

**KIM JONG IL**

**ON ADDING BRILLIANCE TO  
THE CAUSE OF BUILDING  
A JUCHE-ORIENTED PARTY**

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

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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**JUCHE-ORIENTED THEORY  
ON PARTY BUILDING IS A GUIDELINE  
TO BE ADHERED TO IN THE BUILDING  
OF A WORKING-CLASS PARTY**

(Excerpts)

**Speech to Senior Officials of the Central  
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 10, 1990*

Today our Party is celebrating the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding. Though it is 45 years since our Party proclaimed its founding, 60 years have passed since the first Party organization was formed by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and much more time has elapsed since the historic roots of the Party started to be struck under the banner of the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU).

Our Party not only has a long history; it is a seasoned and veteran party that has accumulated extremely rich and precious exploits and experiences.

Greeting the foundation day of the Party, a party that has traversed the path of a long and glorious struggle, we take great pride in the fact that we are marking this memorable day in the presence of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the founder of the Party. The world has many parties representing the interests of the

working class and other working masses, but no party has traversed the path of struggle for more than half a century under the leadership of its founder. It is the greatest glory and happiness for our Party members and other people to have been invariably holding the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in high esteem at the head of the Party and the revolution for over 60 years, the great leader who pioneered our revolutionary cause and founded our Party.

Today our Party enjoys the unqualified trust of our people and firmly unites the masses of the people around itself. Under the slogan “When the Party is determined, we can do anything,” our people are fighting against all odds to implement the Party’s lines and policies. This clearly shows how great is the trust the masses of the people place in the Party and how solid their unity and cohesion are.

Our Party also enjoys high international prestige. At present revolutionaries and progressive people throughout the world are greatly encouraged by the struggle of our Party which is dynamically advancing along the road of socialism without wavering in the face of the vicious anti-socialist schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The great trust which our people and the revolutionary peoples of the world place in our Party is convincing proof of its indestructibility, of the justice of the Juche revolutionary cause and of the great vitality of the Juche-oriented theory on Party building.

The leadership of the working-class party is a decisive condition for the victory of the revolutionary cause of the working class. For the revolutionary struggle of the working class to be successful, it must be guided by

scientific theory, strategy and tactics. Scientific theory, strategy and tactics are put forward by the working-class party. The revolutionary struggle of the working class can emerge victorious only when this class and other working masses fight in firm unity as an organized detachment with a high degree of political awareness. The work of awakening and organizing the working class and other working masses and of rallying them in the same cause is performed by the working-class party.

Ever since they started an organized struggle for the cause of their emancipation, the working class and other masses demanded political staff to lead that struggle. Proceeding from the law-governed requirement of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, Marx founded a revolutionary party of this class for the first time. Since then many parties representing the interests of the working class and other working masses have appeared in the world, and the revolutionary cause of the working class, the socialist cause, was pioneered and developed under the leadership of the party.

The history of the communist movement is the history of the struggle of the working-class party. The working class and other working masses create the history of revolutionary struggle by putting forward their advanced party as their representative. The revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working masses can hew out a victorious road only under the leadership of the working-class party.

Ours is a new-type party of the working class, a revolutionary party of the Juche type.

The character and specific features of a party are defined by the aim of its struggle and by its guiding ideology.

The party's cause defines the main direction of its building and activities. Our Party's cause is the Juche cause to achieve complete independence for the masses of the people. The accomplishment of the Juche cause is the aim of our Party's struggle and its noble mission.

The guiding ideology is the ideological and theoretical basis of a party's line, strategy and tactics. They can be scientific and revolutionary only when they are based on a correct guiding ideology. The ideological basis of the unity and cohesion of a party comes from its guiding ideology. It can be most solid when it is based on a correct guiding ideology. The guiding ideology of our Party is the great Juche idea. Our Party was built and its cause was pioneered with the Juche idea as its guiding ideology. Therein lie our Party's special character and the source of its greatness and indestructibility.

The working-class party organized by Marx for the first time took Marxism as its guiding ideology. Marxism was succeeded and developed by Leninism and most of the working-class parties adhered to Marxism-Leninism as their guiding ideology. Time has changed and the revolution has advanced in the course of a long period of time since the emergence of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, Marxism-Leninism revealed historic limitations. These limitations also found expression in the theory on party building.

The originators of Marxism-Leninism evolved the theory on party building on the basis of the materialistic

conception of history. The Marxist materialistic conception of history divided society into a base and superstructure and attached a determinative significance to a base. The principles of such a materialistic conception of history cannot correctly elucidate the idea of the driving force of the revolution and the theory on the working-class party which constitutes pivotal strength in this force. As a matter of fact, the authors of Marxism-Leninism also attached great significance to the role played by a party in the liberation struggle of the working class and clarified a number of principles with regard to party building. However, the preceding theory on the building of the working-class party could not properly elucidate many problems such as the principle of the party's ideological development because of the limitations of the socio-historical principle which served as the basis of this theory. The working-class party is a political organization of the people, and the object of its work is also people. Therefore, the theory of party building must, as a matter of course, be evolved on the basis of scientific elucidation of the intrinsic characteristics of man. In particular, the principle of the idea-first doctrine must be thoroughly embodied in the building of the working-class party because all activities of man are determined by his ideological consciousness.

For the first time in history the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung scientifically elucidated the intrinsic characteristics of man and newly clarified the principles of the socio-historical movement as an independent, creative and conscious movement of the masses of the



people. On the basis of this, he originally evolved the theory of the building of the working-class party. Thus the Juche-oriented principle of Party building constituting an epochal turn in the theory on the building of the working-class party, was elucidated.

The limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building have to do with the limitations of the age and practical experience as well as with the limitations of the socio-historical principle on which this theory relied.

Because of the limitations of the age, the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building could not clarify the way for the communists of each country to build a party independently. In the days when the International was organized by the originators of Marxism-Leninism and party building in individual countries was guided mainly by the international centre, the way of building a party independently could not be opened properly. In the early period of the international communist movement communist hard cores capable of building the working-class party and leading the revolution independently were not yet prepared in many national states. Therefore, it was recognized as somewhat inevitable to carry on the cause of party building in individual countries either under the guidance of the international centre or with the assistance of the party of a big country. As a matter of principle, the working-class party must be built independently. This is because this party is an independent and leading political organization which fights against all manner of domination and subjugation to achieve independence for the working masses. The new historic circumstances in which the

communist movement developed in many countries of the world and broad masses stood up in the struggle for independence, urgently required that the communists should independently carry out the revolution in their own country to suit its specific conditions with their own responsibility and also build the party independently. Nevertheless, the old conception of trying to carry on party building clinging to the existing experience and pattern under the leadership of the international centre or with the assistance of a big country's party was hardly overcome. In the past in our country, too, factionalists obsessed with dogmatism and flunkeyism gathered in groups of several people to form a "party" for each of them and roamed about to get the recognition of the International.

Seeing through the law governing the development of the revolution and the requirements of the times, the great leader blazed a new road of building a Party independently on a steadfast Juche stand. He independently solved all the problems arising in Party building and in its activities to meet the desires and requirements of our people and to suit the specific situation in our country. He thus built our Party into a new, Juche-type party.

Because of the limitations of practical experience, the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building could not give a comprehensive answer to the problem of principles arising in party building. In the past the founding of the working-class party was, as a rule, carried on through the method of forming communist groups with a small number of communist forerunners and of organizing the party

centre on this basis and proclaiming the foundation of the party. Furthermore, the originators of Marxism-Leninism could not accumulate the experience of party building under different historical conditions. The authors of Marxism were active under the historical conditions of the revolutionary stage in which the working class was fighting to seize power. Therefore, they could not accumulate the experience in building a ruling party. Lenin carried out a socialist revolution for the first time and led the working-class party in power. Nevertheless, the experience gained in this course was too immature for systematizing the theory of the building of a ruling party. The Marxist-Leninist theory of party building could not be a comprehensively perfect one because it generalized the limited and immature practical experience of its authors.

The great leader accumulated original experience while organizing and leading the whole process of Party building from its founding to its consolidation and development. Unlike the former method of founding a party, he formed the first Party organization with young communists of the new generation. He laid a firm organizational and ideological basis for the Party while expanding Party organizations in different parts of the country with the first Party organization as a parent body. On the basis of this he founded the Party and in this course he accumulated rich experience in organizing and leading Party organizations at different levels including the basic Party organization. Following the founding of the Party, the leader frequently visited Party organizations at different levels down to the cell and developed and

enriched the experience in Party work by personally leading them. He accumulated the experience of Party building at different revolutionary stages and under different conditions of struggle while organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle at all stages starting from the underground revolutionary struggle and the anti-Japanese armed struggle to the democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction. On the basis of his varied and rich experience in Party building he newly systematized the theory of Party building. In particular, on the basis of his experiences in building a ruling party over a long period, he comprehensively clarified the theoretical and practical problems arising in the building of a ruling party.

Inheriting in purity the original theory and tradition of Party building created by the great leader, our Party steadily developed them in depth in conformity with the requirement of revolutionary development.

The Juche-oriented theory of Party building authored by the great leader and inherited and developed by our Party is a scientific and revolutionary one evolved on the basis of the Juche idea, a new guiding idea of the revolution; it is an encyclopedic one in which all the experiences of Party activity at different revolutionary stages and under different conditions of struggle are comprehensively incorporated. Thanks to the Juche-oriented theory of Party building many new theoretical and practical problems have been scientifically expounded, problems which were not raised or could not be foreseen by the preceding theory of party building.

We must adhere to the Juche-oriented theory of Party building and fully implement it in Party building and in its activity.

The working-class party must be built on the basis of the monolithic ideological system.

This is a law-governed requirement and intrinsic characteristic of the building of the working-class party. The monolithic ideological system of the party means the ideological and leadership system of the leader.

Our Party clarified the position and role of the leader in carrying out the revolutionary cause of the working class and, on the basis of this, systematized the theory of the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system. The problem of command in a social community is one arising in social movements in general, but the problem of the position and role of the leader is one which has been newly raised in the communist movement. Unlike other social movements, the communist movement is a purposeful, intentional and organized movement of the working masses who are bound in a comradely way on the principle of collectivism. The communist movement as a highly intentional and organized movement based on the principle of collectivism can be developed only under the leadership of an outstanding leader who typifies the will of the working masses at the highest level.

The authors of Marxism-Leninism could not give a correct answer to the problem of the leader's position and role in the revolutionary cause of the working class. As a matter of course, they also said that the leader plays an important role in the implementation of this cause.

Nevertheless, they hardly distinguished the leader's role from that of a leader in a social movement in general or from that of leading cadres who hold a responsible post in the labour movement. This means that they in fact considered the role of the leader of the working class indifferently from that of an individual in a socio-historical movement. According to the principle of historical materialism, the role of an individual depends greatly on the material and social relations which restrict his activity. The question of the leader's position and role in the revolutionary cause of the working class cannot be correctly expounded on the basis of this principle.

The Juche idea scientifically clarified for the first time in history that the leader holds an absolute position and plays a decisive role in carrying out the revolutionary cause of the working class. The leader of the working class is not just an individual but the supreme representative of this class. An individual plays only a limited role as a member of a social community however great his talent may be. The leader of the working class plays a decisive role in shaping the destiny of the social community and fulfilling the historic mission of this class.

The preceding theory considered the question of the role of the leader as that of an outstanding individual. This is due to the fact that this theory considered this question mainly as the question of command as in a social movement in general. The question of the leader's position and role is not merely the question of command but the question of the centre and top brain of a socio-political organism. In the communist movement the revolutionary

ranks constitute a socio-political organism in which they are bound organizationally and ideologically on the basis of the collectivist principle. In socialist society in which class antagonism has been eliminated, the whole of society is bound as a socio-political organism which shares the same destiny. As there is a brain in the living organism of a man which commands and controls all his activities, there must be a brain in a socio-political organism which organizes and leads its activities in an integrated way. In a socio-political organism the role of the brain is played by the leader. The question of the leader's position and role in the communist movement and socialist society was scientifically expounded for the first time by the Juche idea.

The durability and vitality of a socio-political organism are ensured by the uniformity of idea and leadership. It is only when this is ensured that the single-hearted unity of the leader, the party and the masses is achieved within a socio-political organism and its destiny is successfully shaped. Within a socio-political organism the uniformity of idea and leadership is ensured by the idea and leadership of the leader. In a socio-political organism the desires of its members are incorporated by the leader and the unity of their action is achieved by his leadership. The working-class party must fully guarantee the uniformity of idea and leadership in itself on the basis of the leader's idea and leadership, and, to this end, it must establish a monolithic ideological system. Establishing the party's monolithic ideological system is the fundamental principle for the building of the working-class party which was put

forward on the basis of the Juche-oriented revolutionary outlook towards the leader.

Our Party invariably regarded the establishment of a monolithic ideological system as the basic line for the building of the Party and fully implemented it. As a result, it could firmly establish the leader's ideological system and the system of his leadership throughout the Party and achieve a most stable unity and cohesion, and, on the basis of this, it could accelerate the revolution and construction.

The working-class party must be built as a mass-based party.

It is a law-governed requirement that, unlike a bourgeois political party representing the interests of a handful of exploiting-class members, the working-class party representing the interests of this class and other broad working masses should be built as a mass-based party. Building the working-class party as a mass party became more urgent in the new historic era when the socio-class foundation of the party was expanded as never before. Needless to say, when the working-class party is not in power there may be some limitations in building a mass party depending on the balance of forces between friend and foe. Therefore, one must efficiently build the party to meet the requirements of the revolutionary situation. Once the working-class party holds power, more favourable conditions will be created for developing it into a mass party. In particular, when the socialist revolution is carried out, all people from different classes and strata become socialist workers and, in the course of socialist construction, the socio-economic status of the members



of society is transformed on the pattern of the working class. Accordingly, the socio-class foundation of the party expands still more. In socialist society the working-class party must be built as a mass party comprising the progressive elements of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

The building of a mass party must presuppose firmly maintaining the working-class and revolutionary character of the party and consolidating it organizationally and ideologically. If we admit anyone to the Party without thought on the pretext of building it into a mass party and fail to pay due attention to consolidating its ranks organizationally and ideologically, we will be unable to ensure purity. The Party cannot then become a militant detachment and, in the long run, it will not be able to play the role of the advance guard of the revolution satisfactorily. Our Party denounced the schemes of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who tried to keep the Party's door open thoughtlessly for some time. The Party ensured that the revolutionary organizational principle was strictly observed in increasing the number of Party members. It emphasized the work of consolidating the Party qualitatively including the work of training a large number of its hard cores from the working class and tempering the Party spirit of its members, and pressed ahead with this work. It carried out the line of building a mass party by fully ensuring its working-class character and closely combining the quantitative growth and qualitative consolidation of its ranks and thus it has strengthened and developed itself into a powerful party

deeply rooted among the masses.

In the past quite a few ruling parties did not build themselves into mass parties in conformity with the law-governed requirement for building the working-class party. Some of them admitted anyone to the party heedlessly without paying due attention to its qualitative consolidation and did not conduct inner-party education efficiently. In consequence, many members even defected from the party when it was undergoing trials. Such a party, no matter how large the number of its members may be, cannot be said to be a genuine mass party. Recently working-class parties were undermined in some countries and communists were reduced to the status of minor political groups. The main reason for this lies in the very fact that these parties were not strengthened politically and ideologically and were not built as genuine mass parties deeply rooted among broad masses.

The working-class party must be built into a militant party with strong organization and discipline.

Revolutionary organization and discipline are the lifeline of the working-class party. This party is a militant weapon leading the fierce class struggle; it is the general staff of the revolution which organizes and leads the revolutionary struggle and construction work breaking through manifold trials and difficulties. The working-class party must not be an amorphous group; it must be a militant detachment with a strong sense of organization and discipline. The main characteristic that distinguishes the revolutionary party of the working class from all sorts of opportunist parties, lies in the very fact that it

is a militant organization in which the whole party is organized in a monolithic way and acts as one in accordance with one discipline.

An important principle in building an organized and disciplined party is democratic centralism. Marxism-Leninism expounded the general norms of democratic centralism as the organizational principle of the party. An important requirement of democratic centralism of the party is that a party member should obey the party organization, the minority the majority and the subordinate party organizations the higher party organization and all party members and organizations the party central committee. The leadership organs of all party organizations from basic party organizations to the party central committee are elected in a democratic way and all party members must be allowed to advance sufficient creative opinion with regard to party activity. If the party's principle of democratic centralism is to be implemented correctly, it is necessary to properly define the fundamental requirement of democratic centralism and the method of combining centralism with democracy. This problem was clarified by the Juche-oriented theory of Party building. The party's centralism aims at realizing the leader's unified leadership and inner-party democracy aims at encouraging the rank-and-file party members to give rein to their creative initiative on the basis of the leader's idea and the party's line and policy. Centralism and democracy must be combined in such a way that democracy is brought into play on condition of fully guaranteeing centralism. Tolerating democracy in the party in isolation from

centralism will eventually bring bourgeois libertarianism into the party and turn it into an amorphous organization.

