

KIM IL SUNG

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

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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

August 29, 1946

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Dear comrade delegates,

The present congress, called to inaugurate the Workers' Party of North Korea through the merger of the Communist Party of North Korea and the New Democratic Party of Korea, will go down in the annals of the Korean independence movement and is of great significance in carrying out the tasks of the democratic revolution today.

You comrade delegates have assembled here, not only as delegates of the Workers' Party but also as representatives of all the north Korean people, to discuss state affairs and the momentous problems determining the destiny of the country.

We, who have been engaged in a great struggle and work of construction for the country and the people, have convened this congress to found a united party of the Korean working masses for the purpose of accomplishing still greater work in future.

The Korean people who find themselves at present in a complex and acute political situation are following the Inaugural Congress of our Party with the greatest interest and hope today. We should conduct the congress successfully so that we may live up to the great expectations of the Korean people and meet the urgent demands of the masses of the people.

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA

The situation in our country underwent a radical change after liberation. When the anti-fascist world war was brought to a victorious conclusion thanks to the decisive role played by the Soviet army, the system of barbarous Japanese imperialist rule in Korea also collapsed. The way was opened up for building a

Korea for the Koreans, for building a new country and a new life in conformity with our people's will and demands.

As the Korean people were liberated from long years of oppression, their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power burst forth like a volcano, and this great force has radically changed Korean society in the past year.

The democratic reforms carried out in north Korea during this period have put an end to all colonial and feudal relations which so long retarded the development of our country's economy and culture, and paved the way to unhindered development. The past year was indeed a year of great progress and change the like of which would ordinarily take scores or hundreds of years to achieve.

The political consciousness of the Korean people has heightened to an unprecedented degree in the course of the bitter struggle with the enemy. Korea today is precisely the people's Korea, a Korea governed and built by the people themselves.

North Korea's democratic reforms are also of great significance internationally. Democratic social reforms as thoroughly carried out as those in our north Korea are rarely to be seen in other countries which have taken the road of creating a new life after the Second World War. North Korea's democratic reforms are a heartening example to the peoples of many Eastern countries who hope for freedom and democracy. Today north Korea is not only the strategic base for democratic advance in the whole of Korea, but it also plays the role as the cradle of democracy in the East.

The agrarian reform put an end to feudal relations in land ownership, which were the main cause of the backwardness and stagnation of Korean society, and laid the basis for democratic advance in Korea. In north Korea the tillers have become the owners of land, and landlords

and the tenant system have been eliminated once and for all.

The peasants now work their own land and are able to use their crops to improve their own life and to expand production after delivering 25 per cent as agricultural tax in kind to the state. The agricultural tax is used not for the enjoyment and enrichment of the exploiters as in the past, but for the development of the national economy as a whole, including agriculture, and the improvement of the people's living conditions.

The democratic Labour Law has freed factory and office workers from heavy, forced, colonial-type labour and has ensured them fundamental rights in work and life, thus making it possible for them to bring their enthusiasm and creativity into full play.

The nationalization of industries has turned the industrial establishments, the mainstay of Korea's economy, which were owned by the Japanese imperialists and the traitors to the nation, into the property of the people, thereby destroying the basis of imperialist exploitation and laying the economic foundations for the building of an independent, sovereign state. Thus the factories, mines, railways, communications, banks, etc., formerly used by the imperialists and comprador capitalists to bleed the Korean people white, have now been turned into the people's property dedicated to the prosperity and development of our country and improvement of the welfare of the working masses. This measure taken by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea clearly expresses the thoroughgoing and progressive nature of the democratic reforms carried out in our country.

In addition, the Law on Sex Equality has emancipated the women of north Korea from thousands of years of humiliation and ill treatment and from a twofold and threefold oppression, enabling them to enjoy equal rights with men and be active in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture.

As all these facts expressly prove, democratic north Korea

today clearly points out the road for all the Korean people to follow, and the democratization of Korea and its full independence can be achieved only by relying firmly on the democratic base in north Korea.

