

Kim Chong-il Treatise on KWP

SK190744 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 16 Oct 82

[Text] NODONG SINMUN on 17 October dedicates three full pages to "The Workers Party of Korea Is a Chuche-Type Revolutionary Party Which Inherited the Glorious Tradition of the Down-With-Imperialism Union," a treatise of Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea. The following is the text of the treatise:

"The Workers Party of Korea Is a Chuche-Type Revolutionary Party Which Inherited the Glorious Tradition of the Down-With-Imperialism Union"

Kim Chong-il

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and Secretary of the Central Committee of  
the Workers Party of Korea

Today, 17 October, is the 56th anniversary of the formation of the Down-With-Imperialism Union (DIU) by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. With the formation of the DIU our people's revolutionary struggle embarked on a new road of development and our party began to strike its glorious roots.

Our party has traversed the glorious course of struggle for over half a century since it found root with the formation of the DIU, and on this road it has accumulated great brilliant achievements of the century and has grown and strengthened as a powerful revolutionary party united rock-firm and equipped with a wealth of experience.

By leading the people our party has achieved national independence and carried out democratic and socialist revolutions, and through the tremendous work of construction, it has radically changed the looks of the country and built a "model socialist country" that the people of the world admired. In the hard-fought struggle against U.S. imperialist armed invasion, the party led our people to victory and safeguarded the country and the revolution with credit. For the immortal exploits it has performed for the country and the people, the age and history, our party enjoys the unreserved support and confidence of the entire Korean people.

With the monolithic ideological system firmly established throughout, our party has been strengthened more than ever before, organizationally and ideologically, as the tested general staff of the revolution, and, convinced of the justness of its cause and victory, it is successfully guiding the cause of modeling the whole of society on the chuche idea.

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Ours is a glorious party with a long history, a revolutionary party which has hewed out a new road of advancement.

A working-class party is the general staff of the revolution and the organizer of all victories. Without party guidance, the working class and the masses cannot win revolutionary struggle. The Korean revolution, which had suffered difficulties in the early communist movement, badly needed a militant party which would be able to lead the revolution to triumph breaking through all trials. This urgent requirement of the Korean revolution was admirably satisfied as the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song came to lead the revolution.

Having taken up the helm of the Korean revolution in the grimmest days of Japanese imperialist rule, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, with a view to exploring a new

revolutionary road, conceived a plan to form a revolutionary vanguard organization which, under a correct program, would wage the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle, relying on the masses, and in 1926 he formed the DIU.

The formation of the DIU was a historic declaration on a fresh start of the Korean communist movement and the Korean revolution. Now the Korean communist movement and national-liberation movement bid farewell to the old generation contaminated by flunkeyism and dogmatism and greeted a new age advancing on the principle of chajusong. The establishment of the DIU became the commencement of the struggle to found a party of a new type, a revolutionary party of a chuche type, different from the one which had previously existed in our country. The program of the DIU became the basis of our party's program, and the principle of chajusong advanced by this organization became the principle of our party building and activity, and the communists of the new generation whom the DIU began to train became the backbone in the establishment of our party. This shows that our party grew out of the very roots of the DIU.

The struggle to build a revolutionary party begun with the DIU made a fresh advance as a result of the formation of the Young Communist League of Korea [YCLK] by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. The YCLK was not a mere youth organization. Since a new generation was appearing in the communist movement in our country then, it was a revolutionary vanguard organization which was assigned the mission of exploring the road for the Korean revolution and gave a unified guidance to many anti-Japanese mass organizations.

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song formed the DIU and YCLK in the latter half of the 1920's and led our revolution, the defects of the early communist movement were overcome, many communists of the new generation grew up and the founding of a revolutionary party in our country became the order of the day.

At the Kalun meeting held in 1930 the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song set forth the chuche-inspired line of the Korean revolution and expounded a unique way to found a revolutionary party. The most important aspect of the policy of party founding advanced at this meeting was to establish a party independently.

Holding fast to chajusong is the intrinsic demand of the communist movement. This movement is a struggle to realize the chajusong of the popular masses in each country, and it is the communists and the people of the country themselves who are the performers, the masters of this struggle. Founding a working-class party in each country, too, is a task which the communists of the country should necessarily carry out by their efforts as the masters.

The policy of founding the party independently also accorded with the requirement of the international communist movement, which had entered a new phase of development. Now that the revolutionary struggles of the working class and masses went on extensively and in a diverse way on a worldwide scale, the revolution in each country would not be correctly advanced unless the communists of that country conducted it responsibly and independently. This demanded that party founding in each country, too, should be undertaken by the communists of the country by their independent efforts and on their own responsibility.

Another important aspect of the party founding policy set forth at the Kalun meeting was to form grassroots party organizations first and found the party by means of expanding and strengthening these organizations and make preparations for party founding in close combination with the anti-Japanese struggle.

Previously, it had been a general phenomenon that a revolutionary working-class party was founded by uniting communist groups active in a dispersed way or as a result of a revolutionary faction seceding from a social democratic party. However, it was impossible to follow this way in the situation of our country. At the time those who styled themselves communists were mostly factionalist flunkies who looked to foreigners

and indulged in factional strife to ruin the party. It would be entirely impossible to found a revolutionary party by "reconstructing" the party already dissolved or by relying on the old generation who were infected with factionalist flunkeyism.

In order to establish a revolutionary party, it was necessary to break off with the old party and the old generation polluted with factionalism and flunkeyism, develop fresh communists of the new generation, achieve the unity of ideology and purpose of the communist ranks and strengthen their ties with the masses. Only by forming grassroots party organizations first and constantly expanding and strengthening them would it be possible to quickly train communists of the new generation from workers and peasants through organizational and ideological life and practical struggle and guarantee the unity of ideology, purpose and action and purity of the communist ranks and consolidate the party's mass foundation. Also, only by making preparations for party founding in close combination with the struggle against Japanese imperialism would it be possible to effectively develop communist nuclei tried and tested through struggle and build up the party as a militant force with a great fighting power.

