction they even plotted to overthrow the Party and the Government.

Our Party quickly saw through the insidious plots of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists, exposed and



thwarted them by enlisting Party organizations and members, and then liquidated these elements through organizational channels. At the same time, we launched a strong Party-wide ideological campaign to root out their ideological influences.

In the struggle against the factionalists, our Party adhered to the principle of sharply distinguishing between the prime movers and their followers, and dealing with every person according to the nature of his crime. It struck the prime movers hard and enlisted and educated their followers.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War, the August 1956 Plenary Meeting and the March 1958 Party Conference, which were held in the postwar period, were of great significance in opposing factionalism and cementing the unity and cohesion of the Party. On the occasion of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee we unmasked and expelled the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary spy clique, and at the August Plenary Meeting and the Party Conference we liquidated the last remnants of the factionalists. As a result, we defeated factionalism which had existed for a very long time, further strengthened the organizational cohesion of the Party ranks and achieved the strong unity of the Korean communist movement.

After it had eliminated factionalism, our Party waged a powerful campaign against the anti-Party revisionists, and so achieved a new degree of unity and cohesion within the Party.

Today the unity and cohesion of our Party has reached a very high level. The whole Party is rallied rock-solid around its Central Committee and is firmly united on the basis of the Juche idea. No force can destroy the unity and cohesion of our Party which has been achieved on the basis of this idea.

Our struggle against factionalism was very complicated and arduous. To be candid, although it was conducted against an internal enemy, it was as arduous as the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists.

We were able to succeed in our difficult fight against factionalism. The main reason for this was that our Party's hard-core elements had been developed strongly. Our Party could successfully frustrate the moves of the factionalists because its hard-core ranks were composed of fine communists who had been tempered in the protracted and arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Another important thing which enabled us promptly to unmask and expel the factionalists who had attempted to break up our Party ranks was the fact that Party members and the working people had been well awakened politically, so that strong criticism, self-criticism and, in particular, criticism from subordinates, took place.

Because of its long struggle to establish a monolithic ideological system, our Party has become a powerful party which is imbued with the Juche idea and firmly united in ideology and will on the basis of this idea. It has also become a revolutionary party, all the organizations and members of which act as one under the unified leadership of its Central Committee.

We must not rest content just because we have achieved a great success in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system. We must never forget the fact that anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who were lurking in the Party, attacked it in the past when our internal and external conditions were difficult and our revolution was sorely tried. We are still on the road of revolution. In the course of its progress, our revolution may encounter unexpected difficulties and trials. No one can say for certain that traitors will not appear once again within our Party if our revolution has to face difficulties at some time in the future. Moreover, there is no guarantee that all kinds of heterodox ideological trends such as flunkeyism, dogmatism and factionalism will not revive while there are still remnants of outdated ideas among us and the imperialists continue their ideological and cultural infiltration from outside.

Logically speaking, the work of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the party is an uninterrupted work which should be continued as long as a working-class party exists.

It is very important to continue to develop the work of establishing the party's monolithic ideological system both in the light of the law that governs party building and the practical experience gained in the building of our Party. We have to intensify this work still further as the revolution develops, and continue it from generation to generation.

The main thing in establishing the party's monolithic ideological system is to get the cadres and party members

to maintain an unshakable loyalty to the party. It is only when they do this that they will fight staunchly against alien ideological trends which run counter to the party's monolithic ideology, defend the unity and cohesion of the party as the most important thing in their lives and share their destiny with the party to the end whatever storm and stress it encounters. This is an important lesson and a valuable truth which we have learned in the work of establishing our Party's monolithic ideological system.

We must make certain that all the cadres and Party members retain their loyalty to the Party as their revolutionary faith, and faithfully support, defend and protect it politically and ideologically in any difficult situation or adversity, unconditionally accept the Party's line and policies and implement them to the end. We must also ensure that they arm themselves firmly with the Juche world outlook, resolutely defend the unity and cohesion of our Party which has been achieved on the basis of the Juche idea and faithfully follow the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The practical experience gained in building our Party shows that in consolidating its ranks organizationally and ideologically it is very important to stress the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system. At the same time, we must be efficient in building up the Party ranks organizationally, educating the cadres and Party members in a revolutionary way and enhancing the functions and role of Party organizations. In light of the practical experience gained in the building of the Party we must continue to work well to build up the Party ranks

organizationally, educate the cadres and Party members ideologically and increase the functions and roles of Party organizations.