However, many difficulties lie on the road of building democracy in the country, and our struggle is extremely arduous and complex. This is because the aggressive army of US imperialism is stationed in south Korea, seeking to turn our country into a colony once again, and because a gang of quislings who have become its lackeys and are trying to sell out Korea to imperialism as a colony again are running wild. Today, the US military government monopolizes all power in south Korea and is doing everything it can in its desperate effort to suppress the democratic forces and gain a foothold for reaction.

As under Japanese imperialist rule in the past, the people of south Korea are groaning under the savage oppression and tyranny of domestic and foreign forces of reaction and are stranded in the misery of poverty, deprived of all rights.

The masses of the people are completely denied even the elementary freedoms—freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, religious belief, and so on. So thousands of patriots are being cruelly tortured in police dungeons and prisons for the “crime” of loving their country and of calling for democracy and the independence of the country. Leaders of the people are shot down in broad daylight by reactionary terrorists, and democratic political parties and public organizations are being wrecked by the terrorism of the traitorous Syngman Rhee gang openly protected by the US army. Right in front of a courthouse, the reactionaries shot and killed one of the middle-school boys who were demanding that the trial in the so-called “forged-note case” be opened to the public.

Patriotic scholars and teachers are dismissed from the

schools, and schools are closed down one after another. Patriotic workers in the field of culture are placed under surveillance, beaten up and thrown into jail without justification.

Far from carrying out agrarian reform, Americans and reactionary profiteers are concentrating the land formerly held by the Japanese in their own hands. The south Korean peasants are still groaning under the yoke of the feudal system of high-rent tenancy.

Far from instituting a labour law, they are slaughtering workers with planes, tanks and machine guns merely because they have taken part in demonstrations. The situation is such that one is sentenced to eight years in prison for making a speech urging the promotion of the labour movement. The workers of south Korea are being driven hard like beasts of burden, subjected to the same cruel colonial oppression and exploitation as in the past.

Far from nationalizing the key industries, the US military government authorities declare the industrial establishments formerly owned by Japanese imperialism to be their property. They pay lip service to industrial rehabilitation, but actually they are wrecking even those few factories which are in operation and converting south Korea into a market for US commodities. The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique is guilty of treacherous act of selling the country. It has already sold mining and trading concessions to American capitalists and is now openly selling the country's valuable resources to American big businesses.

Far from granting women equal rights with men, they have increased concubinage, licensed and unlicensed prostitution and the professional entertainer system. Many women suffer unbearable humiliation as playthings of the rich and powerful.

The true worth of a political party or a policy must be assessed not by its words or statements but by the practical

activities of that party, or by the concrete facts showing whose interests that policy represents and defends. In the past year the reactionary politicians in south Korea made innumerable speeches and promises and pledges over the microphone and from public platforms. What, however, have they actually brought the Korean people? Even the brazen-faced Syngman Rhee clique can no longer conceal its true colours which have now been exposed by the stark facts in all their nakedness before all the Korean people. Far from introducing democracy, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique has done nothing but tyrannize south Korea and sell the country to the United States as a colony, on orders of its US masters.

Swarms of jobless people roam the streets. Hungry people, begging bowl in hand, crowd the government offices, raising a hue and cry. Youths and students fall under rifle fire, schools are closed down. Newspapers, magazines and other press organs are closed one after another. Patriots are constantly arrested, jailed and murdered. Meanwhile, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation resort to despotism and abuse power, as if the days of their glory had returned. This is the true picture of south Korea, a lawless land which the US army rules like a lord.

In striking contrast to north Korea, which is advancing in the direction of genuine democracy and national independence, south Korea is moving backward along the path of reaction and colonial enslavement under the fascist reign of terror of the US imperialists and their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. Thus, the southern half of our country is occupied and converted into a colony by the US imperialists, and this very fact presents difficulties to the solution of the Korean question.

The most important task facing the Korean people today is to overcome the anti-popular and reactionary line pursued in south Korea at an early date, carry out thoroughgoing democratic

reforms in south Korea, as was done in north Korea, and thereby build a new, unified, democratic independent and sovereign Korea.

2. STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNITED FRONT—AN IMPORTANT GUARANTEE OF VICTORY FOR THE REVOLUTION

All-round consolidation of the Democratic National United Front, which rallies around itself all the patriotic, democratic forces of Korea, is an important guarantee of victory for our revolution.

Democratic reforms in north Korea have been carried out from the beginning through the efforts of all the people, by the joint endeavours of all democratic political parties and public organizations.

The Communist Party of North Korea, the New Democratic Party of Korea, the Korean Democratic Party, the Chondoist Chongu Party and all the public organizations, acting in concert at all times under the banner of democracy, have liquidated the pro-Japanese elements of all shades, smashed the intrigues and manoeuvres of the reactionaries and energetically promoted the cause of building a democratic state. The Democratic National United Front of North Korea, which unites all the patriotic, democratic forces, was formed and grew in the course of the actual struggle to carry out the democratic tasks. It is closely linked with the broad masses and has already rallied around itself more than six million of the organized masses. This constitutes a truly great force, and here lies the basic factor contributing to our victory.

By relying on the united strength of all the political parties, public organizations and people in all walks of life, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was able to successfully put great democratic reforms into effect in the short period of no more than six months after its establishment. Every time a task of the democratic revolution was proposed, all political parties and public organizations gave it unqualified support by issuing joint statements, sending their workers to different districts and sparing neither effort nor zeal in carrying it out successfully.

Since the various democratic political parties unanimously support the people's committee and strive jointly to put its policy into effect, our organs of people's power can implement democratic tasks successfully on a broad mass basis. In north Korea, all political parties, public organizations and the masses of the people in all walks of life are closely rallied around the people's committee and give unanimous and active support to the policies of the organs of people's power. Thus, democratic reforms in north Korea are being and will be accomplished by the united strength of the broad masses rallied around the DNUF.

All our experience clearly shows that today the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea can be achieved and democratic advances made only through the strength of the DNUF embracing all sections of the masses without exception—workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, tradesmen and entrepreneurs.

In contrast, all the disorder and misery in south Korea under the domination of the US military government can be ascribed mainly to the disunity within our nation. In south Korea, I am told, there were once more than 200 political parties. Such splitting into parties of three and groups of five and mutual wrangling play right into the hands of the reactionary forces. The

enemies of democracy and of our nation want more than anything else to see our working people—workers, peasants, working intellectuals, etc.—torn apart and fighting and snapping at one another. For the reactionary forces can exist and achieve their anti-popular ends only by seizing upon this and taking advantage of splits among the democratic forces. Such a divisive policy is an old trick common to reactionaries all over the world. We must not be fooled by it. In south Korea, however, people have been taken in. The democratic political parties and public organizations there are disrupted and engage in factional strife and scramble for “hegemony,” exactly as the enemy wants. Here lies the principal danger in south Korea today.

Developments in south Korea over the past year give us a striking lesson on how precious the unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces is and, particularly, on how urgent and important it is to strengthen the solidarity of the masses of the working people.

We must defeat the traitorous reactionary forces and bring the democratic revolution to a victorious conclusion by cementing the united front of all the patriotic political parties and public organizations that aspire to the freedom and independence of the country and to democracy, and by relying on the united strength of all the working people and of the people as a whole.

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

Comrade delegates,

The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is indeed of epochal significance for cementing the unity of the democratic forces in our country. In particular, the merger of

the two parties marks great progress in closely uniting the broad masses—workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

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

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

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

eight-hour working day and a social insurance system for factory and office workers; to grant women equal rights with men; to ensure the people freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief; to institute a democratic system of public education and establish compulsory education; and to develop science, national culture and the arts.

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

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

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

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

problem could only be solved by founding the Workers' Party.

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

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

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

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

I would like to point out, in the first place, the self-righteous, arrogant attitude of some Communist Party members. They said, "How can we merge with the New Democratic Party?" We should ask them, "When did you become Boyi and Shuqi like that?" This is, above all, an expression of self-important attitude of looking down upon others, an exclusionist tendency of thinking oneself the only one engaged in revolutionary work. It is an error resulting not only from ignorance of our Party's line and policies but from a lack of understanding of even the simple truth that revolutionary work will be victorious only when all

revolutionary comrades are united and all the masses of the people stand together. To put it more strongly, it is a factional tendency, and a dangerous one, against which we must be most vigilant in establishing a mass-based political party. If a tendency of this sort is allowed to grow, it may totally ruin our work.