The party founding policy proposed at the Kalun meeting was such a reasonable one, reflecting the realistic requirements of the international communist movement and our country. In accordance with this policy put forward by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the work to set up party organizations was conducted actively after the Kalun meeting. In early July 1930 in Kalun Comrade Kim Il-song formed the first party organization with young communists of the new generation. This was the first party organization guided by the chuche idea, a glorious party organization which was the origin of our party.

With this first party organization as the parent body, Comrade Kim Il-song expanded party organizations in different areas.

Thanks to his dynamic guidance and activity a party organization was established in the area of Onsong with activists of revolutionary organizations at the beginning of October 1930, and within a short span of time numerous grassroots party organizations appeared within the armed ranks and in east Manchuria on the Tuman River and in the area along the northern border.

While expanding and strengthening grassroots party organizations, work was actively stepped up to establish the system of guidance of party organizations, aimed at guaranteeing unitary leadership to them. As a result, the system of guidance of party organizations from county party committees to party cells in villages was set up. As for the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army, the party committees were formed and active at the regiments, party cells at the companies and party subteams at platoons.

Particularly, as the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army was reorganized into the Korean People's Revolutionary Army [KPRA] in March 1934, radical measures were taken by which the party committee of the KPRA was formed to supervise and guide not only party organizations at different levels within the units but local party organizations as well.

The formation of the KPRA party committee was an event of great importance in the Korean communist movement and in the building of our party. Now it was possible to set up a unified system of guidance of party organizations at all levels and more vigorously wage the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the building of party organizations by relying on better organized internal revolutionary forces.

Drawing on the successes achieved in the first half of the 1930's, in the second half the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song conceived a plan to widely expand party organizations in the homeland, achieve the unity of the whole nation under the anti-Japanese banner, set up a well-regulated unified system of guidance for all party organizations and firmly guarantee party leadership for the Korean revolution as a whole. This plan was admirably carried out. Here the meeting of the military and political cadres of the KPRA held in Nanhutou in February 1936 was of historic significance.

At this meeting Comrade Kim Il-song summed up the work of building party organizations in the first half of the 1930's and put forward a policy of launching this work energetically on a nationwide scale to lay solid organizational and ideological foundations so that the founding of the party would be proclaimed as soon as an appropriate situation was created.

In accordance with the policy put forward at the Nanhutou meeting, Comrade Kim Il-song saw to it that party organizations at all levels within the KPRA were built up and, at the same time, party organizations were expanded in the homeland and in the areas inhabited by Koreans in Manchuria. With a view to strengthening guidance to these organizations, he set up the party working committee in the homeland, the Changbai County party committee and the party working committee in east Manchuria. As a result, party organizations were rapidly expanded in a wide area of Manchuria and in the northern border area of our country, and a well-regulated system of guidance to party organizations was established.

Party organizations were increased throughout the country, and a unified system of guidance of party organizations ranging from the party committee of the KPRA to local party organizations was established. This firmly ensured the unitary guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song for all party organizations and the revolutionary movement in our country as a whole.

The founding of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland [ARF] in May 1936 was an event of historic significance in firmly rallying all strata of people including workers and peasants around the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and in cementing the mass foundation of the party. The ARF was an anti-Japanese national united front organization to which party guidance was guaranteed. Party organizations and communists rallied broad sections of the people in the ARF and actively mobilized them to the struggle to implement the chuche-motivated line and policies of the Korean revolution. With the founding and rapid expansion of the ARF more communists were trained. The mass foundation of the party considerably strengthened and fresh progress made in giving party leadership for all sections of people.

In this way, during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle our party organizations were formed in the ranks of the KPRA and in a vast area at home and abroad and were welded organizationally with the headquarters of the Korean revolution. Thus, the leaders guidance, party guidance, to the whole Korean revolution was successfully realized.

What is most important in party leadership to the revolutionary movement is to make a scientific analysis of the situation created at each stage and put forward a correct line and policies, strategy and tactics and thus illumine the road of the struggle.

The party's line and policies, strategy and tactics are put forward by the leader and they are discussed and decided upon at party meetings. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song authored the immortal chuche idea, and applying this idea at each stage, he proposed a correct line, strategy and tactics for the Korean revolution at the meetings of party and Young Communist League cadres and military and political cadres. This was a decisive guarantee for achieving the unity of the revolutionary ranks in ideology, will and action based on the chuche idea, and for enabling the Korean communists and people always to fight with a clear guiding compass even in those adversities. As a matter of fact, in those days meetings of party and Young Communist League cadres and military and political cadres reflected the party's organizational will and served as an important means to put party leadership into effect.

Another important thing in party guidance to the revolutionary movement is to strengthen its kindred ties with the masses and organize them to implement the line and policies set forth by the leader. In those days the main stream of the Korean revolution was the armed struggle, and what was basic to party guidance was to bring this struggle to victory. The party organizations formed within the KPRA rallied the party members and guerrillas behind the leader, explained and brought home to them his revolutionary line, strategy and tactics and got them thoroughly implemented.

Meanwhile, the party organizations in different parts at home and abroad took deep roots among the broad masses and creditably played the role of educators and organizers who mobilized the workers, peasants, youth and students and other sections of people to the anti-Japanese struggle. As the Korean communists and people had these party organizations and fought under their guidance, they could bring the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle to a constant upswing and accelerated its final victory despite the unprecedented difficulties.

