

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

W O R K S

1

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ON THE OCCASION OF PUBLICATION OF KIM IL SUNG'S WORKS

Respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung is a great thinker and theoretician.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung started his revolutionary career in his early years, created the immortal Juche idea and, by applying this idea, has led our revolution along the straight road to victory. In the dark years of colonial rule by Japanese imperialism the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth the revolutionary line of Juche, organized and led the heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle and achieved the historic cause of national liberation. Since liberation, he has led the Party and the masses of the people to carry out the democratic and socialist revolutions with success in a very short period of history and vigorously further the building of socialism. He has thus turned our poor and backward country into a rich, strong and developed socialist country.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great thinker and theoretician, has evolved and enriched the Juche idea and the theories on the revolution and construction and brought about everlasting ideological and theoretical achievements in the grim but magnificent practical struggle for the revolution and construction.

Through his tireless, energetic ideological and theoretical efforts, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has produced many a classic which will shine for ever in history.

His elaborated works are permeated with the Juche idea and contain ideas and theories on politics, the economy, culture, military affairs and all other fields. They provide comprehensive answers to questions raised by the revolution and construction and brightly illuminate the path of the people.

The classical works of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung are widely read by the people and the demand for them is growing daily.

In compliance with the people's great demand for his immortal works and to meet the new requirements of revolutionary development, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea publishes Kim Il Sung's *Works* to commemorate his 70th birthday.

Kim Il Sung's *Works* contains many of his works so far unpublished, along with those already put out.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has revised the works compiled in this edition.

Kim Il Sung's *Works* is the library of Juche idea and a textbook on the revolution.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea is convinced that Kim Il Sung's *Works* will contribute greatly to the historic cause of modelling the whole of society after the Juche idea.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

April 1979

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THE PATH OF THE KOREAN REVOLUTION

Report to the Meeting of Leading Personnel of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League Held in Kalun

June 30, 1930

Comrades,

We, young communists, are now faced with the important task of leading the Korean revolution along the right path in conformity with the prevailing situation.

The current internal and external situation is very complicated and tense.

Fearing the growing might of the Soviet Union and the ever-increasing revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples, the imperialists are frantically manoeuvring to stamp them out. Moreover, finding themselves in the vortex of a worldwide crisis, they are faced with severe political and economic difficulties, and in order to overcome them they are strengthening their aggressive and predatory policy with regard to other countries.

At present, caught up in the worldwide economic crisis the Japanese imperialists are trying to find a way out by accelerating war preparations to invade the Asian Continent and, at the same time, further intensifying the colonial repression and plunder of Korea.

In order to crush the Korean people's anti-Japanese spirit and stamp out their desire for independence once and for all, the Japanese imperialists are covering the whole of Korea with police and soldiers

as well as intelligence networks, and are enacting various evil laws to arrest, imprison and slaughter Koreans at will. Our fellow countrymen thrown into prison by the Japanese imperialists number tens of thousands.

The Japanese imperialist marauders are intensifying more than ever before economic plunder as well as political repression in Korea.

By seizing Korea's key industries, the Japanese imperialists are putting a brake on the development of the national industry and without restraint are robbing us of our rich resources, including gold, silver, coal and iron ore. In particular, the aggressors are making desperate efforts to ruthlessly exploit Korea's cheap labour. As a consequence, the Korean workers are leading a wretched life as wage slaves, as colonial slaves.

The Japanese imperialists are exploiting the countryside even more ruthlessly, while maintaining feudal landownership in Korea. They have not only seized vast tracts of land by force, but last year alone, while pursuing a coercive, predatory policy to obtain grain in the name of the "increased rice production plan," shipped off as much as seven million *sok* of rice. Owing to the cruel expropriation of the Japanese imperialists and feudal landlords, our peasants are barely subsisting on grass roots and tree bark.

The Korean nation is facing a question of life or death today—it either perishes forever under the colonial yoke of the Japanese imperialists or rises up in a fight to survive. If it merely laments over its ruined land and tolerates the unheard-of Japanese tyranny, our nation will fall never to rise again; but if the whole nation rises up and fights, defying death, it will greet the dawn of liberation.

Across the country the Korean people, who have been pushed to the wall by the harsh colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, are now waging a vigorous mass struggle against them.

Following the dock workers' general strike in Wonsan last year, the workers of the Pusan Textile Mill went on strike this year, and there were solid May Day strikes by workers in Seoul, Pyongyang, Taegu, Inchon, Hungnam, Chongjin and all other parts of the country.

More recently the workers of the Sinhung Coal Mine came out on strike in force.

Together with the struggle of the workers, the struggle of the peasants is growing in intensity. Last year alone there were scores of tenancy disputes, and the peasants fought against the Japanese imperialists and pro-Japanese landlords in various places.

The students in Kwangju and other youths and students throughout the country are also fighting resolutely against the Japanese imperialists' policy of colonial slave education, their policy of obliteration of national culture and their policy of obscurity and assimilation.

As mentioned above, the mass struggles of workers, peasants and students against the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys take the form of uprisings everywhere. But due to a lack of leadership based on a correct line and policy, they meet one setback after another in the face of brutal armed repression from the Japanese imperialists.

After the Korean Communist Party was dissolved in 1928 most of the factionalists—the self-styled “leaders” of the Korean revolution—gave up the revolutionary movement and turned snobs for their own comfort. On the other hand, some factionalists, prompted by political ambition and a desire for higher positions, have driven the people into reckless uprisings, only to shed blood in vain. A typical example is the recent May 30 Uprising in eastern Manchuria. Without correctly analyzing and assessing the revolutionary situation, the factionalists forced the peasants to join the reckless uprising. As a result, the barehanded rebels were brutally mown down by the bayonets of the Japanese imperialist army, the police and the reactionary warlords. Consequently, the revolutionary forces suffered tremendous losses and the revolution faced overwhelming difficulties. The uprising exposed and destroyed many revolutionary organizations. The revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese masses was lowered as well, and we experienced bitter trials in our revolutionary struggle. All this was due to the lack of correct leadership in our revolution.

Comrades,

This situation urgently demands that our revolution be led along the road to victory on the basis of a correct revolutionary line, strategy and tactics.

We are young communists who have set out on the road of sacred struggle with the single purpose of saving the country and people. Therefore, we should meet this pressing demand of the times.

In order to lead the Korean revolution to certain victory we must learn serious lessons from the stern reality that our people's mass struggle against the Japanese fails time after time and our revolution undergoes ordeals.

Those who professed to "guide" our people's anti-Japanese national liberation movement were divorced from the masses. They gathered together a few high-ranking officials solely to indulge in empty talk and quarrelling, instead of mobilizing the masses of the people for the revolutionary movement.

It is true that large numbers of people have so far taken part in various anti-Japanese movements. But they were scattered and unorganized.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses of the people. Only when they are organized and mobilized can they win the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the leaders of the movement must go among the masses and awaken them so that they themselves can wage the revolutionary struggle as masters. But the self-styled leaders of the communist movement merely indulged in a war of words harmful to the revolution, and gave no thought to awakening the masses and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle. Without organizing the masses for revolutionary struggle, is it possible to achieve the sacred cause of liberating the country from the vicious Japanese imperialist colonial yoke?

The so-called leaders of our people's anti-Japanese national liberation movement not only failed to mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle, but being infected with worship of great powers, did serious harm to our revolution.

Since our aim is to carry through none other than the Korean

revolution, we should solve all problems arising in the course of that revolution by our own efforts, proceeding from the specific conditions in our country.

But the factionalists who have infiltrated the ranks of the communist movement are so imbued with worship of great powers that they have solved none of the problems facing our revolution; rather, they have put obstacles in its way.

Let us see how the factionalists acted in connection with the problem of party building in our country. This problem concerns the correct fulfilment of the Korean revolution, so Korean communists have to solve it by themselves to suit their actual conditions. We do not need someone else's approval for our revolutionary movement. Whether anyone approves or not, we will succeed if we conduct our revolution properly. Nevertheless, the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the North Wind Association group and other factions, each insisting that it was the only "orthodox" and genuine "Marxist" group, approached the Comintern for approval, instead of building up the party. Thus the KCP failed to strike its roots among the masses deeply enough to overcome Japanese imperialist oppression and, in the long run, was expelled from the Comintern.

After the KCP was dissolved the factionalists put up the signboard of "Party reconstruction" but were engrossed solely in expanding their own factions and in the scramble for leadership. Then each of them without any foundation fabricated the "Party centre" and again tried to get approval from the Comintern. This clearly shows how completely saturated the factionalists were with worship of great powers.

The losses worship of great powers inflicted on our revolution are indeed serious. As mentioned above, the May 30 Uprising was merely the brainchild of the factionalists to satisfy their political ambitions, and from beginning to end took an ultra-Leftist direction under the instigation of the "Left" adventurists. This put big obstacles in the path of our revolution.

Experience shows that in order to lead the revolution to victory

one must go among the masses of the people and organize them, and solve all problems arising in the course of the revolution independently on one's own responsibility and in accord with the actual conditions, instead of relying on others.

Drawing on this lesson we regard it as most important to take the firm standpoint that the masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people and that the Korean revolution should by all means be carried out by the Korean people themselves in a way suited to the actual conditions of their country.

Only when we adopt this standpoint towards the revolution can we map out a correct line and policy, and achieve the sacred cause of national liberation.

In order to guide the Korean revolution correctly we must understand clearly what the character and tasks of the Korean revolution are at present.

How, then, can we define the character of the Korean revolution in its present stage? This question should likewise be solved on the basis of our specific situation.

Korea today is a colonial, semi-feudal society occupied by the Japanese imperialists; it is a society where the normal development of capitalism is retarded and feudal relations are predominant. The Korean people are not only subjected to all sorts of national contempt, exploitation and oppression as Japanese colonial slaves, but also suffer untold hardships in the shackles of feudal relations maintained by the power of the Japanese imperialists.

Unless we overthrow the Japanese imperialists, the foreign aggressors, we can neither free our nation from the yoke of colonial slavery nor abolish feudal relations. For this reason our people's first and foremost task is to fight the Japanese imperialists. The problem of launching an anti-Japanese struggle has already been advanced as the immediate task when forming the Down-with-Imperialism Union.

While combating the Japanese imperialists, we must struggle to abolish feudal relations. Only then can we free the peasants from the chains of feudalism and succeed in undermining the foundation

of Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

Our people's urgent demand is to carry out the tasks of both the anti-imperialist revolution and the anti-feudal revolution—the former being to fight the Japanese imperialists and the latter, to fight their accomplices, the feudal landlords. These two revolutionary tasks are closely connected with each other. The main task of the Korean revolution, therefore, is to overthrow the Japanese imperialists and win independence for Korea and, at the same time, to liquidate feudal relations and introduce democracy.

In view of the main task of the Korean revolution, its character at the present stage is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and democratic.

Broad sections of the anti-imperialist forces such as workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, petit bourgeoisie, non-comprador capitalists with a national conscience and religious communities can participate in this revolution. By mobilizing all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces, we must strike down the Japanese imperialists and their accomplices—landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese Koreans and traitors to the nation—and win national liberation and independence.

After defeating the Japanese imperialists, we must establish a government that will protect the interests of the workers and peasants as well as other broad masses of the people. Only when we set up a people's government can we liquidate completely the remnant forces of imperialism and all the other reactionary forces, and successfully carry out the tasks of the anti-feudal democratic revolution.

We must not just mark time after carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, but press on with the revolution to build a socialist and communist society, and, further, carry through world revolution, too. To complete the Korean revolution in a responsible manner is tantamount to being faithful to and accelerating the world revolution.

In order to guarantee success in the Korean revolution we must, first of all, organize and wage an armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

As the historical experience and lessons of the anti-Japanese

struggle show, independence will not be brought to us on a tray; we can never vanquish the Japanese imperialists and win national independence by peaceful means.

Moreover, the present situation urgently demands that we wage an organized armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Since they are heavily armed and intensifying their suppression as never before, we must gradually build up the violent mass struggle into an organized armed struggle.

Armed struggle against imperialism in colonies is the lawful demand of the development of the national liberation movement. Owing to its intrinsic aggressive and predatory nature, an imperialist country will never withdraw from a colony of its own accord. It always resorts to brutal violence to maintain its colonial rule. So the imperialist forces of aggression must be smashed by revolutionary armed forces.

We must overthrow the Japanese imperialist aggressors and achieve national liberation and independence by our own efforts. Therefore, we must rapidly build up our strength by making good preparations for organizing and waging an anti-Japanese armed struggle.

To prepare ourselves properly for armed struggle, we must first organize the Korean Revolutionary Army.

We must form the Korean Revolutionary Army, a revolutionary armed organization, out of young communists who have been educated and trained in revolutionary organizations, including the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League. We must thus accumulate the all-round experience necessary for armed struggle.

In order to make the Korean revolution a success we must also arouse and unite all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces and marshal them for the sacred struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

In essence, revolution is a struggle to liberate the masses of the people, so it cannot triumph without the participation of the broad masses. Moreover, since we intend to defeat the Japanese imperialists and free the whole nation by relying on the efforts of the Korean

people themselves, we must unite as one all the forces opposed to the Japanese imperialists.

That is why we must rally under the anti-Japanese banner all the forces with anti-Japanese tendencies, including men of religion and righteous non-comprador capitalists, as well as workers and peasants.

Next, in order to guarantee success in the Korean revolution we must step up the work of founding a party.

For the Korean revolution to be victorious there must be a Marxist-Leninist party as the General Staff of the revolution. Only a revolutionary party can formulate a correct line, strategy and tactics, mobilize the broad masses for struggle against the Japanese imperialists, and build a socialist and communist society.

We must derive serious lessons from the dissolution of the KCP and make an effort to found a party on a sound basis. To do this, we must neither try to proclaim the founding of a party right away without any preparation nor try to gain the approval of the Comintern, as the factionalists did. We cannot by any means build a revolutionary party in the way the factionalists do. Even if we did set up a party in that way it would not be able to discharge its mission properly or continue to exist in the face of a counter-revolutionary offensive.

We must not fail to found a new revolutionary party for ourselves. We must make ample preparations for this purpose. If thorough preparations are made, the approval of the Comintern is a foregone conclusion.

In going ahead with the formation of a party, we must, for a start, set up basic party organizations. This is of great significance not only for making the general preparations for party building more substantial, but also for striking deep roots among the broad masses when the party comes into existence. We must form the party not by proclaiming the party centre first but by setting up fully prepared basic party organizations and then steadily expanding them.

We must closely link preparations for forming a party with the

struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Only when we combine preparations for party founding with revolutionary practice can we rear fine communists tried and tempered in struggle to carry out the Korean revolution successfully.

Comrades,

Whether we lead the Korean revolution to victory along the right path or not depends on how we implement the revolutionary tasks before us.

Since we are having to deal with difficult revolutionary tasks never before tackled by anyone, we must be ready to encounter numerous obstacles and hardships. We will have to overcome whatever stands in the way by ourselves, as the masters of the Korean revolution.

Let us all fight stubbornly to hew out the path of the Korean revolution.

LET US REPUDIATE THE “LEFT” ADVENTURIST LINE AND FOLLOW THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONAL LINE

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Party and Young
Communist League Cadres Held
in Mingyuegou, Yanji County**

May 20, 1931

Comrades,

The chaotic world economic crisis which started in 1929 stirred up a frantic arms race among the imperialist powers and added fuel to the fire of their wild ambitions of foreign aggression.

The Japanese imperialists are seeking a way out of the economic crisis through a war of continental aggression. They are openly preparing for the invasion of the vast land of China with its inexhaustible underground resources and huge labour force, infringing upon the vested interests of the British, US and French imperialist powers. The Japanese imperialist aggressors, hell-bent on war preparations for continental aggression, are further intensifying their colonial suppression and exploitation of the Korean people for “security in the rear.”

With the strengthening of Japanese imperialist colonial rule the plight of the Korean people is getting worse and the contradictions between the Japanese imperialists and the Korean people are becoming sharper daily. The Korean people’s resistance to the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists is growing stronger, and the people themselves are becoming involved in a more active, mass struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The struggle of the workers, peasants, students and other young people against the colonial oppression of Japanese imperialism is growing fiercer in all parts of our country; it is beginning to take the form of mass violence.

The present situation and the high revolutionary spirit of our workers, peasants, students and other young people call for the Korean communists to lead the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle on to a higher plane.

Armed struggle is the only way to advance the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a higher stage. This is in conformity with the requirements of the present subjective and objective revolutionary situation in our country.

The Japanese imperialists, the robbers, are ruling our country and imposing colonial slavery upon the Korean people by dint of the counter-revolutionary armed forces. Without weapons we cannot defeat the Japanese imperialists, who are armed to the teeth, nor can we achieve the liberation and independence of the country.

However, we cannot launch an armed struggle right now, when we are unprepared. No revolutionary struggle can be won without adequate preparation of the revolutionary forces.

Only when the revolutionary forces are fully prepared will it be possible to wage an armed struggle and defeat the Japanese imperialists.

We must gather our own revolutionary forces and go on increasing them if we are to wage an energetic struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors. A blind and badly prepared revolt would be useless; instead of strengthening the revolutionary forces, it would do the revolution untold harm.

Today we are drawing serious lessons from the May 30 Uprising. This is because we must make a decisive move in the preparation of the revolutionary forces to develop the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a higher stage.

The factionalist sycophants rose in reckless revolt on May 30 in eastern Manchuria to serve only their factional ends. They had neither

a detailed plan nor organizational preparation for the revolt. They merely set up the “Uprising Headquarters,” rousing peasants in every village to attack towns. As a result, a violent struggle began on May 30, 1930. In the major areas of eastern Manchuria such as Longjing, Toudaogou, Erdaogou, Nanyangping, Jiemandong, Yanji, and Tongfosi they destroyed or set fire to the Japanese consulate, the office of the Association of Korean Residents, the Financial Agency of the Oriental Development Company, public schools, power stations and railway bridges, and liquidated fellow-travellers of the Japanese, landlords and capitalists.

In the streets there were bloody struggles between the Japanese imperialist army and police forces and the unarmed rioters. Our numerous comrades were killed and the masses bled under the bayonets of the enemy. Meanwhile, the Japanese imperialist police and their minions ransacked every village, rounded up many Korean youths, jailed them, subjected them to cruel torture, and murdered them barbarously.

The reactionary Chinese warlords, hoodwinked by the national estrangement policy of the Japanese imperialist aggressors, and at their instigation, massacred many people under the pretext of “arresting Korean communists.” The Jilin provincial government appointed Wang Shutang, commander of the 7th Regiment stationed in Dunhua, the commander of the “punitive force,” and sent out thousands of troops to arrest, imprison and kill innocent Korean peasants indiscriminately.

Last year alone the number of young and middle-aged Koreans arrested and imprisoned by the Japanese imperialists and Kuomintang warlords amounted to tens of thousands, of whom those shot on the spot numbered hundreds. In addition, hundreds of Korean communists who had been arrested were transferred to Sodaemun Prison in Seoul. The total casualties of young and middle-aged Koreans, if those killed in action on the day of revolt, those who died under enemy torture and the wounded are combined, number several thousand.

As a result, today in eastern Manchuria the Korean villages are stricken with terror. Revolutionary organizations have been destroyed, some comrades who narrowly escaped are at their wits' end, and the peasant masses shrink under the enemy's terrorism.

We must save this critical situation promptly, restore the revolutionary organizations and heighten the revolutionary spirit of the masses so as to revitalize the Korean revolution. To this end, it is important to analyse and sum up correctly the rash and adventurous May 30 Uprising, and to draw correct lessons from it.

What, then, was the main reason for the failure of the May 30 Uprising?

First, it lay in the dogmatism and petty-bourgeois heroism of the factionalist sycophants.

The factionalists demolished the Korean Communist Party, founded in 1925, by indulging in factional strife. Instead of learning the right lessons, they hung out the signboard of "Party reconstruction" even in Manchuria, and were engrossed in the mere expansion of their own factions, only to split the revolutionary forces. When their factional activities were criticized by the Comintern, they rose in the adventurous and foolhardy May 30 Uprising with the preposterous ambition of fostering trust through what they called struggle and thus joining the Communist Party of China on the principle of one party for one nation. The factionalist sycophants who had wormed their way into the leadership of this movement did not care whether the revolution failed or the masses perished, but attempted to win the trust of the Comintern and guarantee their factions' hegemony, acquiring fame for individuals or their own groups in the uprising.

Blinded by fame-seeking and worship of great powers, the factionalists unavoidably fell into the dogmatic error of dancing to others' tunes.

They had seen the temporary predominance within the party of another country of the "Left" adventurist line of revolt, and without a clear idea as to whether the line was correct or relevant to the specific

reality of our revolution, they incited great numbers of the revolutionary masses to revolt, thus causing useless sacrifices and harming the revolution greatly.

Second, the uprising progressed in an ultra-Leftist way.

The factionalist scyphants had neither a correct understanding of the present stage of the Korean revolution nor any scientific strategy and tactics. But out of a mere subjective desire, they started the revolt under an infeasible, ultra-Leftist slogan of struggle. Regardless of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic character of the Korean revolution, the organizers of the revolt used the ultra-Leftist slogans, “Let us build a worker-peasant Soviet power!” and “Down with the branches of the Jongui-bu, the Singan Association and the Kunu Association!” and forced the masses to smash all the landlords and capitalists, whether they were pro- or anti-Japanese. Even in some areas the “Leftist” error was committed of setting fire at random to the grain stacks of those who were landlords and rich peasants only in name, and liquidating even the waverers who could have been won over, labelling them minions.

These “Leftist” acts prevented the masses in revolt from displaying their revolutionary enthusiasm and participating voluntarily in the struggle. These acts caused confusion particularly among many of the anti-Japanese masses who could have been won over to the side of the revolution, and instead made them waver.

Third, the uprising was an adventure, inadequately prepared and without scientific calculation.

A revolt is only successful when the subjective and objective situations mature and the revolutionary forces are sufficiently prepared for a determined attack with an elaborated plan and correct strategy and tactics. However, the organizers of the May 30 Uprising did it in a risky and reckless way, without correct analysis and judgement of the revolutionary situation, without taking proper account of the balance of forces between friends and foes and without correct plans and adequate arrangements.

At that time, the revolutionary organizations in eastern Manchuria

were young and still weak. The masses lacked organizational training. This notwithstanding, the masses were goaded to revolt without sufficient revolutionary education. Therefore, some of them, who were not awakened, joined in the revolt without a clear understanding of its purpose and significance. Even in some areas the revolt did not enjoy positive support from the revolutionary masses since mass organizations had only just been formed and the uprising was organized through intimidation and threats. In these areas, therefore, the uprising organizations could not withstand the enemy's white terror and were soon dissolved. Thus, the reckless "Leftist" May 30 Uprising ended in failure, causing numerous deaths, under the armed suppression by thousands of crack troops of Japanese imperialism and the reactionary Kuomintang warlords.

What, then, have been the consequences of the May 30 Uprising?

First of all, it weakened the relations between the revolutionary organizations and the masses, and separated the latter from the former.

As the revolt was put down and the enemy intensified suppression and widespread massacres, the rioters, who lacked organizational training and had insufficient ideological preparation, lost confidence in victory and regretted having been involved in the struggle. Some of them even went so far as to believe that "the Communist Party is to blame for our ruin" as the enemy's pillage of innocent people became intolerable. This damaged the reputation of communists among the masses and had such a serious impact that quite a few people, seized with fear, quit the revolutionary organizations.

Furthermore, as the struggle was waged in a "Leftist" way, large sections of the masses who could have been involved in the anti-Japanese national liberation revolution fighting side by side with us, went over to the enemy.

Next, it resulted in the collapse of fledgling revolutionary hard core, especially of the revolutionary leadership hard core in different regions.

In eastern Manchuria revolutionary organizations emerged and

young communists were brought up amidst the mass struggles of various forms against Japanese imperialism and its lackeys. On this basis, the revolutionary leadership hard core began to emerge in every region.

It was just then that the reckless revolt was organized. As a result, dozens of fine young communists, the leadership hard core of revolution, were killed and hundreds of our revolutionary comrades and thousands of the anti-Japanese masses were arrested and put in prison. Because of this loss of a number of communists, particularly revolutionary leadership hard core, the revolutionary organizations in eastern Manchuria found it difficult to regroup the wrecked revolutionary forces, extend the revolutionary organizations to untouched areas and revive the revolutionary struggle. The loss of many revolutionary leadership hard core brought up in the years of the socialist enlightenment movement and struggle cannot but be a serious setback to the revolution.

Another consequence was that most of the local revolutionary organizations were destroyed.

In all parts of eastern Manchuria the socialist enlightenment movement had developed earlier than in other places, so that many revolutionary vanguard and other mass organizations were formed and grew in scope and strength. However, since the uprising led the revolutionary organizations here to their destruction or exposure, they suffered tremendous losses from enemy suppression. Thus the organized masses have lost their organizations and tremble with fear, not knowing which way to turn.

Moreover, the May 30 Uprising gave the enemy the pretext for an evil propaganda campaign and bestial suppression, and it particularly benefited the Japanese imperialists' policy of national estrangement. The ultra-Leftist organizers of the uprising incited people to set fire to schools run by the Japanese imperialist aggressors and to grain stacks belonging to the landlords. These rash acts caused the enemy to intensify its propaganda to the effect that "The Korean communists are murderers and arsonists," and "The Korean communists are

burglars who set fire to the grain stacks of the Chinese.” The Japanese imperialists thus found a good excuse to urge the Kuomintang warlords to kill Koreans mercilessly.

Meanwhile, under the plea of protecting Japanese citizens and ruling the Koreans in Manchuria, the Japanese imperialists are carrying out the “movement for dispatching Japanese troops to Manchuria.”

The reactionary Kuomintang warlords, fooled by the Japanese imperialists’ national estrangement policy, killed the Korean people at random, slanderously accusing them, saying that the Koreans are the “cat’s paws of the Japanese imperialists.” This worsened the relations between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Comrades,

The reckless and blind “Leftist” May 30 Uprising brought extremely grave consequences to our revolution. However, we must never be defeatists swaying or giving way in the face of these temporary difficulties. On the road of revolution it is not unusual for there to be turns and twists, temporary failures and sacrifices.

Though our revolutionary struggle now faces a bitter trial owing to the “Left” adventurist and misguided May 30 Uprising in eastern Manchuria, if we draw up a correct line and policies, and rely on them in our struggle, then the revolutionary organizations will be restored, the revolutionary forces will be stronger and the revolutionary struggle will lead to a new upsurge.

Then, what line and policies must we take in our struggle?

Above all, we must prepare ourselves to meet a greater event of the future by opposing the “Leftist” blind adventurism of the factionalist sycophants and strengthening our mass organizational and political work. In other words, we must make better preparations for advancing the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a new stage based on armed struggle.

Success in revolution is dependent upon the preparation of one’s own strong revolutionary forces.

At the moment it appears that Japanese imperialism is strong and

the revolutionary forces of the Korean people are sadly insignificant. However, our homeland will certainly be liberated if we, the communists, steadily boost and strengthen our revolutionary forces, take advantage of the contradictions between Japanese imperialism and the Soviet Union, between Japanese imperialism and its colonies and between Japanese imperialism and the rest of the imperialist powers to drive the Japanese imperialists into a tight corner, and deal a decisive blow at them through armed struggle with the support of the working class and of the oppressed nations all over the world.

The most important task for the Korean communists at present is to follow the revolutionary organizational line which makes it possible to unite the basic sections of the masses of the revolution firmly and, around them, the anti-Japanese forces from all walks of life, thereby building up the whole nation into a political force.

To this end, we must form, first of all, strong revolutionary leadership hard core and strengthen their independent roles.

For the skilful organization and development of revolutionary struggles in keeping with the demands of the ever-changing situation there must be in every region leading hard core who are conversant with local conditions, politically prepared and having organizational abilities. What is more, since our revolutionary activities have to be done underground and our work carried on almost independently to fit in with the characteristics of each respective region, it is imperative to have revolutionary leadership hard core. If we have at least one or two capable leadership hard core in every region we shall guarantee success in educating and rallying workers and peasants, and thus laying the mass foundation of revolution.

Therefore, we must form leadership hard core in every region with competent comrades who have high class consciousness, a revolutionary fighting spirit, organizing ability, popularity among the masses, and enterprising mettle.

It is important in shaping leadership hard core to arm them firmly with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas.

Only when they are fully equipped with these ideas can the core

elements fight consistently for the revolution in any distress or adversity and infiltrate deep into the worker and peasant masses to share their joys and sorrows, and train them into ardent revolutionary fighters by arming them with revolutionary ideas. Leadership hard core must be active in their work and spearhead any difficult and dangerous work for the benefit of the revolution, so that they can educate the masses by practical examples.

The revolutionary leadership hard core must correct all the Rightist and “Leftist” tendencies which have cropped up in the work of organizing and guiding the masses in the past and thoroughly implement a new revolutionary organizational line, thus bringing about a great change in preparing the revolutionary forces. They should discover and register on the list of core elements men of high class consciousness and strong will to fight. They should train them and rely firmly on them in their energetic organization and guidance of the masses. The ranks of core elements should be firmly built up with those comrades who have fought bravely in the past years of struggle, especially those who strictly kept the organization’s secrets recently in defiance of arrest, imprisonment and cruel torture.

At the same time, it is particularly important in developing our revolutionary movement to expand and strengthen the YCL ranks with the young communists tested in revolutionary practices. There are now large numbers of Korean peasants in eastern Manchuria. The young people form the majority of peasant activists who are politically awakened and have a high degree of anti-Japanese revolutionary enthusiasm. In actual fact, the YCL organizations composed of the select young people are revolutionizing the countryside. Only when these organizations carry out their work properly can a sound basis be laid for establishing party organizations in the future.

Attention should, therefore, be paid first to expanding and strengthening the YCL organizations, in which many fine, enterprising, revolutionary and sensitive young men and women should be enlisted. In particular, we must absorb in these

organizations the young activists working in the Anti-Imperialist League, the Peasants' Association and the Women's Association who have done well in their assignments, defying the enemy's recent savage suppression and turning the lawful possibilities for struggle to good account.

Second, we must restore and put in order the wrecked mass organizations, and educate and rally the broad masses so as to lay a solid mass basis for the revolution.

No revolution can be made by a few communists alone, without the active support and participation of the majority of the people. For the masses to be involved in the revolutionary struggle and to be turned into a strong political force, they should be armed with a revolutionary consciousness and organized in large numbers in mass organizations. Therefore, we should restore the mass organizations quickly, expand and strengthen them still further and enhance their role. This is very important today in educating and uniting the broad anti-Japanese masses and thus consolidating a mass basis for the revolution.