The party's discipline is one based on a high degree of appreciation of the party organization on the part of the members and on their consciousness; it is discipline based on the same standards of party life. Our Party encouraged its members to have a better appreciation of the Party organization, intensified its guidance and control over their organizational and ideological life and thoroughly established throughout the Party a revolutionary tone of Party life based on uniform standards. Our Party has correctly implemented the principle of democratic centralism on the basis of firmly establishing its monolithic ideological system and encouraged its members to intensify their Party life. As a result, it has developed into an invincible revolutionary party with a strong sense of organization and discipline whereby the whole Party acts as one under the unified leadership of the leader.

The working-class party must regard work with people as the main aspect of its work.

The Juche-oriented theory of Party work stresses the need to put the main stress on the work with people. This is based on the philosophical principle of the Juche idea that man is the master of everything and decides everything. The driving force which propels the revolution and construction is the masses of the people. Therefore, the working-class party must solve all problems arising in its building and activity through its work with people. However, in the past quite a few parties did not go beyond the bounds of the preceding experience of party building

and did not develop work with people in depth. Moreover, with the infiltration of opportunism into the party, there appeared the tendency of doing party work in an administrative way contrary to the nature of the working-class party. This made it impossible for the working-class party to play its role as the political general staff satisfactorily and brought about the grave consequence of weakening the party and dampening the trust of the masses in it.

Our Party has firmly turned its work into work with people, in other words, into work with cadres, Party members and other masses and has established a well-organized system of personnel administration, the system of guiding the Party life of the members and the system of work with the masses.

Work with people is work with their ideology. This means the work of transforming their ideology in a revolutionary way and giving rein to it in the revolution and construction. Our Party has always paid primary attention to the ideological education of Party members and other working people and conducted this work with vigour. It has ensured that all ideological education is run through with revolutionary content based on the Juche idea and steadily developed in depth the form and method of ideological work to suit the developing situation. As a result, it has been able to strengthen itself and the revolutionary ranks organizationally and ideologically and markedly strengthen the driving force of the revolution and, on the basis of this, successfully promote the revolution and construction.

The working-class party must exercise political leadership over revolution and construction.

How the leadership of the party over revolution is effected is a key problem decisive to its victory. This becomes a more important problem as the working-class party seizes power and leads socialist construction.

The Juche-oriented theory of Party building has given a comprehensive answer to the problem of Party leadership over the revolution and construction from its essence and principle to its method.

Our Party has correctly defined the essence of its leadership over the revolution and construction and set forth the revolutionary principle of leadership. It has defined its leadership over the revolution and construction as political leadership, policy leadership, and thus thoroughly prevented the tendency to refuse Party leadership or to make it administrative. Our Party has regarded the fundamental principle of its leadership as combining the Party's monolithic leadership and its revolutionary mass line and has fully implemented it. As a result, it has correctly combined leadership with the masses and steadily enhanced its leading role. Our Party has defined the Party committee as the highest leadership body of the given unit and has seen that collective leadership is ensured in its activity. Thus, it has ensured that the unity of political leadership and the creativity of the masses are properly combined in all spheres of social life. It has closely combined Party work with administrative and economic affairs. By doing so it has made it possible to accelerate socialist construction by

strengthening the driving force of the revolution and increasing its role. The splendid reality of our country where the driving force of the revolution has markedly strengthened and socialist construction is proceeding with success proves that fully guaranteeing the Party's political leadership over the revolution and construction is the only just way for the Party to succeed in its revolutionary cause.

The working-class party must acquire a revolutionary method of work and a popular style of work to conform to its intrinsic requirement.

The work method and style are a fundamental problem which decides the success in strengthening the driving force of the revolution and organizing the masses in the revolutionary struggle. However correct the Party's line and policy may be, it will be impossible to properly motivate the masses for their implementation if the work method and style of the officials are not effective. The problem of the work method and style is particularly important in the building of a ruling party. When the working-class party seizes power, officials lacking revolutionary seasoning may reveal the tendency of trying to solve all problems not by relying on the masses but by resorting to power. If the party in power wields its authority, becomes bureaucratic and abuses its power, it will not be supported by the people and able to correctly lead the revolution and construction.

Recently quite a large number of people in some countries opposed the working-class party and government duped by the anti-socialist machinations of the imperialists and reactionaries. This is precisely because the parties

in these countries worked in a bureaucratic manner and wielded their authority under the pretext of being in power, and consequently lost the trust of the people. For the working class and other working masses the working-class party is their own party. Therefore, for them to oppose the party means opposing themselves. Nevertheless, if the party fails to find a correct solution to the problem of the work method and style, it will be isolated from the masses and, in the long run, it will entail the grave consequence of being rejected by them.

In the whole course of its building our Party has worked tirelessly to put its work method and style to right and established throughout the Party a revolutionary work method and a popular work style based on the revolutionary mass line.

The work method of our Party is the anti-Japanese guerrilla work method created by the great leader already in the crucible of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. It is the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method which are the in-depth development of this work method in keeping with the present requirements of socialist construction. The basic requirement of the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method is that superiors should help subordinates, that they should implement the Party's line and policy by pooling their efforts, that superiors should always closely associate themselves with the true situation, grasp the details of the state of affairs and find correct solutions to the problems, and that they should give priority to political work, work with people in all kinds of work and carry out the revolutionary tasks by inducing



the masses to display their enthusiasm and creativity. The Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method are the only revolutionary method of work which strengthens the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses by closely combining leadership with the masses and induces the masses to display their creative power to the utmost.

In order to establish a revolutionary work method and a popular work style, our Party has worked hard to oppose bureaucracy and misuse of power among the officials. We have paid greater attention to our efforts to do away with the abuse of power and bureaucracy because a change of generation is taking place in the ranks of cadres and the proportion of the officials lacking in revolutionary training is increasing. Our Party has put forward the slogan “We serve the people!” and led all the officials to serve the people faithfully and tighten unbreakable ties with them. As a result, they have established a revolutionary method of work and a popular style of work: they firmly defend the interests of the masses of the people, mix with the people and rely on the masses in their work, share life and death, good times and bad with the people and lead them by setting personal examples. Without being complacent with our success, we are continuing to make strong efforts to eliminate all sorts of negative work methods and work styles including bureaucracy and misuse of power.

The working-class party must fully ensure succession in its development.

Ensuring succession in party building is a law-governed requirement of the communist movement and

the development of the working-class party. The revolutionary cause of the working class is carried on for a protracted period through the generations and changes of generations take place continually in the course of the development of the communist movement. Therefore, the cause of building the working-class party must also be succeeded throughout the generations. The history of the international communist movement shows the bitter lesson that if the working-class party does not develop in strength throughout the generations, the revolution will traverse an anguished course, be given up halfway and frustrated.

Marxism-Leninism could not raise the problem of the succession of the revolutionary cause and that of the succession of the party's leadership. The authors of this doctrine did not foresee that the implementation of the revolutionary cause of the working class would assume a protracted nature and considered that once private ownership and class antagonism were liquidated and class distinctions were eliminated, the revolution would come to an end and the state would be gradually withered away. Hence they could not raise the problem of the succession of the party's leadership.

The problem of the succession of party's leadership is that of holding up an heir who will succeed to the position and role of the political leader of the party and establishing the system of his guidance. The person who is unfailingly loyal to the leader who founded the revolutionary party of the working class and pioneered the revolution and possesses the qualifications and ability

to carry forward the leader's cause honourably must be held up as the heir. A thorough system of his guidance must be set up. This is the way to prevent the party from degenerating and enable the party's cause to be accomplished. The lesson of the international communist movement shows that the party will be toyed with by renegades and its cause will be frustrated if an appropriate heir is not held up or, even if he is held up, a correct system of his guidance is not established.

In view of the law-governed requirement of the revolutionary development in our era and the historic lesson of the international communist movement, our Party set forth the problem of succeeding to the leadership of the Party as the most important one in accomplishing the revolutionary cause of the working class throughout the generations and has solved this problem with success both theoretically and practically. As a result, a sure guarantee has been created in our country for carrying forward the Juche revolutionary cause to completion throughout the generations.

Indeed, the Juche-oriented theory of Party building is the only correct guideline elucidating the way ahead in the building of the working-class party in our era.

The justness of this theory has been proved in full by the historic experience of the building of our Party and by the brilliant victory and success of our revolution achieved under the leadership of the Party. The efforts to implement the Juche-oriented theory of Party building in our country have been accompanied by a sharp struggle against the errant elements running counter to this theory.

For some time the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary factionalists who had wormed their way into important posts of our Party introduced and spread erroneous methods of Party work including bureaucracy and formalism from outside in violation of the traditional Juche-oriented principle of Party building. Our Party has denounced all sorts of unsound elements and fully implemented the Juche-oriented principle of Party building. By doing so, it has strengthened and developed itself into a strong party which has achieved single-hearted unity on the basis of its monolithic ideological system. It has a strong sense of organization and discipline; it is an indestructible party which is rooted deep among the masses of the people; it has formed an unbreakable union with them and developed into a hopeful party which will creditably carry forward the cause of the leader throughout the generations. Our Party has built itself in our own way guided by the Juche-oriented theory. Therefore, it has unbreakable strength and does not waver even in the face of any offensive on the part of imperialists and reactionaries.

The validity and great vitality of the Juche-oriented theory of Party building have also been proved by the lesson of the international communist movement. The parties of many countries have undergone twists and turns because they, imbued with dogmatism and revisionism, failed to build themselves efficiently. The working-class parties in many East European countries experienced the grave situation of their total collapse. In the confrontation with the class enemies the working-class parties in some

socialist countries suffered a defeat and became unable to overcome the trials. This is mainly because these parties did not have a correct theory of party building and did not build up themselves. The Marxist-Leninist theory of party building had limitations and, on top of this, quite a few parties adhered to this doctrine dogmatically under the pretext of being guided by Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, they could not develop the theory of party building and, consequently, they could not build themselves into militant parties to suit the changing era and the advancing revolution.

Taking advantage of the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building and the failure of this theory to be developed to perfection to suit the requirements of the actual situation in which the revolution and construction made a steady advance, modern revisionism led the working-class party to degeneration. The attitude toward the working-class party was the key problem in the struggle against opportunism. Opportunists of all descriptions that appeared in history viciously schemed to deteriorate and weaken the working-class party as the political general staff and reduce it to a reformist party. Their machinations reached a more dangerous stage with the appearance of modern revisionism.

Denying the law of the building, strengthening and development of the party by the leader of the working class, modern revisionists vilified the dignity and prestige of the working-class leader. This is essential in the reactionary nature of revisionism. Modern revisionists

slandered the prestige of the working-class leader in a most vicious manner. By doing so they smeared the glorious history of the party and emasculated and obliterated the idea of the leader and the exploits and tradition created by him. Consequently they reduced the revolutionary party of the working class to an opportunist and reformist party. This is the most despicable perfidy of modern revisionists.

By advocating the theory of an “all-people party” in denial of the working-class character of the party, modern revisionists caused the party to deteriorate from the class viewpoint. The party made its appearance as the vanguard of a certain class defending the interests of this class and fighting to fulfil its desire. The working-class party is a revolutionary party which fights in defence of the interests of this class and other working people; it is composed of the best progressive elements from among them. It is impossible to speak of the working-class party apart from its working-class and revolutionary character. Therefore, the working-class party can never be an “all-people party.” By advocating the theory of an “all-people party” modern revisionists schemed, in effect, to eliminate the party as the vanguard of the working class by emasculating its working-class character.

They denied the monolithic character of the idea of the working-class party and ushered in alien ideological trends to the party at random and thus pulled down its ideological basis. In the working-class party there can be only the idea of this class. If a bourgeois idea is ushered into the party, the party will be disintegrated ideologically. Modern revisionists not only neglected

ideological education, but also allowed the “liberty” of ideas within the party and opened the door to the infiltration of bourgeois ideas. In consequence, all kinds of principles and theories appeared in the party, bourgeois ideas were rampant in it and it was undermined and deteriorated ideologically.

Modern revisionists did not establish a centralized discipline in the party and thus weakened it organizationally. They did not set up even an elementary system of party life in it and fostered indiscipline and disorder. In particular, they disrupted the party by permitting factional actions in it. If these actions are tolerated in the party it will not be able to maintain its existence as an organized detachment. Quite a few parties not only did not pay due attention to their organizational and ideological unity but also tolerated the liberty of factional actions within themselves under the plea of democracy. In consequence, the organizational basis of these parties was undermined by factions, they were made a fool of by chance elements and political impostors, and foreign forces fostered opponents in the parties and even incited them to overthrow the leadership of the parties.

Modern revisionists made the party something like an administrative body, a power organ contrary to its essential nature as a political general staff and thus weakened its mass foundation. The party is not an administrative body but a political organization. Hence, the method of party work must not be an administrative approach but a political one with persuasion and

education as its main content. The party is not a power organ lording it over the masses, but a servant of the people. Accordingly, the party's style of work must not be bureaucracy and misuse of power but a popular work style whereby one serves the people heart and soul. Nevertheless, quite a few parties made themselves something like administrative bodies and power organs and tolerated an administrative method, bureaucracy and misuse of party authority, with the result that they were isolated from the masses.

Modern revisionism that came to the fore in the mid-1950s caused great harm to the international communist movement for scores of years and has left a serious lesson. Historical lesson clearly shows that even the working-class party which has been organizing and leading the revolution to victory, overcoming the trials of arduous struggles, will unavoidably go to ruin if it tolerates revisionism.

In socialist society it is law-governed that with the advance of the revolution the socio-political basis of the working-class party is consolidated and developed and its position and role increase. However, this does not mean that in this society, the position and role of the working-class party increase spontaneously. Even in socialist society the working-class party can enhance its leadership position and role only through unremitting efforts to develop itself in strength. As a secure life continues for a long time in this society the revolutionary spirit of the people may weaken and they may become idle and easygoing. This is not because of the nature of



socialist society but because of the revival of outmoded ideas. In socialist society, too, there is a constant danger of the revival of unsound ideas since outmoded ideas are rooted very deep and the ideological and cultural infiltration of the imperialists is perpetrated ceaselessly. In particular, if ideological education for arming people with revolutionary ideas is not conducted tirelessly and stress is put only on the material aspects of life making the material incentive absolute, people will seek their personal comfort and well-being and outmoded ideas may establish a foothold. The younger generation are most liable to be affected by outmoded ideas. The new generation who have neither suffered exploitation and oppression nor experienced the trials of the arduous revolutionary struggle may easily be imbued with capitalist ideas seeking only indolence and pleasure. The majority of party members in socialist countries are the younger generation who have grown up after the victory of the revolution. This means that more vigorous efforts should be made in socialist society for the strengthening of the working-class party. Nevertheless, the working-class parties in some socialist countries did not make proper efforts for their strengthening and development because of the influence of revisionism and eventually deteriorated.

In a number of countries the working-class parties have degenerated by modern revisionism. This is mainly because they have not found a correct solution to the problem of the succession of party leadership.

In any country the party develops in a sound way when an outstanding leader, who has organized and led

the revolution to victory amid an arduous struggle, is at its head. In a number of countries the problem of the succession of party leadership was raised a long time ago with the changing generations, but they did not solve this problem properly. Those who had succeeded the leading positions of the parties began to revise the revolutionary line and policy advanced by the leaders who had carried out the socialist revolution under difficult circumstances and disparaged their prestige and dignity. Socialism develops continually and, in the course of its advance, many new problems awaiting solutions are raised. However, in the whole course of the revolution since its inception to its final victory it is carried to completion through the process of succeeding, developing and enriching the exploits and experiences of the preceding period. When the working-class party leads the revolution and construction surmounting stern trials, a valuable revolutionary tradition which serves as an eternal paragon, is created and a guideline which must be invariably adhered to is provided. Denial of the party's glorious past itself already means the degeneration of the party. Those who deny the succession of the party which was founded and developed amid a harsh struggle are the renegades of the revolution without exception.

At present genuine revolutionaries throughout the world express great respect for and trust in our Party. This is because we are firmly carrying forward the Party founded by the great leader as well as its cause. The diametrically different realities in East European countries where the socialist cause has been frustrated

and in our country where socialism is winning victory after victory, vividly show that succession of the party's leadership is a fundamental problem decisive to the destiny of the socialist cause.