After the country's liberation the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, basing himself on the successes and experiences he had personally accumulated in party building during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, lost no time in setting up party organizations in different localities, and on 10 October 1945 founded the Central Organizing Committee of the North Korean Communist Party. This was a historic event in accomplishing the cause of party founding which had been carried on for many years under the guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. Our party came to shed radiant rays all over the world as a revolutionary working-class party of a new type guided by the *chuche* idea, and our people were able to confidently push ahead with the building of a new society under its leadership.

Following the liberation our party, as a ruling party, took a new course of development. The course of the building of our party in power was that of expanding its ranks and consolidating it organizationally and ideologically. What was most urgent here was to develop the party quickly into a mass party. Only when the party was developed into such a party and deeply rooted among broad sections of the working masses would it be possible to mobilize the masses of all circles and guide political, economic, cultural and all other affairs, thereby dynamically accelerating the construction of a new country.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, gaining a deep insight into the prevailing situation and the inevitable demand of our party's development, put forward the unique organizational line of building it as a mass party and inaugurated a unified party of the working masses by merging the Communist Party with another party of working people.

To develop the Communist Party into a mass party was an urgent demand of our developing party and revolution, which accorded with the situation in a new era. In the new situation where the popular masses emerge masters of history, the revolution is participated in not only by the working class but also by broad sections of the peasantry and working intellectuals. Only when a working-class party in power rallies all these people and ensures unitary leadership to them can it successfully carry on the revolution and construction. Particularly in our country, which had been a colonial, semifeudal society in the past, it posed as a highly important strategic problem to actively draw the peasantry and working intellectuals as well as the working class into the revolution and construction. As the Communist Party grew strong organizationally and ideologically and the revolution progressed after liberation, the party should be developed into a unified mass party which could rally the broad working masses as a political force and mobilize their strength. It was a matured task. Our party merged with another working people's party in time and accepted a large number of advanced elements of the peasantry and working intellectuals, together with those of the working class, so that it firmly ensured the unity of the working masses had closer ties with the masses and pushed ahead with the revolution and construction with success by mobilizing many people of various strata.

An important task arising in building our party as a mass party was to consolidate it qualitatively keeping pace with its rapid quantitative growth. The second party congress, held in March 1948, decided its qualitative consolidation as a matter of cardinal importance in the building of a mass party and advanced an overall task -- strengthening party cells, improving its ideological work and guaranteeing its organizational and ideological unity. Through the struggle to implement the party's policy for its qualitative consolidation put forward at its second congress, its organizational and ideological work was improved, all the cells strengthened to be live militant units and the level of the rank and file and cadres heightened. In this way the party ranks were consolidated qualitatively, its unity and cohesion increased and the militancy of its organizations and its leading role enhanced.

The 1950's was a historic period of epochal significance in the development of our party as the party of a chuche type. The fatherland liberation war against U.S. imperialist armed invasion was a harsh trial for our party. For the victory in the war the party had to strengthen itself, above all organizationally and ideologically, and unite all the people closely around it.

Even in the grim wartime conditions the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song convened the third, fourth and fifth plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the party and guided the party to correct in time deviations and shortcomings in party building and party work and strengthen it organizationally and ideologically. The third plenary meeting overcame the loose practices revealed during the temporary retreat and established revolutionary discipline within the party, and the fourth plenary meeting eliminated the "leftist" deviation manifested in its organizational work and increased and consolidated its ranks. The fifth plenary meeting in particular brought about a new change in strengthening the party organizationally and ideologically by arousing all party organizations and membership to the struggle to temper the party spirit of its members, fortify its unity and solidarity in opposition to factionalism and establish chuche in its ideological work.

As a result of these timely measures to strengthen itself, our party was able to ride out all trials and ensure victory in the fatherland liberation war. In the postwar period our party effected a radical turn in establishing chuche and cementing its unity and cohesion. We rehabilitated the national economy in a short period after the victorious war, but the situation was still difficult. To make the matter worse, the factionalists who had remained in the party adopted revisionism and challenged the party. The prevailing situation urgently demanded that the party be strengthened organizationally and ideologically under the banner of chuche.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song called the third party congress in April 1956 and set forth the very important programmatic tasks of opposing factionalism in the field of party building, preserving its unity and solidarity and improving its organizational and ideological work. At the August 1956 plenary meeting he wisely led the struggle to expose and destroy the antiparty, counterrevolutionary factionalists, who came out against the party. All the working people and party members, including the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans, who were boundlessly loyal to the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song, determinedly countered the maneuvers of the antiparty, counterrevolutionary factionalists and firmly defended the party and the leader. The historic significance of the third party congress and the August 1956 plenary meeting in the strengthening of our party lies in the fact that these meetings opposed all antiparty, counterrevolutionary ideological elements, including those of factionalism and revisionism, and upheld the banner of chuche, the banner of party unity and solidarity. After the third party congress and the August 1956 plenary meeting our party established chuche more firmly in its work and further strengthened its unity and cohesion. Because it thus rebuffed factionalism and revisionism opportunely, established chuche firmly and preserved its unity and solidarity, our party was able to raise the revolutionary banner high without vacillation and strengthen itself organizationally and ideologically even under the complex situation at home and abroad.

Our party got on a new higher stage of development in the 1960's. The establishment of the integral, advanced socialist system and the creation of the solid basis of an independent national economy as a result of the fulfillment of the task of laying the foundations of socialism radically changed the socioeconomic conditions for our party activity, and the stubborn struggle against the antiparty factionalists and their lingering ideological poison fulfilled the historic task of eradicating the factions which had done tremendous harm during a prolonged period in history of achieving the unity of the Korean communist movement. This showed that our party had entered a new phase of development.