The enemy's wholesale roundup has now led to the destruction of mass organizations and dismayed the masses. In this situation we must organize and carry on more energetic political work among the masses to raise their dampened spirits and range them in the revolutionary organizations in a big way.

In order to restore, readjust, expand and strengthen the mass organizations, above all, competent leadership cadres should be dispatched to every region. There they must get a good grasp of who the excellent core elements are among the workers and poor peasants, and rely on them to restore the smashed branches of the Peasants' Association, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Women's Association and the Children's Corps and to expand their ranks.

At the same time, many of the best leading cadres must be sent to the untapped areas where no organization exists, to form various anti-Japanese mass organizations—the Peasants' Association, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society, the

Women's Association and the Children's Corps. Peasants, with the landless and poor ones at the core, should be enlisted in the Peasants' Association; the men of strong national consciousness among the former participants in the Independence Army and the nationalist movement should be incorporated in the AIL; those who are friendly towards us and maintain neutrality, the revolutionary sympathizers and the aged should be recruited into the RMAS; women in the Women's Association; and children in the communist Children's Corps. In this way all the anti-Japanese masses can be made members of revolutionary organizations. Besides, in order to defend the revolutionary organizations and the revolutionary masses against the enemy's incursions, the Red Guards, a paramilitary organization, should be formed with young and middle-aged people who have acquired organizational training through mass organizational life, and who are brave and have a strong will to fight. The Red Guards should be progressively trained in military knowledge in preparation for becoming a revolutionary armed force.

Third, it is important in building up a strong revolutionary force to temper the masses in the struggle, to say nothing of organizing them. Revolutionary practices only foster the revolutionary cores and train the revolutionary forces militantly. However, it is too dangerous to drive the masses to a reckless, "Leftist" and adventurous riot as was the case with the May 30 Uprising. A revolutionary struggle should be based on a correct understanding of the balance of forces between enemies and friends, and on scientific strategy and tactics. This alone can mature the revolutionary situation, develop the revolutionary leadership cores and train the broad masses organizationally and in a revolutionary fashion.

The principles we are to abide by in our tactics are gradually to develop each struggle from a small to a big operation and from an economic struggle to a political one, and skilfully combine the legal struggle with semi-legal and illegal ones.

We must strictly keep the secrets of revolutionary organizations and maintain a high revolutionary vigilance in our activities to

safeguard the organizations from the enemy's suppression, subversion and sabotage, and protect the revolutionary masses.

Today the Japanese imperialist aggressors are making every desperate effort to stifle the anti-Japanese revolutionary forces of the Korean people growing under the impact of the communist idea. They are smuggling their minions into our ranks and trying to take advantage of any possible indolence and slackness on our part to discover the secret of our organizations. The enemy is wicked and sly. There could be serious consequences to our revolutionary work if secrets leak out because of some slightest indolence or carelessness of a few people.

The secrets of the organization are tantamount to the life of a revolutionary, and it is his first and foremost duty to keep the secrets. We are waging a hard struggle to rally the masses around the revolutionary organizations by educating and awakening them, and lay a mass basis for the revolution by steadily enlarging the organizations in defiance of the enemy's barbarous repression. So we must always be highly vigilant and disciplined, and work flexibly so that secrets will not be leaked. Particularly, the members of the YCL and other revolutionary organizations ought to keep, at the cost of their lives, the secrets of their organizations without submitting to the enemy's appeasement, deception, menace or blackmail.

Fourth, energetic endeavours should be made to expose the national estrangement policy of the Japanese imperialist aggressors and to strengthen militant friendship and revolutionary solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

The Japanese imperialists are following their stereotyped national estrangement policy while fanning by hook or by crook discord and enmity between the Korean and Chinese peoples caused by the "Left" adventurist and misguided May 30 Uprising. They are seeking to realize their aggressive ambitions more easily by keeping the anti-Japanese forces of the two peoples apart and pitting them against each other.

We must reveal and condemn before the Korean and Chinese

worker and peasant masses the harmfulness of the “Left” adventurist May 30 Uprising and the diabolical murders perpetrated by the reactionary Kuomintang warlords, and thoroughly expose the Japanese imperialists’ underhand plots to incite xenophobia, through which they are busy furthering a temporary antagonism between the two peoples. Particularly we must get them to distinguish clearly genuine friends from foes so that they can firmly unite in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and their puppets, the common enemies of the two peoples.

Since the enemy is stepping up its white terror against the revolutionary forces and large sections of the masses are still to be awakened, we expect to meet many difficulties and hardships in our work. However, with wholehearted determination to save our country and people from the tyranny of the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers we must overcome all difficulties, trials and dangers, and exert every ounce of our strength to implement the new organizational line.

We must thoroughly put the revolutionary organizational line into effect and thus build a solid foundation for leading the revolution to an upsurge within a short space of time in eastern Manchuria and, further, in the whole of Korea, and developing the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle into an organized armed struggle.

ON ORGANIZING AND WAGING ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Party and
Young Communist League Cadres Held
in Mingyuegou, Yanji County**

December 16, 1931

Comrades,

The present situation demands that we immediately organize and wage armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

At a time when they are launching aggression against the continent, the Japanese imperialists are intensifying their all-round reactionary offensive against the Korean people for the “security of the rear.” These scoundrels are now suppressing the Korean people’s revolutionary advance by force of arms; they are wantonly arresting, imprisoning and murdering our innocent people in every part of the country. This greatly aggravates the national and class contradictions between Japanese imperialism and the Korean people.

The anti-Japanese struggle of workers, peasants and the broad masses in general to resist the Japanese imperialists’ barbarous suppression is growing stronger, and is gradually turning into violent conflict.

The general strike by dockers at Wonsan, the strikes by workers at the Sinhung Coal Mine and the Pyongyang Rubber Factory, the peasant uprising in Tanchon, and the peasant struggle on the Fuji Farm of Ryongchon all show that the workers and peasants in our

country have begun violent opposition to Japanese imperialism which is armed to the teeth. A youth and student resistance is also rapidly growing, inspired by the Kwangju Student Incident.

In keeping with the violent resistance of the people in the homeland, the Korean peasants' struggle is rapidly gaining momentum in eastern Manchuria, too. Under the leadership of the Korean communists, a large-scale, well-organized autumn struggle took place involving more than 100,000 peasants there. This developed into a violent struggle and struck a great blow against Japanese imperialism and the reactionary landlords, and a brilliant victory was won.

It has become obvious to the Korean working class, peasants, youth and students and other patriotic-minded people, that they cannot escape ruination as a people nor even subsist without resorting to revolutionary violence.

Under these conditions, it is vital for the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to channel the surging violence of the masses into armed struggle.

Organizing and launching armed struggle is the only correct method for liberating the country and liberating the people from Japanese imperialist colonial enslavement.

The Japanese imperialists, those burglars, have occupied our country by force of arms and deployed counter-revolutionary forces to maintain their colonial rule in Korea. In order to suppress every patriotic struggle of the Korean people through violence, they have permanently stationed more than two armed divisions in our country, and have established over 2,000 police stations and military police institutions, and dozens of prisons. They have passed all kinds of evil fascist laws to deprive the Korean people of freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration, and to prohibit all political activities.

The Japanese imperialist aggressors are using all possible means and methods to reduce the Korean people to permanent colonial slavery. They will not retreat one step until their aggressive forces are crushed.

It is a naïve illusion to expect the Japanese imperialist scoundrels to leave our country meekly. The experience of the past twenty-odd years of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement confirms this.

From around the time when the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea to this day, our people have never ceased their anti-Japanese struggle in one form or another. But each time, Japanese imperialism mobilized its armed forces and barbarously suppressed these protests. Patriots have grieved over the ruin of the country and fervently appealed for independence, but in vain. Bigoted nationalists have foolishly tried to attain independence by submitting petition, disregarding the people's will, and Japanese imperialism has answered this with bloody suppression.

Armed uprisings by the Righteous Volunteers and the Independence Army have also taken place. But these struggles were foiled one after the other by the counter-revolutionary forces of Japanese imperialism, because they, too, failed to be guided by Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and were sporadic.

Experience clearly shows that our nationwide desire for the liberation of the country can never be achieved without crushing the aggressive forces of Japanese imperialism.

In order to smash these forces and liberate the country, it is imperative that we launch an organized armed struggle based on Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics.

It is self-evident that we cannot depend upon nor beg anyone for our country's liberation.

We must achieve the liberation of our country and nation by our own efforts through armed struggle.

Comrades,

The present tense revolutionary situation, brought about by the Japanese imperialist occupation of Manchuria, urgently demands that we take up arms.

Now is the best time to launch an anti-Japanese war on a mass scale by waging armed struggle. First, because the whole of Manchuria is in a state of anarchy, as Kuomintang rule has

disintegrated and the Japanese imperialist ruling machinery is not yet established; second, because the Chinese people have risen up en masse in their anti-Japanese struggle, thus opening up a great era of stormy revolution. Broad sections of the Chinese people are launching an anti-Japanese save-the-nation movement throughout their country against the imperialist occupation of Manchuria. Among the armed units so engaged, the progressive sector, led by the Communist Party of China, is small as yet. But we can turn it into a more vigorous struggle when we fight in unity with all the anti-Japanese armed units.

The time has come when all should come out, weapon in hand, and dedicate themselves to struggle to liberate their country. Let us fully mobilize all the patriotic forces opposed to Japanese imperialism irrespective of wealth, partisanship and religion, whether nobles or commoners. We must guarantee that the whole nation participate to the full in the anti-Japanese armed conflict; those who possess weapons offering weapons, those who have money donating money and those who have strength dedicating strength.

We must support the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, our common enemy, and form a united front with them. In this way, we shall enjoy mass support not only from the Korean people but also from broad sections of the Chinese people in Manchuria.

Thus we shall successfully develop the anti-Japanese armed struggle, enjoying as we shall be the active support and encouragement of the two peoples.

From now on we must begin to organize armed units, and expand and strengthen our own armed forces, by arming ourselves with weapons seized from the enemy. If we use to our advantage the natural and geographical conditions of the Korean border and the wide expanses of Manchuria, we can be victorious by weakening and smashing the enemy forces one by one even with small forces.

This means that we must organize and wage armed struggle with guerrilla warfare as our major tactic.

Guerrilla warfare is a method of armed struggle which will enable us to deal heavy political and military blows at the enemy while preserving our own forces, and to defeat the numerically and technically superior enemy even with small forces. Only when we organize and launch armed struggle using guerrilla warfare, while relying on the active support and encouragement of the masses and on the favourable conditions of nature and terrain, will we be fully capable of defeating the piratical Japanese imperialist aggressive forces.

1. ON ORGANIZING AN ANTI-JAPANESE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY

Comrades,

If we want to organize and wage armed struggle, we must create our own revolutionary armed forces with sufficient strength to smash the enemy's counter-revolutionary armed forces. In order to be victorious over the Japanese imperialist robbers it is essential that our revolutionary armed forces shall be fully capable of preserving and expanding our own strength, and of continuously weakening and destroying the enemy's forces in a long-drawn-out struggle. We must organize such a revolutionary armed force as an anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army.

This army must be fundamentally different from the nationalist armed forces, the Righteous Volunteers and the Independence Army which strove for Korea's independence. It must become a genuine people's army, made up of the fine sons and daughters of workers and peasants; it must become a genuine revolutionary army equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideas, and fighting for the country's liberation, the people's freedom and happiness. Our guerrilla army must become a political army which not only fights for the people's interests but

educates, organizes and mobilizes them in revolutionary struggle; and it must become a working-class army which is true not only to the Korean revolution but to the world revolution.

We are not starting from scratch in organizing a revolutionary armed force now.

In the past we nurtured communists of a new generation in the Young Communist League of Korea and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League. Thus we have established the core around which we can organize a revolutionary armed force.

Furthermore, last year we gained some experience and learned some lessons by organizing the Korean Revolutionary Army and by carrying out political and military activities.

On the basis of these successes and experiences, we must first push ahead with organizing the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army with the fine young communists seasoned and tested in the crucible of the hard-fought underground revolutionary struggle as the core. By closely combining the organization of the guerrilla army with the masses' revolutionary advance, we shall admit progressive workers and peasants as well as patriotic youth, trained and tested in actual revolutionary struggle, and strive to expand the ranks continuously.

In order to guarantee that the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army properly discharges its mission as a genuine people's army, a revolutionary army, we should work to consolidate its ranks politically and militarily, while fully ensuring communist leadership.

Obtaining arms is another important task to be carried out at the same time as founding the guerrilla army.

Men and weapons are the two elements of the armed forces. Being well-armed is one of the basic factors for the success of armed struggle.

How, then, should we equip our guerrilla army?

We have no source of weapons, nor anyone to give them to us. Therefore, we have no alternative but to get them by our own efforts.

The only way is to capture them from the enemy. True, this is a dangerous and difficult task. But if we attack the enemy bravely and

in a self-sacrificing spirit with a high degree of revolutionary determination and if, at the same time, we surprise them, skilfully making them vulnerable or making the most of their weaknesses, then it will be entirely possible for us to seize their weapons and arm ourselves. “Weapons are our life and soul! Oppose armed force with armed force!”—this must be our fighting slogan at present.

With this slogan we have to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Thus, we shall take weapons from the Japanese imperialist aggressive army, from the Chinese Northeast Army which surrendered to Japanese imperialism, from the Japanese and Chinese northeast police, and from the evil, reactionary landlords and bureaucrats, and so obtain arms for the anti-Japanese people’s guerrilla army which we shall soon organize.

While seizing enemy weapons and arming ourselves, we must not neglect to make spears, swords, clubs and the like, for without these primitive weapons, it will be impossible to capture enemy weapons.

We have to begin by organizing small guerrilla units in different areas and arming them, and then gradually expand them to become large units of the revolutionary armed force.

When we organize the anti-Japanese people’s guerrilla army, taking in the fine sons and daughters of workers and peasants, with us, young communists, as the core, and when we strike repeated political and military blows at Japanese imperialism by waging swift and flexible guerrilla warfare everywhere, the scoundrels will be rendered powerless and will surely be driven out of Korea and Manchuria.

2. ON ESTABLISHING GUERRILLA BASE

In order to organize and wage armed struggle through guerrilla warfare, a guerrilla base must be set up. A solid guerrilla base will make it possible to expand the armed ranks continually and wage

protracted guerrilla warfare, even when besieged by the formidable enemy. It will also make it possible for us to protect the revolutionary masses from the barbarity of the enemy. In particular, as we have to carry on armed struggle with no state backing and no aid from outside, we badly need our own firm military base, a rear base. Furthermore, this base is absolutely necessary in order to go ahead with preparations for the founding of the communist party and for the revolutionary movement as a whole, while waging armed struggle.

A guerrilla base can take different forms according to the prevailing subjective and objective situation, that is, the environment, the conditions under which we carry on the struggle and the degree of preparedness of the armed force.

Our present situation demands the establishment of guerrilla zones—bases in the form of liberated areas. Only when guerrilla zones, completely out of reach of the enemy, are set up, will it be possible to protect the young revolutionary armed force and the revolutionary masses and make successful military and political preparations for carrying on the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle as a whole, while concentrating on armed struggle.

To establish guerrilla zones we should, in the initial stage, work to revolutionize the broad rural areas.

The revolutionized rural areas will, on the one hand, serve as provisional centres from which the guerrilla army can conduct operations until the guerrilla zones are established and, on the other hand, they will provide a firm basis for establishing the zones. Moreover, in the course of revolutionizing the countryside, valuable experience will be gained for setting up such zones.

From now on, therefore, we must make every effort to revolutionize the rural areas so that the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army, the moment it is organized, will be able to rely on these areas to wage guerrilla warfare and constantly expand its military and political strength. We will have to set up secure guerrilla bases or liberated areas in favourable zones of the revolutionized rural areas, as conditions shape up over time.

The establishment of a guerrilla base or liberated area must presuppose the following three basic conditions: First, there must be an economic base and a mass foundation to ensure protection and support from the revolutionary masses; second, it must be geographically advantageous for the guerrilla army to defend itself even with a small force, and difficult for the enemy to attack even with up-to-date weapons; third, it must have an armed force of its own which should at least be capable of self-defence.

The mountainous area along the Tuman River, the northern border area of our country, satisfies these conditions fairly well.

This is an area where more than 80 per cent of the population are poverty-stricken peasants who immigrated from Korea, unable to endure the oppression and exploitation of Japanese imperialism and where socialist ideas spread early on, so the national and class awareness of the masses is comparatively high.

In particular, it is here that revolutionary organizations rapidly expanded and gained a great many followers after the Mingyuegou meeting of last spring, and that the mass movement grew swiftly in the course of the recent autumn struggle.

Moreover, this area is full of steep mountains and deep valleys and dense forests and so forms a natural fortress difficult for the enemy to attack even with their modern weapons, but easy for a guerrilla force to defend.

Also, as it adjoins the Hamgyong and Rangnim mountains of our country, this area is conveniently placed for our future revolutionary movement to advance into our homeland.

For these reasons we must set up guerrilla zones—guerrilla bases in the form of liberated areas—in the mountainous and revolutionized rural areas along the Tuman River.

In each guerrilla zone, we must not only train the guerrilla army politically and militarily; we must also expand and reinforce paramilitary organizations, such as the Red Guards and the Children's Vanguard, and arm everyone in defence of the guerrilla base. At the same time we must actively nurture qualified cadres for the Korean

revolution and unite the broad masses to form a single revolutionary force through the intensified work of all the revolutionary organizations, thus energetically organizing and mobilizing them for victory in the armed struggle. In each zone we must also establish a revolutionary government, enforce democratic reforms, build a school, a hospital, an armoury, a publishing house, etc. and so bring about a new revolutionary order.

Only by accomplishing these tasks can the guerrilla zones creditably perform their role as bases for armed struggle, bases for the Korean revolution.

A guerrilla zone can be only consolidated when it is closely connected with the revolutionized rural areas. If it is not, it will not be in contact with the broad masses in the enemy-held area and will consequently be isolated, and hemmed in by the enemy.

Therefore, we must concentrate on revolutionizing the rural areas even after the establishment of the guerrilla zones. To this end we must deploy the revolutionary organizations in the rural areas around them, and educate the masses in revolution. We must also make sure that our comrades become village heads and sub-county heads, positions at the lowest levels of the enemy's ruling institutions. If the broad masses are revolutionized and our men take these posts, then the areas are under enemy control only in name, but actually, it is, like the guerrilla zones, under the jurisdiction of the revolutionary government. When these revolutionized areas expand they will clearly favour the establishment, consolidation and expansion of the guerrilla zones, and also guarantee very advantageous conditions for guerrilla operations.

In order to stamp out by arms the Korean people's national liberation struggle, which is daily intensifying over the entire northern border area of our country, the Japanese imperialists are now harshly suppressing the revolutionary organizations, even massacring the Korean people, especially revolutionaries.

Therefore, unless we rapidly expand the revolutionized rural areas and successfully establish guerrilla zones, we may run the

risk of losing the revolutionary masses.

So we have to push ahead energetically to set up guerrilla bases in close combination with the organization of the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army.

3. ON LAYING A MASS FOUNDATION FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

In order to organize and wage armed struggle there must be a solid mass foundation on which the guerrilla army can depend in its operations.

Guerrilla warfare is, in essence, people's warfare that presupposes the active participation of the masses. The energetic participation of the people and their support and encouragement provide the basic condition for guaranteeing the constant reinforcement of the guerrilla army and the success of guerrilla warfare. Only when there are a solid mass foundation and close ties of kinship with the masses can the guerrilla army break through bottlenecks, overcome difficulties and win final victory, however protracted and arduous the struggle.

Therefore, we must firmly unite the broad sections of the people under the banner of the anti-Japanese armed struggle by strengthening organizational and political activity among them.

The present situation favours the promotion of the movement for the anti-Japanese national united front embracing all sections of our people.

With the Japanese imperialist invasion of Manchuria, the anti-Japanese sentiments of the Korean people of all social strata have grown more than ever before, and the anti-Japanese struggle of the masses is rapidly gaining momentum.

In the homeland, violent protests by workers, peasants, youth and students are on the rise, and the anti-Japanese movement of

nationalists with a conscience and patriotic men of religion is growing rapidly. In particular, the revolutionary spirit of the Korean peasants in eastern Manchuria is higher than ever before.

When we give full play to this mounting revolutionary spirit and the anti-Japanese sentiments of the masses and organize and mobilize them properly, we can form an anti-Japanese united front on a nationwide scale and lay a solid mass foundation for armed struggle.

In the past we infiltrated workers, peasants and all other sections of the Korean people in central and eastern Manchuria, formed mass organizations, such as the Trade Union, the Peasants' Association and the Anti-Imperialist League, uniting the broad masses around them, and carried out mass political work. In the course of this, the mass foundation for armed struggle was gradually built, and we accumulated rich experience in mass political work.

In particular, we brought about a radical change in mass political work in accordance with the correct organizational line laid down at the Mingyuegou meeting of last spring. As a result, we revolutionized many rural districts all over the northern border area of our country and in eastern Manchuria and, basing ourselves on this success, led the recent autumn struggle to victory.

On the basis of these successes and this experience we must in future go among the broad sections of anti-Japanese masses—workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, non-comprador capitalists and men of religion—and strengthen the work of educating, awakening and uniting them in the revolutionary organizations. In this way we shall lay a solid mass foundation for the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In order to do this, it is of great importance to get the majority of the people from all walks of life to join the Anti-Imperialist Youth League, the Peasants' Association, the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society and various other revolutionary organizations, and strengthen their revolutionary education. To do this educational work well, we must first arm ourselves with proletarian revolutionary thoughts and adopt the revolutionary work attitude of

relying on the masses. If we fail to do this, we cannot enjoy the trust of the majority of the working people nor develop the mass movement. First of all, we must go among the masses basic to the revolution—the workers and peasants—and do active information work by speech and pamphlets to suit the given situation and audience. In due course we must bring the progressive elements among them to class awareness and train them to be revolutionaries. And we must ensure that they revolutionize their families and villages and wider rural areas.

While nurturing revolutionary leading core elements in each district and constantly enhancing their leadership role, we must form basic party organizations on an experimental basis, reinforce the YCL organizations and expand and strengthen numerous mass organizations. In the rural areas, in particular, it is necessary to strengthen the Peasants' Association, the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society and the Anti-Imperialist League, actively draw the peasant masses into the organizations and give them organizational training.

To lay a firm mass foundation for armed struggle we must also continue to build, train and expand the revolutionary forces in the course of revolutionary struggle.

While constantly encouraging the revolutionary advance of the masses, we must, in the course of this, expand the revolutionary organizations and develop and train the revolutionary forces, so as to lay a more solid mass foundation for the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

4. ON FORMING AN ANTI-JAPANESE UNITED FRONT OF THE KOREAN AND CHINESE PEOPLES

A successful armed struggle against Japanese imperialism also requires the formation of a broad anti-Japanese united front of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

The Japanese imperialists' occupation of Manchuria has stirred up

the Chinese people's indignation. The mass of the Chinese people have launched an anti-Japanese save-the-nation movement, and some units of the Chinese Northeast Army have risen in mutiny under an anti-Japanese banner.

It is a matter of urgency to form an anti-Japanese united front of the Korean and Chinese peoples in the struggle against their common enemy, the Japanese imperialists.

Only when we accomplish this will it be possible to join to the utmost the efforts of the Korean and Chinese peoples and deal greater political and military blows at the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

Today, the most urgent need in organizing the united front, is to ally ourselves with the soldiers of the Chinese Northeast Army who have risen up holding the anti-Japanese save-the-nation banner.

Overawed by the Japanese imperialist aggression in Manchuria, the Chinese northeast warlords wavered, did not resist and finally retreated into China proper or surrendered to the aggressors. Chief of the northeast warlords, Zhang Xueliang, fled to Jinzhou the moment the Japanese invaded. Then, in October, he left Manchuria and crossed the Shanhaiguan over to China proper. Many other warlords in the military areas under the control of the Chinese Northeast Army knelt down before the Japanese imperialist aggressors without even firing a gun and became their puppets, so betraying their homeland.

But many Chinese soldiers and some officers with a national conscience have mutinied in protest against their warlords' surrender and have gone into the mountains.

In eastern Manchuria alone, there is a growing tendency to refuse to surrender among the army units stationed in Helong and Yanji; thousands of soldiers, in groups or individually, have already risen up in Wangqing, Antu and other districts.

We, therefore, should form an allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units that separated from the Chinese Northeast Army after mutinies under the banner of anti-Japanese national salvation. Then the anti-Japanese armed forces will rapidly grow in scope and strength and deal greater political and military

blows at the Japanese imperialist aggressive forces.

Although they have rallied under the anti-Japanese banner, some units of the Chinese Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army that have mutinied and the peasants' armed units are being duped by lying Japanese propaganda and by attempts to set the nationalities against each other. They are taking a hostile attitude towards the Korean people, towards communists in particular, saying that they are the "puppets of Japanese imperialism," and that they are going to "communize Manchuria."

Unless we make them see how wrong they are and lead them in the right direction, it will be very difficult to unite the anti-Japanese forces, and it will be impossible to concentrate our efforts on the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Therefore, in order to expose the Japanese imperialists' lying propaganda against us Korean communists and their stratagem of pitting the nationalities against each other, and to cement the militant unity of the Korean and Chinese peoples, we must do our utmost to form the allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units.

To do so, we must, first of all, make bold approaches to the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units and strengthen the work among the soldiers.

Though these units of a nationalist army are not steadfast because of the vacillation and class limitations of the upper ranks, they constitute big anti-Japanese forces. We must help them to overcome their vacillation and dual character through struggle, while actively encouraging their anti-Japanese element. At the same time, we must bring the rank and file, the basic masses in the anti-Japanese units, to national and class awareness and thus actively lead them in the anti-Japanese struggle.

In forming the allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units our basic principle must be to form a united front with the rank and file and, firmly relying on this, a united front at the top. The top ranks of the anti-Japanese units are made up of warlords of landlord and capitalist origin, and so they constantly waver in the

anti-Japanese struggle, whereas the absolute majority of the rank and file are from the worker and peasant masses and they can play an active part in that struggle. Therefore, we must first direct our serious attention to going boldly among the masses of anti-Japanese soldiers and to forming the allied front with them. Only when we base ourselves on a united front with the rank and file in forming a united front with the top ranks will it be possible to help them to overcome their vacillation and irresolution and soundly push forward the movement for an anti-Japanese allied front as a whole.

However, we should not neglect contacts at the top. An army is a group with a strong esprit de corps, commanded by superiors. So, if we boldly contact the high-ranking officers of the anti-Japanese units and win them over first, this will be a great help in forming an anti-Japanese allied front.

As an organizational step for winning over the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units we must organize special detachments in Wangqing and Antu where they are concentrated. These detachments must strive to win over the anti-Japanese units so as to expand our armed forces and, at the same time, must step up organizational and political activity so that the units can take an active part in the anti-Japanese struggle.

As we have said before, we must strive to form an allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units and, at the same time, organize the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army unit in each county. If we do this, we shall be able to forge ahead with the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

5. ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Comrades,

For the successful implementation of our important tasks it is

imperative for us to establish basic party organizations in all areas and strengthen the work of the YCL organizations.

We achieved no small success in improving and strengthening the leadership of the YCL and of other mass organizations in accordance with the decisions of the Mingyuegou meeting held last May.

On the basis of this success we must continue to pay careful attention to forming party organizations and strengthening the work of the YCL.

Only when the vanguard role of party organizations is enhanced and the work of the YCL further strengthened, can we successfully carry out all the tasks that will arise in organizing and waging armed struggle and make sound organizational and ideological preparations for the founding of a unified Marxist-Leninist party.

To establish the cadre of the guerrilla army and the organizational backbone of the future Korean communist party we must strengthen the life in party organizations.

The organizational backbone of the revolution can only be formed through hard organizational training in practical struggle. Therefore, we must accept into the party at the grassroots those fine workers and peasants and progressive intellectuals who have been tempered in mass political struggle, and give them even harder party training. In this way we shall bring them up to be communist cadres who have a revolutionary world outlook, know no vacillation in adversity and can be equal to any revolutionary task.

At present, a very important task is to strengthen the work of the YCL together with that of party organizations.

Since party organizations are still weak, it is imperative to do good YCL work and keep on expanding its ranks. Only then can we ensure that we have a group of fine, new young communists who are not poisoned by factionalism and the filth of various kinds of opportunism and establish the organizational backbone for party building more soundly. Not only that, but only when we reinforce these ranks can we found the anti-Japanese people's guerrilla army with fine young communists at the core and energetically organize

and launch a mass movement to support and help the guerrilla army.

To enlarge the YCL ranks we need a good knowledge of the characteristics of young workers and peasants and all other sections of the youth and we must adapt our organizational and political work to suit them.

Some YCL cadres, who have little knowledge of the specific features of youth from various walks of life, do poor work with the young workers and peasants and other youth of working class origin, saying that these young people cannot play a vanguard role because of their poor education, and that they cannot keep secrets; they also keep them at arm's length instead of educating them, and fail to enlist them into the YCL ranks. As a result, staunch young workers and peasants who are imbued with strong class hatred and a lofty fighting spirit stand outside the ranks for one reason or another.

If we are careless about influencing the worker and peasant youth and do not actively draw them into the YCL ranks, we will be unable to create young communists of worker and peasant class origin.

The YCL must attach the highest importance to working among young workers and peasants.

Being young proletarians, young workers have a stronger revolutionary spirit, esprit de corps and sense of unity than their counterparts in any other class. Moreover, owing to their wretched plight—the absence of political rights and unbearable hunger and poverty—they have a vital interest in the revolution and naturally take the lead in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the old society.

For this reason, even if they lack knowledge, they can all be brought up as staunch young communists when they are educated in a revolutionary way and recruited into the YCL ranks.

Peasant youth, who account for the majority of our youth, are suffering from the most outrageous oppression and harsh feudal exploitation under the torture of the Japanese imperialists and landlords.

Therefore, even though they are still backward politically and do not have enough organizational training, when their class

consciousness is awakened and they are drawn into the YCL and other revolutionary organizations where they will receive a good political education, they will go hand in hand with the working-class youth and creditably discharge their duties as the main force of the revolution.

Also of importance in YCL work is to rally progressive students into the YCL organizations by working effectively among them.

For they not only have a strong sense of justice and are receptive to progressive ideas and the trend of the time, they also have a very strong feeling for the social reform and anti-feudalism which will strike off the shackles of the old society and be needed to build a new one.