The degeneration of the working-class party by modern revisionism is also mainly ascribable to the fact that it failed to establish Juche in the revolution and construction and fell a prey to flunkeyism.

The communist movement is an independent movement and the establishment of Juche is the lifeblood of this movement. In the communist movement the main trend obstructing the establishment of Juche is flunkeyism. Flunkeyism is a counterrevolutionary trend poisoning the independent consciousness of the masses of the people. Since the communist movement is an independent one through which the masses of the people achieve their independence with their own efforts, flunkeyism can never be tolerated in this movement. Flunkeyism is a guide which ushers in all kinds of counterrevolutionary poison such as revisionist and capitalist ideas. Imbued with flunkeyism, the parties in many countries blindly accepted revisionism and were unable to distinguish it and, in the long run, ushered in even capitalist ideas. If one is imbued with flunkeyism one will be unable to tell right from wrong and frustrate foreign pressure. In the past when modern revisionists interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, some parties meekly accepted it because they had failed to establish Juche and fallen a prey to flunkeyism. The parties of some countries suffered great harm by following others blindly. Despite this, they still

failed to discard flunkeyism and followed others unconditionally. Recently, when others, engaged in “restructure,” brought pressure to bear upon them, the parties in a number of countries imbued with the sycophantic disease were also engaged in “restructure” obeying the dictates of other countries blindly and leading to ultimate failure.

...

The process of the degeneration of the working-class party by modern revisionism was the process of renouncing the revolutionary principles. Revisionism is a counterrevolutionary trend emasculating the revolutionary principles. Whether the revolutionary principles are maintained or abandoned is an important criterion distinguishing a revolutionary party from an opportunist party. Renouncing the revolutionary principles and compromising with the class enemies is characteristic of opportunism. If the revolutionary principles are conceded one after another, the party cannot maintain its original features and, in the long run, it will degenerate.

That the working-class party maintains the revolutionary principles means that it defends the demand of this class and the fundamental interests of the revolution and carries on party building and activities on the basis of this. For this party maintaining the revolutionary principles is a fundamental requirement proceeding from its mission. The cause of the working-class party to achieve independence for this class and other working people is carried on amid a sharp class struggle against all sorts of enemies infringing upon

independence. As the revolution advances, the class enemies will make more desperate efforts to undermine it. Hence, the working-class party must firmly maintain the revolutionary principles until the ultimate victory of the revolution.

There is no end once one begins to abandon the revolutionary principles. If one renounces one of the revolutionary principles, one will abandon two of them and gradually discard all the principles and, in the long run, will spoil the party and the revolution themselves. The situation in the parties of many East European countries clearly shows this. Under the pressure of the imperialists, modern revisionists started to concede one revolutionary principle after another and open the door to bourgeois liberalization. With the gradual expansion of such concessions they went so far as to abandon the fundamental principle of the revolution and completely sell the party and its cause to the imperialists and class enemies. The imperialists and reactionaries resorted to all sorts of schemes to divorce our Party from the revolutionary principles. Nevertheless, our Party did not concede these principles even an inch, but waged an uncompromising struggle against the slightest element to give them up. Whereas modern revisionists weakened the leadership of the party and destroyed it by yielding to the pressure of the imperialists, our Party increased its fighting efficiency and leadership role in every possible way. Because of its unwavering fidelity to the revolutionary principles, it has come to take pride as an invincible and great party which no enemy can pounce

upon and as a glorious party which is creditably carrying forward the socialist cause to completion under the revolutionary banner.

The process of the systematic degeneration of the party which had taken place for a long time owing to modern revisionism, turned into organizational collapse with the appearance of modern social democracy.

Modern social democracy is opening up the way to the return to capitalism under the pretence of “restructure.” The advocates of the policy of “restructure” themselves do not conceal that the way they are following is that of making such a society as a capitalist one, a country which claims to have put into effect the so-called “social democracy.” Modern social democracy can be regarded as the extension of modern revisionism in that it is a bourgeois idea that has infiltrated the communist movement. However, it is not a mere extension of modern revisionism, but its most reactionary variety. Revisionism is a counterrevolutionary trend which emasculates the pith of the revolutionary theory of the working class through the revision of this theory. However, modern social democracy is not confined to revising the revolutionary theory of the working class, but totally negates it. Implementing the imperialists’ strategy of a “peaceful transition,” modern social democrats are scheming to conceal it under various signboards such as “democratic socialism,” “humanitarian and democratic socialism,” “modern democracy” and a “democratic community.”

There are various political forces and sects among the

bourgeois restorationists who are seeking the “peaceful transition of socialism to capitalism.” Among them there are class enemies such as erstwhile big landowners, capitalists and their descendants as well as those who, having become ideologically degenerate and deprived within the communist movement, have entered the road of opposing socialism harbouring a foolish illusion about the so-called “third road.” Among the modern social democrats talking about the “restructure” aimed at the “third road” there are also various sects which are putting forward different principles and theories. Nevertheless, whatever their principles and theories, those who are dreaming about the “third road” advocating “restructure” are despicable renegades of the revolution executing the imperialists’ strategy of “peaceful transition.” In opposing socialism the imperialists and reactionaries first entice modern social democrats dreaming about the “third road” by resorting to a variety of cajolery and, as social disorder becomes aggravated, they instigate right-wing reactionary forces to completely overthrow socialism.

The first object to which bourgeois restorationists direct the spearhead of their attack in their attempt to obliterate socialism and revive capitalism, is the working-class party which is the guiding force of socialist society. In order to undermine this party, they have been viciously scheming to dampen the people’s trust in it. With a view to attacking the working-class party, they abused the shortcomings revealed in it. Needless to say, the working-class party must promptly rectify the shortcomings and thoroughly prevent unsound practices

such as bureaucracy, misuse of power and corruption. Nevertheless, when shortcomings are revealed in the party, they must be overcome through an inner-party struggle however serious they may be. However, when such shortcomings as bureaucracy, misuse of power and degeneration were revealed within the party, bourgeois restorationists used them to attack the party under the plea of “glasnost” as if they had got a chance. They fabricated their attacks as if the shortcomings revealed in the party were due to the leadership position of the party and the revolutionary principle of party building and instigated people to emasculate the leadership position and undermine the role of the party.

The mistakes revealed in some working-class parties have nothing to do with the nature of the party. Such faults would not have been revealed if, as a matter of fact, these parties had adhered strictly to the revolutionary principle in their building and activities as befitting their mission as the vanguard detachment of the revolution. Bourgeois restorationists viciously attacked the party, exaggerating the shortcoming revealed in it and manufacturing fake ones. They did not stop there. Taking advantage of their leading positions in the party which in some cases had been acquired through intrigue, they organizationally imposed a counterrevolutionary line aimed at completely emasculating the leadership of the party and undermining it.

Asserting that the party must “execute its policy within the bounds of the elections of a legislative body” and that “politics and the economy must be separated,” bourgeois



restorationists rejected the party's leadership over the socialist state and administrative and economic organs; they emasculated the leadership of the party over public organizations talking about the so-called "relationship of companions" between the former and the latter. Asserting that organs of dictatorship such as the army and public security organs must not assume a political character, they adopted a counterrevolutionary measure for prohibiting the activities of the party within these organs. Under the pretence of "glasnost" they kept ideological and cultural life completely beyond the control of the working-class party and brought in bourgeois ideas and culture in an all-round way. This was a wicked counterrevolutionary scheme to make the working-class party a nominal one, incapable of exercising any leadership over society.

The leadership of the working-class party is an intrinsic requirement of a socialist society. The fundamental differences between socialism and capitalism in the social system and mode of politics cause the position and role of political parties to be defined in a different way. In capitalist society where a handful of exploiting-class members exercise politics political parties do not play a great role in politics. In this society bourgeois parties outwardly seem to exert a great influence on capitalist politics; nevertheless, it is not political parties but monopoly capitalists that manipulate politics. In capitalist society where money rules everything both the state and parties act according to the will of monopoly capitalists who exclusively possess millions of dollars.

Monopoly capitalists can realize their political rule through the state even without political parties. They need political parties in order to use them as a tool for politically backing their bourgeois dictatorship and as a smoke screen for concealing their violent politics. In the exploiting societies preceding capitalism there were various political sects, but political parties themselves did not exist. As the other exploiting society went over to capitalism, capitalists advocated the system of political parties along with the parliamentary system in order to embellish bourgeois democracy.

Socialist society is a new one which is qualitatively different from all the exploiting societies that have existed in human history, and socialism has brought about a radical turn in the mode of politics. Socialist politics is a democratic form of politics of the working class and other masses which incorporates the desires of broad working people. The desires of the working masses are represented and incorporated by the working-class party. The leadership of the working-class party over social life as a whole is the intrinsic requirement of socialist society where the working people are the masters of the country and society.

The working-class party must be the guiding force of socialist society. This has to do with the characteristic of the working class. This class is a progressive one which embodies the intrinsic requirement of social beings on the highest level; it is the leading class of the revolution representing the interests of all the people. The historic mission of the working class is to free all the

exploited and ruled classes and strata from all manner of domination and subjugation and achieve complete independence for the working masses.

The leadership role played by the working-class party in socialist society is law-governed in view of both the intrinsic requirement of this society where the working people are the masters and the characteristics and historic mission of the working class. Emasculating the leadership of this party in socialist society is tantamount, in the long run, to obliterating socialism itself. Hence, bourgeois restorationists are unscrupulously scheming to emasculate party leadership over the revolution and construction in order to obliterate socialism and revive capitalism.

In order to separate the leadership position from the working-class party and reduce it to an insignificant nongovernment party, bourgeois restorationists advocated the multi-party system. This is the system existing in capitalist societies and one which serves the interests of capitalists. The bourgeois multi-party system is a reflection of the class relations of capitalist society where people are divided into different classes and strata and are in class antagonism; it is a smoke screen to conceal the despotism of capitalist ruling circles with "democracy." There cannot be equal relations between different classes and strata in capitalist society; there can be only the relations of domination and subordination. Likewise, there cannot be equal relations between political parties reflecting the interests of different classes and strata. In capitalist society the political party representing the interests of the class holding sway over

the economy and politics occupies a privileged position. Capitalists put forward the signboard of the multi-party system to conceal the privileged position of the parties representing their interests and deceive the working masses. Monopoly capitalists restrain and suppress the activities of other parties when the latter threaten their interests and, in the long run, they even unhesitatingly disband these parties by force. Bourgeois democracy is sham democracy. It exercises democracy for a handful of exploiters and dictatorship against the overwhelming majority of the working masses. Likewise, the bourgeois multi-party system is nothing but a camouflage to cover up bourgeois reactionary politics. The multi-party system existing in capitalist societies cannot be tolerated in socialist society because of its social and class characteristics. There is no socio-class foundation for effecting the multi-party system in socialist society where class antagonism has been liquidated thanks to the victory of the socialist revolution. If the multi-party system is introduced contrary to the intrinsic requirement of socialist society, this will only divide the working masses artificially and provide a political stage for the overt activities of counterrevolutionary elements. As a matter of fact, class distinctions and various other differences remain in socialist society which is a transitional one. Therefore, other political parties may exist there along with the working-class party. However, these parties can never compete with the reins of power; they must be parties which cooperate with each other in a friendly way under the leadership of the working-

class party. This is an essential requirement stemming from the intrinsic nature of socialist society where the working class, peasants and working intellectuals form a body with a common destiny because of the agreement of their fundamental interests. Advocating the multi-party system is, in the final analysis, a counterrevolutionary scheme to refuse the leadership of the working-class party, undermine socialism and open the door to the revival of capitalism.

Bourgeois restorationists have advocated the so-called “restructuring of the party” not only to wrest the leading position from the working-class party but to undermine it from within and completely eliminate it. The “restructuring of the party” is a counterrevolutionary machination to encourage unlimited “democracy,” “glasnost” and “openness” within the party. They aim to discard even the elementary norms of the principle of democratic centralism, and to reduce the basic party organizations to “independent units” not liable to any guidance and control of the higher party organization. It would thus destroy the party as an organized detachment in effect. In quite a few countries which had advocated the “restructuring of the party” the working-class party has already disappeared from the political arena and the remaining ones have, in effect, become nominal. With the destruction of the working-class party, reactionary parties and organizations such as leagues, trade unions and various forums became influential and political power went over to the hands of right-wing reactionaries. This clearly shows that abandoning the leadership of the working-

class party and undermining it is, in the final analysis, tantamount to abandoning and destroying socialism.

The socialist cause is now experiencing severe frustration and trials because of the vicious anti-socialist machinations of the imperialists and bourgeois restorationists. However, they are the ones which mankind temporarily experiences in its historic course towards socialism and communism; the ultimate victory is on the side of socialism and communism. Mankind's advance toward socialism and communism is an irresistible law of historic development. Witnessing the clamour for the revival of capitalism in some countries, the imperialists and reactionaries cheered over the destruction of socialism. Nevertheless, they already cannot conceal anxiousness at the catastrophic crisis in these countries.

The counterrevolutionary scheme of the imperialists and reactionaries to reverse the wheels of history will inevitably meet total failure.

Those countries which have embarked on the road of reviving capitalism are experiencing a serious political crisis, economic bankruptcy and social chaos and are in a state of complete anarchy. No capitalist prescription, no "aid" on the part of the imperialists can stop this daily aggravating crisis.

People already see clearly with their own eyes that the revival of capitalism will bring them neither freedom nor prosperity and that it will bring them only unemployment and poverty, social chaos and crimes. People who are experiencing the bitter taste of capitalism have begun to understand that bourgeois restorationists who enticed them

with honeyed words are neither democrats nor humanists but the servants of imperialism and the traitors of the people. Through their own lives people compare the two systems and oppose and reject the criminal machinations of bourgeois restorationists, yearning instead for the socialist era.

The frustration and trials socialism is experiencing now present to the communists a serious lesson. Many communists who were daunted by an unexpected situation have gradually understood the true state of affairs and started to rally new fighting ranks and are working to build the working-class party anew. Through their bitter lesson they are aware of the need to build a new revolutionary party instead of the erstwhile revisionist party. Inspired by the unshakeable spirit and feature of our Party advancing under the revolutionary and socialist banner, even in the face of the present complex situation, they are paying more and more heed to its Juche idea and fighting experience. The younger generation of the communist revolutionary ranks are sure to smash the imperialists' strategy of "peaceful transition" and all the counterrevolutionary machinations of bourgeois restorationists and win the victory of the socialist cause.

At a time when fierce confrontation is taking place between progress and reaction, the revolution and counterrevolution in the international arena, our Party is faced with the honourable revolutionary task of defending the socialist cause and steadily advancing it.

Now that the imperialists and reactionaries are concentrating the spearhead of their attack on our Party and our country, a country which is advancing under

the banner of socialism, our task is very heavy and our struggle is as arduous as ever.

Under the present rigorous situation we must never think of winning the ultimate victory of the revolution by an easy method along a smooth path. Although our Party and people have achieved great success in the revolutionary struggle and construction work, there is no ground for us to be complacent with this; we have still more work to do. How we implement our revolutionary task depends on how we increase the militancy and leadership role of the Party and organize and mobilize the masses.

We must defend and fully implement the Juche-oriented theory of Party building and thus strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and continue to enhance its leadership role in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

We must make more vigorous efforts to do away with all manner of negative work methods such as bureaucracy, subjectivism and misuse of power within the Party and tighten the unbreakable ties with the masses. By doing so we will closely unite the broad masses behind the Party and bring their revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity into full play.

All Party members and other working people must uphold the leadership of the Party and fully implement its policy; they must thus categorically frustrate the machinations of the imperialists and all sorts of reactionaries, step up socialist construction and accelerate national reunification and the victory of the socialist and communist cause.



# **ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BUILDING**

(Excerpts)

**Treatise Written on the Occasion  
of the 47<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 10, 1992*

Safeguarding and developing the socialist cause is the most important task now facing revolutionary parties and peoples. Although it is undergoing trials, socialism is as ever the objective of the struggle of revolutionary parties as well as the aspiration of progressive people. This is shown clearly by the fact that many revolutionary parties throughout the world have signed the declaration which was adopted in Pyongyang in April this year, the declaration for safeguarding and promoting the socialist cause.

How the socialist cause is promoted depends on how the party which leads this cause is built and how its leading role is enhanced. The history of the struggle for socialism can be called the history of building the working-class party and of its activities. The whole course of the bloody struggle of the working class and

other sections of the working masses for socialism shows that the key to victory lies in party building and party activities and that the failure has its causes in party building and party activities.

Now that revolutionary parties have adopted the Pyongyang Declaration as their common fighting programme and are undertaking a fresh struggle for socialism, it is extremely important to conduct a correct review of the historical experience and lessons of party building. Such a review is also a pressing matter in enabling our officials and Party members to heighten their vigilance against all the attempts of the class enemies who are bent on destroying the revolutionary party of the working class, to strengthen the party steadily, to enhance its leading role and thus to continue to promote the socialist cause vigorously.