It is very important to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally

The party is an organized body of its members. The Party can only become a real political organization which leads the masses when its ranks are built up with Juche-type revolutionaries and when the whole Party is made a compact organized whole.

If we are to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally, the ranks of cadres must be developed in a proper way.

Cadres are the backbone of the Party and the commanding personnel of the revolution. The Party is organized with cadres as the core, and all its activities are ensured by the role of the cadres. In the final analysis, cadres decide everything.

An important matter in personnel administration is to select and appoint cadres properly.

The first criterion for cadres is loyalty to the Party and the revolution. Cadres should arm themselves firmly with the Juche-motivated revolutionary world outlook, have a strong ideological resolve to share their destiny with the Party, resolutely defend and protect it and devote everything to the accomplishment of the Juche cause. At the same time, they must have wide knowledge and extensive technical and practical qualifications, skilful organizing ability and revolutionary drive. They must also possess a popular style of work. Unreserved loyalty to the Party and the revolution, remarkable practical ability and a

noble, popular character—these are the qualities our Party requires of its cadres.

In personnel administration we must select people who have extensive qualifications as cadres and appoint the right man to the right post. In understanding, selecting and appointing cadres we should strictly observe the principle of judging people by putting the main emphasis on the person concerned. To this end, we should not judge people simply by examining their personal files; but we must examine and test them through practical work. This is the way to judge people correctly and promote as cadres those people who have been fully examined and tested.

In building up the ranks of cadres on a political and class basis, the continual improvement of their quality is important.

In building up the ranks of cadres, we must first of all pay attention to increasing the proportion of cadres of working-class origin. Ours is a revolutionary party of the working class. Therefore, when viewed from the perspective of class origin, the working class is the basic criterion of our Party's cadres. The Party can only maintain its unchanging class character and perform its role satisfactorily as the vanguard of the working class when the proportion of cadres of working-class origin is increased systematically in building up the ranks of cadres. The working class must be the main source of cadres for our Party, which must appoint as cadres many workers who have been tempered and tested in labour, and, especially, core workers in key industries.

In building up the ranks of cadres it is important to

maintain a correct balance between old and young people. Old cadres have wide experience and are skilful in dealing with matters, while young cadres are responsive to anything new, are full of energy and have strong initiative. It is only when the ranks of cadres are established by appropriately combining old and young people that we will be able to continue to develop our Party into an experienced and seasoned party, into a powerful party which is filled with spirit and ardour. Building up the ranks of cadres by appropriately combining old people with young people is also indispensable if we are to ensure continuity in the building of the Party and the development of the revolution. We must give every assistance to old cadres who have faithfully served the Party and the revolution for a long time, so that they will continue to work well, making full use of their abilities. At the same time, we must take the plunge and promote as cadres young officials who have received Juche education and have been trained in practical work.

An important factor in personnel administration is to revolutionize cadres thoroughly, and to keep on improving their political and practical qualifications.

Understanding people, and selecting and appointing them as cadres is only the first process in personnel administration. If pieces of iron are left in the open air unprotected, they become rusty and useless. In the same way, if people are not educated and trained all the time after their promotion as cadres, they may become ideologically degenerate and finally drop out of the revolutionary ranks. Every cadre must be revolutionized

continually, and their revolutionization must be conducted on a higher level than that of the masses. We must continue to work hard to revolutionize cadres so that none of them will become ideologically senile but work faithfully with a high degree of constant loyalty to the Party and the revolution and unflagging revolutionary fighting spirit and enthusiasm.

The improvement of the cadres' political and practical qualifications is an important requirement for increasing our Party's ability to lead and a determining factor in enabling them to fulfil their duty as the commanders of the revolution. The more intense the revolution and construction become, the more important it becomes to improve the qualifications of cadres.

If cadres are to improve their political and practical qualifications they have to study more. They must establish a revolutionary atmosphere of study and make it their routine, so as to acquire knowledge in many fields, including politics, the economy, culture and military affairs, and become efficient in their work. Senior officials, in particular, must study more. Party organizations must always ascertain how cadres study, and exercise rigid control so that they take their studies seriously.