In particular, since students are subjected to the Japanese imperialists' suppression of and discrimination against the Korean nation, their anti-Japanese sentiments are strong and their national awareness high. So, if they are given a good education and organizational training, they will successfully play the role of pioneer by disseminating progressive socialist ideas, and educating and awakening the majority of workers and peasants, thus guiding them into the revolutionary movement.

In reinforcing the YCL ranks it is important to cultivate leading cadres from among the most progressive of the young workers and peasants in each locality. With the enemy intensifying their suppression, it is only these leaders in different areas that can educate the majority of young people well, expand and develop the YCL organizations to suit the demands of the advancing revolution and lead them to play their vanguard role creditably.

The YCL members must be pioneers in educating the masses and organizing and mobilizing them.

Revolutionary work always begins with mass political work, which is a revolutionary's basic duty. The YCL cadres must acquire the revolutionary method of work, i.e. putting confidence in the strength of the masses and relying thoroughly on them and activating them in carrying on the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades,

Whether or not we can realize the historic cause of our country's restoration by organizing and waging armed struggle and wiping out Japanese imperialism depends entirely upon how we discharge our assigned revolutionary tasks.

We are revolutionaries who are determined to devote our very lives to our country's restoration and to the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

Whatever the ordeals and difficulties that stand in our way, we will fulfil our duty as communists, as revolutionaries, by accomplishing our revolutionary tasks.

Let us all pool our strength and go forward in armed struggle to destroy Japanese imperialism.

Victory will surely be ours, and our country will be liberated without fail.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY

**Speech at the Ceremony to Found the Anti-Japanese
People's Guerrilla Army**

April 25, 1932

Comrades,

Today we are organizing the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army in order to crush the brigandish Japanese imperialists through an armed struggle and achieve the historic cause of national liberation.

It is over 20 years since the Japanese imperialists occupied our homeland. Our country, a golden tapestry of three thousand *ri*, has now become a complete colony, under the hooves of the Japanese imperialists. Our people with their 5,000-year-long history and brilliant culture are harshly exploited and oppressed as colonial slaves. The misfortunes of our country and people are multiplying as Japanese imperialism becomes more and more ambitious in its continental invasion.

Last September the Japanese imperialists occupied Manchuria by provoking an aggressive war. Hell-bent on spreading their aggression across the continent, their white terror against the Korean people is becoming even more outrageous.

In an attempt to turn Korea into a "solid rear" for their continental aggression, the Japanese imperialists have gone so far as to deprive

our people of all their elementary political freedoms—freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association—and are blocking their revolutionary advance at the point of the bayonet, indulging in the wholesale arrest, imprisonment and massacre of innocent people everywhere.

The brutalities of the Japanese imperialists against the Korean people have reached the extreme in the east and other parts of Manchuria. For the purpose of thwarting our people's anti-Japanese struggle, they raid the Korean settlements every day, running amuck to kill all, burn all and plunder all. Thus, our compatriots, deprived of their country, are being slaughtered even in this alien land. The situation demands that our people face the alternative—to die on their knees or to rise up and fight to survive.

Our people have now risen with determination and are fighting everywhere in the teeth of the Japanese imperialists' barbarities.

The workers and peasants are responding with violence to counter the fascist repression of Japanese imperialism, and groups of active patriotic youths are seeking a new way of struggle. Today in this lean spring season more than 100,000 peasants, led by young Korean communists, have begun fighting the Japanese imperialists, their lackeys and the reactionary landlords in Yanji, Wangqing, Helong, Hunchun and many other places along the Tuman River.

The Chinese people, too, are putting up a vigorous struggle against Japanese imperialism. They have launched an anti-Japanese national salvation movement against the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists; they have formed the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army, Anti-Japanese Volunteers and other nationalist anti-Japanese units in eastern Manchuria and many other places.

All these developments testify to the correctness of the line of armed struggle we put forward in Kalun, Changchun County, two years ago. In fact, now is the best moment, the most appropriate time for us to organize massive revolutionary armed forces and wage a full-scale armed struggle.

We, young communists, and the revolutionary people have laid the

groundwork for the formation of a people's guerrilla army through a long bloody struggle.

In July 1930 we formed the Korean Revolutionary Army as the first step in preparation for the armed struggle. The KRA was the first Marxist-Leninist armed organization in our country. Members of the KRA went to many urban and rural areas and conducted vigorous political and military activities among the workers, peasants, youth and students, preparing to form the guerrilla army.

Later, we formed the Young Communist League and many other revolutionary organizations in various localities. We also organized the Red Guards everywhere, a paramilitary organization, as well as guerrilla teams, though not large, in many parts of eastern Manchuria.

By speeding up preparations for founding a guerrilla army in this way we have laid a solid basis for the formation of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army.

We have made great efforts to train the organizational backbone of the AJPGA; we tightened organizational life among the members of the KRA, YCL and AIYL (Anti-Imperialist Youth League) to temper their minds and willpower more firmly in a revolutionary way and to encourage them to accumulate the valuable experience needed for revolutionary struggle.

One of the important questions in preparing the organization of the AJPGA was to improve relations with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units. As a result of the May 30 Uprising engineered by the "Left" adventurists and the Wanbaoshan incident framed by the Japanese imperialists to play off the Chinese people against the Korean people and provide a pretext for invading Manchuria, some of the Chinese people and nationalist anti-Japanese units in Manchuria had misunderstood the Korean people and communists at one time. They were hostile to the Korean people and communists and did harm to them, while in Korea some hooligans, at the instigation of the Japanese imperialists, launched an "anti-Chinese campaign." This aggravated relations between the Korean and Chinese peoples most critically. Nevertheless, we went to the Chinese nationalist anti-

Japanese units and worked there patiently, showing them at the risk of our lives practical examples of fighting resolutely against the Japanese imperialists. Thus we considerably improved relations between the Korean and Chinese peoples and helped some Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units, once hostile to us, dispel their misunderstanding and join us in the anti-Japanese struggle.

We have endeavoured to awaken the masses politically and unite them organizationally. In this way we have laid solid foundations among the revolutionized masses for armed struggle in many rural areas along the Tuman River.

Drawing on the successes achieved in preparing to form a people's guerrilla army, we are now organizing the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, the first Marxist-Leninist revolutionary armed force in our country, and proclaiming its foundation.

The AJPGA is made up of the workers, peasants and young patriots who oppose the Japanese imperialists and their stooges and love their country and people; it is a revolutionary armed force which will dedicate itself to protecting the interests of the people.

The aim and mission of the people's guerrilla army is to overthrow the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in Korea and bring national independence and social emancipation to the Korean people.

The foundation of the AJPGA provides us with the motive power which will directly undertake and push forward the armed struggle, the mainstream of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement in our country, and with the possibility of dealing decisive blows at the Japanese imperialist aggressors, and advancing the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a higher stage.

The foundation of the AJPGA will open up a new phase of implementing the line of the anti-Japanese united front and the policy for founding a Marxist-Leninist party by greatly invigorating and encouraging the Korean people, who are groaning under the colonial yoke imposed on them by Japanese imperialism and by inspiring them to engage in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Comrades,

We must apply ourselves to the armed struggle and launch it on a full-scale basis, as required by the prevailing situation.

To this end we must first build up the strength of the AJPGA.

Only when it is strengthened to the point at which it becomes a large revolutionary armed force can the people's guerilla army give a decisive blow to the counter-revolutionary armed forces of the Japanese imperialists, develop the armed struggle in scope and strength, and increase its influence so as to further promote the Korean revolution as a whole.

In order to consolidate the guerrilla army, all its commanding officers and men should be boundlessly loyal to the revolution.

A high degree of revolutionary determination and infinite loyalty to the revolution are the source of the strength of the people's guerrilla army and a decisive guarantee of its triumph over Japanese imperialism. So all its commanders and rank and file must equip themselves thoroughly with Marxism-Leninism and the strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution through diligent political studies and constantly temper themselves in the struggle. In this way they will acquire a firm revolutionary world outlook and be faithful to the revolution in any adversity.

In addition, they should cherish each other, secure unbreakable unity of ideology and purpose, and defend the vital interests of the masses, maintaining close ties, as their own kin, with them. They must also observe iron discipline, so as to give full play to their excellent political and moral character as soldiers of a true people's army, a revolutionary army.

If we are to win our battle against the Japanese imperialist marauders we must expand the guerrilla ranks as quickly as possible. In order to do this, we should first enlist large numbers of progressive young patriots tested in practical struggle. This is the way to make the people's guerrilla army a true people's army, a revolutionary army.

While expanding the guerrilla ranks, we must obtain more weapons. Patriotism alone will not be enough to defeat the Japanese imperialists armed with highly effective modern weapons. In order

to vanquish the armed enemy, we must arm ourselves.

We must constantly improve the weapons and equipment of the guerrillas by capturing weapons from the enemy through surprise attacks, as well as by making them for ourselves.

To further strengthen the AJPGA its commanders and men must acquire adroit guerrilla tactics and apply them with skill.

Mastery of these tactics will enable them to cripple with a small force a numerically and technically superior enemy, destroy them and also capture their weapons.

At present, the commanders and the rank and file of the guerrilla army are not well versed in guerrilla warfare. Worse still, we have no experience of guerrilla warfare that can be of use to us in our fight against the Japanese imperialists, having no home front and no regular army support.

Therefore, we have to accumulate combat experience and create one guerrilla tactic after another through ceaseless battles.

We should make it a basic principle of guerrilla warfare to wipe out as many enemy troops as possible while preserving the guerrilla force to the maximum. To do this, we should correctly assess the situation and the balance of forces between friend and foe and, on this basis, engage the enemy only when we are sure of victory.

While taking the initiative in carrying on active battles, we must manage to get the proper combination of preserving the strength of the guerrillas and destroying the enemy.

In order to wipe out large numbers of enemy troops while preserving its own forces the guerrilla army should correctly grasp the enemy's weak points and use them to its own advantage. The Japanese imperialist troops have weaknesses inherent in aggressors, and many other vulnerabilities and limitations. For instance, they are unfamiliar with the geographical conditions of this area. By actively exacerbating these weaknesses and making the best use of them, we must keep the enemy on the defensive and destroy their forces ceaselessly, ambushing and attacking them everywhere.

Next, we must strive to establish guerrilla zones along the Tuman

River on the northern tip of Korea and in eastern Manchuria, to facilitate the operations of the people's guerrilla army.

The guerrillas need bases to fall back on for combat operations.

Under the present circumstances, I think, the Tuman River area is best suited for guerrilla bases in view of the geographical conditions and the make-up of the population.

We must work out a policy on further expanding the guerrilla bases and developing guerrilla actions in future, in close coordination with the Korean Independence Army active in the area along the Amnok River and in southern Manchuria. Meanwhile, we must gradually bring the revolutionary bases nearer to the homeland, maintaining closer organizational ties with revolutionary bodies at home.

In addition, we must work harder to form an anti-Japanese united front with the Chinese people.

For this purpose, we must form an anti-Japanese allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units.

They are an armed force which can join us in fighting against Japanese imperialism, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples. The nationalist anti-Japanese units make up a considerable armed force; they are engaged in military activities, holding wide areas of Manchuria. That is why an allied front of the people's guerrilla army and the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units is very important for further isolating and weakening the Japanese imperialist forces of aggression and for assuring the definitive ascendancy of the anti-Japanese armed forces.

We have already improved our relations with them to a certain degree through tireless and patient work.

However, the relationship between the people's guerrilla army and the nationalist anti-Japanese units has not yet reached the stage at which a full-scale anti-Japanese allied front can be formed. Some officers and men of these units, deceived by the Japanese imperialist scheme to alienate nations from each other, are hostile towards the Korean communists and the AJPGA. We must, therefore, continue to work on the nationalist anti-Japanese units with patience and persistence.

In order to step up our activities among the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units, we must first of all form more special detachments of Korean communists and enhance their role.

Since the guerrillas are not yet strong enough and some officers and men of the nationalist anti-Japanese units are antagonistic to the Korean communists and the people's guerrilla army, we must improve our relations with the anti-Japanese units through the activities of the special detachments and prepare step by step for a full-scale anti-Japanese allied front by building up the people's guerrilla army.

The special detachments must penetrate the nationalist anti-Japanese units and fight together with them, and convince their officers and men through persuasion and practical examples that the Korean communists and the anti-Japanese people's guerrillas are genuine patriots and fighters who are courageous in battle against the Japanese aggressors, so as to help them to have a correct understanding of the Korean communists and take an active part in the anti-Japanese struggle.

With a view to improving our work with the nationalist anti-Japanese units we must also enhance the role of the Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers.

Our work with the nationalist anti-Japanese units is expanding every day, so it is a matter of the utmost urgency to elevate the role of this committee, which is engaged exclusively in work with these units.

The Committee of Anti-Japanese Soldiers must coordinate efforts to grasp and solve problems arising in the work with the nationalist anti-Japanese units and promptly correct possible deviations.

If we are to succeed in our work with these units we must actively involve all the people's guerrillas and the broad sections of the revolutionary masses in this work and conduct it as a great mass movement. This will dissipate prejudice against the Koreans and the Korean communists.

Further, the people's guerrilla army must work well with the masses so that it can strengthen its ties of kinship with them, and

enjoy their active support and encouragement in battle.

We are now fighting against formidable Japanese imperialism under difficult circumstances, with neither a home front nor foreign aid.

We must believe only in our united strength and have the firm conviction that we can defeat the enemy by our own strength. By our own strength I mean the organized and united masses of the people.

We must believe precisely in the strength of the organized and united people, and carry on guerrilla warfare, relying on their strength.

The ties of kinship with the masses of the people and their active support and encouragement are the source of the strength of the people's guerrilla army and a major guarantee of victory. The people's guerrillas, therefore, must firmly establish in their ranks a correct revolutionary viewpoint and attitude towards the masses, and a discipline of zealously protecting the lives and property of the people. They must fight, at any place and at any time, relying on the strength of the masses of the people, and firmly protect the people's interests.

In addition, the AJPGA must apply itself to organizational and political work among the masses of the Korean and Chinese peoples so that it will win every support and encouragement from them. It must vigorously develop political struggle against Japanese imperialism everywhere, along with armed struggle.

Comrades,

We are the first contingent of the proud Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, with the mission of shaping the destiny of the country and the people.

The future of the country and the people depends entirely on how we fight.

We must carry out our duty to the country and the people with credit, surmounting whatever difficulties and obstacles may arise.

Let us all raise higher the red banner of the revolution and launch a vigorous armed struggle against Japanese imperialism in order to win the historic cause of national liberation.

ON SPREADING AND DEVELOPING THE ARMED STRUGGLE INTO THE HOMELAND

**Speech at the Meeting of Chiefs of Underground Revolutionary
Organizations and Political Workers in the Onsong Area**

March 11, 1933

Comrades,

We are gathered here in the homeland with the chiefs of underground revolutionary organizations and political workers to discuss measures to win the historic cause of national liberation as soon as possible. This meeting bears great significance.

You have done a great deal of work, inspired by the founding of the guerrilla army and the establishment of the guerrilla bases.

In the first place, you have worked hard to step up anti-Japanese information work among the people at home and unite them into revolutionary organizations. As a result, the anti-Japanese spirit of the masses is rising every day and the membership of these revolutionary organizations is increasing rapidly.

You have also striven to support the guerrilla army. Despite the enemy's strict watch, the revolutionary organizations in the homeland have sent a large amount of cloth, footwear, paper, medicine and other supplies to the guerrillas. This has encouraged them greatly.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to you for this moral and material support.

Comrades,

It is 23 years since the Japanese imperialist aggressors occupied

our beautiful country, a golden tapestry of three thousand *ri*. The Japanese imperialists are intensifying their colonial rule with each passing day; particularly, they are making the most frantic efforts to extricate themselves from the general economic crisis of the capitalist world which has lasted for several years.

They are trying to find a way out of the economic crisis, above all, by harshly exploiting and plundering the Korean workers and peasants.

The living conditions of the Korean workers and peasants are worsening because of the ruthless exploitation and plunder by the Japanese imperialists and their stooges.

The Korean workers, who had been forced to engage in cheap slave labour since the Japanese imperialists' occupation, were deprived of their jobs during the economic crisis and are hovering on the verge of starvation. The peasants are barely subsisting on grass roots and tree bark due to high farm rents, onerous taxes and a severe slump in the prices of agricultural produce caused by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the economic crisis. They are deprived of their dearly-loved children by the landlords and capitalists because of debts or have their property seized. Tragedies of this sort are increasing daily. Having lost their jobs or been deprived of their land, many workers and peasants are leaving in droves for Japan and Manchuria to seek a livelihood. But, wherever they go, they find no solace and poverty stalks them like a ghost.

The brutal exploitation and oppression by the Japanese imperialist blackguards and their lackeys is precipitating class fragmentation in our country. In towns the middle class is sinking into the proletariat, and in the countryside landed peasants are becoming tenants.

The Japanese imperialists have embarked on aggression in China in order to free themselves from the economic crisis.

The Japanese imperialists, who have occupied Manchuria by force of arms, are making frenzied preparations for continental aggression, maintaining an extremely tyrannical, mediaeval rule to turn Korea and Manchuria into their "solid rear." They have reinforced their

troops and police on a large scale and deprived our people of all their rights; they do not tolerate the slightest expression of freedom.

They are running amuck to stamp out the anti-Japanese struggle of our people and erase any aspiration for national independence. In Manchuria, under the pretext of maintaining “public peace” and “mopping up” the communists, they are engrossed in atrocities—arresting, imprisoning and murdering Korean and Chinese anti-Japanese fighters, setting fire to villages inhabited by Koreans and slaughtering innocent people at random, irrespective of age or sex.

As the fascist suppression by the Japanese imperialists has been intensified and the possibility of any legal political or social activity ruled out, many of our workers, peasants, youth and students have risen up resolutely in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists all over the country, and in Northeast China the Chinese people have turned out in a violent mass struggle against the armed Japanese imperialists.

We have achieved no little success in the last one year of struggle since the foundation of the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army.

Through this struggle our AJPGA has been rapidly expanded and strengthened.

We have steadily enlarged the ranks of the guerrilla army with the vigorous youth who, at the inspiring news of the founding of the guerrilla army, joined the guerrillas, resolved to take part in the armed struggle, with the young people in the guerrilla bases, and with the workers, peasants and young intellectuals tested and tempered in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. While wresting weapons from the enemy and arming ourselves with them, we worked energetically to make other weapons by our own efforts. As a result, the ranks of our guerrilla army have been expanded and its armament base further strengthened.

The guerrillas have accumulated a wealth of experience and have been further tempered in the course of bloody battles against the enemy. While waging hard battles to smite the Japanese imperialist robbers, our guerrillas have experienced the rigours of revolutionary

struggle and have been further trained mentally and physically to overcome any difficulties or trials. The guerrilla army had had no instructive experience of guerrilla warfare, and started the struggle from scratch. But in the course of battle it acquired diverse guerrilla tactics to make large numbers of the enemy vulnerable and crush them with small forces.

The advance into southern and northern Manchuria which we guerrillas made for half a year since last summer holds an especially important place in strengthening the AJPGA into a revolutionary armed force.

By that march we guerrillas demonstrated the might of the AJPGA to many people in the vast areas of southern and northern Manchuria, convincing them of victory and exerting a revolutionary influence on them. In this way, we drew many compatriots into revolutionary organizations. Meanwhile, we were successful in forming an anti-Japanese allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units which had been hostile towards the Korean communists owing to their own political backwardness and to the Japanese imperialist policy of alienating nations from each other.

Another major success we have achieved in the past year was the establishment of guerrilla bases and, relying on them, the conduct of active military operations and political work, thus giving a heavy blow to the enemy.

Starting last spring, we have established reliable guerrilla bases across the vast area along the Tuman River. These bases have revolutionary organizations, revolutionary governments, people who support the guerrillas devotedly, as well as weapons repair shops, hospitals and other facilities serving the guerrillas in the rear. Thus, we guerrillas, who have to fight the Japanese imperialist blackguards without any home front and without any regular army support, now have a military, political and logistical base, and our people the strategic base of the Korean revolution.

Relying on the guerrilla bases established in the vast area along the Tuman River we have dealt heavy political and military blows at

the enemy along the border, thus exerting a revolutionary influence on the people in the homeland and inspiring them to anti-Japanese struggle. As a result, various forms of anti-Japanese struggle are being waged ceaselessly in all parts of the homeland, under the impact of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Alarmed at the intensified political and military activities of the guerrillas, the Japanese imperialists are making frantic efforts to destroy them and their bases while they are still in their formative stage. They have set up the Jiandao Task Force with infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineering units, and thrown them into eastern Manchuria. Last January, especially, the top brass of the Japanese imperialist army and police held a joint conference to consult about intensifying the “punitive” offensive. The enemy is now frantically making “punitive” attacks on our bases, mobilizing massive numbers of troops. While intensifying their military offensive in this way, the Japanese imperialists are making a vicious attempt to blockade the bases economically. With the sinister design of cutting off food and munitions supplies to the guerrilla units, they are burning down all the villages around our bases, keeping an eye on people’s movements and strictly controlling provisions of food, cloth, salt, matches and other consumer goods. The Japanese imperialists are also constantly infiltrating spies, wreckers and saboteurs into the guerrilla bases to disorganize the guerrillas from within. At the same time, they are making desperate efforts to reinforce the guard along the border, concentrating huge armed forces there, in an attempt to stifle the revolutionary influence of the anti-Japanese armed struggle before it can reach the people in the homeland. While peppering the whole border area with police installations, they are building all sorts of defences and keeping a strict watch.

This situation urgently demands that we frustrate the frantic moves of Japanese imperialism, and expand and develop the anti-Japanese armed struggle, holding the red banner of revolution still higher. In this connection, the guerrillas’ advance into the homeland is of great significance. By marching into the homeland we guerrillas can

consolidate the achievements already made and deal crushing political and military blows at the Japanese imperialists who have occupied our beautiful country and are forcing all sorts of misfortune on our people. In this way we will enable the anti-Japanese armed struggle to exert a strong revolutionary influence on the people in the homeland and rouse them vigorously to a sacred war against Japanese imperialism, thus finally liquidating the bulwark of colonial rule by Japanese imperialism.

Therefore, we must expand and develop our anti-Japanese armed struggle to the homeland, however vicious the enemy's moves and however difficult the situation.

To do this we should wage a more forceful struggle to establish and consolidate more semi-guerrilla zones over a wide area of the homeland adjacent to the guerrilla bases along the Tuman River.

By a semi-guerrilla zone we mean a revolutionized area which, though under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in form, is controlled and guided by the guerrillas in practice.

The establishment of more semi-guerrilla zones and their consolidation at home have a tremendous bearing on creating political and military strongholds and rear bases to expand and develop the anti-Japanese armed struggle deep into the homeland and on rapidly enlarging and strengthening the ranks of the AJPGA. Once we establish and consolidate more semi-guerrilla zones at home, we can train our basic masses to be dependable reserves of the guerrillas through the revolutionary organizations, and rapidly expand and strengthen the ranks of the AJPGA with these masses.

By sending armed teams of the Korean Revolutionary Army to different localities in the homeland we laid mass foundations for the revolutionary struggle and exerted a revolutionary influence on our people; we dispatched a large number of political workers to Onsong, Hoeryong, Musan, Kyongwon and other places in the homeland, and, in keeping with the prevailing situation, have actively promoted the work of forming various revolutionary organizations in which the broad masses have been embraced and educated in the aims of the

revolution, to turn the areas into semi-guerrilla zones. So, in the Onsong area too underground revolutionary organizations have been formed and the transformation of the masses in a revolutionary fashion is being conducted vigorously.

Basing yourselves on the successes already achieved, you should further build up the Onsong area into a semi-guerrilla zone. Here the class composition of the population is good and quite a few people have been awakened to the aims of the revolution. Moreover, the area is near the guerrilla bases or liberated areas and has very advantageous terrain conditions—you can go deep into the homeland from Mt. Wangjae along the Hamgyong Mountains via Mt. Jung. In addition, you must set up semi-guerrilla zones in many other parts of the homeland and consolidate them.

In order to form semi-guerrilla zones, the guerrillas must conduct combat activities more energetically along the border. Meanwhile, the underground revolutionary organizations at home must launch a powerful struggle to rally and revolutionize the broad masses opposed to Japanese imperialism. Only when we have the revolutionized masses can we strengthen our revolutionary forces by relying on them, paralyse the ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism and develop various forms of anti-Japanese struggle. Therefore, we must thoroughly revolutionize the great majority of the masses in the areas intended for semi-guerrilla zones.

To form the semi-guerrilla zones it is necessary to establish secret communications places and various other places for activity wherever necessary, by using the favourable terrain of the wooded areas.

If semi-guerrilla zones are built up in this way all over the homeland we will be able to expand and develop the anti-Japanese armed struggle deep into the homeland, using these zones.

What is necessary next is to firmly rally the whole nation as a single political force in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

In order to expand and develop the armed struggle into the homeland and win the historic cause of national liberation, we must firmly unite all sections of the masses with anti-Japanese inclinations

under the banner of the anti-Japanese national united front based on the worker-peasant alliance. This is a correct step in the light of the character of our revolution, which is designed mainly for national liberation from Japan, and the actual situation in which the reactionary offensive of Japanese imperialism against the Korean people is being intensified more than ever before. In fact, only when we unite the broad sections of the anti-Japanese forces and fight relying on them can we isolate and weaken the counter-revolutionary forces, completely smash the reactionary offensive of the Japanese imperialists and achieve the historic cause of liberating the country.

A broad section of the petty bourgeoisie, to say nothing of the workers and peasants, are taking part in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Even some manufacturers are now harbouring anti-Japanese sentiments as they become impoverished and more of them go bankrupt with each passing day because of the predatory colonial policy of Japanese imperialism.

We should rally all those who hate the Japanese imperialists and truly desire the country's liberation under the banner of the anti-Japanese national united front, irrespective of property status, education, residence or sex.

We must set up many mass organizations of different types in order to rally the whole nation into a single political force. In my opinion, we will be able to form legal and illegal revolutionary organizations under various names to suit the specific features of the given areas and localities. We must set up numerous mass organizations in various forms in the northern border area and in all other parts of the country, too, so as to rally the broad masses.

The Worker-Peasant Union now active in the Onsong area has failed to unite the broad sections of the anti-Japanese masses. I think it had better consider changing its name so as to draw more revolutionary members of the masses into the organization in the future.

We must not only unite vast numbers of anti-Japanese people in organizations, but also constantly educate them in a revolutionary way.

There are various forms of giving the masses revolutionary education. We can heighten the revolutionary ardour of the masses through secret reading sessions or press activity and educate them in the aims of the revolution through night schools or informal explanations. We must educate the masses constantly and actively, through a proper combination of these diverse forms.

The educational work must be subordinated to the solution of the tasks arising from our revolutionary mission. Therefore, we should explain to the masses the aggressive crimes of the Japanese imperialists, the exploitative nature of the landlords and the pro-Japanese capitalists, our people's struggle against Japanese imperialism, and the ways and means of struggle against the enemy. This will give them a clear understanding of the enemy and spur them to take an active part in the revolutionary struggle.

Also, the education of different sections of the masses must be conducted, taking into consideration their specific features and levels of consciousness, and be carried out actively and prudently, in conditions of illegality as the Japanese imperialists are engrossed in a savage reign of terror.

By uniting the broad masses under the anti-Japanese banner and educating them in a revolutionary way, as I have mentioned, we should create revolutionized areas all over the country, where large masses of the people will be able to participate actively in various forms of anti-Japanese struggle.

From now on, we should closely combine mass movements with the preparatory work for the expansion and development of the armed struggle into the homeland.

The expansion and development of the armed struggle into the homeland will play a decisive role in exerting a revolutionary influence on the people at home, strongly inspiring them to take part in the anti-Japanese struggle and finally eradicating the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. The mass struggle is very important in dealing blows at the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, tempering the masses in a revolutionary way and creating favourable conditions

for expanding and developing the armed struggle. However, this alone is not enough to overthrow the system of the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialist marauders and win the historic cause of the country's liberation.

That is why we raise as an important matter the linking of the mass struggle with the work of expanding and developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle into the homeland. Underground revolutionary organizations and political workers must actively organize and wage in towns, farming and fishing villages at home diverse forms of anti-Japanese struggle of the masses in coordination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle. In this way, we will give a decisive blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors, expand and strengthen the mass foundation of the revolution and accelerate the destruction of Japanese imperialism.

The revolutionaries and the populace at home must make all possible efforts to aid the guerrillas and the people in the guerrilla bases.

First, they should provide the guerrillas with timely information about the enemy's situation. With a view to guaranteeing the combat activity of the guerrillas, they should accurately reconnoitre and inform them promptly of the disposition of the repressive facilities and government organizations of Japanese imperialism such as gendarmeries, police stations, border customs posts, police sub-stations at ferries, county and sub-county offices, and the movements of the Japanese armed forces. For the present, they must reconnoitre and send in information related to the manoeuvres of the Japanese imperialists, so that we may attack the enemy's strongholds along the border.

Meanwhile, the revolutionaries in the homeland should organize and give more positive aid to the guerrilla units and the people in the guerrilla bases. As in the past, so also in the future, they should rouse the revolutionary organizations and the people at home to action to secure greater amounts of necessary war supplies and consumer goods, and send them to the guerrilla bases by various means, using

vantage points and natural conditions. This will inspire the guerrilla units and the people in the guerrilla bases, and contribute greatly to the advancement of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Comrades,

We must mobilize the efforts of the whole nation and wage a long and bloody struggle to crush the brigandish Japanese imperialists in order to achieve the historic cause of the country's liberation. If we are to be successful in this difficult and complicated revolutionary task, we must have a General Staff of the revolution. That is why the founding of a Marxist-Leninist party is the most urgent and important task for us communists. To found the party we should train and expand the ranks of the communists who have been thoroughly armed with Marxist-Leninist ideas and have been tried and tested in actual struggle. Only then can we firmly rally the revolutionary masses around them as the backbone and correctly carry out complicated revolutionary tasks. We must give the factionalist idea and other hostile ideas no chance to gain a foothold in the revolutionary organizations. Through these organizations also, we must make energetic endeavours to train cadres who have been armed thoroughly with Marxist-Leninist ideas.

I hope you will make a great contribution to expanding and developing the armed struggle into the homeland and hastening the day of national liberation.

ON THE TASKS FOR IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Workers
of the Young Communist League Held in Wangqing**

March 27, 1933

Comrades,

It is already almost one year since we founded the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army and launched an organized armed struggle against Japanese imperialism in line with the policy defined at the Mingyuegou meeting.