## **1. THE HISTORICAL LESSONS IN BUILDING A GOVERNMENT PARTY UNDER SOCIALISM**

The setback faced by socialism in a number of countries is a serious lesson for us. Here it is particularly important for us to understand clearly why parties that had guided the socialist cause through arduous struggles for many decades collapsed so quickly. That is important because party leadership is vital to the socialist cause.

A socialist society is an advanced society that represents the masses' desire for independence, and

humanity's advance towards socialism is the trend of historical development. The tide of human history towards socialism is guided by the working-class party, and the progress of socialist society requires that the working-class party should be developed and strengthened steadily. The collapse of socialist ruling parties and socialism's return to capitalism in some countries in recent years can be considered as abnormal, passing phenomena in the light of the general trend of human history.

The collapse of parties which had been building socialism was an abnormal occurrence also in view of the circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities. The circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities in socialist society are incomparably superior to those in capitalist society. In socialist society there are no socio-economic and class conditions restricting the building and activities of the working-class party, the party's social and class foundations are broad, and the party has greater possibilities for winning the support and confidence of the masses through the implementation of people-oriented policies. The collapse of socialist ruling parties in spite of this is explained by the fact that party building and party activities were not conducted properly.

The most important factor in party building and party activities is to strengthen the party's organizational and ideological bases.

The working-class party is a political organization that has been formed on the basis of the working-class ideology,

and as such how its organizational and ideological bases are built is a basic factor that is essential to its existence. The working-class party must lay and strengthen its organizational and ideological foundations in the whole process of preparing its foundation and development. The strengthening of its organizational and ideological foundations is particularly important when the inheritance of the party leadership is an issue, because at that moment the class enemies at home and abroad and schemers and ambitious elements who are greedy for power manoeuvre more overtly than ever.

If its organizational and ideological bases are solid, the socialist ruling party can thwart all the schemes of the imperialists and class enemies to undermine itself. Treachery within the party is a greater danger to the existence of the party than destructive moves from outside, but whether or not treachery can be prevented depends on the solidity of its organizational and ideological foundations. If the party adheres to revolutionary principles and has durable organizational and ideological foundations, its leadership will not fall into the hands of traitors to the revolution, and should the leadership fall into their hands, the traitors will find it difficult to impose their counterrevolutionary line upon the party organizations and party members. But the organizational and ideological foundations of several parties were weakened because of a trend towards bourgeois liberalism that had infiltrated them. Taking advantage of this weakness, the traitors to the revolution were able to dictate their counterrevolutionary line to

their subordinates openly. In particular the body of cadres, the backbone of the organizational and ideological foundations of the party, was not built up well and ideological degeneration was evident among them. Therefore, many cadres failed to distinguish between the revolution and counterrevolution clearly and, even when the counterrevolutionary nature of the traitors was identified, they ideologically sympathized with them and followed them blindly or flattered them submissively, for the purpose of self-protection in preference. Of course, the staunch communists preserved their conscience of party membership and fought to defend the party and socialism. But their struggle could not halt the adverse current of counterrevolution that had emerged due to the long-term degeneration of the party.

Another important matter in the building and activities of the working-class party is the fortification of its mass foundation.

It is an essential condition for the existence of the working-class party that represents the interests of the masses to strike root among the masses. Without the support of the masses the working-class party cannot maintain its existence.

For the socialist ruling party to consolidate its mass base it is essential for it to build socialism successfully so as to display the advantages of the socialist system to the full and, at the same time, to work well with the masses and equip them fully with the socialist ideology. Fundamentally speaking, the working-class party is a party of the masses themselves which fights in defence of

their interests. Therefore, if the working masses oppose the working-class party it means that they are opposing themselves. But if the socialist ruling party fails to bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play because of the inefficient organization and leadership of socialist construction, and if it fails to overcome bureaucracy and other outmoded work methods and styles, and bribery and other forms of irregularities and corruption, within itself, it may become divorced from the masses. As for bureaucracy, it was in evidence in the early days of the building of socialism. It was more or less inevitable that officials should employ outmoded work methods and styles because they retained the remnants of outmoded ideas and had no experience of the management of socialist society. But the officials' outmoded work methods and styles at that time did not result in such a serious consequence as jeopardizing the revolutionary achievements, because the workers and peasants were giving strong support to the working-class party and the socialist power that has freed them from exploitation and oppression. With the passage of time, however, the people's class awareness dulled and their demands increased, whereas bureaucratic practices grew more serious as the cadres were replaced by members of the new generation that lacked revolutionary training and, worse still, irregularities and corruption which had been a minor problem in the early period of building socialism increased to a considerable extent. These evils do not emanate from the nature of the working-class party and the socialist society, but from outmoded ideological remnants

and bourgeois ideology. So they can be overcome if the party strengthens its organizational and ideological work and combats them. But, many parties paid no due attention to their organizational and ideological work. As a result, they were unable to eliminate such unsound elements as bureaucracy, irregularities and corruption. Meanwhile, they neglected the work of educating the masses in the socialist ideology and tolerated ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. Consequently, the political consciousness of many people dulled and they were deceived by the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries. Renegade socialists and reactionaries, talking about “democracy” and “glasnost,” used the shortcomings revealed in the socialist ruling parties as a means of misleading public opinion. But, if the masses had been fully armed with the socialist ideology, many people would not have been fooled by the counterrevolutionaries and would not have opposed their parties and governments.

The degeneration within socialist government parties which resulted in the frustration of socialism began with their discarding the revolutionary principles for building a working-class party. The revolutionary principles for building a working-class party were put forward in Marxism-Leninism. The founders of Marxism, who believed that a vanguard for the working class was needed to lead its revolutionary struggle to victory, formed the Communist Union, the political organization of the working class, and founded the First International, and they worked hard to develop the international communist movement

under the party's leadership. In the course of this, a number of party-building principles were established by the founders of Marxism. Lenin, upholding Marxist principles for party building, developed the theory of party building in accordance with the historical conditions in which the proletarian revolution became necessary with capitalism's transition to the stage of imperialism. He defined the poor peasantry, along with the working class, as the motive force of the revolution and, on that new class basis, founded a revolutionary party. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Party, Marxist-Leninist principles for party building became the universal principles for party building recognized by the communist and workers' parties.

The new era of independence in which the masses shape their destiny independently and creatively required a fresh development in party-building theories. As a theory in the period of the struggle of the working-class party for the seizure of power, the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building did not clarify the details of how the working-class party in power should develop itself and conduct its activities. Many new theoretical and practical problems occurred in the building and activities of the party as the leading political organization of society after its seizure of power and the establishment of the socialist system. But several parties followed Marxism-Leninism dogmatically, claiming that it was their guiding principle. As a result they did not develop a party-building theory as required by the situation in which socialism was being built. Therefore, they failed to find correct solutions to such new problems



as those of strengthening their ranks organizationally and ideologically and consolidating their mass foundations to suit their ruling position. When the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building were revealed, the modern revisionists, taking advantage of them, led the working-class parties to degeneration. Under the pretext of developing the Marxist-Leninist party-building theory in accordance with the changed circumstances and conditions, the modern revisionists emasculated the theory's revolutionary essence, weakened their parties systematically and paralysed their leadership functions.

A socialist society requires that the working-class party should be strengthened steadily and its leadership role enhanced. Socialist society, which is based on collectivism, can neither maintain itself nor blaze a trail successfully towards socialism and communism without the correct political leadership of the party. In the course of many years of living in comfort in socialist society, the revolutionary spirit may gradually disappear and idle and easy-going practices come to prevail among the new generation and other people who have not experienced exploitation, oppression and hardship. All this requires the strengthening of the party and the improvement of its leading role, as well as a more positive effort to educate party members and other people in the revolutionary spirit. But, many socialist ruling parties neglected to strengthen themselves and to provide their members and the people with revolutionary education, believing that everything would go well merely if they built the economy after the establishment of the socialist system. Economic

construction is an important task for socialist ruling parties after the establishment of the socialist system. But, if they emphasize only economic construction and neglect to strengthen themselves and to educate their members and the people in the revolutionary spirit, they cannot build even the economy successfully and may lose the gains of the socialist revolution.

The socialist government parties and the socialist systems collapsed in many countries, not just a few, because they had failed to establish Juche in their development and activities.

Establishing Juche is the fundamental requirement in the building and the activities of a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party of the working class is an independent political organization which combats domination and subordination of all forms and struggles to realize the independence of the working masses. Therefore the revolutionary party must resolve all the problems that arise in its building and activities with its own ideas and by its own efforts. Of course, in the early days of the international communist movement the guidance and assistance of the international centre was necessary for the countries whose communist hard core was not sufficiently prepared to carry out the cause of party building.

As history developed and the revolution progressed, a communist hard core and revolutionary forces grew up in different countries and every party became able to conduct the revolution independently in keeping with the specific conditions in its own country. In this historical situation it was not realistic for an international centre to guide the

parties and revolutionary movements of different countries in a uniform way, so the Comintern ceased to exist.

But even after the Comintern had been dissolved, old practices lasted for a long time in the relations between communist and workers' parties, practices expressed in their dogmatic acceptance of the party lines and policies of a major country which had carried out the socialist revolution earlier. The good experience of others should be adopted, but in such a case it should be assimilated creatively to suit the specific situation in the country concerned. Since the specific conditions vary with the country, socialism cannot be built successfully if foreign experience is adopted dogmatically. Nevertheless, many parties, being in the habit of copying the lines and policies of the party of another country, followed the other when it abandoned socialist principles and pursued revisionism. They even accepted the counterrevolutionary lines which the traitors to socialism dictated to them. This resulted in the collapse of the socialist government parties in the Soviet Union and east European countries and in the almost simultaneous collapse of the socialist systems in these countries. If the socialist government parties had resolved all the problems arising in their development and activities from their own point of view, with an attitude befitting masters who are responsible for the revolution in their own countries, and to meet the requirements of their own people and the situation in their own countries, the socialist government parties and socialist systems in these countries would not have collapsed.

The process of the disintegration of parties that had

seized power after an arduous revolutionary struggle and had spent decades building socialism, and of the destruction of the socialist systems is a serious lesson.

The historical lesson from the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and of the socialist systems in many countries is that the purity of the socialist idea must be maintained firmly if the cause of socialism is to be completed.

Historical experience shows that when people's ideology degenerates, both the working-class party and the socialist system will also become degenerate and cease to exist. The emergence of renegades from the party, the organizational and ideological disintegration of the party and the change in public feelings all started from degeneration in ideology. If ideology degenerates, even great economic and military powers will collapse and the socialist system that has been developed for decades will inevitably be destroyed.

The most dangerous ideological trend which undermines socialism is that of revisionism, dogmatism and flunkeyism.

The idea which is directly antagonistic to the socialist idea is the bourgeois idea, but the bourgeois idea cannot prevent the attraction of the socialist idea. The bourgeois idea that reflects the avaricious demands of the exploiter classes cannot conceal its reactionary nature, no matter what hypocrisy is used to embellish it. It is natural that the working masses should accept the socialist idea which reflects their demand for independence instead of the bourgeois idea which reflects the demands of the exploiter classes that infringe upon their independence. Therefore,

the imperialists and capitalists have used revisionism, which is the revision of the socialist idea, to cater to their desires, as an ideological instrument. As it was in the past, so at present, too, revisionism is the main threat to the accomplishment of the socialist cause. Being the reflection of the bourgeois idea which emerged in the communist movement, revisionism has prevented revolutionary transition to socialism in capitalist countries and has been used by the imperialists as their ideological instrument in their strategy of “peaceful transition,” by opening the road to the return to capitalism in socialist countries. But no matter how carefully modern revisionism may disguise itself, we must identify its reactionary nature and categorically oppose and reject it.

Dogmatism and flunkeyism are also dangerous ideological elements in the accomplishment of the cause of socialism. Dogmatism and flunkeyism prevent the socialist idea from displaying its full vitality. Those who are steeped in dogmatism and sycophancy will dance to the tune of others instead of acting in accordance with their own beliefs, will adopt revisionism if others practice revisionism and, ultimately, will harbour illusions about the developed capitalist countries and recklessly introduce capitalist methods. We must not tolerate even the slightest expression of dogmatism and sycophancy and must solve all problems to meet the requirements of our people and the situation in our country, maintaining our own beliefs at all times.

Another historical lesson to be learned from the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and of the socialist systems

in some countries is that continuity of leadership must be ensured if one is to complete the cause of socialism.

We cannot regard the responsibility for the disintegration of the socialist ruling parties as resting with ordinary party members. In any of those countries ordinary party members have faithfully supported the cause of the working-class party and grieved at its collapse. The problem was that the continuity of revolutionary leadership was not ensured.

The destiny of the cause of socialism which emerges in the fierce struggle against the class enemies depends on how leadership of it is ensured. The struggle for socialism has developed in many countries over a long historical period, but correct leadership for it has not always been ensured. Leadership of the cause of socialism can be ensured only when an outstanding leader stands at its centre. There is no greater fortune for people than being guided by a leader who enjoys their absolute trust for his brilliant wisdom, outstanding leadership ability and noble virtue as well as for his lasting achievements. This does not mean that people who have no such great leader cannot carry out the cause of socialism. The most valuable of the traits of a leader who leads the cause of socialism is his loyalty to this cause and to the people. A leader derives wisdom, leadership ability and virtue from the masses. The people are teachers, and there cannot be a prominent leader who is isolated from the people. Correct leadership will be ensured when the leader mixes with the masses at all times, listens to their opinions and solves everything by relying on their strength, and the leader

who has such people-oriented leadership qualities is a true leader of the people. Disregarding the opinions of the people and not believing in their strength are the traits of a renegade. If such a renegade holds power, the misfortune the people will suffer will be immeasurable. The greatest misery for people is to have the wrong leader.

If continuity of leadership is to be ensured in a socialist society, the party should be strong. In general, the personality and qualities of the leader of a communist movement are formed through a process in which he is tempered and tested in a fierce class struggle. But the personality and qualities of the leader of the new generation in a socialist society are shaped in the course of his being tempered and seasoned through a party life and the practical work of building socialism. If an admirable leader is to come forward, a leader who has been tempered and tested through a party life and revolutionary practice in a socialist society, the party should be powerful. Historical experience shows that it is quite possible for an excellent leader to come forward who is faithful to the cause of socialism and the people and is well-qualified and can carry forward the cause of socialism successfully if the problem of continuity of leadership is solved in a foresighted way on the basis of strengthening the party organizationally and ideologically and observing party principles.

The collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries are a great loss to the cause of independence for the masses. But if one learns a lesson from one's failure and opens up

the revolutionary path of party building independently and creatively, one will be able to build a more revolutionary and militant party and continually promote the cause of socialism under the leadership of the party.

## **2. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE BUILDING OF A JUCHE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

The bitter experience of the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries demands that we should recognize more clearly the validity of our Party's line of building a Juche party and work still harder to implement it.

Our Party has always solved in its own way, proceeding from a Juche stand, all the problems which have been raised in its building and in its activities. Had our Party followed others in its building and in its activities, it would have been harmed. In the history of our Party, too, there were at one time pressure from outside forces and schemes by factionalists infected with flunkeyism who demanded that we should follow others. But, our Party did not move even a single step from its Juche line. Because we have built our Party and conducted its activities in our own way, our Party is leading the revolution and construction energetically as a militant detachment which is united in one mind, even in today's complex situation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has created a Juche theory on party building and comprehensively



systematized it after founding a Juche-based revolutionary party which he has led on the basis of the Juche idea, and has also performed immortal exploits and accumulated valuable experience in party building. This is a great achievement and a sure guarantee for continually strengthening and developing our Party as a revolutionary party of the Juche type.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding idea of our Party.

The guiding idea of a party is its fundamental idea which clarifies the goal of its struggle as well as the principles and ways for achieving that goal. The character of the party and the basic direction of its building and activities are defined by its guiding idea. The party is a political organization of people with the same idea. Therefore, a scientific and revolutionary guiding idea for the party should be established before anything else in its building. It is only when the party has a scientific and revolutionary guiding idea that it will be able to convince its members and other people of the validity of its cause and give them confidence in victory, to achieve the unity and cohesion of itself and the revolutionary ranks in ideology and will and to lead the revolution and construction to victory based upon a correct strategy and proper tactics.