At that historic moment the fourth party congress was held, where the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song advanced the very important task of further strengthening the party organizationally and ideologically and enhancing its leadership role.

In particular, he stressed the need to oppose revisionism, factionalism, regionalism and nepotism and preserve the unity of the party's idea and purpose so that all party members and organizations would think and act as the party Central Committee did, cast their lot with it and struggle to the end in whatever difficult circumstances. Through the struggle to implement the task for party building proposed by its fourth congress, the party further consolidated its unity and solidarity, enhanced its leadership and made remarkable progress in improving its work method and style, reeducating the masses and uniting them around it. In particular, the 15th plenary meeting of the fourth Central Committee of the party, held in May 1967, became an opportunity to effect a decisive change in establishing the party's monolithic ideological system.

In the 1970's a new great change was made in the development of our party. The fifth party congress, held in November 1970, defined it as the general task of party work: to establish its monolithic ideological system throughout the party and, on this basis, to fortify the unity and solidarity of its ranks. The congress set forth the very important task of properly conducting work with people, which is fundamental to party work. We steadfastly carried out the general task of party work put forward by its fifth congress and thus solidly laid the organizational and ideological basis on which to strengthen our party continuously and carry forward our revolutionary cause from generation to generation for its completion.

The party's cause continues down through generations, and the party must preserve its revolutionary character until it fulfills its mission. If it is to keep this character throughout generations and carry out its noble mission, a working-class party must conduct the work of consolidating itself, the work of hardening its organizational and ideological basis, with farsight.

Looking into the future of its development and the revolution, our party laid down the strategic policy for transforming the whole society in line with the chuche idea and, as its precondition, strove to accelerate the modeling of the whole party on the chuche idea.

Patterning the whole party on the chuche idea is a new higher plane of establishing its monolithic ideological system. Our party defined boundless loyalty to the party and the leader as an essential quality of its membership and subordinated all its activities to establishing its monolithic ideological system. In this way it imbued itself with the chuche idea, the monolithic ideology, and, on this basis, further cemented the unity of idea and will of its ranks. Our party gave special attention to building up the backbone of the revolutionary forces. It strengthened the ranks of cadres on the principle of combining old, middle-aged and young people, regarding loyalty to the party and the leader as the basic criterion. It intensified the training of cadres and members in party spirit by enhancing their sense of organization and putting party life on a regular and standard basis. Through the struggle to carry out the party's policy of effecting a revolution among the cadres and the policy of making the whole party a party of cadres, which is aimed at raising the political and professional levels of cadres and party members, the ranks of our party and cadres became further strengthened, and the backbone for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of chuche was built up.

Our party developed in depth the work of establishing its monolithic ideological system and cementing the ranks of cadres and party in close coordination with the establishment of a new revolutionary work system. We brought about a new turn in party work and its activity by setting up a well-knit work system in the party under which the instructions of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and party policy were promptly brought down to the lowest echelons, all party organizations and membership moved as one and upheld and carried out party policy unconditionally in accordance with centralist discipline.

The success achieved in party building and its activities during the 1970's became a solid asset which enabled our party to struggle for higher objectives. The sixth party congress, held early in the 1980's, put forward a new magnificent program of modeling the whole society on the chuche idea. It included the militant tasks of party building:

to further strengthen the ranks of the party and the revolution with continued adherence to the principle of establishing the monolithic ideological system in the whole party as the basic line of party building, admirably carry forward and develop the revolutionary traditions and strengthen party leadership to the revolution and construction. This shows that our party has entered a new higher stage of development as a great party which is modeling the whole society on the *chuche* idea, regarding it as its foremost task.

Our party has traversed a glorious road of struggle under the banner of *chuche* and has been further trained and seasoned in the struggle. In the whole course of its leadership to the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction, our party has always found the key to success in the strengthening of the party and consolidated itself organizationally and ideologically before anything else, and thus defeated the maneuvers of the enemies within and without, further strengthened the revolutionary ranks and always led the revolution and construction to brilliant victory breaking through manifold difficulties and trials.

The Korean communist movement, which pioneered the revolutionary road under the banner of the DIU, has now gotten on a very high plane where it is striving for the ultimate victory of the revolution with the cause of modeling the whole society on the *chuche* idea in the forefront. Our party, the organizer and leader of this great struggle, has grown into unbreakable fighting ranks which are stronger than ever in terms of its ideology, organization and in its ties with the masses. Today our party has a firm organizational and ideological basis on which it can develop forever as the revolutionary party of a *chuche* type, as well as a strong leadership system capable of brilliantly inheriting and developing the revolutionary cause of *chuche*. This is a firm guarantee for carrying forward the revolutionary cause of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song from generation to generation for its final completion.

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Our party, which has followed a unique path since it started to strike its roots with the formation of the DIU, is a revolutionary working-class party of a new type. Ours is a *chuche*-type revolutionary party which is guided by the *chuche* idea and carries out its revolutionary activities independently and creatively in keeping with the interests of our people and the realities in our country. By establishing *chuche* thoroughly in all spheres of party building and activity with the *chuche* idea as its invariable guiding principle, it has been able to strengthen and develop itself into an indestructible revolutionary party.

Fundamentally speaking, for a working-class party to establish *chuche* is an essential requirement that emanates from its own character and mission. Since it is a political leadership body which struggles to oppose all manner of domination and subjugation and realize the *chajusong* of the masses of people, it should establish *chuche* thoroughly. If a party fails to establish *chuche* and dances to the tune of others, it will, in the long run, bring ruin to both itself and the revolution. Only a party acting independently with its own principle can be a powerful party united on the basis of its own guiding idea and can enjoy the support and confidence of its people and enlist their inexhaustible strength, thus vigorously pushing forward the revolution and construction.