During this period we have set up guerrilla zones or liberated areas in the vast expanses along the Tuman River. This has provided us guerrillas with a base for lively military and political activities.

Relying on the guerrilla bases, we have dealt heavy political and military blows at the Japanese imperialist aggressors, powerfully inspired our people to struggle against them, strengthened our own military and political forces and steadily developed the whole anti-Japanese national liberation struggle around the armed struggle.

Meanwhile, Young Communist League organizations and their members have indeed accomplished a great deal of work. YCL organizations have enrolled many young people by doing organizational and political work among the broad sections of youth, and have got them to contribute actively to the anti-Japanese armed struggle. The YCL members and other young people in the guerrilla army have displayed unparalleled bravery, boldness and self-

sacrificing spirit in battle, and those in the guerrilla zones have built up the base and solidly defended it from enemy invasion. Despite the enemy's cruel repression, the YCL members and other youth in the enemy-ruled zone have fought against the Japanese ceaselessly and in various forms, giving strong moral and material support to the guerrilla army.

Alarmed by the growing military and political activities of the guerrillas and our people's multifarious anti-Japanese struggle mounted under the former's influence, the Japanese imperialists are now making frantic efforts to destroy the guerrilla army and its base.

The situation urgently requires us to heighten the ideological awareness of the broad masses who are opposed to the Japanese, and organize them to thwart the frenzied moves of the Japanese imperialists and advance the armed struggle. In particular, arousing many young people for the anti-Japanese struggle is very important in view of their role in the revolutionary struggle. It is the young people who are the bravest both in guerrilla actions and in organizational and political work in the area under enemy rule. It is also the young people who will carry the future of our revolution on their shoulders.

At present, however, YCL organizations at all levels are not working actively enough to cope with the requirements of our developing revolution. The report and other speeches, too, confirm that there are serious shortcomings in their work. They do not recruit the many young people who are eligible for membership, nor do they properly train the young people of all strata.

I should like to comment on some problems related to the steps to be taken after this meeting so as quickly to rectify the shortcomings in YCL work, expand and strengthen its organizations and improve information work and education among the broad sections of youth.

First, you must expand and consolidate YCL organizations.

This is the most important task confronting YCL organizations today. Only by building them up to be broad in scope and strong can the YCL increase its militancy, satisfactorily implement its revolutionary tasks and successfully strengthen the guerrilla army. At

present, however, YCL organizations are not being properly expanded and consolidated.

The major defect in their organizational work is “Leftist” closed-doorism. This tendency is expressed in refusing to accept even qualified youths as YCL members by demanding a too high level. True, it should be a principle that the best young people be chosen for YCL membership. But it is a serious mistake to deny membership to those youths who have been trained and tempered in several years of underground activity because they have some defects in their attitude to work, to young workers and peasants because they lack certain knowledge, and to young students because they are too young. You can correct the defects in their attitude without difficulty, if you educate them. And in the same way you can raise the level of those who are not good at work due to a lack of knowledge.

And it is not right to regard people of almost twenty as too young. General Nam I, a warrior in Korean history, said: “If a man at twenty fails to command the national situation, who will call him a man in the years to come?” This is what he said in olden days, so why should people in their late teens nowadays be disqualified as too young?

Fearing that too many recruits would divulge their secrets, some YCL organizations do not admit even qualified young people now. This is harmful. We should, of course, strictly guard against leaks and keep secrets even at the cost of our lives. But if you hesitate to expand YCL organizations for the sake of secrecy, you will not be able to build up the revolutionary forces. The point is that you should admit young people to the YCL and then teach them to keep secrets for the sake of the revolution.

At the moment, the “Leftist” tendency towards closed-doorism is doing great harm to the growth of YCL organizations. I was told that in some enemy districts the YCL recruited only three or four out of a hundred young people who had been active for over a year in the Children’s Vanguard and in three other organizations—the Peasants’ Association, the Anti-Imperialist League and the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society. This is the result of a “Leftist” mistake. We

cannot tolerate this type of error any longer.

We should thoroughly eliminate this “Leftist” tendency and actively enlist in the YCL the young people tested in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

YCL organizations should first admit youths who are in the guerrilla army and those who have been tested through actual struggle in the Anti-Japanese Self-Defence Corps and other revolutionary organizations in the guerrilla zones. Meanwhile, they should penetrate deep into the enemy-ruled area and recruit awakened progressive youth. At present the young people living there make up the overwhelming majority, and the YCL organizations have suffered considerably from the enemy’s destructive activities. In this situation YCL organizations at different levels should work efficiently among the youth there and recruit as many of them as possible.

They should, above all, strive to win as members young peasants as well as young workers with a strong revolutionary spirit, a sense of organization and unity. The vast majority of the young people in our country are peasants, most of whom are virtually rural proletarians. It is highly important to admit peasant youths with class awareness and train them to be the main force of the revolution together with the working youths.

YCL organizations should never neglect accepting progressive young students. Our students have a very high degree of national consciousness and patriotism because they suffer racial oppression and humiliation by Japanese imperialism. And students in general, regardless of their class origin, are receptive to the trend of the times and zealous in their pursuit of truth. Consequently, they can grasp progressive communist ideology better than anyone else and pioneer the movement for socialist enlightenment. This is illustrated by the Kwangju Student Movement of November 1929.

While striving to eliminate the “Leftist” tendency towards closed-doorism from the organizational work of the YCL on the one hand, we should, on the other, guard strictly against the Rightist deviation.

The Rightist deviation finds expression in the unprincipled

recruitment of even unknown and unqualified young people, allegedly to expand YCL organizations. Some YCL organizations both in the guerrilla zones and in the enemy-ruled areas are now planning to enroll politically unprepared youngsters at random, giving them neither class education nor anti-Japanese patriotic education. How can we afford to admit young people whose class consciousness and anti-Japanese patriotic thought are not firm into the YCL organization, the vanguard of the masses of young workers and peasants? If this is allowed to continue, alien and chance elements can infiltrate into the YCL ranks, weaken its militancy and destroy the organization itself.

We must completely reject both the “Leftist” tendency towards closed-doorism and the Rightist deviations, conduct efficient organizational work among the youth wherever they are and draw in more brave and progressive young people so as to steadily expand and consolidate the YCL.

Secondly, all YCL organizations should improve ideological education for broad sections of young people.

If we are to strengthen YCL organizations and get many young people to join, we must improve their ideological education. Only when their consciousness is enhanced through extensive and intensive ideological education can the role of the youth be increased in the revolutionary struggle and the historic cause of national liberation be furthered.

Terrified by the anti-Japanese armed struggle which is growing day by day, Japanese imperialism is now bent on vicious political stratagems to wreck our revolutionary ranks from within while strengthening “punitive” military offensive against the guerrilla army and its base. Unless under these circumstances the ideological education of young people is improved, we shall be unable to smash the enemy’s military and ideological offensives and keep advancing the armed struggle.

At present, however, YCL organizations are not properly conducting ideological education among broad sections of young people.

The major defect in their ideological education is that it lacks clear content and objectives and is not suited to young people.

This sort of ideological education might be even less effective than a Christian preacher's sermon. YCL organizations are now bragging of propagating Marxism-Leninism, but their speeches are often too empty and ill-adapted to the audience to attract them.

Young people have their own characteristics. They are enterprising, revolutionary, heroic, ardent in their search for the truth and in their aspirations for an ideal society, and more sensitive than anyone else. However, YCL organizations are working in a stereotyped manner instead of adapting their information and agitation work and individual education to the specific features and aspirations of the youth, and to different local conditions and customs.

The YCL's main effort in ideological education at the present moment should concentrate on imbuing broad sections of the youth with hatred for the Japanese and love of the country and on increasing their class consciousness so that they will actively join in the sacred war against the Japanese and for the liberation and independence of their country, and take the lead in the struggle.

YCL organizations should constantly expose to broad sections of the youth the insidious colonial policy of Japanese imperialism, its craftiness and its brutal slaughter of our people, so as to instil in them strong anti-Japanese sentiments.

Besides, YCL organizations should work harder to convince many young people of the exploitative nature and treachery of the pro-Japanese landlords, capitalists and other stooges of the Japanese imperialists.

Stepping up education in patriotism is important at the present moment. This is the way to imbue our young people with a sense of national pride and self-respect and with burning hatred for the Japanese imperialists who are occupying our beautiful country, that silk-embroidery of a land of three thousand *ri*, and encourage them to be zealous in the anti-Japanese struggle. We must always teach them

to nurture an infinite love for their country and acquire good knowledge of the history of our people's struggle and of our brilliant national culture, so that they will value these and heighten their desire for national independence.

In order to encourage broad sections of young people to rise up in the sacred war against the Japanese, we must intensify education in revolutionary optimism. YCL organizations should be tireless in exposing the weaknesses of Japanese imperialism and the inexorability of its downfall, and in explaining the righteousness of our revolutionary cause and the inevitability of its victory to the young people so as to inspire them to fight unyieldingly against Japanese imperialism, and overcome all difficulties and obstacles in their way.

Further, ideological education to enhance militant solidarity with the Chinese youth should be stepped up among broad sections of our young people. This is essential in the struggle to thwart the Japanese imperialist plot to create bad blood between nations and to reinforce the anti-Japanese revolutionary forces. Through improved ideological education among the young people, YCL organizations should form a united front with the Chinese youth in opposition to Japanese imperialism, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples, and vigorously push forward the work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units in particular.

YCL organizations must conduct ideological education effectively in close combination with the young people's activities to carry out their revolutionary tasks. Only then will ideological education cease to be lip service and actually contribute to the revolutionary cause.

For the immediate period ahead, YCL organizations should combine ideological education with the effort to implement the policy of anti-Japanese armed struggle. In this way they will imbue the young people with firm confidence in the victory of the revolution, inspire them staunchly to defend the guerrilla zones, wholeheartedly to support the AJPGA and actively to participate in various actions against the Japanese.

Ideological education of young people must adopt diverse ways to suit their characteristics.

If this work is done in a humdrum way in disregard of their special features and character, the desired results will not be attained. YCL organizations should organize lectures, round-table talks, motivational speeches, political seminars and other forms of oral information, as well as different literary, art and sports activities in keeping with the mental qualities and other characteristics of the youth.

Ideological education can be successful only when it is adapted to the levels of those to be educated.

This requires, above all, a full understanding of the people concerned. A doctor examines the physical qualities and characteristics of his patient before giving him treatment. This is because different characteristics and different physical qualities give rise to different symptoms even with the same disease, and this in turn necessitates the prescription of different kinds and different doses of medicine. Likewise, YCL organizations must be clear about the class positions and ideological awareness of the young people and suit the education to them.

In addition, ideological education must be given in a language understandable to everyone.

If you use borrowed words or difficult expressions in your speech, regardless of how they are understood by the young audience, you may produce an adverse effect far from the desired results. Suppose you gather together for information purposes peasant youths with a low level of consciousness and address them in an affected manner, putting forward incomprehensible propositions; for instance, you say we must destroy bourgeois society and win proletarian hegemony, we must establish a soviet, or speak about proletarian internationalism. Then the audience will say, "That young man is crazy. Not knowing even the Korean language and using only foreign terms, he is clamouring for the Korean revolution. We've listened to him all day and yet heard not a word about Korea's independence." Such

information will not only be sterile, but may disappoint the young people. So YCL organizations should educate the young people not in a presumptuous manner, but in plain words understandable to them.

Remoulding the ideology of young people and organizing them for revolutionary struggle cannot be completed by conducting a couple of educational projects. The objective can only be attained through tireless and persevering inculcation. If explaining once is not enough, do it twice; and if twice is not enough, do it ten times and even a hundred times. In this way, YCL organizations will persuade the young people patiently until all of them participate zealously in the sacred struggle to wipe out Japanese imperialism.

Thirdly, YCL organizations should take on responsibility for guiding the work of the communist Children's Corps.

This provides an important guarantee for strengthening the YCL and, further, for reinforcing the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army. The members of the CC represent our future. Unless the CC is strengthened, there can be no strong organization of young communists, and without politically qualified, staunch members of the YCL, it will be impossible to found a revolutionary working-class party on a sound basis. Improving the work of the CC now will result in reinforcing the YCL and laying the groundwork for the party. That is why the CC, the YCL and the party are called the "Alliance of Three Generations," and even a song about strengthening it has been composed.

YCL organizations should foster in the minds of children an ardent love of their country and hatred for the enemy. They should clearly teach the children about our beautiful land, rich mineral resources, the proud history of our people's struggle and our brilliant national culture. At the same time they should bring home to them that Japanese imperialism, the landlords and capitalists are our enemies. This is the way to educate children from childhood to love their country and people and hate the enemy.

YCL organizations should urge the children to be devoted to the life of their organization. In this way the children will hold the

organization dear from their early years, rely on it in their daily lives and carry out its assignments responsibly.

The instructors of the CC play a very important part. They are teachers and guides who are directly in charge of organizing and guiding the children's studying and life. YCL organizations at all levels must enhance the role of the instructors and, at the same time, select fine YCL members and assign them as CC instructors, so as to guarantee responsible guidance to the work of the CC.

YCL organizations should give efficient guidance to the members of the Children's Vanguard.

YCL organizations should first impart some military knowledge to CV members, assign them military duties such as guard duty, reconnaissance, liaison, spy hunting and other missions, as well as tasks for political study, and help them to carry out their assignments correctly like the CV members they are, with a keen sense of national pride and class consciousness. In this way they will be led to contribute actively to the anti-Japanese struggle and constantly undergo revolutionary training.

Fourthly, YCL workers should radically improve the way they work and their attitude to work.

We have already emphasized on many occasions the need for YCL workers to have a correct viewpoint on the masses and become true leaders of the young people. But many of them still throw their weight about, using words of foreign origin and hurling abuse at the young people. They cannot educate and unite young people this way. True, they will come across many complicated and difficult problems in their work, since they have to deal with different sections of the youth. But they will be successful, despite the difficulties and complexities, if they approach the young people with the heart of a real brother and with true revolutionary comradeship, firmly trust them and rely on their strength and wisdom in work. So it is the primary task for YCL workers to acquire the revolutionary viewpoint on the masses.

YCL workers should also acquire the revolutionary style of work,

that is, depending on the strength of the broad masses. They should go deep among broad sections of the young people, explain their tasks and teach them how to carry them out, while sharing board and lodging with them, so that the young people should understand their tasks and apply themselves fully to the tasks.

Persuasion and education is a style of work inherent in communists. A revolution will triumph only through the struggle of awakened and conscious people. You can never awaken young people to consciousness by coercion or command. Especially now, when we are fighting against the enemy on all sides to liberate the country, the only way for us to extensively mobilize the young people in the anti-Japanese struggle is by persuasion and education. This does not mean, however, that YCL workers should never criticize comrades who made mistakes.

YCL workers must combine persuasion and education with principled criticism. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that criticism can be effective only when it is given in a truly comradely manner and to suit the character and awareness of those criticized. If you ignore these factors and rebuke comrades, saying this is “serious” or that is “wrong,” allegedly to sharpen the edge of criticism, it will produce an adverse effect.

If you are to give criticism correctly, you must first have a correct understanding of the shortcomings of the comrade concerned, clearly point out his faults one by one, explain to him where he is wrong, and show him specific ways and means to rectify them. This is precisely the way to give comradely and principled criticism in the true sense of the word. Criticism lacking comradeship will not really move people to deep repentance.

YCL workers should always give young people advice and help so that they can fulfil their tasks without making mistakes. They should make it a rule to go among the young people to teach and help them.

YCL workers must have a correct attitude to work. The communist attitude is to love and respect the masses at all times, to work devotedly in their interests and share life and death, joys and

sorrows with them. This is precisely the communist attitude YCL workers must acquire.

They should always be modest and simple, learn humbly from the masses and live frugally. Only then will they be able to go deep among broad strata of the young people and unite with them, sharing joys and sorrows with them. They should lead the young people whenever they are confronted with hard tasks, braving the difficulties and guiding their fellows by providing practical examples.

Comrades,

Extremely difficult and grim is the armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists, who are desperately trying to stamp out the anti-Japanese spirit of our people and put down the armed struggle. But the Korean people will without fail defeat Japanese imperialism, achieve the country's liberation and independence and build a new society in their beautiful land of three thousand *ri*, where everyone will live equally in happiness.

Looking forward with confidence to the day of victory, the Korean people are advancing under the unfurled banner of anti-Japanese armed struggle. If this struggle is to grow and triumph, the broad masses of young people must take an active part in the struggle and play a leading role.

Now, I firmly believe that YCL organizations at all levels will improve their work as required by the development of the revolution, knit the broad masses of young people closely around themselves and train them to be young communist vanguards who can devote all their bloom of youth and lives to the struggle for the Korean revolution.

LET US WIPE OUT FACTIONALISM AND STRENGTHEN THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY RANKS

Treatise Published in Pamphlet Form

May 10, 1933

In order to successfully achieve the historic cause of national liberation, the Korean communists should get rid of factionalism and firmly guarantee the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks.

Factionalists have done tremendous harm to the communist movement and the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in our country.

Our people are now waging a bloody struggle with arms in hand against the Japanese imperialist aggressors—a band of robbers. Even at this moment, while insidiously seeking personal fame and political ambition, the factionalists are undermining the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks and obstructing the advance of the revolution in every way.

Today we are confronted with the urgent task of purging the factionalists from the revolutionary ranks and completely eliminating factionalism.

All revolutionary comrades should come out actively in the struggle against factionalism, bearing in mind that the liquidation of factionalism is a prerequisite for the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks and successful development of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

1. LET US HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTIONALISTS' CRIMES

When we recall the communist movement and anti-Japanese national liberation struggle waged over ten-odd years in our country, we curse the crimes committed by the factionalists.

All the bitter failures and sacrifices in the communist movement and anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in the past were, without exception, related to their criminal deeds.

Factionalism is a product of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, particularly of self-glorification, fame-seeking and careerism; it has nothing in common with the revolutionary ideas of the working class.

Factionalism raised its head in the communist movement of our country because this movement was not guided in its early stage by genuine communists with a steady class stand and deeply imbued with Marxism-Leninism, and the upper strata of its ranks consisted of self-styled Marxists and petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

As Marxism-Leninism was spreading and the labour movement was surging forward rapidly, the self-styled Marxists and petty-bourgeois intellectuals who joined the communist movement in pace with the trend of the times talked about the revolution, but, in fact, they were engrossed in their plots to achieve fame and their political ambitions. From the very first days they wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks, they tried, by hook or by crook, to form factions and snatch the leadership, each posing as a "leader" of the communist movement, seizing the opportunity of the lack of a communist nucleus with an unswerving class stand.

Thus, factions of every shade and hue, among them the Tuesday group, Seoul group, M-L group and Seoul-Shanghai group, came into

being in our communist movement, and sordid factional strife took place. Factions denounced one another and made desperate efforts to expand their own influence, each insisting that it was the “orthodox group.” They employed every despicable means, such as abuse, slander and terrorism, to remove other groups and secure the predominance of their own groups and did not stop at drawing even snobs and hooligans into their manoeuvres.

One of the gravest crimes committed by factionalists in the Korean communist movement was that they split and wrecked the Korean Communist Party.

Under the impact of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia Marxism-Leninism spread rapidly and the labour movement grew in strength in our country. During this process the KCP was founded in 1925. Its foundation marked an important landmark in propelling our communist movement and anti-Japanese national liberation struggle. Ever since its birth, however, the party was not able to perform its mission because of the activities of factionalists in the leadership.

Only when a party, the vanguard organization of the working class, is united organizationally and ideologically can it rally the masses of the people around it, and organize and mobilize them properly for the revolutionary struggle. But, because of the foul strife among the factionalists the KCP could not guarantee the purity and organizational and ideological unity of its ranks or lay a firm mass foundation. As a result, it could not correctly organize and lead our people’s anti-Japanese national liberation struggle; inevitably it ceased to exist as an organized force three years after its formation, unable to withstand the brutal repression of the Japanese imperialists.

The factionalists not only disorganized and destroyed the KCP, but also committed such crimes as dividing and wrecking mass organizations in the initial stage of their formation in our country. Engrossed in expanding the influence of their groups and in seizing hegemony, they wormed their way into the leadership of mass organizations and triggered off detestable factional strife to place them under the influence of their own groups. Although in the past a

great number of workers', peasants', young people's and women's organizations were formed in our country, they failed to accomplish their missions mainly because of the factionalists' divisive activities.

Even after the dissolution of the KCP, the factionalists continued their despicable factionalist feuds in Manchuria under the cloak of "party reconstruction," thus creating great difficulties in the work of rebuilding the party.

The dissolution of the KCP taught all communists a serious lesson. Nonetheless, the factionalists continued to indulge in feuds, crying for an "immediate reconstruction of the party" without any organizational and ideological preparation. Completely obsessed with worship of great powers, they in turn formed a "preparatory committee for party reconstruction," a "working committee" and the like, and manoeuvred to establish a party around their own groups, vying for the approval of the Comintern. Consequently, the communist movement was further divided and the party reconstruction movement ran up against grave difficulties.

Another factionalist crime was that they caused enormous sacrifices and racial dissension by organizing a foolhardy mass struggle.

No sooner had the movement for "immediate party reconstruction" failed than the factionalists in Manchuria staged a "Left" adventurist May 30 Uprising on the plea of "reconstructing" the party through "struggle." The result was that many revolutionary people lost their lives, revolutionary organizations were destroyed and national antagonism was created between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Even now the factionalists persist in their factionalist activities and greatly hinder the development of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle through Right and "Left" opportunistic manoeuvres.

They utter the false cry: Because the factionalist sycophants no longer exist, the question of opposition to factional strife should not even be brought up for debate; and if this subject were broached

again, it would be equivalent to causing factional strife. The purpose behind this is to stamp out the struggle against factionalism and carry on factional activities under cover.

They are opposed to the struggle of the Korean communists for the liberation of the Korean nation. Posing as “ardent proletarian internationalists,” they assert that “to talk about the Korean nation’s liberation at the present stage is a step contrary to the line of the Comintern.” If, as they claim, it is a mistake for the Korean communists to fight for the liberation and independence of the Korean nation, for whom should we, the sons and daughters of the Korean people, shed our blood? This claim of the factionalists is nonsense that can only be uttered by those who shut their eyes to the misfortunes and tribulations of our compatriots groaning under the barbarous colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

The factionalists in particular objected to the line of armed struggle, the most active line of struggle against Japanese imperialism. They babbled that taking up arms against the Japanese imperialist aggressors was “premature” and an “act of rashness standing no chance of success.” This revealed the factionalists as cowards panic-stricken in the face of the Japanese imperialists’ “might” and as Right capitulationists preaching to the people not to fight against the Japanese imperialist aggressors but to submit to them. Even when their claims have been utterly refuted they continue their underhand scheming to hamper the political and military activities of the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army.

The factionalists fear and oppose building up the core ranks of the Korean revolution with youths of worker and peasant origin. Obstinate they scheme to place petty-bourgeois intellectuals and ostensible Marxists in the leading positions of our communist movement.

Moreover, they obstruct in every way the work of uniting all sections of the anti-Japanese forces and mobilizing them in the sacred war against Japanese imperialism. They ostracize patriotic non-comprador capitalists, religious communities and intellectuals who

should be drawn into the anti-Japanese national united front, branding them as a “reactionary class,” “two-faced persons” and “waverers”.

The factionalists committed serious crimes in the struggle to build guerrilla bases, too. In some guerrilla zones they advocated that a “soviet” government be established, which does not correspond with the character and basic tasks of the Korean revolution at the present stage and that socialism be built all at once. They also rashly abolished private ownership of every kind and organized “collective life,” “collective production” and “collective distribution.” This gave rise to considerable unrest and confusion among the people in the guerrilla zones and caused many people in the enemy-controlled areas to get a wrong impression of the communists.

While insisting on the establishment of guerrilla zones—guerrilla bases in the form of liberated areas, the factionalists hindered the conversion of vast farming areas around guerrilla zones into semi-guerrilla zones. On purpose, these elements pit the people of the two districts against each other, defining the guerrilla zones as “soviet areas” or “Red areas” and the enemy-controlled areas as “white areas.” They give the inhabitants of the enemy-held areas a wide berth and are hostile to them, stigmatizing them as “unreliable,” “lackeys of the Japanese imperialists” or as “two-faced.” Furthermore, alleging that revolutionary organizations in the enemy-ruled areas are unreliable, they want to give up working with these underground organizations. In this way, they are manoeuvring to have the guerrilla zones isolated, cut off from the outside. Unless these criminal acts of the “Left” opportunists and factionalists are exposed and dealt with promptly, the entire anti-Japanese national liberation struggle, to say nothing of the guerrilla bases, will be beset with serious difficulties.

Fawning upon and tailing behind the “Left” opportunists, the factionalists are now resorting to vicious, harmful measures designed to disrupt the revolutionary ranks under the plausible excuse of fighting against the “Minsaengdan” to the end. In a bid to disintegrate the revolutionary ranks, they persecute large numbers of communists

and revolutionary people faithful to the revolution and go so far as to torture and murder them, arbitrarily labelling them members of the “Minsaengdan.” Thus they are creating great uneasiness and disorder within the revolutionary ranks.

In this way the factionalists have committed and are still committing such unpardonable crimes as obstructing the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks and the strengthening and development of the revolutionary struggle.

2. LET US SEE THROUGH THE FACTIONALISTS’METHODS

The factionalists hide their true colours by various cunning methods. In order to make a clean sweep of factionalism, therefore, we must clearly understand the factionalists’ methods.

They conceal their cloven hooves by deceptive and hypocritical words and deeds, and disguise themselves as ardent revolutionaries or steadfast communists. By doing so, they hope to win favour and popularity among the masses and to attain their factional aims.

To begin with, these elements are addicted to ultra-Leftist speeches and stances. They learn by heart certain propositions of Marx or Lenin and, posing as Marxist-Leninist “luminaries,” shout ultra-Leftist slogans, “Worker-Peasant soviets should be set up and socialism be built right away” and “Dictatorship of the proletariat must be established,” without taking into consideration the given stage of revolutionary development and the maturity of the revolutionary situation. And they incite the masses to reckless riots as at the time of the May 30 Uprising and bring the political charge of “waverers” or “cowards” against those who oppose ultra-Leftist actions.

The factionalists resort to all sorts of unsavoury deeds to conceal

their stained past lives, behaving as if they had done something great for the revolution. As the ringleaders in factional strife some of them did grave harm to the unity and cohesion of the party. Nonetheless, they claim that they have greatly contributed to the revolution, even fabricating their own names and backgrounds.

Another method the factionalists employ to whip up strife is to win people over to their side without principle by every kind of fraud, conciliation and trickery. They get in touch with discontented elements and encourage them, saying that their complaints and discontent are “reasonable” or “natural” regardless of the source of their dissatisfaction. On the other hand, they cajole them as if to satisfy their demands. Moreover, when they come across elements likely to complain or express discontent, they pretend to sympathize with them and support them so as to draw them into their fold. The more isolated they become from the revolutionary organizations, the more they resort to this method.

The shopworn method of the factionalists is to play a double game.

Outwardly they support and approve the decision of the organization but weave a sinister plot to overrule it behind the scenes; they appear to be loyal to the organization but in actual fact undermine its discipline.

What is more, they are always two-faced in relations with officials who stick to revolutionary principles. The factionalists are full of praise and respect for principled activists when they are present, but make a habit of slandering and disparaging them behind their backs.

Ostensibly, they pretend to be fighting for the revolution, but, in fact they distort the revolutionary line or hamper its implementation. They do not even convey the decisions and documents of the organizations to those at lower levels. This causes serious confusion in pressing forward with the revolutionary line and obstructs the organizational and ideological unity of the revolutionary organizations.

Their double-dealing also finds expression in hindering the solidarity of the Korean and Chinese peoples in their struggle against the common enemy, the Japanese imperialists. In the revolutionary

organizations they shout about “proletarian internationalism” and “friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.” However, once they go among the masses they heap insults on Chinese friends and anti-Japanese fighters and look down on them.

Looking down upon and suppressing the masses, the factionalists try to force them to do their will.

They take advantage of their positions of authority to impose exorbitant demands and claims upon the masses in commanding tones. If the masses refuse to obey their orders, they threaten and browbeat them by ranting about “violation of revolutionary discipline,” “reactionaries” and such like. What they fear more than anything else is the criticism and constructive opinions of the masses, which they try to avert by threats and blackmail.

The end of the factionalists who persist in their crafty feuds proves that they have no alternative but to degenerate into cat’s paws of the enemy.

When the leader of one faction was expelled from the revolutionary ranks after his true face had been revealed, he perpetrated dreadful atrocities: In league with the police of the Japanese imperialist consulate, he had numerous communists imprisoned, tortured and murdered. And some factionalists, upon their arrest by the Japanese police, volunteered to write “declarations of conversion” and offered them information on revolutionary organizations.

All these facts show that the factionalists are human scum devoid of elementary conscience and justice, and renegades of the revolution.

3. LET US FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE FACTIONALISM

We should fight more actively to oust factionalists from the revolutionary ranks and to clear away factionalism.

What, then, should we do to make the struggle against factionalism successful?

First, all the guerrillas and the members of the Young Communist League and other revolutionary organizations should develop a revolutionary world outlook.

Those who do not have a firm revolutionary world outlook cannot combat factionalism properly and prevent its infiltration. Factionalist ideas always penetrate the minds of those who are not possessed of a firm revolutionary world outlook. But no counter-revolutionary ideology can seep into the minds of those who have a correct understanding of the objectives and justness of the revolutionary struggle and an attitude faithful to the revolutionary cause to the end. Therefore, we must conduct with greater energy the work of arming the guerrillas, YCL members and revolutionary masses with Marxism-Leninism and the correct line for the Korean revolution. Thus, all guerrillas and members of the YCL and other revolutionary organizations will be fully prepared to judge all matters correctly from the revolutionary viewpoint at all times and fight for the interests of the revolution without vacillation in any adversity.

Second, it is necessary to actively mobilize all guerrillas, YCL members and the broad revolutionary masses in the struggle against factionalism.

The revolutionary masses possess the greatest strength to smash factionalism. Nobody can throw dust in the eyes of the revolutionary masses. No matter how slyly they may try, the factionalists will not hold out if all the guerrillas, YCL members and revolutionary masses keep a sharp lookout for their factional activities and rise as one in the struggle to eliminate factionalism. Therefore, in order to ensure success in the struggle to wipe out factionalism all guerrillas and members of the YCL and other revolutionary organizations must be fully acquainted with the harmfulness of factionalism, the methods of the factionalists and the significance of the anti-factionalist struggle so that they will take an active part in this struggle.

