

**KIM JONG IL**

**ON THE FUNDAMENTALS  
OF REVOLUTIONARY  
PARTY BUILDING**

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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PARTY BUILDING**

A Treatise Written on the Occasion of the 47<sup>th</sup>  
Anniversary of the Foundation of the  
Workers' Party of Korea  
*October 10, 1992*

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

How the socialist cause is promoted depends on how the party which leads this cause is built and how its leading role is enhanced. The history of the struggle for socialism can be called the history of building the working-class party and of its activities. The whole course of the bloody struggle of the working class and other sections of the working masses for socialism shows that the key to victory lies in party building and party activities and that the failure has its causes in party building and party activities.

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

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

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

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

The collapse of parties which had been building socialism was an abnormal occurrence also in view of the circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities. The circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities in socialist society are incomparably superior to those in capitalist society. In socialist society there are no socio-economic and class conditions restricting the building and activities of the working-class party, the party's social and

class foundations are broad, and the party has greater possibilities for winning the support and confidence of the popular masses through the implementation of popular policies. The collapse of socialist ruling parties in spite of this is explained by the fact that party building and party activities were not conducted properly.

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

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

If its organizational and ideological bases are solid, the socialist ruling party can thwart all the schemes of the imperialists and class enemies to undermine the party. Treachery within the party is a greater danger to the existence of the party than destructive moves from outside, but whether or not treachery can be prevented depends on the solidity of its organizational and ideological foundations. If the party adheres to revolutionary principles and has durable organizational and ideological foundations, its leadership will not fall into the hands of traitors to the revolution, and should the leadership fall into their hands, the traitors will find it difficult to impose their counterrevolutionary line upon the party organizations and party members. But the

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

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

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

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

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

popular masses in the socialist ideology and tolerated ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. Consequently, the political consciousness of many people dulled and they were deceived by the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries. Renegade socialists and reactionaries, talking about “democracy” and “glasnost”, used the shortcomings revealed in the socialist ruling parties as a means of misleading public opinion. But, if the popular masses had been fully armed with the socialist ideology, many people would not have been fooled by the counterrevolutionaries and would not have opposed their parties and governments.

The degeneration within socialist government parties which resulted in the frustration of socialism began with their discarding the revolutionary principles for building a working-class party. The revolutionary principles for building a working-class party were put forward in Marxism-Leninism. The founders of Marxism, who believed that a vanguard for the working class was needed to lead its revolutionary struggle to victory, formed the Communist Union, the political organization of the working class, and founded the First International, and they worked hard to develop the international communist movement under the party’s leadership. In the course of this, a number of party-building principles were established by the founders of Marxism. Lenin, upholding Marxist principles for party building, developed the theory of party building in accordance with the historical conditions in which the proletarian revolution became necessary with capitalism’s transition to the stage of imperialism. He defined the poor peasantry, along with the working class, as the motive force of the revolution and, on that new class basis, founded a revolutionary party. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin’s Party, Marxist-Leninist principles for party building became the

universal principles for party building recognized by the communist and workers' parties.

The new era of independence in which the popular masses shape their destiny independently and creatively required a fresh development in party-building theories. As a theory in the period of the struggle of the working-class party for the seizure of power, the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building did not clarify the details of how the working-class party in power should develop itself and conduct its activities. Many new theoretical and practical problems occurred in the building and activities of the party as the leading political organization of society after its seizure of power and the establishment of the socialist system. But several parties followed Marxism-Leninism dogmatically, claiming that it was their guiding principle. As a result they did not develop a party-building theory as required by the situation in which socialism was being built. Therefore, they failed to find correct solutions to such new problems as those of strengthening their ranks organizationally and ideologically and consolidating their mass foundations to suit their ruling position. When the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building were revealed, the modern revisionists, taking advantage of them, led the working-class parties to degeneration. Under the pretext of developing the Marxist-Leninist party-building theory in accordance with the changed circumstances and conditions, the modern revisionists emasculated the theory's revolutionary essence, weakened their parties systematically and paralysed their leadership functions.