The guiding ideas of the revolutionary parties of the working class share common ground in that they reflect the desire of the masses, the driving force of the revolution, for independence, and their interests. Nevertheless, they have their own specific features because the situation in every country is different. In the past it was stressed that

the parties of all countries should have one guiding idea which was approved by all. But the fact that the party of each country should work independently, with its own guiding idea, and that it should develop its guiding idea creatively, was neglected. This was an obstacle for every country in building the party and making the revolution independently to suit its own situation. It is only when a correct guiding idea is created and developed from an independent and creative stand that a party can be built independently and the revolution and construction be conducted successfully, taking the idea as its guiding principle.

Because a party has to create a guiding idea to keep abreast of the changing circumstances and its own situation, it should not renounce the revolutionary principles that should be maintained invariably in its building and in its activities. The conditions under which the party works, as well as its duties, change in the course of accomplishing the cause of socialism; therefore, the theoretical and practical problems arising in the building of the party and in its activities should be solved creatively to conform with this. But, revolutionary principles should invariably be maintained because the class character of the party and its historical mission cannot change. Renouncing revolutionary principles because of changes in the circumstances and conditions means destroying the revolutionary party and betraying the revolutionary cause of the masses.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung created the Juche idea and thus found a brilliant way of providing a

guiding ideology for the Party to meet the requirements of the times and the situation in our country. The validity and vitality of a revolutionary idea are defined by how correctly the idea reflects the masses' desire for independence and their interests and how scientifically it explains the way to meet them. The Juche idea accurately reflects the fundamental requirements of the working class and the other working masses and explains the way it should be implemented in an absolutely scientific manner. The fundamental demand of the working class and the other working people is to end exploitation and oppression of man by man and to enjoy an independent and creative life as masters of the state and society. Because it mirrors the masses' desire for independence and explains the way in which it should be implemented in a comprehensive manner, the Juche idea is a perfect revolutionary ideology of the working class which reflects the new age in which the masses have emerged in the arena of history as masters of their destiny. It is only when party building and its activities are guided by the Juche idea that the party can consolidate and develop itself steadily and conduct the revolution and construction with success. This has been proved in our revolutionary practice.

Developing our Party into a mass party of the working people is a basic policy of building it.

Formerly a party was regarded as a political organization of a class, representing and defending the class's interests, and as a weapon in the class struggle. The party is the vanguard of a class which fights to realize the demands and aspirations of that class. But, if it is built into

a party for that class alone, it is impossible for it to perform its duties properly as a revolutionary party or to win the support of the broad masses of the people. The situation now, in which the broad masses of the people have emerged as the masters of their destiny, requires that the working-class party be developed into a mass party which represents the interests of all the people and embraces progressive elements from all classes and sections of the working population. In socialist society in which all strata of the masses have become socialist working people and the social and class composition is becoming more and more homogeneous, it is all the more necessary to develop the working-class party into a mass party.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, displaying scientific insight into the requirements of our times and the specific situation of our revolution, put forward the theory of building a mass party, thus paving a new way for the building of a revolutionary party. The theory on building a mass party evolved by the great leader is based on the Juche revolutionary principle that the masses are the masters and the motive force of the revolution and construction. The cause of socialism is an undertaking by the people and for the people. Today, when the broad masses of the people are aspiring to socialism and the social and class foundations of socialism have been expanded as never before, the party which fights for the cause of socialism must naturally be developed into a mass party which represents the interests of all the people and strikes root among the broad working masses.

The party's development into a mass party must not result in the weakening or alternation of its revolutionary and working-class character. The class character of the party is defined by its guiding ideology and fighting objectives; its revolutionary character is manifested in its loyalty to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and to the socialist cause. The cause of the working class conforms to the interests of all the people, and the working class can achieve the socialist cause successfully only when it rallies broad strata of the population behind it. It is, therefore, a legitimate requirement in building the revolutionary party to develop it into a mass party which champions the interests of all the people and comprises farmers and intellectuals as well as the working class. Experience shows that when it fails to become a mass party of the working people, a party may be reduced to a political minority of communists when faced with difficulties in the revolution. Only when it is built as a mass party which thoroughly champions the masses' desire for independence and their interests and strikes root among wide sections of the working people, can the party maintain unbreakable ties with the masses and succeed in the socialist cause by relying on the inexhaustible energies of the people who are rallied behind it.

The great leader, on the basis of the line of building a mass party, built a revolutionary party of Juche which consists of advanced elements of the workers, farmers and working intellectuals and champions the interests of the masses, and thus set a brilliant example in the building of a mass party. He had not only a hammer and sickle

symbolizing the workers and farmers but also a brush symbolizing the working intellectuals form the Party's emblem, to suit the characteristics of our Party, a mass party, and has led the Party to form a harmonious whole with the masses and render loyal service to all the people so as to provide them with an independent and creative life. Our Party has developed into an unconquerable revolutionary party which enjoys the unqualified support and trust of the masses. It has become a powerful motive force for the revolution by welding itself with the masses into a socio-political organism which shares a common destiny. This is an excellent fruition of the great leader's line of building a mass party, and it ensures all our victories.

Firmly establishing monolithic ideology and leadership within the Party is a fundamental principle in the building of our Party.

The durability and vitality of a revolutionary party is ensured by its monolithic ideology and leadership. Monolithic ideology and leadership is essential for the unity of idea and purpose within the party and for its effective leadership of the revolution and construction.

Monolithic ideology and leadership in a party is best achieved when the party is guided by a distinguished leader. A leader who is endowed with great intelligence, outstanding leadership ability and noble virtue can formulate lines and policies which reflect the masses' desire for independence and their interests accurately and organize and guide their creative activities successfully. A party which does not support its leader's ideology and

guidance or does not inherit his cause cannot be called a revolutionary party.

Monolithic ideology and leadership in a party is guaranteed by centralist discipline, and can be ensured only when the party has established a centralist work system and order by which all party organizations and all its members obligatorily implement its lines and policies, and by which its entire membership acts as one in accordance with the instructions of its central committee.

The establishment of monolithic ideology and leadership in a party does not conflict with democracy, but provides a sure guarantee for genuine democracy. When no such ideology and leadership is established and unprincipled democracy is permitted within the party, democracy may be suppressed by bureaucracy and arbitrariness manifested among officials who lack in party discipline, and the unity and cohesion of the party may be broken and division encouraged by undesirable elements hidden in the party. The occurrence of undisciplined practices and disorder and the emergence of factions in some parties over recent years, which led finally to their disintegration and collapse, were due in no small measure to the failure to ensure their monolithic ideology and leadership, resulting from undue emphasis on "democracy." It is only when monolithic ideology and leadership are combined properly with democracy in a party that true comradely unity is achieved among party members, the unity of superiors and subordinates is guaranteed, and its lines and policies are implemented with success. Making it the basic principle in Party

building to maintain monolithic ideology and leadership, our Party has established the monolithic ideological and leadership system firmly among its entire membership and thus has been able to develop and strengthen itself into an unbreakable, militant organization which thinks and acts as one under the guidance of the leader. Our experience in Party building shows that democracy based on unshakable, monolithic ideology and leadership makes it possible for a party to promote the revolution and construction forcefully by uniting all its members firmly with one ideology and purpose.

It is our main task in Party building to strengthen the Party's unity and cohesion.

The unity and cohesion of the party is its lifeblood and the source of its might. The party whose unity and cohesion is disrupted cannot maintain its existence. The unity and cohesion of the party is a prerequisite for achieving the political and ideological unity of the whole society. The unity of the broad masses behind the party and the leader in their struggle constitutes the major driving force in the rapid development of socialist society and is the source of its unconquerable might. The political and ideological unity of the whole society is inconceivable without the unity and cohesion of the party. The party is the hard core joining the masses with the leader organizationally and ideologically. In order to achieve the political and ideological unity of the whole society by rallying the masses firmly behind the leader, it is essential, before all else, to achieve the unity and cohesion of the party's ranks, the hard core.



The unity and cohesion of the party behind the leader in ideology and purpose, as well as in morality and loyalty, is the most durable of unity and cohesion. An association which is based on a mere sense of duty or on business routine cannot last long, nor can it withstand the severe trials of the revolution. Only solid, single-hearted unity behind the leader which is based on one ideology and purpose and on loyalty to the revolution can be unbreakable unity and cohesion that is capable of overcoming all hardships and trials.

The work of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the party must be steadily intensified. If we, resting content with the unity and cohesion of the Party that has been achieved, do not make continued efforts to consolidate it, the unity and cohesion may be gradually weakened and, in the long run, destroyed. It is important to launch an effective struggle to preserve the unity and cohesion of the party, especially when one revolutionary generation is replaced by another and when the situation, internal and external, is complex. Historical experience shows that in such a situation, ambitious elements and renegades appear and try to wreck the unity and cohesion of the party.

The struggle to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party is, in the final analysis, a fight against heterogeneous ideological trends that are detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the party. The most dangerous of the ideological trends that undermine the party's unity and cohesion is factionalism and other counterrevolutionary ideological trends. If we tolerate counterrevolutionary ideological trends within the party, anti-party groups will be formed

on their basis and will destroy the party. In order to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party, it is also necessary to guard against parochialism, nepotism and other unsound ideological elements. Parochialism and nepotism are seeds of factions and, if they are connived at, may grow into factions and break the unity and cohesion of the party. We must remember that heterogeneous ideological elements that are harmful to the Party's unity and cohesion can germinate from the remnants of outmoded ideas or infiltrate from outside, and we must always be vigilant.

Historical experience shows that, if we neglect the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the party, in the belief that the unity and cohesion will not be destroyed in socialist society, factional forces may appear in the party and challenge it, in collusion with counterrevolutionary forces outside it, and this will incur grave consequences. Only when we develop the work of consolidating the unity and cohesion of the party, regarding it as the main task in party building, can we strengthen and develop its unity and cohesion down through the generations.

Our Party achieved solid unity and cohesion a long time ago. Not resting content with this, however, it has continued to work hard to strengthen the single-hearted unity of the whole Party around the leader, so that it maintains unbreakable unity and cohesion, without any vacillation even in the present complex situation.

It is the consistent policy of our Party to stress ideology in its building.

A party is a political organization of people who are united by a common ideology. Therefore, its ranks should be strengthened with the main stress on ideology. This means that the party's ranks should be made up of people who are loyal to the cause of socialism, judged mainly by how strong a belief they have in the party's ideology. Only when the party's ranks are strengthened with people who have a high level of ideological consciousness and are loyal to the cause of socialism, is it possible to ensure the party's solid unity in ideology and purpose and its strong revolutionary character and enhance the vanguard role of party members in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Therefore, it is essential in building up the party's ranks to judge people mainly and always by their ideological level and their loyalty to the cause of socialism, while taking into account their socio-class position and background. Even in a society where the hostile class has been eliminated and all the members of society have become socialist working people, the principle of giving priority to ideology in building up the party's ranks must not be violated. In a socialist society, too, some people who are not prepared politically and ideologically may possibly attempt to join the party in pursuit of selfish interests and fame. But such people are not qualified for party membership and, if they are admitted to the party, the dignity and prestige of the party may be damaged and the party itself be weakened.

In building a party by judging people's ideological criteria, it is extremely important to form the ranks of cadres with officials who are infinitely loyal to the party,

the leader and the revolution. Cadres are the backbone of the party; they educate the masses and direct the revolution. The strength of the party depends largely on the quality of its cadres. Cadres need to be competent but, more importantly, should have a sound ideology. Loyalty to the party, the leader and the revolution is the first criterion of a cadre. To form the cadre ranks mainly on the criterion of loyalty to the party, the leader and the revolution is a fundamental matter that has a bearing on the future of the party. The major obstacle to forming the cadre ranks with the main stress on ideology is the violation of party principles because of favouritism, personal acquaintance and the like in the work of personnel administration. If party principles are disregarded in personnel administration, unqualified people may be admitted to the ranks of cadres or even alien elements may worm their way into them.

With a view to ensuring the purity of the ranks of cadres, our Party has established strict procedures for the appointment, the dismissal and the ratification of cadres and has ensured that cadres are selected and appointed on the basis of collective discussion by the Party committee and on the principle of unanimous approval. Thus, only those whose loyalty and ability have been verified in revolutionary practice have been selected and appointed as cadres. The experience of our Party shows that only when the ranks of cadres are built up mainly on ideological criteria can the Party be strengthened organizationally and ideologically and, on this basis, the cause of the Party be accomplished down through the generations.

Establishing a monolithic ideology is the major task of our Party.

The building of socialism and communism is the process of modelling the whole society on the revolutionary ideology of the working class. Our Party set the ultimate objective of our revolution to be the modelling of the whole society on the Juche idea and has worked hard to occupy the ideological and material fortresses of socialism and communism by transforming our ideology, technology and culture to meet the requirements of Juche.

The main aspect of modelling the whole society on one ideology is to instil our monolithic ideology in all the members of society. People are the masters of society and a person's value and quality are defined, and all his activities are regulated, by his ideological consciousness. Therefore, in order to transform the whole of society on a single ideology, it is essential, above all else, to educate people and transform their ideology.

People not only transform nature and society but also reform themselves. The ideological transformation of people is also influenced by changes and developments in the objective conditions of society. In particular, the change and development of the social system exert a great influence on the change and development of ideological consciousness. But a change in the objective conditions does not bring about that of people's ideological consciousness spontaneously. Ideological consciousness is consciousness which reflects the demands and interests of people and it has relative solidity. Unless people work

to remould their ideological consciousness, regardless of changes in the objective circumstances and conditions, their ideological consciousness will not be transformed. If we believe that people will acquire the socialist ideology automatically after the establishment of the socialist system and neglect their ideological transformation, old ideologies may revive. The transformation of people's ideological consciousness is more difficult than the reform of the social relations and the development of the forces of production. The remnants of old ideologies are very conservative and revive whenever the possibility arises. Ideological transformation, particularly in confrontation with imperialism, is accompanied by a serious class struggle. Therefore, we must direct greater efforts to ideological transformation and give definite priority to it over all other work.

The ideology with which we should equip the members of society should be an excellent one. There cannot be a vacuum in people's ideological consciousness. Unless we have a good ideology that is superior to the old ideologies we cannot succeed in ideological transformation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung originated the Juche idea and, while leading the arduous revolutionary struggle for nearly 70 years, has produced a full clarification of how a revolutionary should live and struggle, setting a fine example in doing so, and thus providing us with good ideo-spiritual wealth for ideological transformation. The revolutionary ideology of the great leader and the history of his revolutionary struggle are an invaluable textbook and example for

imbuing the whole society with an ideology. The loyalty to the Party and the leader of our anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners, the heroic soldiers who fought in the Fatherland Liberation War and the heroes of socialist revolution and construction and their devoted service to the country and the people are also a priceless asset in ideological transformation.

An old ideology does not give way to a good, new one of its own accord. A good ideology, needless to say, is very attractive. But, since the imperialists and the reactionaries are playing many tricks in an attempt to slur the socialist ideology and beautify and embellish the bourgeois ideology, it is not easy for people to accept an advanced ideology. Only through a struggle to oppose the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip the people with the advanced socialist ideology can they be educated and reformed along revolutionary lines. It is the most important task for the parties building socialism to carry out vigorous ideological work to prevent the penetration of the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip people with the socialist ideology. Only when the revolutionary parties conduct good ideological work to overcome the reactionary bourgeois ideas of all hues and arm people with the advanced socialist ideology can they firmly guarantee the victory of the socialist ideology and succeed in imbuing the whole society with it.

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must give priority to the ideological education of its members. In other words, a party must educate its members first and then make them educate

the hard core of the masses who, in turn, will educate the broad masses. The education of the hard core of the masses by party members and the education of the broad masses by the hard core of the masses is an effective method of educating and transforming all the members of society, with one person educating ten people, ten people a hundred, a hundred people a thousand, and a thousand people ten thousand. A party member is a political activist by nature and it is the duty of a party member to conduct political work to educate and transform the masses. When a party refuses to give precedence to the ideological education of its members they cannot do their duty as political activists and may degenerate ideologically. It cannot be said that the traitors to the revolution who appeared in some socialist ruling parties were anti-socialist from the outset. The parties neglected the revolutionary education and tempering of their cadres and members, with the result that some people gradually degenerated and became traitors. In the light of this lesson we must always pay primary attention to the revolutionary education and tempering of cadres and Party members.

In order to succeed in the ideological tempering of Party members we must lead them to live a good Party life. A Party life is a furnace for ideological tempering. When party members fail to lead a party life and leave the control of their party organizations they may become liberal and degenerate ideologically. Proceeding from their need of political integrity party members must participate voluntarily in a party life. Our Party has



established a well-regulated system for a Party life which enables its members to raise their political integrity and fulfil their duties through leading a Party life. Our Party has led all its organizations to guarantee proper organization and guidance so that their members lead a Party life consciously and faithfully in compliance with Party rules, having a correct view of their Party organization, and temper themselves steadily in a revolutionary way through leading a Party life.