On the plea of combatting the “Minsaengdan,” the factionalists are now viciously committing factional acts. Under these circumstances their cunning methods and crimes should be clearly made known in

combination with the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle. Thus, it will be made certain that while correctly struggling against the “Minsaengdan” the broad revolutionary masses can ferret out in no time the insidious acts of the factionalists committed in the name of the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle and put up an uncompromising struggle against them.

Third, the struggle against factionalism should be organized and unfolded in close combination with the strengthening of the revolutionary ranks.

The main reason why factionalism was not done away with in our communist movement and factional acts continued in the past is that the communist ranks had not been properly built up. If we learn a lesson from this bitter fact and consolidate the revolutionary ranks still further in terms of class consciousness and reinforce their backbone, we will be able to conduct the struggle for the liquidation of factionalism more successfully. Therefore, we should definitely enlist fine people of worker and peasant origin, particularly, fresh young folk immune from factionalist thinking, in the AJPGA and the YCL so as to constantly improve the composition of the revolutionary ranks and strengthen the backbone forces of the revolution.

Simultaneously, we should take a thorough look at the antecedents and social origins of people, and correctly assess and examine their day-to-day activities. On this basis we can select cadres for the revolutionary army. We should not be deceived by those who make a show of enthusiasm or admit their faults in words only, but should entrust the task of leadership to excellent people of working class origin and poor- and hired-peasant origin who sincerely participate in the revolution, and boldly select them as cadres for the revolutionary army through persistent education and training. We should temper and foster large numbers of cadres of worker origin and of poor- and hired-peasant origin and make sure that they are successful in combating factionalism.

Fourth, it is essential to guard against the Rightist and “Leftist” deviations in the fight against factionalism, and conduct this fight in a

principled manner in the interests of the revolution.

Incidentally, “Leftist” errors should not be committed. It will not do to regard those engaged in the past socialist enlightenment movement or communist movement in the same light, on the grounds that factionalism has to be opposed. Among those who were opposed. Among those who were implicated in the previous communist movement are quite a few people who failed to see through the factionalist activities of the ringleaders of factions in good time, and under their influence got involved temporarily in factional strife in spite of themselves. If we lump them together with the factionalists we will lose many people with whom we could unite.

We should also draw into our ranks and educate the people who truly repent of their crimes and are determined to do their stint for the revolution to the end, even though they have been involved with factions.

And we should not discard officials on the charge of their being factionalists by putting momentary errors committed in their work on a par with the counter-revolutionary acts perpetrated by factionalists.

It is also necessary to take every precaution against Rightist errors in combating factionalism.

The practice of neglecting the struggle against factionalism manifests itself in some revolutionary organizations and YCL organizations: Failing to see through the sly methods of the factionalists, they believe the assertion that “the factionalists have already been purged” or they think as though the anti-factionalist struggle weakens the unity of the revolutionary ranks. This is an intolerable Rightist error. We should correctly understand that such errors found in the anti-factionalist struggle are also related to the factionalists’ craftiness, keep a close watch on the manifestations of factionalism, and actively organize and wage the struggle against it.

We should also sharpen vigilance against the enemy’s sabotage aimed at splitting and destroying the revolutionary ranks from within. Whenever an ideological struggle is unfolded in the revolutionary ranks the enemy resorts to crafty and malicious ruses in order to

disorganize the revolutionary ranks from within. Therefore, we should not be misled by his forged data in the struggle against factionalism. We should assess every piece of information prudently and deal with every matter with the utmost caution.

We should conduct the anti-factionalist struggle in close coordination with the struggle to carry through our revolutionary line. We should subordinate all our activities to the thorough implementation of the line for the Korean revolution and wage a vigorous struggle to root out all sorts of poisonous ideological tendencies, including feudalist and capitalist ideas, individual selfishness and self-aggrandizement and harmful work methods, which are detrimental to the implementation of the revolutionary line. We will thus prevent the factionalists from gaining ground and advance our revolution dynamically.

The struggle to eradicate factionalism is a complicated and serious struggle that cannot be finished in a short time.

All the communists and revolutionary comrades should wage a patient and persistent struggle against factionalism until it is eliminated completely, and should turn our revolutionary ranks into a force of true revolutionaries firmly knit with one ideology and purpose.

We should successfully prepare for the founding of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, accomplish the sacred cause of the country's liberation and fulfil the lofty mission assigned by the country and people. For this, we should wipe out factionalism and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks.

ON RELINQUISHING THE GUERRILLA ZONES AND ADVANCING OVER WIDE AREAS

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Military and Political Cadres
of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army Held in Yaoyinggou**

March 27, 1935

Comrades,

For several days we have discussed the question of correcting the “Leftist” mistake in the struggle against the “Minsaengdan” and the question of relinquishing the guerrilla zones and advancing over wide areas.

The deliberations at this meeting are of great significance in strengthening the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks and further developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

So I would like to express my opinion on these questions.

1. ON CORRECTING THE “LEFTIST” MISTAKE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE “MINSAENGDAN”

At the Dahuangwai meeting and on several other occasions, we criticized the “Leftist” error manifested in the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle and pointed out principled ways of remedying it.

Nevertheless, some people still persist in their erroneous views and ultra-Leftist actions in this struggle, causing a great loss to the revolution. By coercive methods and through the so-called “confession” campaign, they continue to fabricate many a “Minsaengdan” member. Boasting of the results of the “purge of counter-revolutionaries,” they are persecuting and killing true revolutionaries and innocent people on the false charge of involvement in the “Minsaengdan.” This has created an atmosphere of terror and distrust in the revolutionary ranks, alienated the guerrillas from the masses, and made a breach in the solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples. The situation is critical. Unless it is saved we shall be unable to advance the revolution and may even lose the revolutionary achievements made over several years of hard-fought struggle.

Therefore, drawing on the experience and lessons of the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle, I am now going to emphasize a few points that deserve our attention in this struggle.

We revolutionaries must naturally strive to sort out and purge the counter-revolutionaries, the “Minsaengdan” members, who have infiltrated our ranks. As we say, one enemy within is more dangerous than a hundred enemies without, so a handful of “Minsaengdan” agents could do great harm to the revolution. That is why we must heighten our vigilance against their subversion and sabotage and intensify the struggle against them.

But we should not conduct the struggle improperly, allowing ourselves to be fooled and entrapped by the sinister scheme of the Japanese imperialists.

For several years now, in order to destroy our revolutionary forces the Japanese imperialists have been using the tactic of creating bad blood in our revolutionary ranks in a bid to disrupt them from within, while at the same time pursuing a policy of intensified military attacks and economic blockade against the guerrilla bases. The “Minsaengdan” and all its variants such as the “Cooperation Association” are counter-revolutionary spy organizations rigged up

by the Japanese imperialists to undermine our revolutionary ranks from within. The Japanese have smuggled a small number of “Minsaengdan” agents into the revolutionary ranks in an attempt to breed distrust among our revolutionary comrades, play off Koreans against Chinese, and make Koreans fight among themselves. Under these circumstances, if we are imprudent and unprincipled in the struggle against the “Minsaengdan,” we will not clearly distinguish friend from foe, and will fall a victim to the enemy’s trick.

The struggle against the “Minsaengdan” should be conducted in such a way as to isolate the enemy completely and cement the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks so that the broad masses can firmly take the side of the revolution. This is the fundamental principle we consistently follow in this struggle.

First of all, we must launch this struggle in such a way as to increase the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks. This is the way to avoid being tricked by the Japanese imperialists, unite more of the masses in the revolutionary ranks and arouse them to the sacred war against Japan. We should handle the cases of “Minsaengdan” suspects not rashly but on the basis of ample proof and factual evidence, in order to prevent distrust and unrest and avoid hampering the unity of idea and purpose in the revolutionary ranks. Quite a few of the suspects admit against their will that they have done what they have not done and that they are guilty although they are innocent. This being the situation, innocent people may be branded as “Minsaengdan” members unless they are judged by ample proof and factual evidence. As we investigated and found out on our return to the guerrilla area from the expedition to northern Manchuria, many people had been killed under suspicion of being “Minsaengdan” members when there was no convincing evidence to prove them guilty. It was claimed that they had done harmful things everywhere, but not a paper bag of poison or a copy of a subversive leaflet was found as evidence against them. They had all suffered exploitation and oppression by the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists before they joined the revolution. Even at the moment they were

killed on false charges, they shouted “Long live Korea’s independence!” and “Long live the Korean and Chinese peoples’ victory in the revolution!” How can we believe that such people were “Minsaengdan” members? It proves that they were true revolutionaries having nothing to do with the “Minsaengdan.” We should draw a serious lesson from this.

We must also direct the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle towards uniting all people with anti-Japanese tendencies so as to increase the revolutionary forces. Therefore, we must never approach people with prejudice.

It is not a communist work attitude to ignore the present ideological tendencies even of people with somewhat blemished records and suspect them of involvement in the “Minsaengdan,” assuming that they are still bad. We should not be prejudiced against people who participated in the nationalist or communist movement in the past. Now some people trace the origin of the “Minsaengdan” to those who joined these movements and blindly stigmatize them as “Minsaengdan” members. This is a subjective error.

The former nationalist campaigners should not be considered all bad. True, some of them degenerated into stooges of Japanese imperialism, but many of them fought against it to win Korea’s independence, and others are still bravely fighting together with the communists in the anti-Japanese armed ranks. Why, then, should we treat them all in the same way?

Those who participated in the communist movement in the 1920s, too, should not all be regarded as factionalists. Communists must see things correctly based on facts and fight together in the revolutionary ranks if they want to join the revolution, rather than take issue with their past records.

Even those who are affiliated with the “Minsaengdan” should not be tarred with the same brush.

Needless to say, the tiny handful of pernicious “Minsaengdan” agents who have worked viciously against the unity of the revolutionary ranks must be crushed. But those, who were cheated

into joining the “Minsaengdan” unawares and have not had a hand in wicked acts, should be brought to national and class consciousness through education and enlisted in the fold of revolution. This alone will isolate once and for all the vicious agents of the “Minsaengdan,” disintegrate it from within and direct our main spearhead against Japanese imperialism.

Our struggle against the “Minsaengdan” should never be an excuse for us to suspect people for no reason; we should test them in practice.

Vigilance in our work does not imply prejudice, suspecting people or trying to find fault with them. If we are suspicious of everyone and engrossed in fault-finding we shall end in distrusting even ourselves. If everything appears fearful, suspicious or dangerous, one will not even be able to breathe freely, never mind carry out a revolution. Oversuspicion may finally be caught in the trap laid by the Japanese imperialists to split the revolutionary ranks and inflict serious harm on the revolution. Communists must not suspect people but treat them with a good deal of magnanimity.

When there is no factual evidence we should boldly trust even “Minsaengdan” suspects and test them through practical struggle. The battlefield against the Japanese imperialists is an excellent place for testing people. We should not hesitate to provide even the “Minsaengdan” suspects with guns to fight the Japanese. We will thus be able to try them out in do-or-die battles to find out whether they are “Minsaengdan” suspects or not.

We once tested a guerrilla in practical struggle in the same way when he came under suspicion. We sent him to the enemy area on a mission to capture a Japanese agent, even allowing him to carry a rifle. If he had been a “Minsaengdan” member, he might have harmed us and gone over to the enemy. But he did not flee. He returned after fulfilling his mission with credit. We let him take part in a battle, and he fought bravely. And although he was seriously wounded in the battle, he never left the battlefield. Thus he convincingly proved his innocence. As you see, the struggle against the “Minsaengdan”

should be closely combined with the practical struggle by all means.

If the “Minsaengdan” is to be combatted without deviation, the issues should be judged not by a few persons but by the will of the broad masses.

Only when we rely on the broad masses can we fight the “Minsaengdan” correctly and smash all their schemes, no matter how crafty. In dealing with the “Minsaengdan” cases, therefore, we must listen to the voice of the broad masses, intensifying ideological and political work among them so that they will participate actively in the struggle.

In order to thwart the “Minsaengdan” stratagems hatched by the Japanese imperialists, we must completely overcome chauvinism. Certain chauvinistic persons are pushing the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle to the extreme, raving, “Eighty to ninety per cent of the Korean revolutionaries active in eastern Manchuria are members of the ‘Minsaengdan’ or collaborators.” These people are weakening solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples, and greatly jeopardizing the revolutionary struggle.

Firm solidarity between the two peoples is a major guarantee of victory in their common struggle against Japanese imperialism. That is why the Korean communists have always valued greatly their solidarity with the Chinese people in the anti-Japanese armed struggle and will continue to join hands with them in the struggle.

We should also be on the alert against the counter-revolutionary moves of the factionalists. Some of them who did immense harm to the Korean communist movement in the past are still lurking in our revolutionary ranks, inflicting serious losses on us. Under the guise of the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle, they are seeking to attain their factional aim. Their manoeuvres are directly responsible for the critical development in the struggle at present. So our efforts to correct the “Leftist” deviation in the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle must be closely linked with the struggle against them. By combatting the factionalists without the slightest compromise we will not leave any room for factional acts or hostile ideas in the revolutionary ranks.

We must rectify the “Leftist” deviation in the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle, fortify the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary ranks, and rally all the anti-Japanese forces. In this way we will intensify the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

2. ON RELINQUISHING THE GUERRILLA ZONES AND ADVANCING OVER WIDE AREAS

Our revolutionary struggle has now entered a new stage of development.

Our strategic task defined at the time of the formation of the Anti-Japanese People’s Guerrilla Army in 1932 was to create the guerrilla bases and, based on their strength, to preserve and increase the revolutionary forces, and to make adequate preparations for further development of the armed struggle. This task was imperative at the time because our armed force was only in the fledgling stage and the Japanese imperialist aggressor army was determined to exterminate the revolutionary masses.

In order to carry out this strategic task we established the guerrilla bases in the form of liberated areas on the Tuman River, and used them as a springboard from which to wage a bloody armed struggle for four to five years. In the flames of hard-fought battles, the AJPGA has grown into a powerful armed force—politically and ideologically tempered, and capable of waging big battles to defend the bases or to attack the walled towns of the enemy. In these battles it has accumulated a wealth of experience. Many young communists have been trained in the practical struggle, and the unity of the revolutionary ranks strengthened in the struggle against factionalism and Right and “Left” opportunism. The mass foundations for the armed struggle and party building have been solidly laid by uniting the broad sections of the masses for the revolution. Further, we have frustrated the Japanese imperialist policy of driving a wedge between nations, and succeeded in setting up a common front with the Chinese

people against Japan and cemented solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world.

Indeed, the guerrilla bases or liberated areas have played an excellent role as strategic bases for the armed struggle over the past years.

Now we have the urgent task of following up these valuable successes and experience so as to further the revolutionary struggle. This task requires that we leave the limited guerrilla zones and launch into wider areas for large-scale guerrilla operations. Carrying our struggle to a more active stage is the only way to deliver heavy political and military blows at the enemy with the support of broad sections of the Korean and Chinese peoples and press forward dynamically with the work of founding the party and with the united front activities.

Quitting the guerrilla zones and fanning out over vast areas is also a requirement of the present situation.

More than ever the Japanese imperialists are stepping up their offensive against the guerrilla bases at present. Having encircled the guerrilla bases with rings of tens of thousands of crack troops, they are launching “punitive” operations every day and enforcing a mediaeval “collective culpability system” by establishing internment villages. In addition, they are intensifying pernicious propaganda against the guerrillas and communism, and also scheming to induce the people in the base areas to “surrender.”

Under these circumstances preoccupation with the defence of the fixed guerrilla bases would prevent us from preserving the revolutionary forces trained over many years and leave us passive in our fight against the enemy. So we must leave the limited bases for a wider theatre of guerrilla warfare.

At present, some people insist on “defending the guerrilla zones at any cost.” This is the sort of military adventurism which could mean disaster for the revolution. We keenly felt the great danger of this when defending the guerrilla bases in 1933-34. At that time some people insisted only on frontal resistance to defend the bases,

opposing the policy of combining such an effort with harassment operations behind the enemy lines. If we had persisted for long in frontal confrontation with an enemy who attacked with a force outnumbering us scores of times we might have failed to hold out, and the revolution would have suffered greatly. But we undertook an active offensive by properly combining defence with harassment of the enemy from the rear, so we were able to bind him hand and foot, effectively neutralizing him and frustrating his “punitive” attacks, and maintaining the guerrilla bases.

If we choose active military operations over vast areas the Japanese imperialists will be forced to disperse their “punitive” forces accordingly, and then the initiative will definitely be ours while the enemy will be put on the defensive. The argument for the “defence of the guerrilla zones at any cost” might appear to be revolutionary. In the present situation, however, it is a preposterous one tantamount to preaching a strategy of sitting and waiting to be destroyed; it is a mistaken view contrary to the development of the revolution.

We should not vacillate in the least in the new strategic task of dismantling the guerrilla zones and launching into wide areas to cope with the prevailing situation and the tasks of the revolution, and should carry it out with success.

From now on, the units of the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army should move into the vast expanses of Manchuria and the northern part of Korea and conduct large-scale mobile guerrilla operations to deliver crushing political and military blows at the enemy, and at the same time demonstrate the revolutionary army’s increased power.

In addition, the KPRA units should conduct vigorous types of organizational and political work among the broad masses wherever they go.

We should undertake the evacuation from the guerrilla zones not as a matter of routine but as political work, as a revolutionary step to cope with the new strategic task.

First of all, we must explain the situation to the people in the

guerrilla bases at great length so that they understand the evacuation correctly and willingly participate in it.

The young people and children from among the masses in the guerrilla bases, educated and tempered in the revolutionary organizations including such paramilitary organizations as the Red Guards, anti-Japanese Self-Defence Corps, Shock Brigades and Children's Vanguard, should be enlisted in the KPRA to reinforce the army now that it is to be deployed over wide areas.

Besides, we should send into the enemy-ruled areas people who have been educated, awakened and revolutionized in the guerrilla bases. They will thus be able to exert a revolutionary influence on the people there and rouse them to vigorous anti-Japanese struggles.

Let us all fight more gallantly for a fresh upsurge of the Korean revolution, overcoming all difficulties and trials in our way.

THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN THE STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

**Report at the Meeting of the Military and Political Cadres
of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army Held in Nanhutou**

February 27, 1936

Comrades,

Today the internal and external situations are developing in favour of the Korean people, who are fighting to defeat piratical Japanese imperialism and win the liberation and independence of their country.

An acute struggle is in progress on the international arena between the forces of fascism and those opposed to it. Through this struggle international fascism is becoming more and more isolated from the world's people, and the anti-fascist democratic forces including the Soviet Union are gaining in scope and strength with each passing day.

In particular, as a result of the powerful anti-fascist popular front movement launched in many countries following the Seventh Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow last year the fascists have suffered heavier blows.

The Japanese imperialists are being further isolated also from the peoples of Asia and other parts of the world.

They are now stretching out their tentacles of aggression to China proper in a sinister attempt to dominate the whole of Asia. This has provoked sharp protests and denunciations from the freedom-loving

people of Asia and the rest of the world.

Especially since they launched preparations for aggressive war on the continent, the Japanese imperialists have been stepping up as never before their fascist repression and plunder of the Korean and Chinese peoples. Consequently, hatred for the Japanese imperialist aggressors among the Korean and Chinese peoples from all walks of life has grown bitter in the extreme, and they are waging a fierce, widespread anti-Japanese war of resistance. This is driving the Japanese imperialists into a tighter corner.

In this favourable situation the Korean communists are faced with the important task of further developing the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle by building up the revolutionary forces of our people and mobilizing all their efforts.

The masters of the Korean revolution are none other than the Korean communists. Today, it depends entirely on us whether or not our people's anti-Japanese national liberation struggle is stepped up.

We must have a deep sense of responsibility for the Korean revolution, apply ourselves to this revolution, and advance the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in our country to a higher stage.

1. ON MOVING THE MAIN FORCE OF THE KPRA TO THE BORDER AREAS AND GRADUALLY EXTENDING THE THEATRE OF OUR STRUGGLE INTO THE HOMELAND

In order to bring about a great upswing in our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle at the present stage we must shift the main force of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army to the border areas and gradually extend the theatre of struggle into the homeland.

When the scene of struggle is moved to the border areas and the homeland we will give hope of national liberation and confidence in

revolutionary victory to our people groaning under the vicious colonial rule of Japanese imperialism; we will also give more active guidance to the various forms of anti-Japanese mass struggle waged by the people at home.

We are now going to advance to the border areas and homeland in order to carry out better the tasks assigned to us by the Korean revolution.

Above all else, the communists of each country must successfully carry out the revolution in their own country. Those who are not faithful to the revolution in their own country can never be faithful to the world revolution nor can they be true internationalists.

Over the past few years the Korean communists, as true patriots, have struggled with arms in hand and shed their blood for the liberation of their country and, at the same time, as proletarian internationalists, have striven for the world revolution. They must continue to direct their main efforts to the Korean revolution and carry it out on their own responsibility. By doing this, they will support the Chinese revolution and contribute to the world revolution, too.

This is our consistent principle.

From the first days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we have worked diligently to develop the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle, maintaining close ties with the people at home, and have steadily prepared the revolutionary forces of the Korean people. We have also waged an uncompromising struggle against chauvinists and factionalists who try to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the Korean communists.

In the past, conducting the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle in an ultra-Leftist way the chauvinists and factionalists took communists for saboteurs smuggled in by the enemy and persecuted many patriots. Thus they greatly hindered the development of our revolution, turned many anti-Japanese-minded people away from the revolution and placed a great obstacle in the way of unity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

At the Dahuangwai and Yaoyingou meetings, under the unfurled

banner of the Korean revolution, we resolutely opposed the non-Marxist, reckless “Leftist” stand and viewpoint of the chauvinists and factionalists, and thus prevented a crisis in the Korean revolution.

Recently the Comintern also criticized the ultra-Leftist, chauvinistic errors committed in the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle, and fully supported and approved our stand and claims. It also expressed complete agreement on a number of points related to the line we proposed: that the Korean people must first fight for the Korean revolution, that the KPRA must advance to the areas along the Amnok and Tuman rivers, and so on.

Availing myself of this opportunity I would like to stress once again that it is the natural right and lofty duty of the Korean communists to devote themselves to the Korean revolution.

We are now capable of pushing into the border areas and homeland for vigorous military and political activities. We have the communist ranks and a most heroic revolutionary armed force that have been tempered and closely united politically and ideologically in the past few years of difficult struggle.

The people in the homeland languishing under the hitherto-unheard-of savage repression and oppression of the Japanese imperialist marauders regard us as their beacon of hope and are waiting eagerly for us to lead them along the road of struggle.

We should, therefore, advance quickly to the border areas and homeland for an active armed struggle, and deal military and political blows at the enemy. At the same time, we must conduct energetic political work among the broad masses of the people and arouse them to the anti-Japanese struggle.

If we are to move to the border areas and homeland, and organize and wage a struggle against Japan, we must have bases along the border. That is why we are going to set up new guerrilla bases in the border areas around Mt. Paektu. In other words, we intend to form a network of secret camps in the vast forests of Mt. Paektu, on which the KPRA can depend for its activities, and organize the people in the adjoining areas so as to set up guerrilla bases in the form of a semi-

guerrilla zone. These will serve as dynamic revolutionary fortresses invisible to the enemy.

Mt. Paektu and its adjoining border areas have advantageous conditions for the establishment of new guerrilla bases.

These areas are inhabited by many poor Korean peasants forced to leave their native homes in search of a livelihood because of the colonial predatory policy of Japanese imperialism, by patriots in exile and those who participated previously in the Independence Army movement. They have very strong anti-Japanese sentiments.

Geographically too, these areas are favourable for setting up guerrilla bases. The vast expanse of virgin forests around Mt. Paektu is literally a natural fortress. In addition, this area will be of great advantage to us in future when extending the bases to the Paengmu and Kaema plateaus and the Rangnim Mountains so as to widen the theatre of armed struggle to the homeland.

We should make strenuous efforts to establish new guerrilla bases as soon as possible in the border areas along the Amnok and Tuman rivers.

If we are to advance into the border areas and homeland and develop the Korean revolution with success, we must first wage an active armed struggle.

Since the anti-Japanese armed struggle is the mainstream of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in our country, it is essential to step up this armed struggle. Only then, under its influence, can all forms of anti-Japanese mass struggle be promoted successfully and an upswing effected in the Korean revolution as a whole. In order to give courage and confidence in revolutionary victory to the people at home who have lost all hope of national liberation under the colonial tyranny of Japanese imperialism, we must carry on the armed struggle energetically and show them the might of the KPRA. This is very important.

The expansion and consolidation of our armed ranks is one of our major tasks at present, if we are to be successful in organizing and carrying out the projected armed actions in the homeland.

All the conditions are present for the expansion and development of the anti-Japanese armed ranks. There are many competent military commanders and political workers trained in the crucible of armed struggle and veteran soldiers with rich combat experience. They are the hard core capable of building up and commanding platoons, companies, regiments or divisions by themselves.

We also have a great many reserves for our armed ranks. Large numbers of young workers and peasants and progressive students at home and abroad are coming to national and class awakening under the impact of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. They are eager to take up arms to fight Japanese imperialism.

So, if we work hard on the progressive youth and students at home and abroad we will be able to expand the anti-Japanese armed ranks quickly.

Our first task in the expansion of the anti-Japanese armed ranks is to consolidate the main force of the KPRA.

Only when we do this can we train continuously excellent military and political cadres through this force and send them to other units, just as we have done, and strengthen the anti-Japanese armed force as a whole.

We must quickly recruit Korean youth in the areas of southern and eastern Manchuria and fine young people from the homeland to form a new division and strive to increase its political and military capabilities.

All KPRA units, the units to be newly formed in particular, should strengthen intensive military and political training and various other forms of political and ideological education, in order to imbue the guerrillas with Marxism-Leninism, and with the line, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution. To this end, we must perfect the system of political work in every unit and select competent political personnel for the new units. We must see to it that a revolutionary habit of study is developed in the units and that the commanding officers and men make strenuous efforts to raise their political and theoretical levels.

However, we must not weaken our joint struggle with the anti-Japanese armed units of the Chinese people on the excuse that the KPRA units are to advance to the border areas.

In the past the Korean communists have joined efforts with the Chinese communists in organizing and waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Recently, however, the Comintern has suggested that it would be a good idea to reorganize the Korean and Chinese anti-Japanese armed forces active in Manchuria so that the Korean and Chinese units can operate separately.

It is true that the KPRA will have to operate separately some day, when the situation matures. But under the present circumstances that is not feasible.

As you all know, the main force of the Korean and Chinese anti-Japanese armed forces operating in Manchuria consists of the KPRA units. Moreover, many Korean communists are playing a central role as political and military cadres even in the Chinese units. Therefore, the proposed reorganization, if effected, would weaken the anti-Japanese armed forces of the fraternal Chinese people, and, consequently, would hinder the advancement of the anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

We must settle this question with communist magnanimity, free from narrow-minded national selfishness. We are proletarian internationalists fighting both for the Korean and world revolutions. We should not weaken the armed forces of the fraternal Chinese people just because we are concentrating on the Korean revolution.

The environment and conditions of our struggle do not allow the immediate division of the units. We must carry on our military and political activities taking advantage of the favourable terrain conditions of large forests in southern and eastern Manchuria until we lay a solid foundation for the armed struggle in the homeland. Under these conditions we must organize and wage a joint anti-Japanese armed struggle in the name of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army rather than form Korean and Chinese units for separate actions. Only this will enable us to enjoy support and encouragement from broad

sections of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

We should actively develop the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle of the Korean and Chinese peoples by waging an anti-Japanese armed struggle alongside the Chinese communists under the name of the Anti-Japanese Allied Army.

We must strengthen the KPRA units and advance to the border areas and, at the same time, positively help the Chinese units to increase their combat capabilities by dispatching qualified political and military cadres to every Chinese unit of the newly formed Anti-Japanese Allied Army. Thus, we will see to it that there is a continuous upswing in the armed struggle in southern and eastern Manchuria even after the KPRA's advance to the border areas and homeland.

2. ON FURTHER EXPANDING AND DEVELOPING THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT

We must further expand and develop the movement of the anti-Japanese national united front for a fresh upswing in the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle of the Korean people.

The expansion and development of this movement will enable us to unite broad anti-Japanese patriotic forces of different sections under the banner of resistance to Japan and further build up our people's revolutionary forces. Therefore, we must carry on this movement vigorously on a nationwide scale and achieve the country's liberation and independence by the efforts of us Koreans.

The strengthening of the anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country at present is correct also in the light of the requirements of the international situation.

The greatest menace to the world at present is the rise of fascism.

Through bloody despotism and aggressive war the fascists are trying to enslave not only the peoples of their own countries but all humanity, and make the whole world fascist.

In this situation the Seventh Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow last year heard a report by Comrade Dimitrov and called upon the Communist parties in different countries to form anti-fascist popular fronts, deeming it imperative for the working people and the broad sections of democratic forces in all countries to unite and counter international fascism. So, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are confronted with the task of launching an anti-fascist popular front movement, and the Communist parties and communists in colonial and semi-colonial countries face the task of developing an anti-imperialist national united front movement.

The Communist Party of China is appealing for a northern expedition against Japan and for an anti-Japanese united front of the Chinese people. All these developments demand that the scope of the united front be further expanded in our revolutionary movement as well.

Conditions for the expansion and development of the anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country are now better prepared than ever before.

At present our workers, peasants and other sections of the masses find themselves in a more difficult situation owing to the unprecedented fascist repression and colonial plunder of Japanese imperialism, and their anti-Japanese feeling has reached fever pitch.

The workers and peasants are suffering from double and treble oppression and exploitation by the Japanese imperialists and their stooges—the landlords and capitalists. They are forced to live in slavery, subjected to all sorts of humiliation and mistreatment, lack of rights, and poverty. The intellectuals and cultural workers with a conscience, too, are suffering from the national contempt and discrimination of the Japanese imperialists. They are even thrown out of jobs because of the enemy's policy of obliterating our national culture and of assimilation. Non-comprador capitalists, small and

medium tradesmen and manufacturers are going bankrupt under the pressure of Japanese monopoly capital and comprador capital. The urban petty bourgeoisie, in particular, can scarcely earn a living, weighed down with miscellaneous levies and other heavy burdens and colonial plunder. Therefore, not only the workers and peasants but all the other honest people in our country are lamenting their plight as a people without a country and ardently desire national liberation and independence.