What is important for a working-class party in establishing *chuche* is to eradicate flunkeyism and dogmatism. Particularly in our country, where flunkeyism and dogmatism were rampant and did great harm to the communist movement, establishing *chuche* was a vital question related to the destiny of the party and the revolution. During the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle and in the periods of democratic and socialist revolutions and socialist construction after liberation, Korean communists always strove persistently to combat flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish *chuche*. As a result, they could strengthen and develop the party and advance the revolutionary struggle.

In the years of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle the flunkeyists tried to found a party with the approval of others and achieve independence on the strength of others,



which caused great harm to the development of the communist movement in our country. After liberation the harmfulness of flunkeyism and dogmatism was manifested to a great extent during the fatherland liberation war, and it became intolerable as the socialist revolution and socialist construction were carried out on a full scale.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who has fought against flunkeyism and dogmatism since his early years of the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese, has given wise leadership so that chuche is established more thoroughly with the development of the revolution and construction in depth. Upholding the revolutionary policy on establishing chuche, our party has waged a vigorous ideological struggle to eradicate the flunkeyism and dogmatism remaining in people's minds, and, in the meantime, it has ensured that they are equipped firmly with the great chuche idea and party policy, its embodiment, and thus observe and judge all problems from the chuche-oriented stand and resolve them by their own efforts. Through the struggle to establish chuche a new change has been brought about in the ideological life of the party members and working people, the party's unity and cohesion based on the chuche idea strengthened further, and an incessant upswing effected in the revolution and construction.

Under the slogan of modeling the whole party on the chuche idea, our party is now deepening the struggle to establish chuche in party building and activity and thus further perfecting its features as a revolutionary party of a chuche type.

Ours is an invincible revolutionary party which has firmly established a monolithic ideological system throughout it. Establishing the party's monolithic ideological system is our basic line of party building. It is an essential requirement of a working-class party to ensure the oneness of ideology and leadership in it. This is effected through the work to establish the party's monolithic ideological system. Only when this system is established can the whole party be armed with the leader's idea and become a living organism breathing and acting in keeping with his idea and intention.

What is important in establishing the party's monolithic ideological system is to imbue the whole party with the leader's idea. The leader is the embodier of the organizational will of the whole party, and his idea is precisely the guiding ideology of the party. The ideological oneness of the party is realized only on the basis of the leader's idea.

Our party has regarded education in the monolithic ideology as its basic task and has conducted it energetically. As a result, a single ideology has prevailed throughout the party, and all its members have been armed firmly with the leader's revolutionary idea, the chuche idea, and have come to act and think as required by this idea.

Another important factor in establishing the monolithic ideological system is to thoroughly realize the leader's monolithic leadership. The leader is the supreme leader of a party, and the party's leadership is precisely his leadership. Our party set up a well-regulated system under which all its organizations and members act as one man under the monolithic leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, make party policies absolute and defend and implement them unconditionally.

By thoroughly establishing the monolithic ideological system in its ranks our party has increased its might as never before and has been able to lead the revolution and construction straight to victory through thick and thin.

Further developing in depth the work of establishing the party's monolithic ideological system in step with the progress of the revolution is the law of the development of the party and the revolution. The whole course of our party's foundation and its consolidation is the process of developing in depth the work of establishing its monolithic ideological system. Our party defined new principles of establishing the party's monolithic ideological system and intensified this work to meet the demands of the revolution in the 1970's when the modeling of all society on the chuche idea came to the fore. Today our party has grown into the ranks of loyal membership, and the whole party thinks and acts according to the will of the party and the leader, united firmly around the great Comrade Kim Il-song. This is the most precious achievement the Korean communists have won in the long period of struggle to build the party.

We are a powerful party which has achieved closest unity and solidarity based on the chuche idea. The unity and solidarity of party ranks is the source of its strength for carrying out the revolution. It makes a party unbreakable, and nothing is more precious in building a work-class party than its unity and cohesion.

The unity and cohesion of the party is realized through struggles. The struggle against antiparty tendencies is, in essence, a reflection of the class struggle in the party. Without unfolding a resolute and uncompromising struggle against antiparty tendencies and alien elements, the unity and purity of the party ranks could not be ensured. Our party has constantly strengthened the unity and cohesion of its ranks, overcoming all kinds of alien elements and antiparty tendencies including factionalism.

Factionalism was the first target of the struggle for our party's unity and cohesion. The revolutionary ranks led by Comrade Kim Il-song during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle overcame factionalism, and all of them united closely around him. The firm unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks established around the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song are a precious tradition of our communist movement established in the bloody struggle to shape the destiny of the country and the people. But the factionalists, who had become traitors, and philistines slipped into the communist ranks in the chaotic situation after the liberation and viciously worked to undermine the unity and cohesion of the party. In an attempt to realize their factional scheme they unscrupulously collaborated with imperialists.

If factionalism should be tolerated the unity of party idea and purpose could not be achieved, nor could the party exist as an entirety. In the struggle for its unity our party concentrated its attack first on factionalism from the past, wiped out the antiparty factionalists from the party and achieved the great unity of the Korean communist movement.

The struggle for the unity and cohesion of the party did not stop with the defeat of factionalism from the past. After clearing this filth of factionalism our party continued to fight the antiparty revisionists and developed its historic struggle for unity onto a new higher stage.

The unity and cohesion of our party is great and unbreakable because the entire membership is united around the great Comrade Kim Il-song and because it is based on their boundless loyalty to the party and the leader. The leader is the center of the party's unity and cohesion. The strength of its unity and cohesion depends on how firmly the entire party membership is united behind the leader. The unity and cohesion of our party is not at all bound by any sense of obligations. It is based on the membership's infinite respect for an absolute trust in the party and the leader and founded on their unshakable revolutionary belief and ethics, which impels them to defend and safeguard the party and the leader politically and ideologically even at the cost of their lives.