Ideology is reformed through ideological education and an ideological struggle. Ideological education is work to equip people with revolutionary ideas; it requires a certain system and definite forms and methods. Our Party has established a well-knit system of ideological education within itself and has run it regularly. It has steadily improved the forms and methods of ideological education as required by the developing situation. The ideological struggle is an important form of ideological transformation that is performed through criticism; criticism is a tonic for preventing ideological sickness. Our Party has established a sound atmosphere for criticism within itself so that an ideological struggle is conducted through criticism to temper the cadres and its members on revolutionary lines.

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must also educate the masses responsibly. The greatest love for the people is manifested by equipping them with the consciousness of independence and awakening them ideologically, and the most serious crime against the people is to paralyze their consciousness of

independence and make them ideologically degenerate. The responsible education of the masses by a party is an expression of its boundless love for them.

Party organizations should guide all its cadres and members to conduct political work widely among the masses, while at the same time educating the masses through working people's organizations. Conducting work with the masses through working people's organizations is our Party's principle in guiding the masses. The proper guidance of those organizations is an important duty of the socialist ruling party which is the political leadership organization of society. Working people's organizations must work independently, but they should not be left without the guidance of the working-class party. It is the working-class party that represents the interests of the masses most thoroughly in socialist society. So the working people's organizations must always conduct their activities in accordance with the party's lines and policies. The "independence" of the working people's organizations, which means freedom from the leadership of the party, eventually reduces the working people's organizations to a tool for the counterrevolutionary forces. The socialist ruling party must give correct guidance to the working people's organizations so that they conduct the work of educating and reforming the masses of all strata independently, creatively and skilfully, in accordance with their duties and character as organizations for ideological education. The party's norms for an organizational and ideological life should serve as an example of the organizational and ideological life in the working people's

organizations. But, unlike the party that is composed of advanced elements of the working people, the working people's organizations are mass organizations which embrace the broad masses. As every working people's organization has its own characteristics, its organizational and ideological life should be arranged accordingly.

The fundamental method of mass education is explanation and persuasion. People's ideology cannot be reformed by administrative orders or by coercive methods. People should be encouraged to accept the ideology as their faith through explanation and persuasion. Officials should always explain to the masses and try to persuade them steadily and patiently. Influencing people by positive examples is an effective method of educating them. The affirmative is the progressive and beautiful things that meet the demands of people for independence, so they exert a great influence on people. Support for the affirmative is a criticism of the negative, and shows people the ways of overcoming the negative. Our Party's experience shows that there is no one who cannot be educated and reformed if we conduct explanation and persuasion and influence people properly by positive examples in education.

Great efforts should be directed particularly to the education of the younger generation in the education of the masses. The older generation of the revolution should pass down to the younger generation great revolutionary spirit and creative ability. Of course, material wealth should be handed down to the younger generation, but however much material wealth they may inherit, they will misuse

it if they lack revolutionary spirit and creative ability. In those countries where capitalism has revived, many young people took the lead in opposing socialism. This was due to their parties' failure to guide them properly. It is an important duty for socialist ruling parties to educate the younger generation on revolutionary lines so that they firmly defend the socialist system and continue to work for the revolution and accomplish the cause. Historical lesson shows clearly that when the younger generation are not educated in a revolutionary way the revolutionary gains achieved at the cost of blood are lost.

Today in our country the young people are working with devotion to develop socialism further under the leadership of the Party, and all the young people and children are growing up as dependable successors to the revolution. This shows that the leadership of our Party, which has put great efforts into the education of the rising generation, is absolutely correct. But we should not rest content with the successes which have been achieved in the education of the younger generation; we should train them more as revolutionaries of a Juche type.

It is the basic mission of our Party to guarantee its political leadership of the whole society.

The revolutionary working-class party in socialist society is charged with the mission of assuming responsibility for the destiny of the people, forging it and providing independent and creative lives for them. If the party is to fulfil its mission it should ensure its political leadership in politics, the economy, culture, national defence and all other spheres. The party's responsibility

for the destiny of the people is inseparable from its leading position. The revolutionary party's renunciation of its leading position and role is the evasion of its responsibility for the destiny of the people. It is the fundamental direction in the building of a socialist ruling party to enhance its leading position and role so that it can fully ensure its political leadership over the whole society.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung wisely guided our Party to strengthen its position as the political leader of society and enhance its role as such. Our people recognize only the Workers' Party of Korea as their political leader and entrust their destiny entirely to the Party, and they are full of a firm determination to complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under the leadership of the Party.

The leadership of a revolutionary party to the revolution and construction should be political leadership.

First of all, the party should draw up correct policies. The lines and policies of a revolutionary party should accurately reflect the masses' desire for independence and their interests and, to this end, the party should heed their aspirations and demands. Our Party has believed in the masses as its teacher, always mixed with the masses, listened to them and shaped its policies to reflect their demands and interests. As a result, our Party has been able to avoid deviations to right or left in framing its lines and policies, and our Party's policies have commanded the full support of the masses. The party should not only draw up correct policies but also lead its organizations to

carry out its policies thoroughly. An important duty for party organizations at all levels is to organize, control and guide the execution of party policies. When party organizations implement party policies correctly, they can translate them into reality so as to promote the revolution and construction.

The party should give priority to political work in all its activities so as to give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses. It is an intrinsic demand of socialist society to give precedence to political work in all activities. The revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the working people who are masters of the state and society can be brought into full play only by political methods. The capitalist method of motivating people by coercion or money, which is contrary to the intrinsic nature of socialist society, not only cannot give full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability but also results in the degeneration of the socialist system itself. Only the method of giving free rein to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses by giving priority to political work is a revolutionary method of strengthening the socialist system and giving full play to its advantages. By giving precedence to political work in all its activities our Party has been able to promote the revolution and construction dynamically in reliance on the high revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses, and to give full play to the advantages of the socialism of our own style which is centred on the masses.

The embodiment of the revolutionary mass line is

the consistent policy of our Party in its leadership of the revolution and construction.

The revolutionary mass line is a principle of activity, based on the view that the driving force of the revolution and construction is the masses. The fundamental demand of the revolutionary mass line is to ensure that the masses hold the position of masters of the revolution and construction and fulfil their role as such. The revolutionary party which represents the interests of the masses and serves them must make the revolutionary mass line the fundamental principle of its activities and thoroughly implement the revolutionary mass line throughout the whole course of the struggle for socialism.

If the revolutionary mass line is to be implemented thoroughly in the activities of the party, the method and style of work of officials should be improved steadily. The connection between the party and the masses is established by officials, and the masses' support for and trust in the party largely depend on the officials' method and style of work. In socialist society some ill-prepared officials may throw their weight about and act bureaucratically. Essentially, wielding power and acting bureaucratically is a ruling method of the old society for oppressing and exploiting the people. As experience shows, if officials abuse their power and resort to bureaucracy, they will cause the divorce of the party and the masses, and may finally bring the party to ruin. To struggle uncompromisingly against the abuse of power and bureaucracy is important work which the socialist ruling party should not neglect even for a moment.

Since changes of generation take place in the ranks of cadres and the proportion of officials who are not amply tempered in the revolution increases, we have continued to pay great attention to the elimination of outmoded work methods and styles. Under the slogan, “We serve the people!” our Party has guided all our officials to serve the people faithfully and strengthen their kindred relations with the masses. As a result, our officials have established the revolutionary work method and people-oriented work style whereby they defend the interests of the masses, go among them and work in reliance on them, share good time and bad with them, and lead the masses by setting them examples. Our people’s strong support for and faith in our Party is the fruition of its revolutionary mass line that it has implemented thoroughly in its activities, and of its unremitting efforts to ensure that officials establish the revolutionary work method and the people-oriented work style.

We must apply more thoroughly the Juche theory on the building of the Party, whose validity and vitality have been demonstrated fully in practice, and thus constantly strengthen our Party and complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under its leadership.

### **3. THE INTERNATIONALIST UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES**

Strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity with revolutionary parties is an important demand for our Party



in discharging its national and internationalist duties.

The basic task of a revolutionary party is to provide independence for the masses. Their cause for independence is not only national but also the common cause of humanity, and the struggle to realize the independence of the masses in each country is closely related to the struggle to make the whole world independent. An independent world is a world which is free from domination and subjugation and intervention and pressure and in which all countries and nations exercise complete sovereignty as the masters of their destiny. With the promotion of global independence a favourable international climate is created for the independent development of all countries and nations. Meanwhile, victory in the struggle for the independence of the masses in each country reinforces the independent forces of the world and thus accelerates global independence. In league with one another, the imperialists and the reactionary forces of all shades are impeding the fulfilment of the independent cause of the masses, and the internationally united reactionary forces are challenging it. This makes it absolutely necessary for all the revolutionary parties and people aspiring after independence to unite and fight against them.

The people of the world are joining the common struggle because they share the same goal and task of struggling for independence. “People of the world advocating independence, unite!”—this is the slogan to be held up by all the people of our era.

If all the people advocating independence are to unite

and wage a struggle, first of all the internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties, their hard core, should be strengthened.

Strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity in the fulfilment of the cause of independence for the masses is an important factor in its triumph. The struggle for the victory of this cause is now going through an ordeal. But if they strengthen their solidarity with one another, unite in a comradely manner and fight on, the revolutionary parties of the world will be able to check and frustrate the counterrevolutionary offensive by the imperialists and reactionaries who are opposed to independence, and to pave the way to victory.

The internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties should be realized on the basis of the socialist ideal. A revolutionary party that is devoid of the socialist ideal is inconceivable and unity and solidarity between the parties that are not based on the socialist idea cannot be called genuinely revolutionary unity and solidarity. The aim of strengthening the internationalist unity and solidarity is not self-serving; it is to achieve in a combined effort the common cause of socialism. It is a bounden duty for revolutionary parties to unite firmly on the basis of the socialist idea.

The Pyongyang Declaration reflects a firm determination to defend and promote the cause of socialism. Its publication is of epochal significance in strengthening the internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties and in promoting the socialist cause.

The Pyongyang Declaration has affirmed that socialism

is the ideal of mankind and that socialist society is a society which represents the future of mankind and a genuine society for the people. Although the socialist idea is the ideology of the working class, it does not represent the interests of one class alone; it is a universal idea for humanity which reflects the social nature of human beings. Socialism is not only an idea for class emancipation but also an idea for national and human liberation which reflects the desire for independence of all nations and the whole of humanity. Only when they advance along the road of socialism where the masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them, can all the people lead a free, equitable and dignified life that is suited to the independent nature of human beings and can all countries and nations free themselves from domination and subjugation, achieve independent development and ensure lasting peace and security in the world, thus guaranteeing the survival and progress of humanity.

By confirming the veracity and validity of the cause of socialism and the inevitability of its final victory, the Pyongyang Declaration is infusing the revolutionary people of the world who aspire after independence with confidence in victory and a revolutionary fighting spirit, while representing a serious setback for the imperialists and reactionaries who are waging a frantic anti-socialist campaign, talking about the “end” of socialism.

The fact that well over a hundred parties have signed the Pyongyang Declaration and that the revolutionary people around the world are responding to it proves irrefutably that the socialist idea contained in the

Pyongyang Declaration reflects the desires and aspirations of progressive humanity. The revolutionary parties will be able to strengthen their internationalist unity and solidarity based on the common idea and dynamically promote the cause of socialism when they wage a struggle with the Pyongyang Declaration as their common fighting programme.

The internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties must be achieved on the basis of independence. There is no need to establish an international centre of leadership since each country is conducting the revolution under different circumstances and conditions and the party of each country is acting independently. The revolutionary parties will achieve genuinely internationalist unity only when they establish a comradely relationship on the basis of independence and equality instead of a relationship in which one is higher and the other lower and one dictates and the other is dictated to. It is impermissible in their relationship for revolutionary parties to interfere in the affairs of others and to force their opinions on the others, contrary to the principles of independence and internationalism.

An urgent, common task facing the revolutionary parties at present is to defend socialism from the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The imperialists and reactionaries are now engaged in vicious manoeuvres against socialism, but they are destined to be a failure. The revolutionary parties and people the world over are turning out in a new struggle,

overcoming the temporary confusion. It is inevitable for the masses of the people to fight against a force if it represses their independence, and the cause of socialism emerges victorious through this struggle. This is a law governing historical development. The imperialists are now behaving arrogantly, but they are in a serious crisis. As the monopolies grow, the reactionary, anti-popular character of modern imperialism becomes more evident and the discontent of the working people with the corrupt and ailing capitalist society grows as the days go by. The desire to build an independent, new world under the ideal of independence, peace and friendship is becoming more intense among the progressive people of the world. Although socialism is undergoing an ordeal, these people can change a disadvantageous situation into a favourable one and turn misfortune into a blessing, if they counter the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries with a revolutionary offensive, full of confidence in victory.

Now that the imperialists and reactionaries are concentrating the spearhead of their attack on the socialist countries which are faithful to revolutionary principles, it is very important for all the revolutionary parties and people to unite and strengthen their internationalist support for and solidarity with the socialist countries. Frustrating the criminal manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate, blockade and invade the socialist countries is a common, urgent task for the revolutionary parties and people in their struggle to safeguard socialism.

The imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to

every manner of trickery to prevent socialism from reviving in the former socialist countries. This is a scheme to bring the people of these countries under the yoke of domination and subjugation for ever. A catastrophic crisis has been created in the countries where capitalism has revived owing to the criminal moves of the imperialists and reactionaries. The crisis these countries are now faced with is not a crisis of socialism but a crisis of revived capitalism, and it shows the irrelevance of the idea of bourgeois revival. The resurgence of socialism is the only way out of the political, economic, ideological and moral confusion and crisis which are becoming more serious with every passing day in the countries where capitalism has revived.

The imperialists are resorting to every conceivable heinous plot to hold in check the advance towards socialism of the people of those countries which were subjected to national oppression and exploitation in the past and which have now embarked on the building of a new society. This is aimed at preventing them from taking the road to independence. Fighting against the imperialists' moves for trampling down their rights to independence and for strengthening neo-colonial exploitation and plunder of them is an important link in the whole chain of the common struggle for socialism.

In the developed capitalist countries, bipolarization, the rich getting ever richer and the poor ever poorer, is intensifying and confrontation is growing, with the social evil becoming more serious owing to the strengthening of monopolies. Accordingly, the oppressed working masses

are turning out in the struggle, lifting up their voices calling for the rights to existence, democracy and independence.

The victorious advance of the common cause of socialism will be further accelerated when the revolutionary parties and peoples give active support and encouragement to those parties and peoples that are waging an undaunted struggle for socialism under various circumstances and conditions.

It is an important task for the revolutionary parties to form a united front with the democratic political parties and organizations in the struggle to accomplish the cause of socialism. In the implementation of the socialist cause of opposing exploitation and oppression and realizing the independence of the masses, the revolutionary parties and democratic parties and organizations share similar demands and interests. The socialist cause will be promoted if the revolutionary parties strengthen their unity with all the democratic parties and organizations and cooperate with them actively on the principle of mutual respect in the joint struggle for the independence of the masses in opposition to exploitation and oppression.

If the independence of the masses is to be realized, a dynamic anti-imperialist struggle should be launched. ... Taking advantage of the destruction of the balance of power in the international arena, the modern imperialists are scheming more viciously than ever before to realize world domination by use of force. Without a struggle against imperialism, it is impossible to realize the aspirations to and desire for independence of the progressive peoples of

the world who are opposed to domination and subjugation and aggression and war. Struggling against imperialist domination and subjugation and aggression and war is a natural demand of the cause for independence of the masses, and compromising with the imperialist policy of domination is the betrayal of their cause of independence. To maintain a principled stand against imperialism is the bounden duty of revolutionary parties. The revolutionary parties and progressive forces will be able to check and frustrate the imperialists' moves for aggression and war if they regard the struggle against imperialism as their common duty and fight resolutely against it.

The driving force of the struggle to make the whole world independent is the combined anti-imperialist, independent forces. The anti-imperialist, independent forces must unite so as to put an end to domination and subordination and interference and pressure by the imperialists, to establish a fair international order based on independence, to eliminate aggression and war and to ensure world peace and security. The imperialists are using all sorts of crafty manoeuvres to divide the anti-imperialist, independent forces and set them at variance with one another. The anti-imperialist, independent forces can frustrate the imperialists' manoeuvres for division and alienation and emerge victorious only when they counter their schemes with the strategy of unity. The anti-imperialist, independent forces can unite, transcending differences in social systems, political views, ideas and religious beliefs, nations and races because they have a common desire for independence, peace and friendship.