A socialist society requires that the working-class party should be strengthened steadily and its leadership role enhanced. Socialist society, which is based on collectivism, can neither maintain itself nor blaze a trail successfully

towards socialism and communism without the correct political leadership of the party. In the course of many years of living in comfort in socialist society, the revolutionary spirit may gradually disappear and idle and easy-going practices come to prevail among the new generation and other people who have not experienced exploitation, oppression and hardship. All this requires the strengthening of the party and the improvement of its leading role, as well as a more positive effort to educate party members and other people in the revolutionary spirit. But, many socialist ruling parties neglected to strengthen themselves and to provide party members and the people with revolutionary education, believing that everything would go well merely if they built the economy after the establishment of the socialist system. Economic construction is an important task for socialist ruling parties after the establishment of the socialist system. But, if they emphasize only economic construction and neglect to strengthen themselves and to educate party members and the people in the revolutionary spirit, they cannot build even the economy successfully and may lose the gains of the socialist revolution.

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

Establishing Juche is the fundamental requirement in the building and the activities of a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party of the working class is an independent political organization which combats domination and subordination in all forms and struggles to realize the independence of the working masses. Therefore the revolutionary party must resolve all the problems that arise in its building and activities with its own ideas and by its own efforts. Of course, in the early days of the international communist

movement the guidance and assistance of the international centre was necessary for the countries whose communist hard core was not sufficiently prepared to carry out the cause of party building.

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

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

are responsible for the revolution in their own country, and to meet the requirements of their own people and the situation in their own country, the socialist government parties and socialist systems in these countries would not have collapsed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another historical lesson to be learned from the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and of the socialist systems in some countries is that continuity of leadership must be ensured if one is to complete the cause of socialism.

We cannot regard the responsibility for the disintegration of the socialist ruling parties as resting with ordinary party members. In any of those countries ordinary party members have faithfully supported the cause of the working-class party

and grieved at its collapse. The problem was that the continuity of revolutionary leadership was not ensured.

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

If continuity of leadership is to be ensured in a socialist society, the party should be strong. In general, the personality and qualities of the leader of a communist movement are formed through a process in which he is tempered and tested in a fierce

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

The collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries are a great loss to the cause of independence for the popular masses. But if one learns a lesson from one's failure and opens up the revolutionary path of party building independently and creatively, one will be able to build a more revolutionary and militant party and continually promote the cause of socialism under the leadership of the party.

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

The bitter experience of the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries demands that we should recognize more clearly the

validity of our Party's line of building a Juche party and work still harder to implement it.

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

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

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

The guiding idea of a party is its fundamental idea which clarifies the goal of its struggle as well as the principles and ways for achieving that goal. The character of the party and the basic direction of its building and activities are defined by its guiding idea. The party is a political organization of people with the same idea. Therefore, a scientific and revolutionary guiding idea for the party should be established before anything else in party building. It is only when the party has a

scientific and revolutionary guiding idea that it will be able to convince its members and other people of the validity of its cause and give them confidence in victory, to achieve the unity and cohesion of the party and the revolutionary ranks in ideology and will and to lead the revolution and construction to victory based upon a correct strategy and proper tactics.

The guiding ideas of the revolutionary parties of the working class share common ground in that they reflect the desire of the popular masses, the driving force of the revolution, for independence, and their interests. Nevertheless, they have their own specific features because the situation in every country is different. In the past it was stressed that the parties of all countries should have one guiding idea which was approved by all. But the fact that the party of each country should work independently, with its own guiding idea, and that it should develop its guiding idea creatively, was neglected. This was an obstacle for every country in building the party and making the revolution independently to suit its own situation. It is only when a correct guiding idea is created and developed from an independent and creative stand that a party can be built independently and the revolution and construction be conducted successfully, taking the idea as its guiding principle.

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

principles should invariably be maintained because the class character of the party and its historical mission cannot change. Renouncing revolutionary principles because of changes in the circumstances and conditions means destroying the revolutionary party and betraying the revolutionary cause of the popular masses.

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

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

Formerly a party was regarded as a political organization of

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

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

The party's development into a mass party must not result

in the weakening or alternation of its revolutionary and working-class character. The class character of the party is defined by its guiding ideology and fighting objectives; its revolutionary character is manifested in its loyalty to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and to the socialist cause. The cause of the working class conforms to the interests of all the people, and the working class can achieve the socialist cause successfully only when it rallies broad strata of the population behind it. It is, therefore, a legitimate requirement in building the revolutionary party to develop it into a mass party which champions the interests of all the people and comprises farmers and intellectuals as well as the working class. Experience shows that when it fails to become a mass party of the working people, a party may be reduced to a political minority of communists when faced with difficulties in the revolution. Only when it is built as a mass party which thoroughly champions the masses' desire for independence and their interests and strikes root among wide sections of the working people, can the party maintain unbreakable ties with the masses and succeed in the socialist cause by relying on the inexhaustible energies of the people who are rallied behind it.