The unity and cohesion of our party is great and unbreakable because it is the unity of idea and will. What is important in the party's unity and cohesion is to achieve the unity of idea and will. Unity based on a single idea and purpose can only be durable. Business fellowship cannot be durable. The single ideology precisely means the revolutionary idea of the leader, the founder of the party. The leader's revolutionary idea is the basis of the party's unity and cohesion; the unity and cohesion of the working-class party are the unity of idea and purpose based on the revolutionary idea of the leader. Our party is the ideological entity of the communists of a chuche type who regard the chuche idea as their world outlook.

Our party is so strong because of its great unity and cohesion based on the chuche idea and centering on the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. Ours is a steellike party with a strong sense of organization and discipline.

Revolutionary organization and discipline are the life and soul of the party, the highest organization of the working class and the weapon of the class struggle and the

weapon of the revolution and construction. Only when iron discipline and organization are ensured can the working-class party be a truly revolutionary and militant party and win the revolutionary struggle braving all difficulties and trials. As historical lessons show, a party dominated by liberalism and indiscipline is doomed to failure.

Because of its unbreakable organization and discipline our party is mighty and always unconquerable. The organization and discipline of our party are most durable and strong because these are based on the membership's infinite loyalty to the party and the leader and their high degree of political consciousness.

Organization and discipline are strengthened when a revolutionary system of party life is established throughout the party and party life is regularized and standardized among its members. Our realities patently show that regularization and standardization of party life and strict observance of the regulations and order of inner party life are a powerful means for revolutionizing party members and making them better organized and disciplined and strengthening and developing the party into a revolutionary one with a strong fighting effectiveness. Through the struggle to regularize and standardize party life, party members sense of organization has been enhanced and there has been firmly established a habit of all working and living in strict reliance on party organizations. This is a valuable success gained in party building.

Our party is an invincible party that maintains close ties of kinship with the masses of people. The party struggles for the interests of the working class and other people's masses and carries out the revolution by organizing and mobilizing them. Accordingly, maintaining close bonds of kinship with the broad masses and taking deep roots among them are particularly important in the building of a working-class party. Only such a party that strikes its roots deep among the masses and enjoys their support and trust and that knows how to organize and mobilize them can demonstrate an invincible might and discharge its mission as the general staff of the revolution and the political leader of the people's masses.

Keeping in contact with the masses is an important question for a ruling party, too. If the party takes power, this problem is not solved of itself. If the party in power is divorced from the people and loses their support and confidence, it also becomes impotent and even endangers its own existence.

Since he set out on the revolutionary road the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has regarded the ties with the people's masses as a fundamental problem related to the destiny of the revolutionary organization. For a long time he has always been among the masses and shared the bitter and the sweet with them. He has made it an iron rule to trust the masses and step up the revolution and construction by giving rein to their strength and wisdom.

Our party has seen to it that functionaries and its members have raised their party spirit, working-class spirit and popular spirit, have served the people faithfully and have thoroughly implemented the mass line in all their activities, thus constantly strengthening the ties between the party and the people's masses. In work with people our party has firmly adhered to the class principle and built up its class position. On the other hand, it has educated broad sections of the masses, enlisted them boldly and united them firmly behind it.

Today our party maintains the blood ties with the people and enjoys unreserved support and confidence of people of all strata, and our people entrust their destiny entirely to the party and fight on without vacillation along the road indicated by it. As mentioned above, our party forms a perfect whole with the people. No wonder it is invincible and no force can break its close bonds of kinship with the people.

Our party has established a well-regulated system of work with people and has established a revolutionary method of work and a popular style of work throughout the party. All activities of the party, a political organization of the working class fighting for the interests of the masses of people, are realized through work with

people. The party gets people to move voluntarily, thus transforming society and nature and propelling forward the revolution and construction.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has advanced an idea of making the work with people basic to party work. This is a great idea which clarifies the fundamental principle of party activity by incorporating the *chuche* idea in party building. Only by making work with people its key issue can the party prevent its work from being reduced to administrative-technical work and maintain its nature as a political organization and fulfill its militant role and function.

Our party has opposed the tendency to reduce party work to administrative-technical work, a tendency which may appear in a party in power, and has resolutely carried out the policy on making work with people basic to party activity. Establishing the revolutionary method of work and the popular style of work is a most important question arising in the building of a working-class party.

In particular, when the party takes power, there may appear an inclination toward bureaucracy, an inclination to issue orders and instructions relying on power. Bureaucracy can be manifested more by officials who have developed smoothly without undergoing revolutionary trials.

By nature, it is a despotic ruling method which is applied by the ruling class in the exploiting society. It is fundamentally opposed to the real nature of a working-class party. When officials fail to possess the revolutionary method of work and popular style of work and are infected with bureaucracy, the party line and policies cannot be carried out, however correct, and it brings about grave consequences -- estranging the party from the masses and dampening the revolutionary enthusiasm and their creative activity.

Since it came into power our party has raised it as a fundamental problem of party building to improve the method and style of party work and has always paid deep attention to this. The basic policy maintained by our party in improving the method and style of party work is to establish the anti-Japanese guerrilla work method throughout the party. This method, created in person by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song during the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, is a true communist method of work. Carrying out this work method is the true way to eradicate bureaucracy, the abuse of power and all other erroneous methods and styles of work left over from the old society and establish the revolutionary method of work and popular style of work conforming with socialism and communism.