We must continue to run the one-month training courses, which have already proved effective, so that every cadre will be obliged to attend one course every year. Meanwhile, we must also improve the qualifications of the cadres steadily by methodically re-educating them and by organizing model lectures, and so on, on a wide scale.

In personnel work it is also important to set up a proper



cadre training system and train reserve cadres on a long-term basis.

The efficient training of reserve cadres will enable us to satisfy the ever-growing need for cadres and continue to improve the quality of the cadres' ranks. On the one hand, we must examine reserve cadres through practical work and give them systematic training; and on the other hand, we must develop cadre training centres so that we can produce large numbers of cadres with political and practical qualifications.

If the Party ranks are to be consolidated organizationally, they must be trained as an elite.

This means building up the Party ranks with elite revolutionaries. In other words, it means training every Party member to be a Juche-type revolutionary. A Juche-type revolutionary is a real communist who has acquired the best political and ideological qualities and qualifications which are necessary for communists. Developing the Party ranks as an elite is one of the basic requirements for building our Party.

In this respect, it is important to guide all the Party members to work and live in accordance with the Party Rules.

The Party Rules are the Party members' standards of life and their code of conduct. If the Party members follow the rules in their lives and work they will become fine revolutionaries. They must work and live in accordance with the rules and prepare themselves as real revolutionaries of a Juche type and ardent communists.

Another important task in developing the Party ranks as

an elite is to train every Party member to attain excellence by building up the ranks of the Party cell hard-core elements and increasing their role.

A revolutionary working-class party is, by its nature, a collective of the progressive elements of this class. But its members do not all have the same level of political and ideological preparedness. Some of them have a high degree of political and ideological preparedness, and others have this quality to a relatively low degree. It is very difficult to train all the members to be revolutionaries of a Juche type, ardent communists, at the same time. Therefore, it is necessary to build up the ranks of cell hard-core elements with competent members first, and enhance their role and increase their ranks steadily until all the members reach a high standard.

In making the Party an elite it is important to deal with the admission of new members correctly.

The efficient recruiting of Party members will enable us to continue to expand the Party ranks with Juche-type revolutionaries and increase the fighting capacity of the Party.

The Party ranks must be enlarged in conformity with its class character and on the revolutionary principles. Competent, hard-core elements of workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals can be admitted to our Party. The Party organizations must keep records of the reserves of Party members chosen from the working class and other sections of the working masses, educate them systematically and enrol new members as soon as they are qualified, according to the procedure of individual

admission. In particular, they must enrol many of the younger generation who are strongly armed with the Juche idea, and who are filled with revolutionary fighting spirit and stamina.

In the process of recruiting Party members we must guard against Right and “Left” tendencies. These are expressed in admitting people to the Party in an unprincipled manner on the pretext of increasing Party ranks, or in closing the door of the Party with the intention of ensuring the purity of its ranks. If we open the door of the Party in an unprincipled manner, we shall be unable to ensure the purity of its ranks; if we close its door, we shall not only be unable to increase its ranks but will also bring about a serious situation by divorcing the Party from the masses. The Party organizations must reject these tendencies and increase the number of Party members regularly on Party and class principles so that qualified people can be enrolled in the Party at the right time.

The work of recruiting Party members must be conducted in such a way that its forces will be posted uniformly in all spheres and at all units of the revolution and construction. This will enable the Party to give effective leadership to the revolution and construction, and to strengthen its ties of kinship with the masses.

In order to strengthen Party ranks organizationally, it is necessary to encourage democracy in the Party and establish revolutionary discipline.

The Party is a voluntary organization of people who share an identical idea and purpose, and the members are masters of the Party. Dictatorship and autocracy cannot be

tolerated within the Party, and democracy must be thoroughly guaranteed. It is only when democracy is guaranteed within the Party that its members can take an active part in its work and activities as befits the masters of the Party with a high degree of enthusiasm and initiative.