This proves that the conditions are ripe for the expansion and promotion of the anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country.

In the past few years we have accumulated valuable experience in organizing and conducting the anti-Japanese national united front movement and have prepared leading cores capable of further developing this work in the future.

Making proper use of all these conditions and possibilities, we must further expand and develop the anti-Japanese national united front movement to meet the requirements of the prevailing situation.

We need a standing body of the united front if we are to advance the anti-Japanese national united front movement to a new stage.

We have so far worked among the anti-Japanese masses in all walks of life by including them in mass organizations formed according to different classes and strata, and in the mass organizations of a united front type such as the Anti-Imperialist League. As a result, this movement could not be coordinated. We have to set up a comprehensive, integrated anti-Japanese national united front organization that can include both the mass organizations of different classes and strata and the anti-Japanese patriots of all sections. This alone can guarantee a coordinated development of the movement.

Especially in our country, which has no Marxist-Leninist party yet, there must be an anti-Japanese national united front organization with a well-regulated structure. This is the only way to ensure satisfactory communist leadership for the united front activities.

The new anti-Japanese national united front organization we are about to form must become a mass revolutionary organization capable of organizing and mobilizing the entire nation for the national liberation front, with the exception of a handful of reactionaries such as pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation.

This organization must, therefore, be named the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland or the National Liberation League to reflect the common desire of the people of different strata. This will lead nationalists formerly engaged in the independence movement, patriotic religionists, righteous non-comprador capitalists and other broad sections of patriots to join the united front organization with a correct understanding of its intent.

We should work out a good programme for the united front organization. This programme must include the fundamental tasks to be solved at the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution of overthrowing the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and establishing a genuine people's government, carrying out agrarian revolution, providing people of all walks of life with democratic rights and freedoms, etc.

In order to expand and develop the anti-Japanese national united front movement with success we must organize and conduct its work in close coordination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Only then can we rapidly expand and develop the organization under the influence of the armed struggle and advance the movement on a rock-solid basis.

Another important task now confronting us in promoting the growth and progress of this movement is to reorganize the Young Communist League into a broader-based mass youth organization in accordance with the requirements of the development of the situation.

In light of the fact that the present developments demand the enlistment of all young people of different strata in the front for national liberation against Japan, the YCL, which admits only vanguard youth dedicated to communism, cannot but have certain limitations. So we are going to develop the YCL into the Anti-

Japanese Youth League of Korea, a revolutionary mass organization embracing broad sections of young patriots.

We must put forward an action programme reflecting correctly the demands and aspirations of the youth from all walks of life and, under the banner of the programme, organize and unite all the youth—workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, religious communities, etc.—who love their country and their people, irrespective of differences in political views, religions and property status.

3. ON ACTIVELY STEPPING UP PREPARATIONS FOR FOUNDING A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

One of the essential tasks confronting the Korean communists today is to step up actively preparations for founding a Marxist-Leninist party.

Preparations for organizing a Marxist-Leninist party in our country have long been made, and some successes have been scored in this respect. However, the organizational and ideological preparations for its founding are still insufficient, and this work has not been pursued actively, particularly in the homeland. We should make vigorous, nationwide preparations for building a party, and lay solid organizational and ideological foundations so that we can found the party at the opportune moment when the situation permits.

Active preparations for establishing the party are urgently needed at present so as to unite the broad revolutionary forces of our people and ensure a fresh upswing in our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle. Only when the communist ranks, the hard core that leads the Korean revolution, are built up organizationally and ideologically by actively stepping up the preparations for party founding can the anti-Japanese patriotic forces of all strata be closely united under the banner of national liberation.

Important in preparing to found the party is the steady expansion of party organizations and the establishment of a thorough system of guidance for them. We must hasten the building of party organizations at the KPRA units and in all Korean settlements. In particular, we should rally the communists scattered in the homeland and at the same time actively admit progressive elements tested in struggle into the party so as to steadily expand its organizations.

In building party organizations at present we must continue to implement the policy of forming them from below. Only then can we build strong party organizations with progressive elements of worker-peasant origin tempered and prepared in struggle, and found a revolutionary and militant party firmly based on the masses.

While expanding party organizations we must improve the party's system of organizational guidance. In future we must establish a unified organizational system from the Party Committee of the KPRA down to local party organizations so that all party organizations may act as one.

Another essential point in the preparations for party building is to train a strong organizational backbone.

One of the major weaknesses of the Korean Communist Party founded in 1925 was that its ranks were made up mainly of petty-bourgeois intellectuals and that it lacked an organizational backbone. Those who were engaged in the communist movement at that time set up a number of central bodies by forming only higher echelons devoid of basic organizations and divorced from the masses. Because of this, it was impossible to overcome in good time factionalism and all sorts of opportunism that appeared in the party. And finally the party fell victim to the manoeuvres of the factionalists.

Drawing lessons from this bitter experience, we must work hard to make party members out of the workers and poor and hired peasants so as to firmly prepare the organizational backbone for party building from the class point of view and preferentially form the basic party organizations within revolutionary organizations in various places.

In the KPRA all members of the YCL who have been

organizationally tempered through the life of the YCL for several years must be admitted to the party. At the same time, from among members of youth organizations and other anti-Japanese mass organizations in different places, the workers, poor and hired peasants, progressive youth and students and intellectuals who have a firm class stand and are politically prepared must be actively admitted to the party organizations.

What is important in preparing to found the party is to fully guarantee the ideological purity of the revolutionary ranks.

Factionalism and Right and “Left” opportunism have now been basically eliminated from our ranks. But we cannot rest content with this. There still exist soft people among us communists. They are neither firm in their revolutionary world outlook nor brave enough to surmount hardships in the revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, the enemy persists in his stratagems and subversive activities, in every way trying to disorganize our revolutionary ranks from within. In these circumstances we should make tireless efforts to raise our political and ideological level.

We must arm all communists and members of the revolutionary organizations with Marxism-Leninism as well as the lines, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution so that the unity of ideology and action of the revolutionary ranks can be fully guaranteed.

Further, we must establish a cast-iron organizational discipline which does not allow the slightest manifestation of factionalism or factional strife in the communist ranks.

We must also intensify the struggle to lay a mass foundation for the founding of the party. For this purpose we must give priority to uniting the masses of all strata under the anti-Japanese banner. We should, therefore, actively promote this work in organic combination with the anti-Japanese national united front movement.

Comrades,

Success in crushing piratical Japanese imperialism and winning the sacred cause of national liberation and independence depends totally on us communists.

If they organize and mobilize all the Korean people as one into the front for national liberation against Japan, believing in their strength and firmly relying on them, the Korean communists can drive the Japanese imperialist aggressors from our country and win the final victory of the revolution.

The Korean revolution is as arduous as ever, and is likely to encounter numerous difficulties and obstacles.

However, the Korean communists will, as in the past, staunchly and unwaveringly fight with a firm belief in revolutionary victory in any adversity and certainly and triumphantly fulfil the sacred task of national liberation assigned to them by history and their people.

The Korean revolution is ever-victorious.

The country will definitely be liberated.

THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FATHERLAND

May 5, 1936

1. To mobilize the entire Korean nation and realize a broad-based anti-Japanese united front in order to overthrow the piratical Japanese imperialist rule and establish a genuine people's government in Korea;

2. To defeat Japan and overthrow its puppet state "Manchukuo" by the Koreans resident in Manchuria through a close alliance between the Korean and Chinese peoples, and to effect full autonomy for the Korean people residing in Chinese territory;

3. To disarm the Japanese armed forces, gendarmes and police and their agents, and organize a revolutionary army truly fighting for the independence of Korea;

4. To confiscate all enterprises, railways, banks, shipping, farms and irrigation systems owned by Japan and Japanese, and all property and estates owned by pro-Japanese traitors, so as to raise funds for the independence movement and use part of these funds for the relief of the poor;

5. To cancel all loans made to people by Japan and its agents, and abolish all taxes and monopoly systems, at the same time improving the living conditions of the masses and promoting the smooth development of national industries, agriculture and commerce;

6. To win freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association,

oppose terrorist rule and the fostering of feudal ideas by the Japanese imperialists, and release all political prisoners;

7. To abolish the caste system which divides the *ryangban* (aristocracy) and the common people, and other inequalities, ensuring equality based on humanity irrespective of sex, nationality or religion and improving the social position of women and respect for their persons;

8. To abolish slave labour and slave education, and forced military service and military training of young people, while educating people in our national language and enforcing free compulsory education;

9. To enforce an eight-hour workday, improve working conditions, raise wages, formulate labour laws, enforce state insurance laws for the workers, and extend state relief to the unemployed;

10. To form a close alliance with nations and states which treat the Koreans as equals and to maintain comradely relations of friendship with states and nations which express goodwill and maintain neutrality towards our national liberation movement.

THE INAUGURAL DECLARATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FATHERLAND

May 5, 1936

Compatriots, brothers and sisters, both at home and abroad,

It is already 26 years since the 20 million Korean people with a long history of five thousand years were robbed of their dear homeland by the enemy, the Japanese imperialists. Under the colonial oppression of Japanese imperialism our compatriots lead the miserable life of a ruined nation, worse than that of animals, undergoing all manner of hardships and privations, and dripping with sweat and blood. No longer able to endure the Japanese imperialist tyranny, large numbers of our fellow countrymen have been compelled to leave their beloved homes and wander about in quest of a livelihood. Even in strange lands, all alone, they are subjected to every form of humiliation and contempt, and are being trampled underfoot and slaughtered everywhere they go.

Our nation is, indeed, in an unheard-of wretched plight. Which road should our people take now, deprived of their homeland and weighed down by a terrible misfortune? For our nation there is no alternative but to fight against the Japanese imperialist marauders. This is the only way to usher in the dawn of national liberation.

That explains why tens of thousands of young Korean people, burning with love for their country, have joined the Korean People's Revolutionary Army and are fighting bravely against the Japanese

imperialists with arms in their hands. Now, in all parts of the country the struggles of workers, peasants, youth and students against Japanese imperialist colonial rule are taking place one after another.

In the past, too, the ardent patriotism of our nation was displayed fully. A great many people took part in the Righteous Volunteers movement and fought bloody battles for several years against Japanese imperialism's occupation of Korea. And at the time of the March First Movement the whole nation rose in an anti-Japanese uprising in every nook and corner of the land. As a result, the spirit of our nation, ingenious and valorous, was demonstrated to the whole world. This fact proves that the Korean nation, with its earnest desire for independence and sovereignty and passionate fighting spirit, will certainly accomplish the cause of national liberation.

However, the aim of national independence and liberation was not achieved, though in the past many patriots fought courageously, falling and dying. The principal cause was that none of the movements for the country's liberation was conducted according to a unified political programme and a correct line of struggle, and that an unsupported struggle was waged without achieving the solid unity and cohesion of the anti-Japanese patriotic forces. Not only that; an allied front against the common enemy, the Japanese imperialists, was not built up in close contact with countries and nations opposed to Japan. This is also a major reason for failing to win the final victory.

We put forward the main political programme and the fighting tasks to fulfil the sacred duty of the liberation of the country on the basis of the bitter lessons and experience of the past. In accordance with this programme, we are setting up the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland as a general leading body for uniting as one all the anti-Japanese forces at home and abroad, and ensuring a unified leadership for them, and are adopting its Ten-Point Programme.

On the basis of the main content of the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF, we declare to all our compatriots at home and abroad as follows:

1. The whole Korean nation will fight in unity against the enemy, the Japanese imperialist aggressors, irrespective of class, sex, social status, party affiliation, age and religious belief, so as to win back the country and establish a genuine people's government in Korea.

We, the 20 million Korean people, are leading the life of a homeless race, condemned to indescribable national oppression, ill-treatment and cruel exploitation under the colonial rule of predatory Japanese imperialism. The Korean nation's liberation is the supreme task facing all Koreans.

If all 20 million of us, united in a body, join the anti-Japanese national liberation front, those with money contributing money, those with food donating food and those with skill and knowledge devoting their skill and knowledge, whether men or women, young or old, regardless of all distinctions, the Japanese imperialists will be destroyed, and our national liberation and independence will be achieved.

2. Koreans living in Manchuria will strive to overthrow the aggressive machinery of Japanese imperialism and its puppet state Manchukuo through a close alliance with the Chinese people, and to bring about genuine national autonomy for the Koreans in Chinese territory.

The national autonomy of the Koreans in Manchuria we assert has nothing in common with the "autonomy in Jiandao" advertised by the predatory Japanese imperialist aggressors and their agents to hoodwink and alienate the Korean and Chinese nations from each other. The Korean residents in Manchuria will achieve genuine national autonomy by resolutely opposing the deceptive enemy-vaunted "autonomy in Jiandao" and overthrowing the Japanese-Manchurian rule in close alliance with the anti-Japanese masses in China.

3. For the liberation of the motherland, we will expand and strengthen the revolutionary armed ranks.

The Japanese imperialists and their agents are villainous aggressors and hangmen armed to the teeth. We must counter the armed foes with arms.

We can topple the accursed system of colonial rule and achieve the independence of Korea only when we further strengthen the Korean People's Revolutionary Army and form various armed units with the revolutionary masses everywhere to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressor army by fighting bloody battles against it.

4. In order to build a wealthy and mighty independent state, we will carry out economic and cultural policies that are genuinely people-oriented and democratic.

We will unconditionally confiscate factories, mines, landed estates, shops, banks and all other property owned by the predatory Japanese imperialist aggressors and treacherous pro-Japanese agents, promote the steady development of national industry, agriculture and commerce, ensure our people freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association and equality of the individual, abolish the system of slave education and introduce an eight-hour workday for the workers.

In order to facilitate the cause of national liberation, we will accept special donations and other forms of active assistance from capitalists with a national conscience and from patriots and other personages with a conscience.

5. We will form a common front against the enemy, the Japanese imperialist aggressors, in close alliance with states and nations which express goodwill and maintain neutrality towards the Korean national liberation movement.

We should crush the robber-like Japanese imperialist aggressors in close alliance with China and other countries hostile to Japanese imperialism, and together with the other peoples oppressed by Japanese imperialist colonial rule.

We must regard as friends the countries and nations which sympathize with the Korean national liberation movement and approach it with good faith, and treat as enemies those who help the Japanese imperialist marauders and oppose the Korean nation.

Compatriots, brothers and sisters, who love your country and people and want to cast off the yoke of bestial slavery and lead a worthwhile and hopeful existence as human beings,

We sincerely hope that you will immediately form organizations of the ARF in the factories, mines, railway establishments, schools, newspaper offices, army barracks, shops and elsewhere in the urban and rural areas and will wage a vigorous struggle to win back the country through the concerted action of the whole nation under the banner of the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF.

The cause of our people fighting in firm unity for the country's liberation is invincible.

Let us all fight for the complete independence of the country and the freedom and liberation of the nation!

Long live the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland!

LET US INSPIRE THE PEOPLE WITH HOPES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION BY ADVANCING WITH LARGE FORCES INTO THE HOMELAND

**Speech Delivered at the Conference of the Military and Political
Cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary
Army Held in Xigang, Fusong County**

March 29, 1937

Comrades,

In February last year in Nanhutou we mapped out the strategic line for moving the Korean People's Revolutionary Army to the border areas and gradually extending our field of action to the homeland.

We worked energetically to carry into effect the line adopted at the Nanhutou meeting, with the result that a firm foundation has been laid for developing and extending the armed struggle into the homeland in a short space of time.

First of all, we spread organizational networks of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland far and wide inside and outside the country.

Thanks to the energetic activities of the political operatives dispatched to many places following the founding of the ARF, branches of the ARF have appeared now in the northern region of Korea including Hyesan, Kapsan and Phungsan, in the central region including Pyongyang, and even in the southern areas. ARF organizations have established themselves in wide areas of China, too, inhabited largely by Koreans. This year the Changbai County

Committee of the ARF has been set up, and the Korean National Liberation League has been formed as part of the ARF inside the country.

The organizational expansion of the ARF is of great significance in further strengthening the mass basis of our revolution, in vigorously arousing broad sections of the patriotic anti-Japanese forces for the solemn struggle for the liberation of the country, in developing and extending the anti-Japanese armed struggle to still wider areas and in accelerating preparations for the founding of a party.

We have created a revolutionary base of a new type with the densely wooded zone of the Mt. Paektu area as its centre.

Following the Nanhutou meeting we have redoubled our efforts to secure a strategic area which is to play an important role in developing and expanding the armed struggle into the homeland and in bringing about great progress in our revolutionary movement. In the vast stretch of land around Mt. Paektu, an area advantageous for the military activities of the KPRA both in view of its geographical features and the composition of its population, we planned and conducted countless battles that have proved serious military and political setbacks for the enemy. Consequently, we gained control of the dense forests in the Mt. Paektu area and the vast region surrounding it, and paralyzed the enemy's ability to rule there. We have built a large number of secret camps in this zone.

In this way a base invisible to the enemy has been set up in the Mt. Paektu area. It closely links up the dozens of secret camps in the vast woodland area stretching along the Amnok and Tuman rivers, with its underground revolutionary organizations rooted among the broad sections of the population.

The establishment of the Mt. Paektu base was a milestone in implementing the line adopted at the Nanhutou meeting aimed at giving a great impetus to our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle and at carrying the armed struggle into the homeland. This base has made it possible for the KPRA to step up its military and

political activities in the interior of the homeland and to vigorously arouse the people for a massive anti-Japanese struggle.

On the basis of the successes already achieved, we must launch large-scale operations to advance into the homeland. The present situation in our country urgently demands that the KPRA push ahead into the homeland with large troop contingents as early as possible.

At present the Japanese imperialists are tightening their colonial rule over the Korean people as never before.

By concocting various outrageous laws unprecedented in history and reinforcing the fascist ruling machine, they are exercising unheard-of fascist tyranny over the Korean people.

In order to stifle the slightest anti-Japanese manifestation by the Korean people, the vicious Japanese imperialists have recently introduced evil laws like the “Ordinance on the Probation of Political Offenders” and are increasing their police force considerably. In particular, they are actively reinforcing the secret service police apparatuses and planting their secret agents everywhere. In this way, the Japanese imperialist aggressors are cruelly suppressing the revolutionary moves of the workers and peasants, arresting, imprisoning and murdering patriots at random.

Pushing ahead with the militarization of the economy to complete their war preparations for a continental invasion, the Japanese imperialist aggressors are further intensifying the inhuman exploitation and plunder of the Korean people. With a view to laying a bridgehead for the continental invasion, these scoundrels are massively expanding military installations such as railways, roads and harbours in the northern region of Korea under the pretext of “developing” northern Korea, forcibly recruiting countless numbers of people for these projects and driving them ruthlessly. They are also intensifying the exploitation of natural resources, robbing our country of all the materials they can lay their hands on to use them for war.

Last year vast tracts of farmland in Korea were washed away by unprecedentedly great floods and grain production dropped sharply. Nevertheless, the Japanese imperialist villains ignored this and seized

the whole crop to the last grain, like a band of robbers.

The inhuman predatory policy of the Japanese imperialist aggressors spells hunger and destitution for the Koreans, compelling countless people to wander like beggars and to leave their native country for foreign lands thousands of miles away.

In a frantic attempt to break the national spirit of the Korean people the Japanese imperialist aggressors are clamouring ever more noisily that “Japan and Korea are one” and that “Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent.”

While trying to wipe out the spoken and written language of the Korean people, as well as their good manners and beautiful customs, these knaves have built “Shinto shrines and temples” everywhere to instil the “Japanese spirit” in our people. Of late, they are intensifying false propaganda in every way to dash the expectations and hopes our people have placed on the KPRA, thus driving them to despair.

Korea has now turned into a hell on earth, and black clouds are looming heavily over the heads of its people. An unparalleled dark age has descended on the land of Korea, which is enveloped in a dreary, fearful atmosphere becoming increasingly impregnated with the people’s resentment and groans. Many of our fellow countrymen have even lost all hope of independence and sigh away their days in despair, deploring the accursed world around them.

Comrades,

As communists responsible for the Korean revolution, we cannot remain passive onlookers to the great distress being suffered by our parents, brothers and sisters. We should thrust into the homeland in great numbers and deal telling military and political blows to the Japanese imperialist aggressors, inspiring the people with firm confidence in the victory of the revolution. If large units of the KPRA consisting of sons and daughters of the Korean people turn up in gallant array in the country, this will give great encouragement to the people; if we only fire a few rounds of ammunition, the people will be greatly inspired.

By advancing into the homeland in great strength to deliver a blow

at the Japanese imperialist aggressors and set the enemy's bulwark ablaze, we should clearly demonstrate to the people that the KPRA is on the move and going from victory to victory in the solemn struggle for national liberation, and should make it known to them that so long as our KPRA exists Korea will win its independence for certain.

In this large-scale operation of advance into the homeland we plan to dispatch the KPRA in three directions: The main unit will cross the Amnok River and push towards Hyesan, a strongpoint of frontier guards of the Japanese imperialists; another unit is to skirt Mt. Paektu and push on, by way of Antu and Helong, to the northern border area adjoining the Tuman River; and the third unit is to advance as far as the Linjiang and Changbai areas on the shore of the Amnok River.

The units moving forward to the shores of the Amnok and Tuman rivers are to launch intense military and political activities over a wider area to deal a heavy blow at the Japanese imperialist aggressors and, at the same time, to disperse and weaken the enemy forces concentrated in the Changbai area. It will also throw the enemy's frontier guard setup into disarray, thereby guaranteeing success for the main unit advancing into the homeland.

The main unit pushing forward into the homeland should make full preparations at the secret camps in Mt. Paektu for the operation and then swiftly pierce the line of frontier guard posts.

We have chosen the Hyesan area this time as the main target of the offensive operation in the homeland because this area affords the best chance of success: The region is linked with the Mt. Paektu base by vast woodlands; it gives the KPRA military and geographical advantages; it offers favourable conditions for extending the armed struggle deep into the interior of the country; and it has the Korean National Liberation Union, an organization under the ARF inside the country, and various other revolutionary mass organizations which are giving active support and encouragement to the operations of our revolutionary army. Many of our political operatives are active in this region.

When advancing into the country, we should hit mercilessly at the

Japanese imperialist scoundrels and their lackeys—the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—by agile and daring combat actions, and burn police stations and other citadels of the enemy, thus appeasing the anger smouldering in the depths of our people’s hearts. Besides, we should set free the patriots and innocent people who have been imprisoned.

In parallel with military operations, we should launch intensive political activities to sharpen the people’s class consciousness and rouse them vigorously to the solemn struggle for the liberation of the country.

By carrying on large-scale military and political activities in the homeland, we will demonstrate to the world that Korea is not dead but alive, and that the Korean people spurn the idea that “Japan and Korea are one” and “Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent” but are continuing to resist the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

This offensive operation into the homeland should not be an end in itself. We should continue to thrust forward in large units to deal the enemy a mortal blow and achieve the historic cause of national liberation. We should establish military control over the northern region of Korea and extend the Paektusan Base as far as the Rangnim Mountains, and, operating from there, engender a huge upsurge in the Korean revolution as a whole with the anti-Japanese armed struggle as its focal point.

The further intensification of our military and political offensive in the northern border area is a positive move to frustrate the Japanese imperialist aggressors’ desperate “punitive” offensives against the KPRA and hasten the decisive victory of our revolution.

For the general confrontation with the KPRA, the Japanese imperialists have recently appointed the scoundrel Minami, a notorious fascist warlord, as Governor-General of Korea and sent the main force of their aggression troops to Korea and Manchuria. They have declared the Dongbiandao area where our KPRA is most active a special zone and even set up a “punitive” operation command in Tonghua. They have thus mobilized a huge military force from the

Japanese army, the puppet Manchukuo army, the police and the armed self-defence corps in a large-scale offensive against our revolutionary army. Moreover, they are frantically strengthening the border guard line as an “iron wall” in an attempt to check the advance of the KPRA into the homeland.

Our advance into the homeland as a great force when the Japanese imperialists are conducting all-out “punitive” operations against the KPRA like this, is of tremendous significance both in crushing the enemy’s “punitive” offensive and in shaking Japanese imperialism’s colonial rule in Korea to its very foundations. By making assaults into the homeland with large troop contingents and launching a military and political offensive, we will be able to unite the communists at home organizationally and ideologically and to rally the broad masses closely in the anti-Japanese national united front, thereby strengthening our revolutionary forces as never before.

Our immediate task is to prepare the members of the KPRA politically and ideologically for success in the offensive operations in the homeland. Good political and ideological preparations are the key to a victorious campaign. Such preparations are essential for the guerrillas to carry out their duties in the forthcoming operations both as combatants and as political workers. All of them should be well acquainted with the aim and significance of the advance into the homeland and be infused with a boundless love of their country, firm confidence in the victory of the revolution and a burning hatred for the enemy. In particular, it is very important to have all guerrillas get to know their country well by availing themselves of this opportunity of advancing into the homeland. Without knowing one’s country well, one cannot have national pride and self-respect as a revolutionary, nor can one love it ardently. In all units the guerrillas should be taught the history and geography of our country and the lofty morals and customs of its people. In order to get the guerrillas prepared politically and ideologically, the role of the political organizations in the units should be further enhanced.

The next prerequisite for success in the operation of advance into

the homeland is to make thorough preparations for battle. Without adequate preparations for battle it will be impossible to break through the enemy's tight frontier guard line and to launch swift combat actions everywhere in the country.

First of all, it is necessary to carry out military exercises well. Military and political training should be quickly organized so as to raise the fighting efficiency of the units in every way. During military and political training in all units everybody should be equipped with our guerrilla tactics and achieve complete mastery of his weapon and combat and technical equipment, and become a crack shot. In addition, the guerrillas should be trained to abide by military regulations.

In preparing for battle it is also important to make thorough material arrangements such as getting clothes, shoes and provisions ready. In view of the fact that we are going into the homeland, we should have plenty of supplies of all kinds in reserve. We should especially get a good stock of clothes and issue new uniforms to all the men.

It is my firm belief that all commanding personnel and soldiers will clearly understand the importance of their revolutionary assignments and carry out the lofty task of advancing into the homeland with honour.

PROCLAMATION

June 1, 1937

Those most villainous bandits, the Japanese imperialists, have occupied Korea. Through colonial domination by the Government-General for over twenty years, they have trampled on and massacred the Korean people. Our compatriots are robbed by the aggressors of all their property gained by their sweat and blood, and are forced to lead the miserable life of colonial slavery. Furthermore, the Japanese imperialists are forcing the Korean people to become an “advance detachment” for a second war, a tool of their aggressive war against China.

The destiny of our Korean nation is at stake.

We are the Korean People’s Revolutionary Army that is waging a struggle to open the way for the people, bring them a worthwhile life, defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the country. It is universally acknowledged that we have dealt the Japanese imperialist marauders fatal blows in our life-and-death struggle of the past six or seven years on the vast Manchurian plain.

Relying on the firm unity between the patriots in Korea and our ardent fighters, this army has crossed the Tuman and Amnok rivers and come on an expedition to the provinces of North and South Hamgyong with the object of fighting the Government-General of Korea, the vampire that fattens on the blood of the Korean people.

Long-suffering compatriots and brothers! Step forward at once! Rally around the anti-Japanese national united front and respond to the guerrilla warfare of this army by waging struggles in various ways!

Fight on to smash Japanese imperialist rule quickly and build a genuine government of the Korean people!

LET US FIGHT ON STAUNCHLY FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOTHERLAND

Speech Addressed to the People of Pochonbo

June 4, 1937

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

We are combatants of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army fighting against Japanese imperialism for the restoration of the motherland and the liberation of the people.

We are very glad to be holding this memorable meeting with you, dear fellow countrymen at home, on a victorious battlefield where we have crushed the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

On behalf of the KPRA I wish to convey our warm thanks to you and to the patriotic people at home who have given active material and moral support and encouragement to us, the revolutionary army.

Dear fellow countrymen,

Today the Japanese imperialist robbers have enmeshed the whole of our three-thousand-*ri* land in a web of army units, gendarmerie and police, and rigged up various evil laws. They brutally arrest, imprison and murder countless patriots, and are forcing our people to remain disgracefully submissive as slaves.

The crafty Japanese imperialists are trying to drum the "Japanese spirit" into our people by clamouring that "Japan and Korea are one" and that "Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent," the aim being to break the lofty national spirit of our people. They are even attempting to trample underfoot and wipe out our beautiful language and our national culture with its 5,000-year history.

The Japanese imperialist robbers are further intensifying the exploitation and plunder of our people, and are seizing all our national wealth. The Japanese imperialist villains have stretched their grim predatory hands as far as the remote mountain villages here, plundering all our precious forest resources. They are bleeding you white by working you like beasts of burden in all kinds of drudgery. They even keep you from your traditional slash-and-burn farming. Because of this you are maintaining a bare existence on herb roots and tree bark; you are poorly dressed in coarse flax, and leading wretched lives in tumbledown mud huts.

Further stepping up their moves of late for invading China proper, the Japanese imperialist robbers are hell-bent on the fascist suppression and looting of our people.

Indeed, with the whole country devastated and turned into a land of darkness, into a hell on earth, the very life of our nation is now at stake.

Dear fellow countrymen,

Where there is a tyrant, a struggle will always break out. The ardent youths and patriots of our country have turned out resolutely in the sacred anti-Japanese struggle to crush the Japanese imperialists' tyranny.

The KPRA has fought valiantly with arms in hand for six to seven years in Korea and on the wild plains of Manchuria against the Japanese imperialist invaders in order to work out the salvation of our nation and to achieve the liberation of the country. Our revolutionary army has beaten the enemy everywhere, and dealt serious political and military blows to the Japanese imperialists' colonial ruling system, thereby giving a ray of hope to our people who are living in humiliation, bowed down with the sorrow of statelessness.

Our strength is increasing and the revolutionary forces of the world, too, are growing powerful. The support of progressive people the world over for our struggle is also mounting. We will achieve the historic cause of national liberation without fail and win final victory.

Alarmed by the bold and fearless operations and great military achievements of the gallant combatants of our revolutionary army who are forging ahead despite all difficulties, the Japanese imperialist

aggressors are making desperate efforts to “crush” the KPRA and, of late, have been frantically building up their frontier guard line in a foolhardy attempt to hinder our revolutionary army’s advance into the homeland. The enemy is even spreading the absurd, fictitious story that he has “completely wiped out” the KPRA.

Dear brothers and sisters, although the Japanese imperialists are manoeuvring in this frenzied manner, the KPRA is holding its own as ever, demonstrating its might to the whole world.