Our party's traditional anti-Japanese guerrilla method of work has been embodied and improved in conformity with the new historical conditions of socialist construction, through the great Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method. In a nutshell the Chongsanri method is a work method of relying on the strength of the masses; it is a revolutionary work method by which one goes among masses, shares the bitter and the sweet with them and carries out projected tasks by enlisting their conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative. In the course of carrying out the Chongsanri spirit and method our party work has been completely turned into work with man, and its work method and style have been radically improved.

Improving the method and style of party work is a struggle to eliminate the obsolete ideological remnants in the mind of officials. So, it should be waged tirelessly and patiently over a long period of time. Our party has raised it as a central task to improve its work method and style in conformity with the new demands of the developing revolution and has waged a vigorous all-party struggle for this. As a result, the anti-Japanese guerrilla method of work has been embodied in all party work and the way of party work radically improved. The revolutionary spirit pulsates throughout the party. All work is conducted with vigor, and the relations between the party and masses have been cemented.

Our party has been strengthened and developed into a revolutionary party which advances, united with the masses, and a militant party which has taken deep root in them and

enjoys their unconditional support. This is one of the most precious successes achieved in the building of the revolutionary party of a chuche type.

Indeed, our party is a glorious revolutionary party of a chuche type, a party which was founded and acts, guided by the chuche idea, a party in which the monolithic ideological system has been firmly established and whose members have been united rock firm on the basis of the chuche idea; a party which maintains close ties of kinship with the people's masses and strives to accomplish the revolutionary cause of chuche by enhancing their role.

To further strengthen and develop our party into a revolutionary party of a chuche type is a decisive guarantee for overcoming all difficulties and bringing the revolutionary cause of chuche to completion.

Today our party is confronted with the important revolutionary task of promoting the modeling of all society on the chuche idea and carrying through the cause of national reunification. We must reunify the country at any cost, whatever difficulties lie ahead of the revolution, and work through generations to come for the consummation of the revolutionary cause of chuche. This requires strengthening the party steadily and raising its leadership role.

The party is a weapon of the revolution and construction and the guiding force of socialist and communist society. Without strengthening the party and raising its leading role and function, we cannot push forward the revolution and construction successfully and run socialist and communist society properly. Socialist and communist society is not an anarchistic society but a highly organized one. In order to manage such a society, there should be political leadership of the guiding force with the strong ability of organization like the party. Without correct political leadership, it is impossible to ensure unity in ideology and action of the people's masses and organize and direct men's activities in the common interests of society.

Even after communist society is built, the struggle continues to abolish the old and create the new in various spheres of social life. Through the struggle society keeps developing. Without the leadership of a guiding force like the party, we are not able to properly carry out the work to educate people, improve social relations, conquer nature and ensure the steady progress of society.

As long as capitalism and imperialism remain on the globe, and even after communism is realized in one country or some regions, we cannot be free from the danger of aggression from outside enemies and the resistance of internal enemies hand in glove with the former. Only by the leadership of a guiding force like a party can we smash the activities of hostile elements to encroach upon the interests of the masses and dependably protect their independent and creative life.

In view of the position held and the role played by a party in carrying out the cause of socialism and communism, we must build the party in a planned way. This can be realized through transformation of the whole party after the chuche idea. Making the chuche idea prevail throughout the party is the only way to transform nature, society and men in strict keeping with the chuche idea and to successfully build and guide communist society, the society impregnated with that idea.

Imbuing the party with the chuche idea is the consistent policy of party building maintained from the start by our party founded with the chuche idea as its guiding idea. The process of the building of our party is a process of patterning it on the chuche idea. Imbuing all party with the chuche idea is a continuation and a higher stage of our party's historic struggle to model the party on that idea. Imbuing all party with the chuche idea means, in essence, strengthening and developing our party forever into a party of Comrade Kim Il-song.

Strengthening and developing our party into the party of the great Comrade Kim Il-song implies having him eternally at its head and holding fast to his ideology and line and implementing them throughout generations.

The respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song is the great leader who has been acclaimed by our people for the first time in their history of several thousand years and the teacher and father of our party and people. Upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song forever is the noble duty of Korean communists and is based on their invariable revolutionary conviction.

It is the revolutionary conviction of the Korean communists that they can tide over any difficulties and emerge victorious without fail only when they follow his guidance. This conviction has been firmly formed by our people through their own experience gained in the arduous struggle of more than half a century, from the period when they began to pave a new way of revolution under the leadership of the respected Comrade Kim Il-song.

Since the dawn of our revolution Korean communists have been convinced that they could carve out the thorny revolutionary road only under the leadership of the great Comrade Kim Il-song and have won victories, enduring all ordeals, and lived and fought with everlasting, single-hearted loyalty to him, entrusting their destinies entirely to him.

The revolutionary conviction of Korean communists and people who remain faithful to the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song will never be shaken. We must see to it that all party members, working people and generations to come hold the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song in high esteem, just as the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters did and retain unquestioning loyalty, ready to take the road across the mountains or swamps as indicated by the party and the leader.

Our party has been founded and developed by Comrade Kim Il-song. Korean communists are the revolutionary soldiers who have grown up under his care. Invariably remaining faithful to the leader who has brought them up is a natural communist obligation. We must continue to strengthen and develop our party into a revolutionary party which eternally upholds the great Comrade Kim Il-song as the leader and teacher, into a militant party which breathes and moves in keeping with his ideology and purpose. Precisely this is the fundamental matter which we must always grasp firmly in building our party.

We must, above all, steadily deepen the work to establish the monolithic ideological system throughout the party. This is a task we must forever take in hand as long as the party exists and works.

Today our party has entered a new stage of development. Our revolution is assuming a protracted and arduous nature and generations are changing among our revolutionary ranks. The internal and external situation of our revolution is strained and complicated. Realities raise the establishment of the monolithic ideological system of the party as a still more important problem.