If we are to give full play to democracy within the Party, we must respect the opinions of the Party members completely and provide them with suitable conditions to exercise their Party rights properly. Party leadership bodies at all levels must be elected on a democratic basis, all questions must be discussed and decided according to the collective will of the Party members, and criticism from subordinates must be encouraged. These leadership bodies must work under the supervision and control of the Party members and report to them regularly on their work.

The Party is a political force organized to carry out the revolution, and its fighting capacity is derived from its strong sense of organization and discipline. Strict revolutionary discipline within the Party will ensure unity of action within its ranks and stimulate the whole Party to make concerted efforts to forge ahead with the revolution and construction.

Our Party's discipline must be revolutionary discipline to knit all its units and members closely with the bonds of organization and ensure unified leadership by its Central Committee. We must establish a strict organizational discipline, so that all Party organizations and all members follow its organizational principles and regulations, and so that the whole Party acts as one under the unified leadership of its Central Committee.

Party discipline is a discipline which binds all its members equally. There can be no superior or inferior members in the Party, and double standards of discipline cannot be tolerated. Party members have a duty to submit to Party discipline. They must all submit to a single Party discipline, irrespective of their position or merits.

Party discipline can only be maintained and demonstrate its strength on the basis of a high degree of voluntariness on the part of its members. Party members must observe Party discipline willingly and try hard to strengthen it.

Their willingness can be enhanced when it is combined with a strong need. Party organizations must set high standards for all the members in observing Party discipline strictly.

If we are to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally and ideologically we must intensify the Party life of its members.

This is the main link in Party work, ensuring the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party ranks. An intensified Party life makes it possible for us to train cadres and Party members to be communist revolutionaries of a Juche type who are faithful to the Party, and to solve every problem successfully in strengthening the Party ranks.

Party life is the political, organizational and ideological life of Party members. It is the utmost honour and prize for people, who are social beings, to become Party members and participate in Party life.

We must strengthen the Party life of the members so

that all of them harden themselves organizationally and ideologically.

A Party member cannot live away from the Party organization for even a moment, nor can he preserve his political integrity. He must regard the Party organization as his own mother, respect it and work and live, relying entirely on it, and make every effort to accept its guidance and control. We must encourage Party members to improve their attitude towards organization and acquire the habit of leading their Party life willingly so that they will take an active part in it with enthusiasm, as required by the regulations of Party life.

The Party life of the members is the process of transforming their ideology through constant education and criticism. It is a process of organizational and ideological training to raise their revolutionary spirit. Party spirit, working-class spirit and popular spirit. These form the will to serve the Party, the revolution, the working class and the people faithfully and devotedly. These are noble qualities which Party members must acquire. Members must continue to enhance their revolutionary spirit, Party spirit, working-class spirit and popular spirit through Party life.

In order to strengthen the Party life of the members, Party organizations must organize it properly and guide it well.

The Party organizations should organize and conduct reviews of Party life, Party study and other organizational and ideological activities regularly, and encourage all their members to participate. They must also organize and run

Party meetings efficiently on a high political and ideological level. In organizing and conducting the Party's organizational and ideological life it is important to operate the new system of Party life established by our Party in an efficient way. The Party organizations must properly operate the new system, which is a creative application of the way of Party life of the anti-Japanese guerrillas to suit today's situation, and so revolutionize Party members thoroughly.

The Party organizations must give their members assignments suited to their preparedness, help them in every way to carry out these assignments, review the results promptly and constantly give them new tasks, so that Party members are always working on something. In particular, criticism must be increased so that Party members can lead a Party life in an atmosphere of strong criticism. If we are to encourage strong criticism, we must eliminate mistaken ideas and educate Party members in the spirit of principled criticism.

We must see that Party life is combined with the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. This means that Party members must lead an organizational and ideological life which centres on what they do to carry out their revolutionary tasks. Party members' revolutionary activities are the process of implementing their revolutionary tasks. For Party members, therefore, there can be no Party life for its own sake, a Party life which is divorced from their revolutionary tasks. The Party organizations must always organize and guide Party life with the main emphasis on encouraging Party members to

perform their revolutionary tasks with credit, and must judge their Party life by the result of their endeavours to carry out the revolutionary tasks.

Ideological education must be intensified among cadres and Party members in order to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally and ideologically.