Should all the anti-imperialist, independent forces, including the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movements, the national-liberation movement, the Non-aligned Movement and the world peace movement, unite in the struggle they can put an end to imperialist domination and interference and build an independent, new world.

The cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses is a sacred one for making the ideal of humanity the reality. To unite and struggle for the victory of the cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses is the revolutionary parties' honourable duty to history and their people. The current complex and difficult situation makes it necessary for the revolutionary parties to fight resolutely in firm unity, filled with a conviction in victory and an indefatigable revolutionary spirit.

Our Party will, as ever, unite firmly and cooperate actively with the revolutionary parties across the world for the victory of the cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses, and will discharge its noble mission and responsibility for the Korean revolution and the world revolution.

# **THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA IS THE PARTY OF THE GREAT LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG**

*October 2, 1995*

Fifty years has elapsed since our Party was founded.

Greeting the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, and looking back with deep emotions upon the glorious road of struggle our Party has traversed, scoring a historic victory and effecting the greatest change by acclaiming the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung as its head and under his leadership, our Party members and our people express the warmest gratitude and pay the highest respect to the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, who founded and led the Party.

Under Comrade Kim Il Sung's wise leadership, the Workers' Party of Korea was established as a working-class party of a new type and has developed in the flames of struggle for half a century into a trained and seasoned veteran revolutionary party, an unconquerable party enjoying the unqualified support and trust of the people. Under his leadership, our Party created a brilliant new history in the people's cause of independence, the cause of socialism, and made great, imperishable achievements in this cause.

The history of the Workers' Party of Korea is precisely the history of the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung's great revolutionary activities. Both the thorny path of our Party's struggle and its road of glorious victory bear his sacred footprints. Both our Party's great achievements and its unbreakable strength and high prestige are associated with his respectful name.

The Workers' Party of Korea belongs to the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. It is his great name and exploits that have made our Party's 50 years brilliant. His name and exploits will be immortal together with our Party's history.

The Workers' Party of Korea is a glorious party, which under the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has paved a new road of building a revolutionary party in the age of independence, setting a shining example in this work.

Regarding party building as a fundamental question in the revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung made strenuous efforts from the early years of his revolutionary activity to found the party that would lead our revolution. With an unshakeable belief that the masses of the people are the motive force of the revolution, he waged the revolutionary struggle by organizing these masses. He also did the work of founding the party, beginning with the laying of its basis in the grassroots, by going to the masses of the people to train true communists from among them and forming grassroots Party organizations.

The organizational and ideological bases for founding our Party were laid and consolidated in the crucible of the

20-year-long arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung. The ranks of communist hard core were trained and toughened, true unity and cohesion were achieved in the revolutionary ranks centring on the leader, and the mass basis for the communist movement was solidly laid, through all manner of hardships in the do-or-die struggle.

In the course of organizing and leading the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to victory, Comrade Kim Il Sung created glorious revolutionary traditions, the lasting cornerstone of our Party and revolution.

Thanks to the solid organizational and ideological bases for founding the party and the glorious revolutionary traditions, which were prepared during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, our Party was founded opportunely even in the complex circumstances after liberation. It has been able to fulfil its mission successfully as the political General Staff that guides the building of a new country ever since its founding.

The establishment of the Workers' Party of Korea enabled our people to shape their destiny successfully under the guidance of their reliable vanguard, their fighting General Staff. Its establishment unfolded a new history of the revolutionary party in the era of independence.

After founding the Party in an original manner, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave wise leadership to the work of party building and developed it into a great revolutionary party.

The history of our Party building is the history of

brilliantly implementing the Juche idea and translating into reality the idea and theory of building the Party on the basis of the Juche idea under Comrade Kim Il Sung's leadership.

Our Party is a Juche-type revolutionary party, built and strengthened, guided by the Juche idea.

The guiding ideology of a party defines its character, its aim of struggle and the basic direction of its development and activities, and decides its fighting efficiency and strength. Only a party guided by a great ideology can be a great party.

It is the most brilliant achievement of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung that he created the immortal Juche idea and thus showed the masses of the people a correct way to shape their destiny independently and that he built a new, revolutionary party, guided by the Juche idea, for the first time in the history of the communist movement.

The Juche idea is a new scientific world outlook that correctly reflects the masses' desire for independence and the requirements of the times. It is a great idea that has brought about a historic change in the development of the revolutionary idea of the working class. The Juche idea is the ideological and theoretical basis of our Party building as well as the only guide to the revolution and construction. Our Party has been guided consistently by the Juche idea in its building and activities. Therefore, it has become a powerful revolutionary party with a most durable foundation, a great, authoritative party capable of leading the revolution and construction triumphantly. The building of our Party is characterized basically by the

fact that it has built itself and conducted its activities, guided by the Juche idea.

Based on the great Juche idea and the rich experiences in his leadership of the revolutionary struggle at different stages, Comrade Kim Il Sung newly elucidated the fundamentals and basic principles of building a working-class party and the ways to implement them, and fully systematized the Juche-oriented idea and theory of party building.

This idea and theory are, in a nutshell, the people-centred idea and theory of party building on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Juche idea. Solving all problems in party building and activity by centring on people and through work with people is the essence of this idea and theory. The solidity and strength of the party and all the success in party building depend on how the cadres and other members of the party are educated and bound together organizationally and ideologically and how the masses, the socio-class basis of the party, rally behind the party. Work with people is the basis of party building, the essence of party work and the mode of activity proper to the working-class party which regards ideology as a weapon. Only when it lays the primary emphasis on work with people, can the working-class party build up its ranks firmly, strengthen its mass foundation and lead the revolution and construction successfully.

The Juche-oriented idea and theory of party building shed fresh light on the fundamental principles of building the working-class party, based on the principles of the

driving force of revolution. This force is an integral whole of the leader, the party and the masses. Only under the guidance of the party and the leader can the people hold their position as the driving force of the revolution and play their role satisfactorily. In the driving force of revolution, the leader is the top brain and the centre of unity, and the party is a political organization that materializes the leader's idea and guidance. The party as a political leadership body is inconceivable apart from the leader's idea and guidance. Separated from the masses, the party cannot lead the revolution and construction to victory. The unbreakable unity of the leader, the party and the masses centring on the leader constitutes the solidest and most powerful revolutionary force, as well as a great motive force of the revolution and construction. Therefore, the working-class party must be built up into the leader's party, the political organization which realizes the leader's idea and guidance, and must achieve inseparable unity with the masses. This is a basic requirement for the existence and development of the working-class party and a fundamental principle that must be constantly maintained and carried forward in party building.

Comrade Kim Il Sung's idea and theory on party building expound the absolutely scientific and revolutionary principles, basic rules and ways which the working-class party must implement thoroughly in its building and activity; therefore, they have become a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon with which to consolidate our Party organizationally and ideologically,

strengthen the unbreakable ties between the Party and the masses and steadily enhance the leadership role of the Party.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung built our Party into a revolutionary party with a firmly established monolithic ideological system.

The monolithic ideological system of the party is the leader's ideological system and his leadership system. Establishing the monolithic ideological system is the basic way to build the party as the leader's party. Only when the monolith of ideology and leadership is ensured through the establishment of the leader's ideological system and his leadership system is it possible to achieve the ideological unity and organizational cohesion of party ranks and make the party play its role satisfactorily as a political leadership body. The working-class party must be an ideological purity and organizational integrity, the entire party being dyed in its leader's ideas and moving as one under his unified leadership.

Our Party's struggle to establish the monolithic ideological system has been a struggle to equip Party members thoroughly with the leader's ideas and unite them firmly behind the leader in ideology and purpose; at the same time, it has been a struggle to overcome the heterogeneous ideas and factional elements which conflict with the leader's idea and guidance and disturb unity and cohesion. Under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party has steadily intensified ideological education to equip all the Party members with the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of the Party, and has conducted



a powerful ideological struggle against flunkeyism, dogmatism, revisionism, factionalism and other unsound ideas, as well as factional elements. As a result, it eradicated factionalism, which had greatly harmed our revolution through history, and prevented modern revisionism and all other opportunist trends from infiltrating into our ranks. That our Party overcame factionalism and flunkeyism in the Korean communist movement and prevented the infiltration of any opportunism, including modern revisionism, was the historic victory achieved in the struggle to ensure the unity and cohesion of Party ranks and its purity and establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

Through the struggle to establish the monolithic ideological system, the unity and cohesion of our Party developed into the unity of the entire Party in ideology and purpose, reinforced by morality and loyalty, based on the leader's idea and centring on the leader. Today all our Party members are armed solidly with the monolithic ideology of our Party, the revolutionary idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung; they know no other ideas but his revolutionary idea. They resolutely defend and carry out the lines and policies of the Party, cherishing loyalty to the Party and the leader as their revolutionary faith and obligation. That all Party members are united rock-solid behind the leader with one idea and faith and with comradely love and revolutionary loyalty underlies the solidity and unbreakability of the unity and cohesion of our Party.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung built our party

into a militant party with a strong sense of organization and discipline.

This sense of organization and discipline is the intrinsic requirement of the socialist, communist movement based on collectivism, as well as the basic guarantee for the fighting efficiency of the revolutionary and militant party. The monolith of ideology and leadership is ensured by organization and discipline, and apart from them there can be no unity or cohesion. A working-class party with no organization or discipline will not only be unable to lead the revolution, but will itself be reduced to a lethargic, nominal existence.

By correctly embodying the principle of democratic centralism in Party building and its activity, Comrade Kim Il Sung firmly established the monolithic system of leadership and a revolutionary and voluntary discipline within it. For our Party the principle of democratic centralism is its organizational principle, whereby democracy is brought into fully play on the basis of firmly establishing centralized discipline. Centralism is revolutionary discipline and order according to which the entire Party acts as one under the monolithic leadership of the leader. Without this, neither the unity of the Party nor concerted action can be ensured. Democracy means formulating the Party's line and policy by incorporating the will of its members and giving full play to their voluntary enthusiasm and creativity in the struggle to implement them. When centralized discipline is weakened and unprincipled "democracy" is tolerated, disorder is created in the Party, and the Party will be torn asunder.

As a result of the correct application of the principle of democratic centralism in our Party, the guidance of the leader is effected smoothly from the Party centre down to the lowest echelon and a revolutionary tone has been firmly established: All Party organizations and Party members accept the Party's line and policy as their own and implement them to the letter by displaying a high degree of enthusiasm and creativity.

Enhancing the function and role of party organizations and intensifying the party life of the members is a major factor in improving organization and discipline in the party. By strengthening all its organizations and enhancing their function and role in every possible way, our Party has ensured that they carry out their activity strictly in accordance with its organizational principle and the system of its work, and always work vigorously full of vitality. At the same time, it has channelled great effort into intensifying the Party life of its members. Party members are linked with the leader through the Party organization and accept the leader's ideas and guidance and draw the breath of the Party through Party organizational and ideological life. Party life is a revolutionary school that arms Party members with the leader's ideas, tempers their Party spirit and fosters the sense of organization and discipline. The unity of the ideology and action of millions of Party members is inconceivable apart from Party life. A well-organized system of Party life and a revolutionary tone of Party life have now been firmly established in our Party; all members belong to a particular Party organization,

regularly leading their life in accordance with the unitary norms of Party life and taking part in it of their own accord as the masters. As a result, the Party life of the members has been put on a regular basis and has become a part of their daily life, and the organization and discipline of the Party have been strengthened markedly. Thus our Party has become a most highly organized and disciplined party; all the Party members breathe and act as one, based on a high degree of awareness and consciousness; the Party thus fully displays its might as a militant organization.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung built our Party into a mass party firmly rooted in the broad sections of the population.

A working-class party can be invincible only when it welds itself to the masses and enjoys the active support of the wide sections of the population. As a matter of principle, the demand of the working class represents the fundamental interests of the working masses, and the historic mission of the working class is to achieve social emancipation, not only for itself, but for all toiling people. Ours is an era of independence, in which the masses of the people have emerged as the masters of history; the cause of the masses for independence can advance victoriously only through the energetic struggle of the working class and other broad strata of the people.

By correctly reflecting the fundamental interests of the working class and other toiling masses, as well as the demand of the era of independence, and proceeding from the specific situation in our country, the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung set the line of building a mass party

of the working people comprising workers, peasants and working intellectuals, and put this line into effect with success. The flag of our Party, inscribed with a hammer, sickle and brush, is a graphic symbol of a revolutionary party in the era of independence, the first of its kind in history. It is the banner of unity and victory of the masses of the people, who are independently shaping their destiny.

In accordance with the line of building a mass party, our Party enlisted into itself many progressive elements from among workers, peasants and working intellectuals, and properly combined the quantitative growth and qualitative consolidation of its ranks. Thus it continually expanded and strengthened itself, while firmly maintaining its working-class and revolutionary character. Our Party was built as a mass party and the mass line was fully implemented in its activity. As a result, it has grown in strength and developed into a party that defends and represents the interests of the working masses and their demand for independence. It has become a revolutionary party of the working class rooted among the broad sections of the masses and inseparably united with them.

The validity and vitality of our Party's line on building itself into a mass party were verified more clearly as the building of socialism developed in depth. The process of building socialism is the process of transforming all members of society on the pattern of the working class, the process of assimilating all society to the working class. The line of building a mass party fully conforms to the law that governs the building of socialism. By

implementing the line of building a mass party, our Party was able to maintain its working-class character and at the same time continually increase its ranks, strengthen its mass foundation and accelerate the process of assimilating the whole of society to the working class.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung built our Party in a far-sighted way to carry on its cause down through the generations.

The masses' cause of independence is the cause of the leader, the cause of the party. It is a historic cause that is carried on through many generations. It is only when the working-class party firmly carries forward the ideas and guidance of the leader down through generations that it can invariably maintain its revolutionary character and appearance as a leading political organization and carry out its honourable mission. If a party is to correctly carry forward the ideas and guidance of the leader, it must fully ensure the continuity of its own development. Otherwise, the line of the revolution discontinues, and renegades from the revolution appear to ruin the cause of the leader, the cause of the party. This is a serious lesson of history.

The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung not only founded our Party and developed it to be an invincible one, but, with his extraordinary far-sightedness of many years' standing, laid a solid foundation for a brilliant continuation and accomplishment of the cause of the Party. Looking into the distant future, Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified the way to be followed by our Party and our revolution, laid firm organizational and ideological bases for the Party and established the leadership system for the continuation and

accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The ideas and leadership of the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung are an unshakeable inheritance of our Party. Today, as a revolutionary party with high prestige and indestructible might, our Party enjoys full support and trust from the people and is confidently leading the revolution and construction.

The working-class party is the weapon for the revolution. The foundation of the party and its organizational and ideological strength are aimed at realizing the masses' cause of independence.

In the past 50 years since its founding, our Party has led the masses of the people, winning a great victory in the revolution and construction and gaining rich and valuable experience.

Since national liberation through a bloody revolutionary war against the Japanese, our revolution has advanced through an unprecedentedly complex situation and an arduous struggle. The division of the country by foreign forces, the Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the allied forces of imperialism, the ceaseless manoeuvres for aggression and sabotage by imperialism, the turbulent international situation and the collapse of socialism in several countries, and the subsequent intensification of anti-socialist, anti-DPRK machinations by imperialists and reactionaries—in the face of all these events, we carried out the two stages of social revolution successfully, reconstructed the country twice, built a form of socialism centred on the masses, and added lustre to our socialism while defending staunchly the sovereignty

of the country and the achievements of the revolution. The revolution and construction have been promoted with vigour in spite of innumerable difficulties and hardships, bringing about great changes in the life of the country and its people.

Our socialism defends and ensures the independence for the masses and satisfies their demand for independence to the full. All the members of society exercise equal rights to independence in political, economic and cultural lives, and enjoy valuable and worthwhile lives free from all manner of social unrest and worry. Our society is a most stable and durable one, in which all the people are united single-heartedly around the Party and leader, forming one great, harmonious family. Our entire society is overflowing with health and vitality and is full of revolutionary mettle. The communist morality, now being displayed to a high degree among our people, of devoting oneself to society and the collective, and of helping and leading one another forward in a comradely way demonstrates the advantages and might of the socialist system in our country and graphically shows the ennobling ideological and spiritual traits of our people.

Under the leadership of the Party, our people have traversed the road of victory, braving the difficulties and obstacles in their way, and are working energetically for fresh victory, full of confidence in and optimism for the future. Even in the present complicated situation, our socialism continues to win one victory after another without vacillation, and our socialist motherland is demonstrating its dignity and honour far and wide.



The imperialists and reactionaries have often resorted to various machinations to check the advance of our Party and people, and to stifle our socialism, but they have failed in every attempt.