The great leader, on the basis of the line of building a mass party, built a revolutionary Party of Juche which consists of advanced elements of the workers, farmers and working intellectuals and champions the interests of the popular masses, and thus set a brilliant example in the building of a mass party. He had not only a hammer and sickle symbolizing the workers and farmers but also a brush symbolizing the working intellectuals form the Party's emblem, to suit the characteristics of our Party, a mass Party, and has led the Party to form a harmonious whole with the masses and render loyal service to all the people so as to provide them with an independent and creative life. Our Party has

developed into an unconquerable revolutionary Party which enjoys the unqualified support and trust of the popular masses. It has become a powerful motive force for the revolution by welding itself with the masses into a socio-political organism which shares a common destiny. This is an excellent fruition of the great leader's line of building a mass party, and it ensures all our victories.

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

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

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

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

The establishment of monolithic ideology and leadership in

a party does not conflict with democracy, but provides a sure guarantee for genuine democracy. When no such ideology and leadership is established and unprincipled democracy is permitted within the party, democracy may be suppressed by bureaucracy and arbitrariness manifested among officials who lack in party discipline, and the unity and cohesion of the party may be broken and division encouraged by undesirable elements hidden in the party. The occurrence of undisciplined practices and disorder and the emergence of factions in some parties over recent years, which led finally to their disintegration and collapse, were due in no small measure to the failure to ensure their monolithic ideology and leadership, resulting from undue emphasis on “democracy”. It is only when monolithic ideology and leadership are combined properly with democracy in a party that true comradely unity is achieved among party members, the unity of superiors and subordinates is guaranteed, and its lines and policies are implemented with success. Making it the basic principle in Party building to maintain monolithic ideology and leadership, our Party has established the monolithic ideological and leadership system firmly among its entire membership and thus has been able to develop and strengthen itself into an unbreakable, militant organization which thinks and acts as one under the guidance of the leader. Our experience in Party building shows that democracy based on unshakable, monolithic ideology and leadership makes it possible for a party to promote the revolution and construction forcefully by uniting all its members firmly with one ideology and purpose.

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

The unity and cohesion of the party is its lifeblood and the source of its might. The party whose unity and cohesion is

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

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

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

ambitious elements and renegades appear and try to wreck the unity and cohesion of the party.

The struggle to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party is, in the final analysis, a fight against heterogeneous ideological trends that are detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the party. The most dangerous of the ideological trends that undermine the party's unity and cohesion is factionalism and other counterrevolutionary ideological trends. If we tolerate counterrevolutionary ideological trends within the party, anti-party groups will be formed on their basis and will destroy the party. In order to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party, it is also necessary to guard against parochialism, nepotism and other unsound ideological elements. Parochialism and nepotism are seeds of factions and, if they are connived at, may grow into factions and break the unity and cohesion of the party. We must remember that heterogeneous ideological elements that are harmful to the Party's unity and cohesion can germinate from the remnants of outmoded ideas or infiltrate from outside, and we must always be vigilant.

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

Our Party achieved solid unity and cohesion a long time ago. Not resting content with this, however, it has continued to

work hard to strengthen the single-hearted unity of the whole Party around the leader, so that it maintains unbreakable unity and cohesion, without any vacillation even in the present complex situation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

People not only transform nature and society but also reform themselves. The ideological transformation of people is also influenced by changes and developments in the objective conditions of society. In particular, the change and development of the social system exert a great influence on the change and development of ideological consciousness. But a change in the objective conditions does not bring about that of people's ideological consciousness spontaneously. Ideological consciousness is consciousness which reflects the demands and interests of people and it has relative solidity. Unless people work to remold their ideological consciousness, regardless of changes in the objective circumstances and conditions, their ideological consciousness will not be transformed. If we believe that people will acquire the socialist ideology automatically after the establishment of the socialist system and neglect their ideological transformation, old ideologies

may revive. The transformation of people's ideological consciousness is more difficult than the reform of the social relations and the development of the forces of production. The remnants of old ideologies are very conservative and revive whenever the possibility arises. Ideological transformation, particularly in confrontation with imperialism, is accompanied by a serious class struggle. Therefore, we must direct greater efforts to ideological transformation and give definite priority to it over all other work.