This is the way to educate and reform cadres and other Party members along communist lines and strengthen the Party's unity of ideology and will, and its cohesion. The Party's intensive ideological education can only assist towards achieving success in the organizational consolidation of the Party ranks.

In Party work we must always pay the greatest attention to ideological work and give it absolute priority.

Party ideological work is essentially the work of imbuing the Party and the revolutionary ranks with a single ideology, and of rousing the Party members and working people to the revolutionary struggle and construction.

The basic task of our Party's ideological work is to speed up the process of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea by establishing the system of the Party's monolithic ideology amongst Party members and the working people, transforming them after a revolutionary and working-class pattern and encouraging the broad masses to revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity.

We must intensify ideological education amongst Party members and the working people in keeping with the aim and mission of Party ideological work.

Education in the monolithic ideology has always been



the main concern of our Party in its ideological work.

The essence of monolithic ideological education is in educating Party members and the working people to be infinitely loyal to the Party. Loyalty to the Party is the noblest quality of communist revolutionaries. We must intensify education in loyalty, and thus establish the system of the Party's monolithic ideology amongst its members and the working people.

The monolithic ideology of our Party is the Juche idea. We must improve education in the Juche idea amongst Party members and the working people so that they all acquire a firm revolutionary world outlook of Juche, and understand the revolutionary theory and leadership method of Juche clearly.

Our Party's line and policies which embody the Juche idea are the correct strategy and tactics of our revolution. They are the guide in all our activities. We must intensify education in Party policy and give all Party members and working people a correct understanding of the essence and validity of Party policy so that they can accept it as their unshakable faith.

The brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party contain all the ideological and spiritual wealth necessary for training people to be revolutionaries who are infinitely loyal to the Party and the revolution. They provide living examples of the noble qualities of Juche-type revolutionaries. We must strengthen education in the revolutionary traditions amongst Party members and the working people so that they can arm themselves firmly with the revolutionary traditions of our Party and apply

them completely in their work and life.

Revolutionary and communist education constitutes an important part of our Party's ideological work.

Intensive revolutionary and communist education will help Party members and the working people to become revolutionaries who are firm in their revolutionary outlook and who have acquired communist qualities. We must intensify revolutionary and communist education so as to train all Party members and working people to be true communists.

In revolutionary and communist education we must emphasize class education and the inculcation of collectivism, socialist patriotism and communist morality.

The working-class consciousness is the core of the communist ideology, and on this basis the ideological and spiritual qualities of communists are formed and consolidated. We must educate Party members and the working people to acquire strong working-class attitudes, to be infinitely loyal to the revolutionary cause of the working class, to hate imperialism and the exploitative system and to fight doggedly against these two evils. We must especially intensify class education among the younger generation, which has no experience of being exploited and oppressed, and has not gone through the trials of the arduous revolutionary struggle.

Collectivism is the basis of social life under socialism and communism; it is the communists' form of activity. From the ideological point of view, the building of socialism and communism is the process of overcoming individualism and selfishness, and of establishing

collectivism. We must intensify education in collectivism amongst Party members and the working people so that they will oppose individualism and selfishness, and value the interests of the collective and society, and work, learn and live under the principle of collectivism—“One for all and all for one”.

Socialist patriotism is patriotism for the working class and the other working masses who aspire to socialism and communism. It means love for the socialist homeland where reside the working-class party, the people’s power and the socialist system. A person who does not love his country and people cannot be a communist revolutionary. Communists are real patriots. We must inculcate socialist patriotism in the minds of all Party members and other working people so that they will take great national pride in living and working for the revolution in the socialist homeland of Juche under the leadership of our Party, love their country and compatriots ardently, value the cultural heritage and traditions of the nation, and devote everything to the prosperity of the country and its people. Party members and the working people should be educated to value and take good care of state and social property, and manage the collective economy carefully and the economic life of the country properly.

Socialist patriotism is related to proletarian internationalism. Only those who are faithful to the revolutions of their own countries can be faithful to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, and only genuine internationalists can be real patriots. We must educate Party members and the working people so that they

will strongly support and encourage the progressive people of the world in their revolutionary struggle for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, and strengthen friendship and unity with them to fight for global independence and the victory of the world revolution.