In its latest thrust into the homeland, the KPRA broke through the frontier guard line, the much-vaunted “iron wall” of the Japanese imperialists. A few days ago in the Musan area it showered vengeful fire upon the enemy right and left, and today here at Pochonbo it has fully demonstrated the indomitable fighting spirit and lofty mettle of our nation.

Our revolutionary army has just attacked the Japanese imperialists’ agencies of repression and ruling organs such as the police sub-station and the sub-county office, and finished off the Japanese imperialist aggressors installed there, the bitter enemies of our people who had been imposing all sorts of hard toil and miseries upon you.

Brothers and sisters, look at the flames over there. Those raging flames show that the enemy is doomed. Those flames show the whole world that our nation is not dead but alive, and that if we fight against the Japanese imperialist plunderers we can win. Those flames will shine like a ray of hope in the hearts of our people suffering from maltreatment and hunger, and will spread throughout our three-thousand-*ri* land like a torch of struggle.

The Korean people are not of the “same descent” as the Japanese imperialist villains, and we do not acknowledge the idea noisily propagandized by them that Japan and Korea are “one.”

We, the KPRA, will tighten our grip on our weapons of revenge and liberate our 23 million fellow countrymen suffering from hunger and poverty, ignorance and darkness. We will liberate our motherland come what may, and establish a people’s country free from oppression and exploitation on the land of the independent motherland.

Dear fellow countrymen, liberation of the motherland is the vital demand of the Korean people today.

Instead of merely sitting and sighing over our grievous and bitter lot under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, let us all unite ever more firmly under the banner of the anti-Japanese national united front and rise as one man in the lofty struggle to defeat the aggressor, Japanese imperialism, and achieve the great cause of national liberation. Struggle is the only way to secure existence and national regeneration.

You should overcome all difficulties, unite and cooperate with each other with the utmost sincerity and enthusiasm, and make an all-out effort in the sacred anti-Japanese war for the independence of Korea. Those who have strength should contribute strength, those who have knowledge should offer knowledge, and those who have money should donate money.

By various forms of struggle you should completely frustrate all the anti-people moves of the Government-General of Korea, the bloodsucker that lives on the blood of our people.

You should demonstrate the indomitable spirit of the Korean people. To do this, you should smash the false propaganda of the Japanese imperialist aggressors to smithereens and defend our language, spoken and written, and uphold our national spirit to the last.

With great national pride and the unwavering confidence that as long as there is an ever-victorious KPRA our country will attain independence without fail, you should give material and moral support to the KPRA and fight on without yielding. Let us make those flames rage furiously over the whole of our three-thousand-*ri* land.

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

The final victory belongs to us, who are fighting for the liberation of the motherland.

Let us all advance vigorously, looking forward to the day when we will meet again in our liberated country, loudly hailing our national independence, and live in happiness.

Long live the independence of Korea!

Long live the Korean revolution!

THE TASKS OF KOREAN COMMUNISTS

Treatise Published in *Sogwang*, Organ of the Korean

People's Revolutionary Army

November 10, 1937

Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea.

During this period they have turned our country into a source of raw materials and labour, a market for their commodities and a military base for aggression against the continent.

Owing to their ferocious colonial policy, the Korean people have been deprived of their national rights and freedom and are suffering untold sorrow as a ruined people. Our people are not only subjected to double and treble oppression and exploitation by the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys in a manner reminiscent of mediaeval times, but threatened with the danger of being deprived of their beautiful written and spoken language.

The Sino-Japanese War unleashed by the Japanese imperialists is driving our people into an even more terrible plight. With an eye to ensuring "safety in the rear," the Japanese imperialists have greatly expanded their fascist, colonial, repressive machinery—troops, police, prisons, gallows and all—and concocted a new set of Draconian laws. In this way, they have turned our beautiful land of 3,000 *ri* into a living hell on earth. They are cracking down on the revolutionary forces with fury, while suppressing and slaughtering innocent people as never before. Since last summer these hangmen have destroyed the

lower echelons of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and atrociously arrested and imprisoned a large number of underground political workers and members of the ARF in the northern border area of our country. In all parts of Korea they have seized and imprisoned countless numbers of innocent people and are wantonly slaughtering them. They have openly instituted compulsory conscription and grain deliveries in order to meet the ever-increasing demand for manpower and materials in their aggressive war against the continent. Thus, our precious young and middle-aged people are being forcibly rounded up to become bullet shields for the Japanese imperialists and our country's abundant natural wealth is being ruthlessly plundered.

Our people, known for their 5,000-year-old history and brilliant culture, are now standing at the crossroads of life and death, and the dark clouds of national calamity are hovering over our land.

In these grim days of national suffering, all kinds of renegades from the revolution—national reformists, Right and “Left” opportunists and factionalist sycophants—have cast off their masks and are openly conniving with the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

Time has proved that we communists are the only pivotal force of the revolution capable of guiding the destiny of the country and the people to the end, and it has set before us a heavier and more difficult task.

Severe trials and difficulties stand in the way of the Korean revolution, but the situation continues to develop in favour of the revolution.

The frantic war policy and the savage fascist suppression of the Japanese imperialists are not a sign of their might; they reflect the last-minute desperation of those who are on the brink of disaster. The Sino-Japanese War ignited by Japanese imperialism is intensifying the contradictions between the imperialist powers and weakening the imperialist camp as a whole. The more the Japanese imperialists expand the war, the deeper they will fall into a bottomless pit. In the end, the flames of war will engulf those who ignited them.

Today the national and class contradictions between the Japanese imperialists and the Korean people are becoming extremely acute. Workers, peasants, youths, students, intellectuals, non-comprador capitalists, traders, men of religion and, indeed, all the Korean people, while cursing Japanese imperialism as their sworn enemy, wait impatiently for the day when the enemy is defeated and wage anti-Japanese struggles in various parts of the country.

From ancient times, the Korean people have been known as a valiant and resourceful people who would rather die fighting than surrender. Following the occupation of Korea by Japanese imperialism, various forms of resolute anti-Japanese struggle, such as the Righteous Volunteers movement, the Independence Army movement, riots by workers and peasants and the anti-Japanese movement of youth and students, took place in our country.

Now, in the 1930s, the anti-Japanese armed struggle, organized and led by us communists, is dealing Japanese imperialism a telling blow and has raised the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to a new stage. The path traversed by our people since the Japanese imperialist occupation is the path of national salvation, one attended by bloody struggles.

We, Korean communists, must take advantage of all favourable internal and external circumstances and promote the brilliant patriotic traditions of our people. We must organize and mobilize the masses of the people correctly in the struggle to fulfil the solemn task of defeating Japanese imperialism and regaining our lost country.

1. THE CHARACTER OF THE KOREAN REVOLUTION AT THE PRESENT STAGE

To define the character of the revolution correctly is of the utmost significance for organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle

correctly and hastening the victory of the revolution. Only by correctly defining the character of the revolution is it possible to map out scientific strategy and tactics and, on this basis, confidently organize and mobilize the masses of the people for the revolutionary struggle.

Formerly, it was asserted by some that the Korean revolution is a “socialist revolution” at the present stage, and by others that it is a “bourgeois revolution.” Both are wrong.

The character of a revolution is determined by the basic tasks of that revolution and by the socio-class relations at each stage. The view that the revolution in our country is a “bourgeois revolution” and the view that it is a “socialist revolution” are Rightist and “Leftist” deviations resulting from an incorrect understanding of the basic tasks of the Korean revolution and the actual socio-class relations in our country at the present stage. These views are hostile to the revolution and aim to hinder the close unity of the revolutionary forces and divert the spearhead of struggle.

Our country is a semi-feudal, colonial society where, because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, capitalist development is extremely retarded and feudal relations of production are predominant.

Under these circumstances, the basic tasks of the Korean revolution at the present stage are to carry out the task of the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution to overthrow Japanese imperialist colonial rule and regain our lost country and, at the same time, to fulfil the task of the anti-feudal democratic revolution to eliminate feudal relations and pave the way for the country’s development along democratic lines. These two tasks are closely interrelated. This is seen in the fact that the Japanese imperialist aggressors—the colonial rulers—on the one hand and the landlords and the former feudal bureaucrats—the champions of feudal relations—on the other are in collusion with each other.

Japanese imperialism maintains its colonial system of rule in Korea with the help of its agents, the comprador capitalists and the feudal landlords, and the landlords retain the feudal relations of

exploitation under its patronage. Therefore, the struggle against Japanese imperialism and the struggle against feudalism must be waged as an integral whole.

Hence, our revolution at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

What, then, are the concrete targets of our revolution at the present stage?

In the Korean revolution the main target is the aggressive forces of Japanese imperialism. Colonial rule by Japanese imperialism is at the very root of all the misery the Korean people are suffering and the buttress of all social fetters in this country. The Japanese imperialists have done everything possible to turn our country into a permanent colony and enslave our people for all time. They wantonly obliterate everything unique to the Korean nation and hamper ferociously the revolutionary advance of the Korean working class and the rest of the working masses. They have no scruples about introducing into Korea all the decadence and corruption which they think helpful to their colonial rule.

The overthrow of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and the restoration of the country's independence are prerequisites for the national and class liberation of our people and for social progress in our country. Our people's struggle against Japanese imperialism is aimed at regaining their lost country and restoring their national rights in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and, at the same time, at removing all the obstacles to national and social progress so as to pave the way for national prosperity.

So the first and foremost revolutionary task confronting Korean communists and other revolutionary people is to organize and mobilize all the revolutionary forces for the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

Other targets of the Korean revolution are pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists, traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese bureaucrats who put themselves at the beck and call of the Japanese imperialists and serve them as faithful pawns.

They all actively help the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in Korea and, in partnership with it, oppress and exploit the people. They hamper the people most viciously in their anti-Japanese struggle. In the countryside they employ feudal methods based on the feudal ownership of land to oppress and exploit the peasants savagely with the backing of Japanese imperialism, and in the towns they cruelly exploit the workers in a capitalist as well as a feudal way. They also play the role of transmitters of obsolete feudal customs and slavish mentality and of guides helping Japanese imperialism to stretch out its claws of colonial rule deeper into all fields.

Consequently, if they are left untouched, the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle can never be successful nor can the way be paved for the democratic development of the country. Therefore, we must fight against Japanese imperialism and, at the same time, wage a resolute struggle against the pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists, traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese bureaucrats.

To be successful in the revolutionary struggle we must have a correct understanding not only of the character and targets of the revolution but also of its motive force. In any revolution an important guarantee of victory is the involvement of people of all classes and strata who are interested in the revolution.

The motive force of the Korean revolution at the present stage comprises the broad anti-imperialist democratic forces, such as workers, peasants, youths, students, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie. National capitalists and religious people with a conscience can also join in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The working class is the leading class in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, not to mention the future socialist revolution and the period of building socialism and communism. This is because the working class alone is the most advanced class that champions the fundamental interests of the working masses, has the strongest revolutionary spirit and sense of organization and is able to organize and lead all working masses to victory in the revolution.

Our working class has a more vital interest in the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution than any other class.

Under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the Korean working class lives in abject misery. The Japanese imperialists have, on the one hand, retarded the growth of our national economy to the extreme and, on the other, have almost all industries in their grip. They are exploiting the Korean workers with unheard-of cruelty. In pursuit of their aim of grinding down our workers more ruthlessly, they are using every possible method to intensify labour to the maximum and extending the working day to as many as 12 to 18 hours. Even under such terrible conditions not all workers are provided with jobs. The Japanese imperialists are pursuing the wickedest colonial predatory policy—employing cheap juvenile and female labour and continually dismissing adult workers—to secure the maximum colonial super-profits. Thus, many workers are thrown out of work to form an industrial reserve army, deprived even of the elementary right to live.

The Japanese imperialists pay the Korean workers less than half the wages of the Japanese workers for the same work. Worse still, they take back the greater part of this in the name of “defence contribution,” “government bonds,” “fines” and so on. Thus Korean workers have been reduced to such a state that they can hardly eke out a living in spite of their indescribably hard toil.

The living conditions of our workers have worsened since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese imperialists forcibly drag our workers to military construction sites for slave labour and do not pay them even starvation wages. Finally, they kill them in cold blood under the pretext of “protecting secrets.”

This intolerably unfair and wretched situation our workers find themselves in has not only roused their revolutionary spirit, but also made them move forward towards organizing and tempering themselves as a class in actual struggles and stand in the forefront of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

An analysis of this struggle, which has gone on for more than 20 years in our country, reveals that it is only the working class that can

lead the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals in our country have always vacillated in face of the difficulties that have cropped up in the course of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle because of the weakness inherent in their class position, and they have attempted to attain the independence of Korea not in a revolutionary way but in an easy way. The Incentive Production Association, the Yonjong Association and so on, which they created allegedly for Korean independence, were all national reformist groupings that wanted reform and compromise instead of revolution and struggle.

Therefore, if we are to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, it is of primary importance to ensure the leading role of the working class, the class vitally interested in this revolution and struggling dauntlessly in defiance of difficulties.

Together with the working class, the peasantry occupies an important place in the Korean revolution. The peasantry is a dependable ally of the working class and, like the working class, constitutes a main force of the revolution.

In countries like ours, where the peasantry accounts for the overwhelming majority of the population, special importance should be attached to their position in the revolution. Peasants comprise more than 80 percent of our population. In such circumstances, winning them over is a key to the success of the revolution. If we fail to involve the peasants in the revolution in such a country as ours, the end result will be that the working class will be isolated, its leading role weakened and, furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the population will be left to the influence of the enemy.

One reason our peasantry holds an important place in the revolution is its numerical preponderance. Another reason is that it also has a most vital interest in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

The colonial rule of Japanese imperialism has condemned our peasants to abject poverty and starvation. In the countryside the Japanese imperialists exploit the peasants, keeping feudal

landownership intact and using the landlords as their agents. At the same time, they expropriate fertile land in the name of “land survey,” the “organization of the Oriental Development Company,” and so on.

In 1914, shortly after the Japanese imperialist occupation of Korea, more than 60 percent of Korean peasants tilled their own land, with tenant farmers and hired hands accounting for only 35 percent. Today, however, the proportion of tenant farmers and hired hands has jumped to over 70 percent, while that of peasants tilling their own land has dropped below 18 percent. Thus the overwhelming majority of the Korean peasants have been reduced to the status of the rural proletariat. Driven from their hereditary farmlands, innumerable peasants are tramping alien countries begging for food or are eking out a mere existence subjected to inhuman treatment under the lash of the Japanese gangsters, the landlords and the capitalists. As for those peasants who are still lucky enough to work on their own land, most of them are living off the bark of trees or grass roots, unable to secure enough food to live on because of heavy taxation, and they live in constant anxiety lest they be evicted.

To meet their war demands, the Japanese imperialists are press-ganging rural young and middle-aged men indiscriminately for military duties or as labour for the construction of military installations. Every year they plunder millions of *sok* of rice, which they ship to Japan. This military burden imposed on the peasants has made their plight absolutely intolerable.

In this way our countryside has been turned into a shocking famine area, the like of which has scarcely been seen anywhere in the world at any time in history.

This dire distress has triggered the bitter wrath of our peasants against the Japanese imperialists and the feudal landlords. They have stepped out with determination onto the road of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle, realizing that revolution is the only way to make life possible for them.

Disregarding this situation, the “Left” opportunists and factionalist sycophants have underestimated the revolutionary spirit of the

Korean peasantry, alleging that they are “two-faced” and that “they can hardly stand by the revolution to the end, because they are a small-propertied class and so vacillate easily.”

This conflicts with the realities and is in total opposition to the stand that must be taken to strengthen the revolutionary forces.

Korean communists should repudiate all the prejudices against and the wrong attitudes towards our peasants and strive to win them over, so that the main forces of the revolution will be built up on a solid basis.

Because of its anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic nature, our revolution requires that not only workers and peasants, but also youth, students, intellectuals, members of the small-propertied classes, non-comprador capitalists and honest religious believers be enlisted on the side of the revolution. The fascist colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists inevitably fills the youth, students, intellectuals, members of the small-propertied classes, non-comprador capitalists and honest religious believers with hatred against Japanese imperialism and leads them to fling themselves into the fight for the independence of the country and the liberation of the people.

In general, the youth, students and intellectuals have a strong sense of justice and are responsive to progressive ideas and the trend of the times because they are searching for science and truth. Therefore, the progressive elements among them are the first to learn Marxism-Leninism, awaken and enlighten the workers and peasants and thus play the role of pioneer leading them into the revolutionary movement.

In particular, our youth, students and intellectuals not only are directly subjected to national oppression and discrimination by Japanese imperialism but suffer the hard fate common to the whole nation caused by Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and they are more keenly aware than anyone else of the irrationality of our present-day society.

This is why they have developed a national consciousness faster than others and have stronger anti-imperialist sentiments. They are

participating actively in the national liberation revolution, impelled by the progressive spirit to fight for justice and inspired by the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution to drive out the foreign imperialist aggressor forces and make our backward country as prosperous as others.

Many of them have been struggling resolutely against the Japanese imperialists since the first days of their occupation of Korea and have made great contributions in rousing workers and peasants and other broad masses who are against Japanese imperialism to revolutionary struggle. In the period of preparing the anti-Japanese armed struggle, too, revolutionary youth, students and intellectuals played a great role in cementing the revolutionary ranks organizationally and ideologically and in laying the mass base of the struggle. Joining the ranks of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the underground revolutionary organizations, they are now fighting unyieldingly.

All this testifies to the fact that they are playing an important role in the revolutionary struggle.

But they cannot themselves become a political force or assume a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle because of their weakness, vacillation and “do-it-only-halfway” nature. Only under the leadership of the communists and the working class can they play a revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

As for the non-comprador capitalists, they should also be viewed analytically. Non-comprador capitalists in colonial and semi-colonial countries have certain characteristics different from the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries.

From a class point of view, the non-comprador capitalists come under the heading of the exploiting class, but their economic activities are repressed by foreign imperialists and their comprador capitalist allies and they are always exposed to the threat of bankruptcy. Therefore, they have an anti-imperialist spirit and a desire for national independence, though not steadfast.

In particular, non-comprador capitalists in our country are slipping

rapidly towards bankruptcy as a result of the fascist colonial terrorist rule of the Japanese imperialists and the subsequent large-scale infiltration of Japanese monopoly capital. Korean capital in 1928 accounted for over 26 percent of the total industrial output value, but the figure today is less than 10 percent. Even this figure is barely maintained through sticking to such extremely secondary branches as rice cleaning, cotton ginning and so on.

Since they are destined to become ruined under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, they have an interest in the anti-Japanese national liberation revolution and feel impelled to join it.

The comprador capitalists are more afraid of the people's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle than of imperialist aggression. The non-comprador capitalists, however, resist imperialist aggression and support the people's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. To call the non-comprador capitalists reactionary because of the acts of treachery to the country and the people perpetrated by a handful of comprador capitalists would only mean weakening the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces. Drawing them into the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle is of great importance for isolating the enemy to the maximum and strengthening the revolutionary forces.

As can be seen, at the present stage of the Korean revolution its motive force consists of the anti-Japanese forces drawn from broad sections of society. We should assume a principled and magnanimous attitude towards all classes and strata that can join the revolution. We should accept, rally and organize them and in this way mobilize all the anti-Japanese forces for the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle.

What, then, are the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in our country?

Needless to say, the primary and fundamental task is to overthrow the Japanese imperialist aggressors and all the reactionary forces—pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists and so on—who ally themselves with the aggressors. When this task has been fulfilled,

however, it does not mean that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution will have been completed. It should be followed up by abolishing the social and economic relations on which the Japanese imperialists and their accomplices—the reactionary forces—rely in all branches of politics, the economy and culture and by firmly establishing a new, progressive democratic system so as to make sure that the old system will never be revived.

Our foremost task following the defeat of the Japanese imperialist aggressors is to set up a democratic government.

The fundamental question of the revolution is the question of power. The seizure of power is indispensable for our people's complete national and class liberation and for the building of a prosperous, independent, and sovereign state in our country. Through their bitter experience as slaves in a ruined nation, the Korean people have come to realize sharply what fate lies in store for a people as long as they are without state power of their own. Indeed, there is no more important task than that of establishing a state power of genuinely our own.

In solving the question of power it is very important to decide the form it should take to fit in with the character and tasks of the revolution and the class relationships in a given period.

What form of democratic power, then, should we set up?

There can be two forms of democratic power. One belongs to the category of bourgeois power, i.e., democratic power led by the propertied classes. The other comes under the category of proletarian power, i.e., democratic power led by the working class.

The former champions the interests of an extremely limited section of the population, comprising the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. It always vacillates and is not steadfast and, therefore, cannot lead the people to socialism and communism, the ultimate goal of the workers and poor peasants.

In contrast, the latter defends the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants, carries out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in a thoroughgoing way and can

lead the masses to socialism and communism, their ultimate goal.

Therefore, the power we shall establish after the overthrow of Japanese imperialism is people-oriented, democratic power coming under the category of proletarian power, i.e., democratic power led by the working class.

After the establishment of this power we must firmly rely on it in introducing agrarian reform and other democratic reforms. The most important thing here is to wipe out the remnants of Japanese imperialism root and branch.

Even after the destruction of the colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism, this is essential in all branches of politics, the economy and culture for ensuring the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist national liberation revolution, the complete political independence of the country and its development along democratic lines after the elimination of all feudal forces.

To do away with the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, we should first eliminate all the reactionary landlords, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, who constitute the mainstay of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and actively defend its ruling machinery, and leave no room for them to manoeuvre.

Furthermore, all the laws and rules concocted by the Japanese imperialists must be declared invalid and new ones safeguarding the interests of the broad masses formulated to establish a new order in state construction. Survivals of ideology and way of life introduced by Japanese imperialism should be abolished, public education developed in our own language, both written and spoken, and our own national culture restored.

Unless we destroy the economic base of the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists, we cannot pave the way for the independent development of the economy, nor can we consolidate the political independence of the country. We must nationalize the major industries—the mines, factories, railways, transport, banks, communications and home and foreign trade—held by the Japanese state and by Japanese and Korean comprador capitalists and make

them the property of all the people. In this way, we shall see to it that the major means of production are used effectively to promote the independence and prosperity of the country and the people's welfare, and that the economic base is laid for building a new society, free from exploitation and oppression.

Along with these anti-imperialist revolutionary tasks, we must carry out the tasks of the anti-feudal democratic revolution in a thoroughgoing way.

Top priority here is to solve the land problem correctly. Solution of this problem constitutes the basic content of the anti-feudal democratic revolution, because it can deliver the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, from feudal fetters and feudal exploitation, radically improve their social and political status and open up a wide avenue for social progress and the development of productive forces.

We must confiscate the land held by the Japanese state and the Japanese and pro-Japanese landlords and distribute it among the peasants who till it and put an end to all aspects of feudal landownership, such as tenancy and the purchase and sale of land. The economic base of the feudal forces should be so completely uprooted that it will never be able to revive.

Furthermore, we must see to it that the people are emancipated from all kinds of social discrimination and inequality, and, especially, that women, who make up half the population, are completely freed from feudal subjugation.

Along with this, the working people must be assured of political freedom and democratic rights in all respects. Various social measures must be introduced to protect the working people, such as the eight-hour workday, labour protection and state insurance, and conditions must be provided for all working people to participate in labour freely and work to their heart's content under the protection of the state and society.

The introduction of all these social and economic reforms will constitute a profound social revolution aimed at removing the

consequences of the monstrous colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and all the social evils and fetters that have existed for thousands of years.

The communists should be quick to realize the centuries-old desire of broad sections of the working masses to cast off all social oppression and exploitation, encourage them to actively participate in the revolutionary struggle with the utmost political enthusiasm and lead them constantly along the road of revolution.

With the fulfilment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution the revolution will not have been completed. In carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, we communists must continue the revolution and build a veritable paradise of socialism and communism in this country, free from oppression and exploitation.

2. IMMEDIATE TASKS OF KOREAN COMMUNISTS

What are the immediate tasks of the Korean communists for carrying the Korean revolution forward to victory?

To begin with, Korean communists must broaden and step up the anti-Japanese armed struggle and lead it to victory, thus splendidly accomplishing the sacred task of regaining our country.

In order to drive out the imperialist aggressors and carry the national liberation revolution to completion, we must wage armed struggle resolutely. Imperialism relies on the military power of counter-revolution to establish its class rule and dominate its colonies and it will never give up aggression and war until its counter-revolutionary military power is utterly defeated.

Nobody can expect the Japanese imperialists, the most brazen and piratical aggressors, who have tasted the sweat and blood of the

colonial people and boast of the “might of great Imperial Japan,” to withdraw from Korea meekly before their counter-revolutionary military power is routed.

That is why we Korean communists have organized and waged armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist robbers since the beginning of the 1930s, delivering heavy blows at their counter-revolutionary military power.

The need to broaden and step up the anti-Japanese armed struggle has become a matter of greater urgency today.

After igniting the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese imperialists sent a large force to the front in North China, aiming to win their war of aggression against the continent by lightning warfare tactics. Meanwhile, to make their “home front safe,” they are desperately carrying out “mopping-up” operations against our revolutionary armed forces and intensifying the suppression and plunder of the Korean people.

Frantic expansion of the Japanese imperialists’ aggressive war only brings nearer their ruin and creates favourable conditions for the struggle of the Korean communists to hasten the liberation of our country.

Under these conditions, we must definitely broaden and step up the anti-Japanese armed struggle to defeat the rampaging Japanese imperialists and realize the noble historic cause of regaining our lost country at the earliest possible date.

This is also necessary to ensure the continued upsurge of the Korean revolution as a whole.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle is the mainstream of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in our country and the highest form of this struggle. Stepping it up is essential for the successful development of the various forms of anti-Japanese struggle being waged by all sections of the people, including workers, peasants, youth and students.

Therefore, the Korean communists must do this to bring about a new upswing in the entire Korean revolution. To broaden and develop

the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we must first increase the strength of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army and intensify its military and political activities.

The KPRA is not only a revolutionary armed force directly engaged in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, but also a revolutionary army of organizers and information workers, whose task is to educate and organize the broad masses and in this way expand and further the Korean revolution as a whole.

Strengthening the KPRA politically and militarily is a decisive guarantee for stepping up the anti-Japanese armed struggle and increasing its influence in every way.

In strengthening the KPRA it is most important to raise the political and ideological level of all the officers and men.

The source of the revolutionary army's invincible might lies in its political and ideological superiority. Because of its officers' and men's intense loyalty to their country and class, the KPRA is invincible and is capable of annihilating any army of the exploiter classes. However, we cannot give full scope to the essential superiority of a revolutionary army unless we work steadfastly to raise the political and ideological level of the officers and men. Therefore, we must steadily equip all the officers and men with a revolutionary world outlook so that they will be able to pursue the arduous and prolonged revolutionary struggle with an indomitable fighting spirit.

All the officers and men of the KPRA are revolutionary fighters ready to give their all for the restoration of the motherland and the emancipation of the people. However, if we fail to keep building up their confidence in the victory of the revolution under present conditions when our struggle is becoming more difficult and the enemy is stepping up his ideological offensive, we cannot increase the KPRA's political and ideological might.

This sets us the task of continuing to strengthen political and ideological education among them. First we must teach them Marxist-Leninist principles. At the same time, we must firmly arm them with

the lines, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution. This will help them acquire a firm revolutionary world outlook. Furthermore, we should get them to adopt the revolutionary mass viewpoint, the revolutionary style of work, a sense of revolutionary comradeship and voluntary discipline. This is the way to turn all of them into staunch revolutionary fighters convinced of victory in the revolution and filled with the lofty revolutionary spirit to devote their youth and lives wholly to the sacred task of restoring the country. And this is the way to turn them into true educators of the people and skilful organizers of the mass movement.

The political and ideological superiority of the KPRA can become ever greater when combined with powerful military technical might. The Japanese imperialist aggressor troops are the most savage and crafty invaders, armed to the teeth with modern military hardware. If we are to defeat such an enemy, the KPRA must be thoroughly prepared politically and ideologically. It must also be armed with excellent military technique and superb guerrilla tactics.

While constantly expanding and strengthening the units of the KPRA, we must avail ourselves of every opportunity to promote military education and training, so that all military cadres and soldiers become expert in handling weapons and equipment and well versed in guerrilla tactics.

By strengthening the KPRA politically and militarily in this way, we shall be able to train it to become a revolutionary force capable of crushing the numerical superiority of the enemy with our political and ideological superiority and his military and technical superiority with our superiority in guerrilla tactics.

Strengthening the KPRA politically and militarily must go simultaneously with increasing its military and political activities.

The KPRA units should launch a large-scale offensive behind the lines of the Japanese imperialist aggressor troops, who are intent on their war of aggression against China proper, put them in a passive position and create a situation definitely in favour of the Korean revolution.

To this end, we should closely and actively combine large and small unit operations in keeping with the balance of forces between the enemy and our side and the changes in the situation, extend the scope of our armed struggle deep into our homeland, and, in conjunction with this, organize a nationwide war of resistance. When the vigorous military and political activities of the KPRA and the nationwide war of resistance are combined, the Japanese imperialist robbers will be defeated and the country's independence will certainly be restored.

Second, Korean communists must organize and conduct more vigorously the anti-Japanese national united front movement and unite closely a wider segment of the anti-Japanese patriotic forces on a nationwide scale, so that the revolutionary forces secure superiority over the counter-revolutionary forces.

This is a powerful political movement aimed at rallying all the patriotic forces of Korea opposing Japanese imperialism around the communists so as to turn the balance of forces decisively in favour of the revolution. It occupies a very important place in our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

Revolution is for the sake of the masses and it emerges victorious only when broad sections of the people participate in it. Winning over the masses, uniting them into a political force and relying on their inexhaustible strength is therefore a fundamental principle communists and revolutionaries must abide by in their revolutionary struggle.

Winning over the anti-Japanese forces of all walks of life and forming them into an organized body has been an important task of the Korean communists from the beginning of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle.

On the basis of scientific assessment of the subjective and objective conditions created in the development of our revolution, we set forth the line on forming an anti-Japanese national united front at the beginning of the 1930s and strove consistently to implement it. At last, in May 1936, we formed the Association for the Restoration of

the Fatherland, the first organization of the anti-Japanese national united front in our country.

Within a very short space of time, the ARF has grown in scope and strength to become a powerful underground revolutionary organization and a broad-based mass organization, drawing a good many of the anti-Japanese masses under its wing.

The masses with anti-Japanese leanings, including workers and peasants, and patriotic elements of all strata in Manchuria and the homeland widely embraced by the anti-Japanese national united front are now waging a vigorous revolutionary struggle, upholding the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF.