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

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung originated the Juche idea and, while leading the arduous revolutionary struggle for nearly 70 years, has produced a full clarification of how a revolutionary should live and struggle, setting a fine example in doing so, and thus providing us with good ideological wealth for ideological transformation. The revolutionary ideology of the great leader and the history of his revolutionary struggle are an invaluable textbook and example for imbuing the whole society with an ideology. The loyalty to the Party and the leader of our anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners, the heroic soldiers who fought in the Fatherland Liberation War and the heroes of socialist revolution and construction and their devoted service to the country and the people are also a priceless asset in ideological transformation.

An old ideology does not give way to a good, new one of its own accord. A good ideology, needless to say, is very attractive. But, since the imperialists and the reactionaries are playing many tricks in an attempt to slur the socialist ideology

and beautify and embellish the bourgeois ideology, it is not easy for people to accept an advanced ideology. Only through a struggle to oppose the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip the people with the advanced socialist ideology can they be educated and reformed along revolutionary lines. It is the most important task for the parties building socialism to carry out vigorous ideological work to prevent the penetration of the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip people with the socialist ideology. Only when the revolutionary parties conduct good ideological work to overcome the reactionary bourgeois ideas of all hues and arm people with the advanced socialist ideology can they firmly guarantee the victory of the socialist ideology and succeed in imbuing the whole society with it.

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must give priority to the ideological education of its members. In other words, a party must educate its members first and then make them educate the hard core of the masses who, in turn, will educate the broad masses. The education of the hard core of the masses by party members and the education of the broad masses by the hard core of the masses is an effective method of educating and transforming all the members of society, with one person educating ten people, ten people a hundred, a hundred people a thousand, and a thousand people ten thousand. A party member is a political activist by nature and it is the duty of a party member to conduct political work to educate and transform the masses. When a party refuses to give precedence to the ideological education of its members they cannot do their duty as political activists and may degenerate ideologically. It cannot be said that the traitors to the revolution who appeared in some socialist ruling parties were anti-socialist from the first. The parties neglected the revolutionary education and tempering of their cadres and

members, with the result that some people gradually degenerated and became traitors. In the light of this lesson we must always pay primary attention to the revolutionary education and tempering of cadres and Party members.

In order to succeed in the ideological tempering of Party members we must lead them to live a good Party life. A Party life is a furnace for ideological tempering. When party members fail to lead a party life and leave the control of their party organizations they may become liberal and degenerate ideologically. Proceeding from their need of political integrity party members must participate voluntarily in a party life. Our Party has established a well-regulated system for a Party life which enables its members to raise their political integrity and fulfil their duties through leading a Party life. Our Party has led all its organizations to guarantee proper organization and guidance so that their members lead a Party life consciously and faithfully in compliance with Party rules, having a correct view of their Party organization, and temper themselves steadily in a revolutionary way through leading a Party life.

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

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must also educate the masses responsibly. The greatest love for the people is manifested by equipping them with the consciousness of independence and awakening them ideologically, and the most serious crime against the people is to paralyze their consciousness of independence and make them ideologically degenerate. The responsible education of the popular masses by a party is an expression of its boundless love for them.

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

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

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

Great efforts should be directed particularly to the education of the younger generation in the education of the masses. The older generation of the revolution should pass down to the younger generation great revolutionary spirit and creative ability. Of course, material wealth should be handed down to the younger generation, but however much material wealth they may inherit, they will misuse it if they lack revolutionary spirit and creative ability. In those countries where capitalism has revived, many young people took the lead

in opposing socialism. This was due to their parties' failure to guide them properly. It is an important duty for socialist ruling parties to educate the younger generation on revolutionary lines so that they firmly defend the socialist system and continue to work for the revolution and accomplish the cause. Historical lesson shows clearly that when the younger generation are not educated in a revolutionary way the revolutionary gains achieved at the cost of blood are lost.

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

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

The revolutionary working-class party in socialist society is charged with the mission of assuming responsibility for the destiny of the people, forging it and providing independent and creative lives for them. If the party is to fulfil its mission it should ensure its political leadership in politics, the economy, culture, national defence and all other spheres. The party's responsibility for the destiny of the people is inseparable from its leading position. The revolutionary party's renunciation of its leading position and role is the evasion of its responsibility for the destiny of the people. It is the fundamental direction in the building of a socialist ruling party to enhance the leading position and role of the party so that it can fully ensure its political leadership over the whole society.