Communist moral education must be strengthened amongst Party members and the working people so as to encourage them all to value communist ethics, display revolutionary comradeship, observe public morality and social order, and lead a life commensurate with the socialist way and standards.

Ideological education must be carried on in combination with the ideological struggle against outdated ideas.

The outdated ideas which have become deeply rooted in the minds of the people over a long period are very conservative and stubborn. Outdated ideas can be eliminated successfully by means of tireless ideological education and a powerful ideological struggle. A powerful ideological struggle against the old ideas must be conducted amongst Party members and the working people to root out all remnants of the outdated ideas from their minds. In addition, we must strictly guard against the infiltration of the virus of reactionary ideologies from outside.

Through ideological and cultural infiltration, the imperialists are now trying to obliterate the national cultures of other countries, paralyze the sound ideological consciousness of the people, and make them decadent and degenerate. We must wage an uncompromising fight

against the ideological and cultural penetration of imperialism, and so prevent reactionary bourgeois ideologies being spread by the imperialists and the corrupt capitalist way of life from spreading in our midst.

In order to succeed in the ideological work of the Party, we must define the correct forms and methods of this work, and depend on them in this work.

The basic form of our Party's ideological work is information and motivation work. Information work is an activity to bring the Party's ideas and theories, its lines and policies home to the masses; motivation work is an undertaking to rouse the masses to the struggle to carry out the revolutionary tasks. In the Party's ideological work, information and motivation work should be properly combined, and both of them must be conducted forcefully.

Information work must be perfectly logical, truthful, easy to understand and convincing; motivation work must be impressive and forceful, and be carried on in a flexible way to suit specific situations and occasions. Logical, truthful and plain information work, and appealing, militant and flexible motivation work will achieve the desired results and serve the required purpose.

If we are to succeed in the information and motivation work, we have to establish a well-regulated information and motivation work system, build up strong forces for this purpose and make wide use of various methods and media.

Party organizations must establish networks of education and lecture information properly and operate them in a regular manner. They must also set up a good

motivation work system, launching forceful motivation work using different styles and methods.

The press, literature and the arts are powerful means of educating and mobilizing the masses. We must raise the political and ideological quality of the press and create many literary and art works of high ideological and artistic value so that we can use them effectively for information and motivation work.

We must build up the ranks of information workers such as instructors of study groups, public lecturers, motivation workers and members of information troupes, and must enhance their role. Because they educate others, information workers must have wider knowledge than anybody else. Only then can they carry on information and motivation work in an effective way, using plain language. Information workers should try hard to acquire wide and versatile knowledge, and increase their cultural attainments.

It is very important to ensure the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee for ideological work.

Ideological work is work concerned with people's ideology, and so the Party Central Committee should control and guide it in a uniform way. If it does not ensure its unified guidance of ideological work we shall not be able to guarantee the purity of this work or prevent the infiltration of heterodox ideas which are alien to the ideology of our Party. This is an important lesson our Party has learned in its ideological work.

Under the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee, all Party organizations should organize and

conduct their ideological work in keeping with the Party's aims and requirements.

In order to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally and ideologically it is imperative to enhance the functions and roles of Party organizations.

The success of Party work in firmly establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system, consolidating its ranks organizationally and educating cadres and Party members depends entirely on how Party organizations perform their functions and roles. It is only when all Party organizations improve their functions and roles that they can press ahead with the revolution and construction successfully.

With a view to improving the functions and roles of Party organizations, we must form them on a rational basis and build up their leadership bodies.

A party is the organic integrated sum of its organizations. When all its organizations are consolidated and involved in an undivided system as an organic body the party as an organized unit can perform its function satisfactorily.

Party organizations at different levels must be arranged in the appropriate units of administrative districts and production and other work units so that they can strengthen the Party life of their members, and give their guidance to the revolution and construction satisfactorily. In this regard it is particularly important to form the basic Party organizations properly. This will make it possible to strengthen the Party life of the members and consolidate the whole Party. Furthermore, the Party can strike deep

roots amongst the masses of the people, and its pulse can reach everywhere the masses live. Therefore, we should always pay particular attention to forming basic Party organizations appropriately to suit the specific conditions of the units concerned.

With the development of the revolution and construction, many new production units will be established and some administrative districts may be reorganized. In keeping with the requirements of the developing situation, Party organizations must be reorganized immediately.