The practical experience of our revolution patently proves that the people, who are untied as one under the leadership of their great leader and the great Party and fighting for their just cause, are unconquerable, and that the present age is a new, historic age, the age of independence, when the masses of the people have emerged as masters of their own destiny. Guided by our Party, our people have paved a new path to accomplishing the masses' cause of independence, the path to genuine socialism, and built and developed a socialism centred on the masses of the people, thus dealing decisive blows at reactionary propaganda that vilifies socialism, and confirming in practice the scientific and genuine nature of socialism, its advantages and its invincibility.

For our Party, which is entrusted with the responsibility for the destiny of the country and nation, national reunification has been the supreme task since the first day of its founding. Our Party has consistently followed the policy of national reunification, a policy based on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Reflecting the aspiration for reunification of the whole nation in the north, south and abroad, it put forward the most reasonable, fair and realistic proposal of reunifying the country through federation, and is now striving for its implementation. It is also making every effort to realize the great unity of

the nation under the banner of national reunification. Our Party's policy of national reunification is truly patriotic and it enjoys the unanimous support and approval of the whole nation. Thanks to the impeccable policy and consistent effort of our Party for national reunification, the national aspiration for reunification has mounted higher as never before and the national unity of all compatriots in the north, south and abroad has grown stronger. The ever-growing reunification force of our nation will defeat the divisive forces at home and abroad and realize the cause of national reunification without fail.

Our Party has led the masses' cause of independence to brilliant victory, making great achievements along the way, because it has applied Juche principles and methods of leadership in the revolution and construction in a thoroughgoing way.

In leading the revolution and construction, our Party has always safeguarded the demands and interests of the masses, relied on them and carried out its fight by forming an integral whole with them.

That the masses of the people are the masters of the revolution and construction and that they have the power to promote them—this is the fundamental principle of the revolution, as elucidated by the Juche idea. The policy that defends and realizes the masses' demands for independence and their interests is the most revolutionary and scientific, and relying on the masses of the people and giving full play to their strength and wisdom is the basic demand of revolutionary leadership. If one believes in the people and relies on them, one will always emerge

victorious; and if one is divorced from them and is forsaken by them, one will always fail—this is the concept of “The people are my God,” the motto of the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung, and this has become the basic starting point and supreme principle in all the activities of our Party.

The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung was the great leader of the people and their father. His ideology, leadership and virtue were based on love for, and trust in, the people. All his life he was among the people, shared joy and sorrow with them and devoted his all to them. He placed deep trust in the strength, wisdom and excellent qualities of our people and solved all problems by relying on them and by giving rein to their revolutionary zeal and creative force.

Our Party has fully applied in all its activities the noble idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung, “The people are my God,” and his revolutionary method of leadership. It has always formulated its lines and policies by reflecting truthfully and incorporating the opinions and requirements of the masses, and implemented them by enlisting their efforts and resourcefulness. It has given definite priority to ideological work, namely, the political work of awakening the masses of the people ideologically and rallying them organizationally, over all other undertakings; it has also worked tirelessly to oppose abuse of authority and bureaucratism and establish a revolutionary method and people-oriented style of work among officials. The iron rule in the activities of our Party and in the work of our officials is to go among the people, breathe the same air

with them, work devotedly for them and execute revolutionary tasks by relying on them under the Party's slogan "We serve the people!" Our Party is a motherly party, which takes care of the destiny of the masses of the people under its charge, and its politics is a benevolent one in that it is the politics of love for the people and trust in them.

Because of their genuine comradeship and their inseparable relationship, in which the Party and leader trust and love the people and the people place unqualified trust in them and support them with loyalty, the single-hearted unity of the leader, Party and masses has been strengthened and developed and the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative force of the masses have been fully displayed on a high plane. Relying on the masses of the people and welding itself to them in the struggle—this is the secret of how our Party has been able to promote the revolution and construction with vigour in such complicated circumstances and trying ordeals, and has won victory after victory by turning misfortune into a blessing and unfavourable conditions into favourable ones.

In leading the revolution and construction, our Party has established Juche with all consistency and firmly adhered to the line of independence.

Independence is man's intrinsic desire and the lifeblood of a country and nation. The revolution and construction are conducted with a country and nation as a unit, and they are the very struggle against all manner of domination and subjugation. They are for the independence of the country and nation, the independence of the masses. The

Party and people of each country must become masters of the revolution and construction in their country and wage them independently and creatively. It is only when the working-class party establishes Juche firmly and strictly adheres to the line of independence that it can defend the dignity of the country and nation, ensure their independent development and lead the masses' cause of independence to victory. Owing to the circumstances in which our country found itself and the historical characteristics of our revolution, establishing Juche was presented as an all the more pressing and important task to our Party.

From the first days of his revolutionary activity, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung blazed the trail of independent development of the Korean revolution, holding aloft the banner of independence. He made it a fundamental principle to establish Juche and maintain independence in the revolution and construction, then led the effort to implement it. The line of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in defence, as advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung, is a revolutionary line of independence run through with the principle of Juche and the spirit of independence. Our Party has staunchly safeguarded this line and implemented it to the letter.

Our Party has solved all problems arising in the revolution and construction, as dictated by its ideology and faith, on its own responsibility and on the principle of self-reliance, doing things in our own way to suit our situation and the interests of our revolution. It has been opposed totally to the worship of big powers, dogmatism and all

other ideas of relying on foreign forces, and rejected categorically any pressure and interference from outside. Free from established theories and formulas, it has analysed and judged everything solely from the point of view of the interests of the revolution and hewed out the road of the complicated and arduous Korean revolution by its own efforts, as dictated by its faith and determination. By conducting energetically among its members and the working people an education in Party's policies, revolutionary traditions and socialist patriotism, with an emphasis on the education in the Juche idea, it has imbued them with the revolutionary ideology, lines and policies of their Party, instilled in them high national dignity and pride and given full play to their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and the revolutionary tone of living our own way.

Since they strictly adhered to the Juche stand and the line of independence, our Party and people have not vacillated in the raging wind of modern revisionism and all other opportunist trends, and in the trying situation in which socialism collapsed in several countries, and they have been able to defend and add lustre to our own style of socialism. Our political and ideological strength, the powerful socialist independent economy and the unconquerable self-reliant military power, which our Party and people have consolidated rock-solid through the implementation of the revolutionary line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence, are the sure guarantee for defending the sovereignty of the country and the achievements of the revolution, advancing the

revolution and construction victoriously and thwarting the aggression and interference of imperialism and dominationism. The fact shows that the political and diplomatic pressure of imperialism, its attempts to disintegrate us ideologically and culturally, its economic blockade and military threat—none of these are able to infringe upon the sovereignty of our country, nor can they demolish or suffocate our socialism.

The independence of a country and nation is the basis for fair international relations, and an independent foreign policy is the justest and most principled foreign policy. All countries and nations, whether they are large or small, developed or less developed, have the rights to independence and equality as equal members of the international society. When they all maintain independence and respect each other's independence, they can develop fair international relations and build a truly peaceful and friendly new world where independence prevails. By following a foreign policy based on the ideals of independence, peace and friendship, our Party and Government have developed the relations of friendship and cooperation with many countries in the world, consolidated the country's international position, strengthened international solidarity with our revolution and rendered an active contribution to the cause of independence throughout the world.

The Juche stand and independent line, consistently maintained by our Party in the revolution and construction, have clearly demonstrated their correctness and great vitality in practice.

Our Party has resolutely adhered to its revolutionary principle and invariably implemented the revolutionary line and policy in leading the revolution and construction.

Consistently adhering to the revolutionary principle in accomplishing the masses' cause of independence, the socialist cause, is an important question affecting the destiny of the revolution. Maintaining the revolutionary principle means defending the fundamental interests of the revolution and leading it to victory without any deviation, whereas falling back from the revolutionary principle means betraying the fundamental interests of the revolution and leading it to failure. The history of the revolutionary movement shows that if one retreats even a single step from the revolutionary principle, one will retreat two steps, and once this happens, one will go back ten steps, and thus will eventually make a mess of the revolution. Opportunism of all hues is characterized by a lack of revolutionary principle and by inconsistency in line and policy. The revolutionary principle in carrying out the socialist cause is guaranteed by the working-class party's loyalty to and faith in the socialist cause as well as by its will to carry this cause to completion.

The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung was a great communist revolutionary and a genius of the revolution and construction. With unshakeable revolutionary faith and steel-like revolutionary will, he led our arduous and tortuous revolution along the straight road to victory, with unfailing loyalty to the masses' cause of independence, the socialist cause of Juche. Comrade Kim Il Sung led our Party and people by setting a brilliant example of the art of



leadership. He defended the revolutionary principle under all circumstances and conditions, and skilfully combined principle and adroitness in the revolution and construction.

Proceeding from the fundamental interests of the revolution, our Party has always adhered to the principle of independence and to the principles of the working class and socialism in the revolution and construction, and thoroughly carried out the revolutionary line with consistency. Our Party accelerated the revolution and construction with continuous creative efforts and innovation to meet the demands of the developing reality. While dealing with the rapidly changing situation actively and shrewdly, it has never taken a single step back from the fundamental interests and principles of the revolution and firmly maintained the revolutionary principle and line. Highly creative attitude and adroitness based on the revolutionary principle and consistency in its line and policy—these are the important principles and art of leadership our Party adheres to in the revolution and construction, as well as being the characteristics of our Party's revolutionary line and policy.

Throughout its leadership of the revolution and construction, our Party has never deviated from the revolutionary principle, never allowed itself to be swayed to right or left without principle, and never made a mistake in its line. Thanks to our Party's revolutionary principle and the consistency of its line and policy, our revolution has been able to advance victoriously along the road to socialism with no twists and deviations, even in the most arduous conditions. And also our own style of socialism,

centred on the masses of the people, has become a firm conviction of our people and taken root deeper in the people's life. Our people place unqualified trust in our Party, the Party that has confidently led the revolution and construction. They entrust their destiny entirely to it and are fighting indomitably to complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under the leadership of the Party.

Our Party's great exploits and precious experience in party building and party activity, as well as in the revolution and construction, are the brilliant fruition of the revolutionary idea and revolutionary leadership of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. They are the eternal treasures of our revolution, which we must defend, inherit and develop through generations to come.

Our revolution has emerged victorious under the leadership of our Party, and in future, too, it will advance in triumph and will be carried forward to brilliant completion under its leadership.

We still have a long way to go, and our revolution is beset with as many hardships and trials as ever. No matter how long and thorny the road ahead for our revolution, pioneered and led by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, we must steadily follow this way in accordance with the behest of Comrade Kim Il Sung. This is the unshakeable faith and will of our Party.

We must safeguard the people-centred socialism of our own style, established by the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung, bring honour to it and complete the socialist cause of Juche. We must unfailingly achieve national reunification, the vital demand of the entire nation, on the

principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity set forth by Comrade Kim Il Sung. Upholding the lofty will of Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party must strengthen solidarity with the progressive people of the world and work hard to realize the cause of independence for mankind.

In order to carry forward the sacred cause of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the revolutionary cause of Juche, from generation to generation, we must further consolidate our Party, which organizes and guides all the victories of our people.

We must hold in high esteem the beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung as the eternal leader of our Party and revolution, and develop our Party as the glorious party of Comrade Kim Il Sung for ever.

We must defend his great ideas, theories and revolutionary methods of leadership, and thoroughly apply them in Party building and activities. We must do all the work of the revolution and construction just as Comrade Kim Il Sung planned and intended and showed in his personal example, and we must conduct everything in the same way as Comrade Kim Il Sung. This is the way to develop our Party as the party of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the way to brilliantly inherit and complete the revolutionary cause of Juche.

We must resolutely safeguard the revolutionary idea of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and thoroughly put it into effect.

The revolutionary idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Juche idea, is the sole guiding ideology of our Party and

the banner of victory for our Party and revolution. It would be impossible to speak about the party of Comrade Kim Il Sung or to think of the victory of the Party's cause separately from his revolutionary idea.

Holding high the banner of modelling the entire Party on the Juche idea, we must further strengthen education in the Juche idea, so that the Party is imbued with only one ideology, the Juche idea, and make the whole Party breathe and pulsate with the Juche idea. We must train all Party members to be communist revolutionaries of the Juche type, firmly equipped with the Juche-oriented revolutionary outlook on the world, and think and act at all times as demanded by the Juche idea.

We must defend the purity of the Juche idea and ceaselessly develop it in depth. Degeneration of ideology brings about degeneration of the Party; it leads the revolution and construction to ruin. Adherence to the purity of the Juche idea means keeping our Party's revolutionary character and defending the Party's cause. We must ceaselessly fight against the infiltration of bourgeois reactionary ideas, revisionism and all other ideological trends of opportunism so as to prevent the heterogeneous ideological trends from getting even the slightest chance of gaining ground and growing in our ranks. While defending the revolutionary essence and purity of the Juche idea, we must add lustre to its greatness and develop and enrich it as required by the times and the developing realities.

True to the Party's slogan "Let us meet the requirements of Juche in ideology, technology and culture!" we must deal with all work of the revolution and construction as

required by the Juche idea. We must thoroughly implement the Juche idea in building the Party, the army, the economy and culture, to further strengthen the political, economic and military power of the country, bring about development and the flowering of socialist national culture, and fully display the advantages of our own style of socialism centred on the masses of the people.

We must staunchly defend and cherish the unity and solidarity of our Party created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, and cement this cohesion more solidly.

The unity and cohesion in party ranks means its lifeblood and strength. Our Party's unity and cohesion is the purest and most durable, based on the monolithic ideological system, and a guarantee for the indestructible might of our Party.

We must consistently hold fast to the work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system as the basic line of Party building, and defend and strengthen further the unity and cohesion of our Party, which is firmly united in ideology and will as well as in morality and loyalty based on one ideology and one centre. All the cadres and Party members must make loyalty to the Party their faith, conscience, morality and the creed of their lives, and follow the Party's leadership, firmly united in mind and will.

We must oppose all kinds of unsound elements detrimental to the Party's unity and cohesion and ensure the purity of Party ranks. Our Party's unity and cohesion has reached a high level, but we must not rest content. The unity and cohesion of the Party can be maintained and

consolidated only through constant ideological education and ideological struggle. We must not tolerate nepotism, parochialism, factionalism and other elements that undermine and hamper the Party's unity and cohesion. We must overcome them promptly so that the Party is always permeated with the spirit of unity, the atmosphere of unity.

We must thoroughly put into effect the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's idea, "The people are my God," so as to further cement the inseparable ties between the Party and the people and ceaselessly strengthen and develop the single-hearted unity of society.

Our Party exists for the people and regards it as its duty to fight to meet the interests of the people and their desire for independence. Taking loving care of the people, serving them and forming a harmonious whole with them—these are the intrinsic nature and basic characteristics of the party of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Our people are a great revolutionary people, who were brought up by the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung and who braved the tempest of the revolution under his leadership; they are an excellent people equipped with noble ideological and mental traits under our Party's benevolent politics and the socialist system of our country. Our Party strongly believes in our people, who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and revolution; it overcomes all difficulties and hardships by relying on their unrivalled heroism and unquenchable creative force. Our people's unquestioned trust in and unanimous support for our Party are a source of invincible strength for the Party.

Serving our fine people is a great honour and pride for our Party.

We must thoroughly implement the consistent ideas and policies of our Party, which takes loving care of the people, champions their demands and interests and fights for their independent and creative life. We must build more effectively our Party as a genuine motherly party that leads and takes care of the destiny of the people on its own responsibility, and must enhance the spirit of service for the people among officials so that they might put the benevolent politics of the Party into practice more efficiently. We must ensure that all the officials serve the people devotedly, acting as their servants and the champions of their interests.

We must fully implement the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, as created by Comrade Kim Il Sung, and hold high as ever the Party's slogan "Let the whole Party go among the masses!" All the officials must acquire more firmly the revolutionary and people-oriented style of work: They should always go deep among the masses, share good and bad times with them, teach them and at the same time learn from them, and carry out the revolutionary tasks by giving rein to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative zeal. We must resolutely oppose and reject abuse of power, bureaucracy, irregularity and corruption among officials, and ensure that they acquire modest and unpretentious traits and establish a frugal and upright way of life.

The Party just believes in the people and the people in the Party, striving vigorously as one, thus further

consolidating the single-hearted unity of society as a whole. As we have advanced in the past by braving difficulties on the strength of the single-hearted unity of the Party and people, so we must in future, too, pave the way of victory and glory by relying on the might of single-hearted unity.

Today our Party and people have embarked on the road of new historic advance. Our Party will inherit and develop faithfully the idea and achievements of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and accomplish his cause down through generations.

The Workers' Party of Korea will shine for ever as the party of Comrade Kim Il Sung.