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

We should resolutely combat any tendency that impairs the organizational discipline and ideological unity of the Party, any tendency that seeks to reduce the Party either to a club of the labouring masses or a kind of fraternity of the petty bourgeoisie. The creation of the mass-based Workers’ Party which champions the interests of all the working masses and can embrace all progressive elements among the working masses, in no way means that it is permissible to lower the Party’s political prestige or weaken the unity and iron discipline of its ranks. The Workers’ Party is an organized combat unit and a vanguard of the working masses. We should at all times firmly defend its unity, purity and strict discipline. If our ranks are lacking in monolithic ideology, will and discipline, we will be unable to prevail in the fight against the enemy.

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

It is natural for the Party to purge itself of alien elements in order to maintain the purity of its ranks. We should always heighten our vigilance against alien elements, prevent all of their

machinations and expel them from Party ranks as soon as they are discovered. Such elements, however, are very few in number, and therefore there will be no “large-scale purge” in our Workers’ Party. Any talk about such a “purge” is quite wrong.

4. IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY

The basic task of our Party at the present stage is to build a democratic country, reunified and fully independent, at the earliest possible date. To this end, we must sweep away all the reactionary pro-Japanese and feudal forces standing in the way of the democratic independence of our country.

We should struggle to strengthen the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea, an organ of genuine people’s power, and transfer all power in Korea to the people’s committee.

A struggle should be launched to consolidate the gains of the democratic reforms already carried out in north Korea—the agrarian reform, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, nationalization of the key industries, the institution of a public education system, etc.—and to enforce them throughout the country. For the victorious accomplishment of these fighting tasks, it is important above all to turn our Party into a powerful combat unit.

The broader the united front of the masses of the people, the more complex the tasks confronting us and the sharper the fight with the enemy, the more urgent will be the need to strengthen our Party, the vanguard of the Korean working masses, both organizationally and ideologically.

We must strengthen unity of ideology and will in every way and establish iron discipline within Party ranks, and wage an implacable fight against every tendency incompatible with them.

Many divergent tendencies may appear within our ranks, because the two parties have just been merged. Therefore, we must arm all members with one and the same ideology based on our Party's Programme, strengthen comradely and principled unity among them and raise their political consciousness.

To fight against all and every factional tendency is of special importance in our Party life today. We must do away completely with the remnants of the accursed factionalism which historically has done great harm to the Korean revolutionary movement, and thereby build up our Party into a united, powerful, iron detachment.

Also, our Party should take deep root among the masses and at all times maintain the bonds of kinship with them. We should in every circumstance defend the interests of the working masses, listen to their views, learn from them and teach them. We should lead and supervise all the working people's organizations, knit all the labouring masses closely around our Party and correctly lead them in building a new, democratic Korea. Whether our Party members deal with this correctly or not determines the victory or defeat of our Party.

Further, the utmost attention should be devoted to the problem of cadres. If there were no cadres competent to put the Programme and decisions of our Party into effect successfully, the Programme and decisions, no matter how excellent, would only turn out to be empty words. Cadres decide everything. Yet there are shortcomings in our work of getting to know, training and promoting cadres. We quite often hear the expression, "We're hard up for cadres," but we seldom hear any talk about where and how cadres have been trained and how new personnel have been promoted. We should do our best to get to know, train and promote cadres.

Last, the Programme of our Party and its policies and

decisions should be made known to the masses of the people. They can be realized in actual life only if the people grasp them and make them their own. We should see to it that our Party's slogans become the slogans of the masses themselves, and that the people themselves are voluntarily mobilized to put them into effect.

Let us march vigorously ahead for the freedom and democratic independence of our country, closely rallying all the democratic forces around the Workers' Party we are now founding!

Long live the Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea which represents the interests of the working masses!

Long live the Democratic National United Front!

For the establishment of a democratic people's republic!