Organizing Party committees at different levels with qualified people is an important guarantee for increasing the role of Party committees as the staff of the units concerned. In forming Party committees at all levels we must do away with the tendency of stressing the positions of their members. In this regard we must combine cadres from different sectors who are completely familiar with affairs in the relevant sectors in a rational manner with hard-core Party members who work on production sites, under the principle of staffing these committees with workers who are infinitely loyal to the Party, tactful in guidance and popular with the masses. In this way we should ensure that these committees increase their leading role and give full scope to the intelligence and creativeness of grass-roots Party members.

In constituting the Party Central Committee and the provincial, city and county Party committees it is important to implement our Party's idea of the associate alternate member system correctly. This is a system of admitting



hard-core Party members who are directly engaged in productive labour to Party committees. This system enables the Party committees to strike their roots deep among the masses so that they can get to know fully how matters stand at lower levels, and so adopt proper measures to carry out Party policies, reflecting the requirements of the masses. Party organizations must pay great attention to admitting hard-core Party members who work on production sites to their Party committees.

In order to increase their functions and roles, the Party organizations at all levels must work satisfactorily in conformity with their positions and duties.

All Party activities can be carried out by Party organizations, and the Party's policies can be implemented correctly only by their unremitting efforts. In developing the activities of Party organizations it is particularly important to increase the role of county Party committees.

The county Party committee is the lowest guiding and executive unit of the Party which gives guidance directly to the basic Party organizations and implements Party policy itself. County Party committees must develop the basic Party organizations in a sound way, supervise and guide their activities every day and give unified guidance to the work of political, economic, cultural, military and all other sectors in the county. They must bring Party policy home to Party members and the working people, and efficiently mobilize them to carry it out.

The basic Party organization is the base of Party life to which Party members belong, and the militant unit which

carries out Party policy itself. Increasing its role alone makes it possible to strengthen the Party life of members and improve their vanguard role so as to perform all revolutionary tasks facing the Party successfully.

You all know that the Party cell is the lowest organization of our Party. Its basic task is to organize and guide the Party life of its members. Party cells must work with the main emphasis on organizing and leading their members' Party life correctly as required by Party Rules. They must give their members revolutionary education, and train them organizationally and ideologically through Party life, and lead them to play the vanguard role in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

In enhancing the functions and roles of Party organizations it is important to improve the Party committees' leadership function.

Collective leadership is the main form of activity of Party committees, as well as being a revolutionary method of leadership which relies on the intelligence and efforts of Party members. This leadership makes it possible to eliminate individual subjectivity and arbitrariness in the activities of Party committees and to give full play to the creativity and talents of the broad masses, so as to provide scientific leadership successfully.

Party committees at all levels must make it a strict rule to have collective discussions about the important problems arising in doing Party work and implementing the revolutionary tasks, and conduct all work in accordance with this. They must meet regularly to discuss the items on the work agenda and adopt decisions to

satisfy the requirements of the Party and revolution, and in the interests of the masses, demonstrating full democracy, and performing efficient political and organizational work so that the decisions will be implemented correctly.

If Party committees are to fulfil their collective leadership function properly, their members must increase their sense of responsibility and their role. Members must participate in committee work with the attitude of masters and carry out the Party's decisions and their assignments responsibly. The senior officials of these committees must organize their activities properly, supervise and guide members' performance of Party assignments regularly and set an example in putting their decisions into effect.

In order to stimulate the leading function of Party committees, it is necessary to increase the role of their departments.

These departments have to regularize their work according to their revolutionary functions, and assume responsibility for organizing and performing the work under their charge. On the basis of carrying out their functions creditably, all departments of Party committees must ensure tactful coordination and cooperation among themselves. The departments should consult about work regularly, carry out joint operations and cooperate closely in fulfilling the revolutionary tasks facing the committees.

In increasing the role of these departments it is important to improve the role of the organizational and

information departments. The organizational department must regard the guidance of the members' Party life as its main task, and concentrate all its efforts on this. The information department must intensify information and motivation work to re-educate Party members and the working people to become communists of the Juche type who are loyal to the Party and revolution, and to inspire the broad masses to implement Party policy.