What is fundamental in establishing the monolithic ideological system in the whole party is to develop all party members and working people into ardent revolutionaries loyal to the party and the leader.

We believe that everything in party building and party work depends, after all, on our loyalty to the party and the leader. Today our party emphasizes the allegiance of the young communists and anti-Japanese guerrillas during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle as a paragon in leading party members and working people to be boundlessly faithful to the party and the leader. In the grimmest days when our people were groaning under Japanese imperialist oppression, they practiced loyalty to the great Comrade Kim Il-song with a revolutionary faith that they could shape the destiny of the country and the nation and win the revolution only when they followed his leadership. Party organizations must conduct their work with the main stress on getting all cadres and party members to wholeheartedly uphold and follow the party and the leader with a pure loyal heart like the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters.

We must firmly defend the traditions of chuche and carry them forward pure and clean. Our party's traditions of chuche are the great Comrade Kim Il-song's ideology and theory, his revolutionary exploits and struggle experience and his method of work. They are limitlessly rich and valuable and have an everlasting vitality for the strengthening and development of our party and for the victory of our revolution because they were established in the midst of a prolonged, unprecedentedly acute and complex struggle. Since it inherited the traditions of chuche, our party could strengthen and develop on the most solid organizational and ideological groundwork and victoriously advance, breaking through the rugged road beset with ordeals and difficulties. The future of our party, too, depends on how we defend and carry out these great traditions.

We must make not only the present generation but also the generations to come hold the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's ideology and theory as the eternal guiding ideology and theory of the party, stoutly defend his revolutionary exploits, struggle experience, revolutionary method of work and popular style of work and splendidly carry forward and complete the revolutionary cause of chuche.

Safeguarding and constantly strengthening the unity and cohesion and purity of the party is a crucial problem concerning the destiny of the party and the revolution. We must defend and strengthen our party's great unity and cohesion through generations.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and through its protracted struggle, our party has achieved the most solid and viable unity and cohesion in the history of the communist movement. We are justified to have pride in it.

However, we can never be satisfied with the successes achieved in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the party. Our revolution is not yet over and we shall have to continue with an arduous struggle. As long as imperialism remains, opportunism survives and the class struggle continues. We should unremittingly intensify the struggle for the party's unity and cohesion.

Party organizations should fully acquaint all cadres and party members with our party's experience of the antifactional struggle. This will enable them always to have a sharp party and class outlook and uncompromisingly fight against all unsound elements which undermine the party's unity and cohesion, such as factionalism, nepotism and parochialism. We should preserve through generations the unity and cohesion of our party and revolutionary ranks that are united as one around the leader on the basis of the chuche idea and more thoroughly enforce our iron discipline under which all party members act as one man under the direction of the party center. [Pyongyang KCNA in English at 2200 GMT on 17 October also carried the text of this treatise. The KCNA text refers to "party Central Committee" instead of "party center."]

All party members should be fully prepared as communist revolutionaries of a chuche type. Our party members are vanguard fighters who are responsible for the consummation of the chuche revolutionary cause, the socialist and communist cause in Korea. In order to fully prepare party members as communist revolutionaries of a chuche type, their party life should be strengthened.

This is all the more important since generations are changing within the party ranks today. The party can be succeeded dependably only when party life is strengthened. This is because the party ranks are constantly replenished as the days go by with new generations who are lacking in party tempering.

Party organizations should efficiently run the new system of party life established throughout the party so as to enhance the standard of party life of the membership and steadily temper the party spirit of all cadres and members.

An intensified struggle should be continued to improve the method and style of party work so that the leader's work method will be established more thoroughly in the whole party.

As there can be no other idea than the leader's in our party founded and trained by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, so no other work method and style than the leader's work method are tolerated. However, the old work method and style still remain in the party, doing harm to party work.

If the party fails to eliminate the old work method and style, it will gradually lose the support and trust of the people's masses and estrange itself from them and, in the long run, undergo difficulties. We should decisively put an end to the old work method and style, bearing in mind that correcting the method and style of party work is a serious problem decisive of the fate of the party and the revolution.

In order to correct the work method and style officials should establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint and acquire popular traits of personality. Party workers are out-and-out defenders of the interests of the working class and other people's masses and are their faithful servants. Party workers should regard the subordinates and the masses as their true revolutionary comrades, love them wholeheartedly, share the bitter and the sweet with them and mutely devote everything to them.

If they are to improve the method and style of party work, they should acquire the chuche-oriented theory and methodology of party work. These are unique ones which embody the requirements of the chuche idea for attaching the greatest importance to man in everything and making everything serve him. Only when we deeply understand this theory and methodology can we conduct work with people properly and skillfully; solve all problems of reeducating and mobilizing the masses.

We should remember that if a working-class party fails to overcome bureaucratic and administrative tendencies, it will be disqualified for leading the revolution. so we should continue to wage a stubborn struggle to eliminate the old work method completely. We should thus make our party a mother party which is always boundlessly faithful to the working class and the people's masses and the standard bearer of the masses which is united with them and powerfully propels the revolution and construction forward at the head of them.

The success so far scored in party building firmly guarantees the bright future of our party and revolution. Broad vistas are now opened up before our party, and our revolutionary struggle becomes more fruitful. We should never rest on our laurels but continue to fight vigorously for a fresh victory. Hewing out the revolutionary road through struggle is our party's traditional revolutionary trait. We should keep on fighting unyieldingly along the road of revolution started on Mount Paekdu and thus bring to successful completion the revolutionary cause of chuche, the cause of socialism and communism.

Victory and glory are always in store for our party and people fighting for the consummation of the revolutionary cause of chuche under the intelligent leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song.