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

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

First of all, the party should draw up correct policies. The lines and policies of a revolutionary party should accurately reflect the masses' desire for independence and their interests and, to this end, the party should heed their aspirations and demands. Our Party has believed in the popular masses as its teacher, always mixed with the masses, listened to them and shaped its policies to reflect their demands and interests. As a result, our Party has been able to avoid deviations to right or left in framing its lines and policies, and our Party's policies have commanded the full support of the popular masses. The party should not only draw up correct policies but also lead its organizations to carry out its policies thoroughly. An important duty for party organizations at all levels is to organize, control and guide the execution of party policies. When party organizations implement party policies correctly, they can translate them into reality so as to promote the revolution and construction.

The party should give priority to political work in all its activities so as to give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the popular masses. It is an intrinsic demand of socialist society to give precedence to political work in all activities. The revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the working people who are masters of state

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

The embodiment of the revolutionary mass line is the consistent policy of our Party in its leadership of the revolution and construction.

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

If the revolutionary mass line is to be implemented thoroughly in the activities of the party, the method and style

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

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

We must apply more thoroughly the Juche theory on the

building of the Party, whose validity and vitality have been demonstrated fully in practice, and thus constantly strengthen our Party and complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under its leadership.

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

Strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity with revolutionary parties is an important demand for our Party in discharging its national and internationalist duties.

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

independent cause of the popular masses, and the internationally united reactionary forces are challenging it. This makes it absolutely necessary for all the revolutionary parties and people aspiring after independence to unite and fight against them.

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

If all the people advocating independence are to unite and wage a struggle, first of all the internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties, their hard core, should be strengthened.

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

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

unite firmly on the basis of the socialist idea.

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

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

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

The fact that well over a hundred parties have signed the Pyongyang Declaration and that the revolutionary people around the world are responding to it proves irrefutably that the socialist idea contained in the Pyongyang Declaration reflects the desires and aspirations of progressive humanity. The revolutionary parties will be able to strengthen their internationalist unity and solidarity based on the common idea and dynamically promote the cause of socialism when they wage a struggle with the Pyongyang Declaration as their common fighting programme.

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

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

The imperialists and reactionaries are now engaged in vicious manoeuvres against socialism, but they are destined to be a failure. The revolutionary parties and people the world over are turning out in a new struggle, overcoming the temporary confusion. It is inevitable for the masses of people to fight against a force if it

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

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

The imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to every manner of trickery to prevent socialism from reviving in the former socialist countries. This is a scheme to bring the people of these countries under the yoke of domination and subjugation for ever. A catastrophic crisis has been created in the countries where capitalism has revived owing to the criminal moves of the imperialists and reactionaries. The crisis

these countries are now faced with is not a crisis of socialism but a crisis of revived capitalism, and it shows the irrelevance of the idea of bourgeois revival. The resurgence of socialism is the only way out of the political, economic, ideological and moral confusion and crisis which are becoming more serious with every passing day in the countries where capitalism has revived.

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

In the developed capitalist countries, bipolarization, "the rich getting ever richer and the poor ever poorer", is intensifying and confrontation is growing, with the social evil becoming more serious owing to the strengthening of monopolies. Accordingly, the oppressed working masses are turning out in the struggle, lifting up their voices calling for the rights to existence, democracy and independence.

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

It is an important task for the revolutionary parties to form a united front with the democratic political parties and organizations in the struggle to accomplish the cause of

socialism. In the implementation of the socialist ideal of opposing exploitation and oppression and realizing the independence of the popular masses, the revolutionary parties, and democratic parties and organizations share similar demands and interests. The socialist cause will be promoted if the revolutionary parties strengthen their unity with all the democratic parties and organizations and cooperate with them actively on the principle of mutual respect in the joint struggle for the independence of the popular masses in opposition to exploitation and oppression.

If the independence of the popular masses is to be realized, a dynamic anti-imperialist struggle should be launched. The main target of the struggle to defend socialism and achieve global independence is the US and other imperialist reactionary forces. Taking advantage of the destruction of the balance of power in the international arena, the modern imperialists are scheming more viciously than ever before to realize world domination by use of force. Without a struggle against imperialism, it is impossible to realize the aspirations to and desire for independence of the progressive peoples of the world who are opposed to domination and subjugation and aggression and war. Struggling against imperialist domination and subjugation and aggression and war is a natural demand of the cause for independence of the popular masses, and compromising with the imperialist policy of domination is the betrayal of their cause of independence. To maintain a principled stand against imperialism is the bounden duty of revolutionary parties. The revolutionary parties and progressive forces will be able to check and frustrate the imperialists' moves for aggression and war if they regard the struggle against imperialism as their common duty and fight resolutely against it.

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

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

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

and an indefatigable revolutionary spirit.

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