Its lower bodies have been formed and are active over a vast area of Manchuria and in major cities and villages at home, including those in North and South Hamgyong, North and South Phyongan and Kangwon provinces. A ramified organizational network is being formed to cover the whole country.

In our country today, not only workers and peasants, but many patriotic youths, students and intellectuals support the Ten-Point Programme and are launching determined action against Japanese imperialism. Meanwhile, they are volunteering for our army by the score. All forces who love the country and nation and aspire to democracy, including small- and medium-size entrepreneurs, small tradesmen, handicraftsmen and nationalists, are blended into a single stream of anti-Japanese struggle under communist leadership.

Particular mention should be made here of the Korean Independence Army, a nationalist armed force. This army, caught in the snare of conservatism, rejected alliance with the communists for a long time, but upon learning the Declaration and Programme of the ARF, it earnestly supported them and expressed its readiness to form an alliance with us. Some of its units have already participated in joint operations with our units. This concerted action helps to strengthen unity and holds out the prospects of a more solid allied front.

In addition, many progressive followers of Chondoism in the

homeland, opposing the pro-Japanese activities of the reactionary Choe Rin clique, have also joined the struggle for the nation's common cause. Upholding the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF and responding to its appeal, they are actively supporting and encouraging our anti-Japanese armed struggle. Dozens of their representatives came to see us and pledged that they would fight with us on the same front to win back our country. They are now offering us aid, both moral and material. The ARF has succeeded in winning over a great many Chondoists in a number of counties in the northern part of Korea and its influence among progressive believers across the country is increasing daily.

Today the Korean people see the bright dawn of national liberation in the anti-Japanese armed struggle and in the ARF movement, which is growing under the immediate influence of this struggle. They are rising bravely in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, certain that victory will be theirs.

The present internal and external situation urgently demands that we Korean communists expand and develop the anti-Japanese national united front movement.

Confronted with a crisis in which their colonial rule might collapse through our people's anti-Japanese national salvation war of resistance, the Japanese imperialist aggressors are intensifying their colonial suppression and exploitation of the Korean people to an unprecedented degree. A huge military force and every conceivable means of repression are geared to this end. As the enemy's suppression intensifies, the anti-Japanese spirit of the Korean people surges ever higher and their revolutionary advance becomes most active.

To cope with this situation, the Korean communists must keep abreast of the upsurge of anti-Japanese spirit among the masses and strive to mobilize all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces of the people for the national liberation struggle.

Pressing forward with the anti-Japanese national united front movement is also an important task for the development of world revolution.

In imperialist countries such as Japan, Germany and Italy that have embarked upon full-scale fascism, fascist dictatorship has deprived the people of democratic freedoms and all political rights and the revolutionary movement is undergoing a severe trial. The danger of fascism is growing daily on a worldwide scale. Communists are countering this situation with an anti-fascist popular front movement and making positive efforts to organize and mobilize the broad masses in it.

In this situation, strengthening our anti-Japanese national united front movement is the way we can contribute to weakening the allied international fascist forces and hastening the victory of all the international democratic forces and help to turn the international climate in favour of our own revolution.

Korean communists must work energetically to deepen and advance this movement in conformity with the new demands of the revolution.

It is most important here to make the ARF organizations more militant and expand and strengthen its ranks.

The ARF is a united front organization formed by the communists in a situation where a Marxist-Leninist party is still absent in our country. At the same time, it is a powerful underground revolutionary organization.

Therefore, by making its organizations militant and expanding and strengthening its ranks it will be possible to rally the anti-Japanese patriotic forces across the country in a unified way and, at the same time, to provide the Korean revolutionary movement with communist leadership.

In order to strengthen the anti-Japanese national united front movement, we must expand the ARF's organizational network deep into the homeland and actively organize the broad anti-Japanese masses in it.

We must also intensify its organizational and political activities in every way, while making its organizations militant and skilfully employing flexible methods of work suitable to underground

activities. Under the severe conditions in which the enemy is stepping up his suppressive measures, we should not give every organization the same name, but give them various names according to the actual conditions in each locality and the characteristics and political level of the people of all walks of life. Each organization should adopt various forms of activity in accordance with the actual conditions. This will make the ARF a more powerful revolutionary underground organization of a mass character, one that is active and deeply rooted among the broad masses of people.

In order to further expand and develop the ARF movement, communist leadership must be established over the entire movement. Only when this leadership is firmly ensured can the anti-Japanese national united front movement be consistently pushed forward in conformity with the interests of all the people, including the working class, and develop successfully in accordance with revolutionary strategy and tactics. We communists, therefore, should firmly establish ourselves in leading positions in the organizations of the ARF and give them revolutionary guidance.

In leading the movement, communists should clearly recognize any Right and “Left” tendencies and deal thoroughly with them.

If we are to unite people of all strata, we must combine the revolutionary mass line correctly with the class line. We must guard against both “Left” and Right tendencies—such as establishing contacts only with workers and peasants, getting caught in the snare of class prejudice, and, in the name of the united front, linking up with anyone unconditionally. If we draw only workers and peasants into the ARF organizations and exclude the rest of the anti-Japanese patriotic forces, we may lose great masses of people with anti-Japanese sentiments. On the other hand, if we accept everybody who comes along, regardless of political considerations, alien elements of different shades will sneak in.

We should therefore stick firmly to the principle of winning over as many of the patriotic, democratic forces opposing Japanese imperialism as possible and, at the same time, of completely isolating

pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and all other alien and hostile elements.

In leading the anti-Japanese national united front movement it is also important to combine solidarity with struggle within its ranks in a proper manner.

Proceeding from their own class interests, the anti-Japanese masses of various strata take different positions and attitudes in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Because of their class limitations many of them are irresolute and waver in the anti-Japanese struggle, even though they hate Japanese imperialism. If we do not help them to overcome their vacillations, they will be unable to cope with the difficulties that crop up in the course of the struggle and to keep a firm anti-Japanese position and, in the end, will become turncoats and cause grave harm to the revolution.

Communists must therefore strengthen solidarity with them while unfolding a principled struggle to overcome their indecision and weaknesses. This will preserve the ranks of the united front and bring its strength into full play even in a situation where the enemy is intensifying its military and ideological offensives.

Third, Korean communists should strive to strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

This is the proletarian internationalist duty of Korean communists and an important guarantee for strengthening the world's revolutionary forces, isolating the Japanese imperialists internationally and consolidating our own revolutionary forces.

Particularly now when the Japanese imperialists have occupied Manchuria, are conducting a large-scale aggressive war against China and are making desperate preparations for war against the Soviet Union, it is a matter of urgency to safeguard the Soviet Union and strengthen solidarity with the Chinese revolutionary forces for the advance of both the world revolution and the Korean revolution.

Japanese imperialism is the enemy not only of the Korean people but also of the Chinese people. Only when militant solidarity between the peoples of Korea and China is strengthened and the anti-Japanese

united front is cemented in their struggle against the common enemy, Japanese imperialism, can they deal it heavier political and military blows and hasten the victory of the Korean and Chinese revolutions.

It is on this principle that we Korean communists have fought together on the common battlefield in firm unity with the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people from the earliest days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and, moreover, we have made great efforts to unite with all Chinese anti-Japanese units that could possibly add up to a big force in the war against Japan.

There are various Chinese anti-Japanese units. Among them are those under the influence of the Communist Party of China and remnants of the former Northeast Army under the Kuomintang, which, impelled by the Manchurian Incident, rose to fight under an anti-Japanese save-the-nation banner. There are also anti-Japanese armed units formed by peasant rebels, such as the Red Spear Society and Broad Sword Society.

The Korean communists long ago formed the Anti-Japanese Allied Army with the anti-Japanese guerrilla units led by the Chinese communists and have waged a dynamic joint anti-Japanese struggle.

Moreover, we have striven to form an anti-Japanese allied front with the National Salvation Army and Self-defence Army formed out of the remnant units of the former Northeastern Army and with all other Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units organized by peasant rebels. Right after the September 18 Incident we organized and perseveringly waged an active and self-sacrificing struggle, forming anti-Japanese soldiers' committees and special detachments, dispatching political workers to these units and helping the special detachments to increase their role in every way. These steps helped to overcome their obstinacy in views, indecision and political ignorance and to form a united front.

The KPRA has fought shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units in many successful joint operations, such as the attack on Dongning county town, inflicting powerful blows on Japanese imperialism. These battles demonstrated the united

strength of the peoples of Korea and China and laid a firm foundation for all-round alliance and unity of action with these units.

In the second half of the 1930s, when the main units of the KPRA advanced to the Mt. Paektu guerrilla base, we also persuaded many Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units discouraged by the enemy's "punitive" operations to join the Anti-Japanese Allied Army through revolutionary education or successful large-scale joint operations. (We not only sent political cadres to them but supplied them with provisions, clothes and weapons, though we ourselves were in need.) This raised their morale and inspired them with confidence in victory, leading them to fight actively on the anti-Japanese front.

There are some among us, however, who are not successful in forming an allied front with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units because of a narrow outlook. If we do not carry on effective work with these units, they will be unable to withstand the enemy's relentless "punitive" operations and are liable to waver, surrender and turn traitor or take the backward step of becoming local bandits. Therefore, we must not ignore these units but strengthen our allied front with all of them, even if they do waver and are not steadfast; we must give them positive leadership, and continue to expand the anti-Japanese war so that we will isolate Japanese imperialism to the maximum and add muscle to our anti-Japanese armed forces.

In our work with the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units the principle we should continue to follow is that we lead them not to surrender to Japanese imperialism but to fight, holding aloft the anti-Japanese save-the-nation banner, and not to encroach upon the interests of the people but to confiscate the property of the Japanese, their lackeys and pro-Japanese Chinese landlords and use it to obtain military supplies.

On the basis of steadily consolidating unity with the Chinese communists, we must unite with all Chinese anti-Japanese units and all revolutionary forces in China, thus forming a broader Korean-Chinese anti-Japanese united front.

In strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary

forces, it is also important to defend the Soviet Union, the motherland of the proletariat of the world.

The Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, is the first socialist state and the first state of the proletarian dictatorship that truly champions the interests of the workers and peasants. It affords the first example of the victory of Marxism-Leninism and stands as the great bulwark of the international working class.

It is the internationalist duty of the working class of all countries to protect the great Soviet Union. Revolution in each country develops and is defended on the basis of the militant unity and solidarity of the international working class. The growing might of the Soviet Union, the socialist state, is a source of great inspiration to the working class of the world and to the oppressed peoples resisting foreign imperialism and their own ruling classes. Therefore, we must struggle to defend the Soviet Union, the only state of the proletariat and the first of its kind in the world, thereby defending the world revolution and creating a more favourable international climate for the Korean revolution.

Under the slogan “Defend the Soviet Union with arms!” we must ceaselessly attack the Japanese imperialists in the rear to strike constant terror in the hearts of these bandits and frustrate their aggressive machinations against the Soviet Union at every step.

In future, too, in keeping with the requirements of the newly created situation and raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, we must be active in defending the Soviet Union, consolidate the anti-Japanese united front with the Chinese people and strengthen solidarity with the international working class and all oppressed colonial peoples. We must direct the spearhead of attack at the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the chief enemy of the Korean people, and shatter their ambition to dominate Asia.

Fourth, Korean communists must take energetic steps to found a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party in our country.

A Marxist-Leninist party is the vanguard of the working class and the General Staff in revolution. Only when we have a party of the

working class can we rally broad masses interested in the revolution, successfully organize and mobilize them for revolutionary struggle and lead them to victory with correct strategy and tactics.

The communist movement began early in our country under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution. Our first Communist Party was founded in 1925.

Our working masses, who had long languished under Japanese imperialist colonial rule and feudal oppression, welcomed the founding of the Korean Communist Party, whose mission was to defend the interests of the have-nots, and they put their expectations and hopes in it. However, due to fundamental weaknesses and limitations, it could not satisfy these expectations and hopes.

The party failed to take root among the working class and other broad sections of the people. It consisted mainly of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals and show-off Marxists with a shaky class position. To make matters worse, it could not achieve unity of its ranks owing to the scramble for hegemony among the factionalists who had wormed their way to the top. Consequently, unable to overcome the Japanese imperialist suppression and the subversive activities of the factionalists, it was dissolved three years after it was founded.

Under these circumstances, the Korean communists are confronted with the most urgent task of founding a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, drawing serious lessons from the communist movement in the 1920s.

However, we cannot create a revolutionary party the way factionalists did in the past, when a small number of communists got together, without any organizational and ideological preparation, set up a “party centre” and proclaimed the founding of the party.

To found a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, solid organizational and ideological groundwork must be laid before anything else.

We have achieved considerable success in this respect through strenuous effort.

Although we have not announced the party centre yet, we have set

up party organizations and underground revolutionary organizations of various kinds in the units of the KPRA and among workers and peasants at home and abroad and provided them with a unified leadership. In the KPRA units a system of leading party organizations based on the principle of democratic centralism is now established and party organizational life is functioning regularly. In the areas along the Tuman and Amnok rivers party organizations have also been formed among broad masses of workers and peasants, and a unified leadership is ensured for them. In particular, an active struggle has been waged to form communist party organizations in the homeland in line with the policy of making independent preparations for founding a party, and significant success has been registered.

In the flames of the armed struggle and in the course of the underground revolutionary struggle over the past several years, we have also reared the finest sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people as communists, thereby building up the organizational core for founding a party.

At the same time, we have waged an energetic struggle to overcome the factionalism left over from the communist movement of the 1920s, with the result that the sects have now basically been removed from our ranks, unity of ideology and purpose has been brought about and solidarity achieved within the revolutionary ranks.

The Korean communists, basing themselves on the successes achieved so far, should endeavour to found a Marxist-Leninist party as soon as possible. To this end, we should push forward organizational and ideological preparations more vigorously on a nationwide scale.

The important tasks of the Korean communists in this work are:

First, to expand party organizations in the units of the KPRA and in the revolutionary mass organizations, including the ARF and the Anti-Japanese Youth League, in the homeland and in the areas along the Tuman and Amnok rivers, rally communists under a unified organizational system and steel them in militancy through party organizational life.

Now that a sound centre of leadership has been formed for the Korean revolution, many communists of a new generation have been brought up, and the ARF and various other revolutionary organizations have taken root among the broad masses, it is an urgent task for us to expand party organizations and unite the communists. The successful fulfilment of this task will enable party organizations to take deep root among the masses, including workers and peasants, and, on this basis, guarantee a firm unified leadership for the Korean revolution.

In strict accordance with the principle of independence in our preparations for the founding of a party, we must form party cells and groups wherever possible in units and regions and unite all communists organizationally. In particular, we should foster a revolutionary leading core in the main industrial areas and in farming and fishing villages in the homeland and expand the network of the ARF organizations by ourselves. On this basis, we should form party groups and cells among the workers and peasants and put them under a unified organizational system.

In view of the historical lessons of the early communist movement, we should strictly adhere to the policy of building party organizations from the bottom. Only then can we draw on the class consciousness of the broad working masses and accept into the party progressive elements of worker and peasant origin who have been steeled and prepared in action and establish a most revolutionary and militant party with a sound mass basis.

The party organizations in the KPRA units and in the different regions should strictly abide by the principle of democratic centralism in all their activities and increase both their fighting capacity and their vanguard role.

Every party member should be faithful in his organizational life and steel himself in actual struggle to become an indefatigable revolutionary fighter, a communist.

Second, to train large numbers of the best elements of worker and peasant origin in the revolutionary struggle to become the

revolutionary core and thus build up a sound organizational backbone for founding a party.

In light of the bitter lessons of the early communist movement in our country, this is vital for the consolidation and development of the party we are going to create.

We must do active work in recruiting the finest sons and daughters of the workers and peasants into the KPRA and, in the flames of the armed struggle, bring them up to be communist core elements ever faithful to the revolution, to be the organizational backbone of the party. We must accept into party organizations those who are politically aware and steed in militancy in the underground revolutionary struggle and train them to become revolutionary core elements.

Furthermore, we must unite revolutionary workers, peasants and other broad masses of people with anti-Japanese sentiments in mass organizations, such as the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the Anti-Japanese Youth League, the Anti-Japanese Association and the Women's Association, and train them to become ardent communists through actual struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Third, to continue the all-out struggle against factionalism, prevent it from penetrating party and other revolutionary organizations and thus firmly ensure the purity of the communist ranks and unity in ideology and purpose.

Unless factionalism is completely overcome, it is impossible to guarantee firm unity among the communists, achieve community of ideology, purpose and action based on the unified line, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution and accomplish the historic task of founding a party.

Factionalism in our country arose with intellectuals of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and ruined gentry origin who, taking advantage of the revolutionary tide rising under the impact of the October Socialist Revolution, wormed their way into the ranks of the labour movement under the cloak of Marxism.

Although they talked about communism and the emancipation of

the working class, the factionalists utilized the labour movement as a means of gaining fame and high position and realizing careerist, political ambitions.

As soon as they had sneaked into the labour movement, they split off into parties of five or groups of three for factionalist purposes and formed factions such as the Tuesday group, the M-L group and the Seoul-Shanghai group. Without any political views or theoretical basis, they continued factional strife to spread the influence of their own particular group and obtain hegemony. In the end, they destroyed the party.

Even after the party was dissolved, they continued their factional strife here in Manchuria under the slogan of “party reconstruction.”

Driven by the desire to spread their groups’ influence and gain fame and high position, the factionalists organized the adventurist and misguided May 30 Uprising. This incident resulted in exposing the underground revolutionary organizations, caused the death of many communists and other revolutionary people and did great harm to our communist movement. Moreover, the factionalist sycophants, with the backing of the national chauvinists, used the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle for their own evil factionalist purpose and committed grave criminal acts—sacrificing many fine communists and revolutionaries and creating alienation, enmity and distrust within the revolutionary ranks, thereby weakening their unity and solidarity.

If we had not corrected the “Leftist” error in the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle promptly through a principled struggle against the factionalist sycophants and national chauvinists, things would have come to a serious pass beyond remedy in the communist and revolutionary movement.

Factions have now been removed from our ranks in the main. But former factionalists who backslid to become national reformists and even spies for Japanese imperialism are now engaged in all manner of schemes to disrupt the communist ranks from within.

Therefore, we should first make party members, soldiers of the KPRA and the broad revolutionary masses thoroughly aware of the

crimes committed by the factionalist sycophants, who have inflicted tremendous harm on our communist and revolutionary movement. By so doing, we shall get them to maintain a constant and high degree of vigilance and hatred for the class enemy, to prevent the penetration of factionalism and to detect and smash the factionalist sycophants' subversive and wrecking activities in good time.

In addition to this, we must arm all party members and soldiers of the KPRA with Marxism-Leninism and with the line, strategy and tactics for the Korean revolution and thereby ensure community of ideology, will and action in the entire ranks.

This is the prerequisite for fully guaranteeing the purity as well as the unity of ideology and will of the communist ranks and for preparing a sound organizational and ideological groundwork for the founding of a party.

The Korean communists should carry out these main tasks faithfully in their preparations for founding a party and in this way accomplish the historic cause of establishing a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party at the earliest possible date.

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The Korean communists should, above all, adhere to a firm independent position in order to crown their revolutionary tasks with success.

An independent position means the fundamental stand of the communists—having confidence in the strength of their own people and responsibly carrying through the revolution in their country by their own efforts. Only when they maintain a firm independent position in the revolutionary struggle can they formulate revolutionary lines and policies corresponding to the actual conditions in their country, safeguard and implement them thoroughly and fight to the last for their country's revolution no matter what the difficulties and hardships.

The masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people and the Korean communists. The Korean revolution must be carried out by the Korean people under the leadership of the Korean communists.

We should never forget the bitter lesson of the past when the communist and revolutionary movement in our country suffered severe damage and experienced many twists and turns because the factionalists took to worship of great powers.

The Korean communists must carry on revolutionary struggle by their own faith, build up their own strong revolutionary forces and firmly rely on them in leading the Korean revolution to victory.

Revolution in each country is a link in the chain of world revolution and a component part of it. It is carried on with powerful assistance from the world's revolutionary forces. It is the internationalist duty of the communists of each country to fight energetically for the triumph of the world revolution.

Powerful assistance from the world's anti-imperialist forces is very important in our national liberation struggle against the military-feudal Japanese imperialist aggressors, who are allied with world imperialism.

But no matter how great the assistance of the international revolutionary forces may be, the Korean communists cannot lead the Korean revolution to victory if they fail to map out the line, strategy and tactics for the revolution to fit the realities of their country and, on this basis, solidly build up their own revolutionary forces.

The Korean communists will continue to strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces, reject worship of great powers and Right and "Left" opportunism, take a firm independent stand in leading the Korean revolution, and fulfil the historic cause of national liberation without fail.

Victory and glory belong to the Korean communists, who are fighting unyieldingly under the unfurled banner of the Korean revolution.

Long live the Korean revolution!

Long live the world revolution!

**LET US CONTINUE TO STRIKE POWERFUL
COUNTERBLOWS AT THE JAPANESE
IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS
AND ADVANCE TO THE HOMELAND**

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Officers of the Korean
People's Revolutionary Army Held in Beidadingzi**

April 3, 1939

Comrades,

In accordance with the policy set out at the Nanpaizi meeting, the main force of the KPRA completed its more than 100 days' march last winter from Nanpaizi to Changbai, and again advanced into the area adjacent to the northern frontiers.

Our revolutionary army units' march to the border area on the bank of the Amnok River was a route of victory and glory which, in spite of all hardships and difficulties, defended the revolution against the enemy's desperate reactionary offensive and led the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle to advance continuously.

In an attempt to strangle the Korean revolution by taking advantage of the temporary setback in the anti-Japanese armed struggle resulting from the expedition to Rehe last year, the evil Japanese imperialist aggressors carried out fierce large-scale "punitive" operations against the KPRA and, in the meantime, wrecked the revolutionary organizations including the grassroots units of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and indiscriminately arrested, imprisoned and murdered many

communists and other patriots by mounting an unprecedented roundup. As a consequence, our people's national distress became ever more tragic and the Korean revolution experienced severe trials.

At this time of grim ordeals, we had to take action to break the deadlock in the revolution, save the country and the nation from crisis and lead the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle of our people in an uninterrupted advance. This is why the main force of our KPRA undertook the march to the northern border area.

Needless to say, throughout the whole course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle there has been no easy period. And in particular, the several thousand *ri* march last winter, when we baffled the large-scale "punitive" operations of the Japanese imperialists and advanced towards the border area on the Amnok River, was beset with unheard-of trials surpassing all imagination.

Under the name of "punitive operations in Dongbiandao" the Japanese imperialist aggressors laid double and treble nets of encirclement, and closed in on us with leech-like tenacity from all sides by a concerted action of ground and air forces, the principal target of their "large mopping-up operations" being the Headquarters of the KPRA. For this they mobilized hundreds of thousands of troops, comprising the bulk of the main force of the Kwantung Army, the crack unit of the puppet Manchukuo army, the armed police force and the self-defence corps.

In conjunction with their full-scale military offensive, the enemy persistently used all manner of tricks for appeasement and deception to disintegrate the KPRA from within. To this end he set into motion spy organizations like the "surrender-hunting team" and scattered leaflets from airplanes.

Such were the circumstances when, despite the severe continental cold, some 40 degrees below zero, and almost-impassable snowdrifts owing to the heaviest snowfall in 100 years, we had to fight bloody battles against tens of thousands of enemy troops that fell upon us doggedly day after day. Indeed, our path of struggle last winter was a thorny path, every step of which was beset with indescribable suffering.

But the members of the KPRA were not in the least disheartened; they fought on like lions and won, overcoming all difficulties with a strong will and indomitable revolutionary spirit to beat the enemy by rising a thousand times if they should fall a thousand times.

The Japanese imperialist aggressors made a frantic attempt to “wipe out completely” the KPRA, which was a “cancer” to them in carrying out their plan for the invasion of the continent. But they found themselves the losers in the end. The KPRA units have been tempered further as an invincible revolutionary force amidst fierce battles and trials, and our officers and men have grown into fighters as hard as steel.

In the course of the Arduous March we also proved irrefutably the unflinching strength of the most subtle guerrilla tactics of the KPRA.

In the winter operations the KPRA units firmly held the tactical superiority over the enemy with the concentration, dispersion and agile manoeuvring of troops, and thus successfully carried out our policy of preserving our forces and beating and weakening the enemy incessantly.

The combination of large- and small-unit activities is a tactical principle of guerrilla warfare which makes it possible to weaken and deal decisive blows to the enemy with the concentration and dispersion of troops. By correctly combining large- and small-unit activities in the course of the Arduous March we always took the initiative firmly in the fight against the numerically and technically superior enemy.

When they reached Changbai from Nanpaizi, the main force of the KPRA switched over from large-unit operations to scattered activities by dividing the force into three groups to cope with the enemy’s “disposition at important points” and “tactics of long-distance pursuit,” and this dispersed and upset the enemy’s concentrated offensive. When the enemy pursued us with a large force we sent out a small unit to lure him away while the main force slipped out of the area quickly and fell on the pursuing enemy’s rear and bivouacs by surprise, so that the enemy was driven into a tight corner.

The flexible tactics of the KPRA units were of importance in taking the initiative and maintaining it. In view of the fact that the enemy was in hot pursuit and tried to encircle and attack us with huge forces in the comparatively narrow area southwest of Mt. Paektu, our units dealt blows to the enemy while moving round and round across many hills and valleys in the Changbai and Linjiang areas. We caused the Japanese imperialist forces of aggression to tremble with fear by using the shrewd tactic of shifting from thick timber zones to low hilly areas, and then from low hilly areas to thick timber zones to throw the pursuing enemy troops off the scent, and skilfully changing the direction and route of our march to trap and pound the enemy. The circling operations of our revolutionary army units in the northern border area enabled us to avert head-on clashes with the enemy's crack units and to strike a succession of blows at the enemy wherever he was weakest in the flanks and rear, and created favourable conditions for operations by other guerrilla units by luring large enemy forces into the Changbai and Linjiang areas for containment.

Our experience has clearly shown that even if our forces are small we can defeat the superior enemy forces and get the better of them, provided we assess correctly the prevailing situation, work out corresponding strategy and tactics and move ahead speedily by taking advantage of the enemy's weak points.

The whole course of the Arduous March was a glorious struggle in which the members of the KPRA, united firmly by a single ideology, overcame all difficulties and won the battle with both the internal and external enemies.

They fought fierce battles day and night against the bristling bayonets of the enemy. This solemn revolutionary path is brightly stained with the crimson blood of the KPRA soldiers who fought sparing neither their youth nor their lives.

Whatever the adversity, our officers and men, who are boundlessly loyal to the revolution, carried out the orders and instructions of the Headquarters of the revolution and defended it with their lives. The

heroic struggle of all the guerrillas was a magnificent example of communist fidelity to the revolutionary cause. Among them were the members of the O Jung Hup-led regiment who, surrounded by the enemy, feigned to be the Headquarters and fought self-sacrificingly to defend the real Headquarters by luring a large enemy unit into the deep mountain recesses of Changbai.

The selflessness of the KPRA soldiers who fought in defence of the Headquarters of the revolution represents the revolutionary uprightness stemming from the lofty thinking and consciousness of communist revolutionaries. This exalted fighting morality enabled us to withstand the grim difficulties of the life-and-death struggle and to display mass heroism in frustrating the encircling offensive of hundreds of thousands of Japanese imperialist troops and to meet another spring of victory.

The experience of the communist movement shows that many people plunge into the mainstream of the communist movement when the situation is favourable and the revolution is advancing victoriously, but when the revolution is in distress, the waverers and unstable elements leave the revolutionary ranks and become degenerate.

With the unprecedented intensification of Japanese imperialism's military-political offensive and fascist repression following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, turncoats and shirkers began to appear in our revolutionary ranks, too. In the difficult period last winter Om Kwang Ho neglected his revolutionary duties in a support camp and maliciously tried to harm staunch revolutionary comrades and disrupt the revolutionary ranks. This counter-revolutionary behaviour and the unbridled and escapist actions that have appeared within the revolutionary ranks have been caused by fear of the enemy's offensive and loss of confidence in the victory of the revolution; they have resulted from base cravings for personal comfort and the cowardly desire to preserve one's own life without caring for the revolution.

The KPRA members who were educated and tempered in actual

armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists fought uncompromisingly against the enemy's counter-revolutionary manoeuvres and all sorts of unhealthy ideological trends without losing their revolutionary faith even in the difficult conditions when renegades lurking within the ranks were engaged in underhand manoeuvres. Thus, they firmly defended the line and policy of the Korean revolution, and safeguarded jealously the unity of the revolutionary ranks.

The steel-like unity of the revolutionary ranks based on a lofty revolutionary spirit and comradeship was an important factor making for victory in the Arduous March with its unprecedented rigours.

With a high degree of class consciousness and revolutionary awareness of the need to sacrifice themselves for the country and the people, the KPRA soldiers fought with invincible courage even in the grim ordeals of the severe battle and march, the terrible cold and hunger making it hard even to stir, urging each other: "If we collapse, our country will never rise again. Let's take courage and advance into our homeland whatever the cost."

Our heroic officers and men did everything to ease the pain of their comrades-in-arms, and always volunteered to take the brunt in battle and on the march.

Indeed, the unwavering fidelity to the revolution and the remarkable revolutionary comradeship displayed by the KPRA soldiers constituted a source of unflinching strength that ensured brilliant success in the hard and arduous march. This provides a splendid example for communists, showing them how to live and fight.

The harder our struggle became and the more serious our difficulties grew, the more firmly we relied on the masses of the people to tide over all the trials. Even in the difficult situation when the enemy was making a frantic search for us, the KPRA soldiers went among the people and inspired them with hope and faith in victory. Encouraged by the military-political activities of the KPRA units, the people came out to help us in our combat actions in

disregard of danger, and gave us active material and moral support.

The process of the Arduous March provided further clear proof that the enemy's offensive, however desperate, was powerless to check the victorious advance of the KPRA, which fought on with faith in its own strength and in firm comradely unity, relying on the masses of the people.

The successful advance of the main unit of the KPRA to the northern border area demonstrated to the whole world that our nation was not dead but remained alive, and that the best sons and daughters of Korea had risen in armed struggle and were fighting victoriously against the Japanese imperialist aggressors. It thus infused the people with firm faith in the victory of the revolution, and opened up a new phase for advancing the Korean revolution as a whole with the anti-Japanese armed struggle as its pivot.

Comrades,

We are faced with the task of pounding the enemy and advancing into the homeland on the basis of the great success of the Arduous March.

The enemy forces suffered an irreparable defeat in the winter "punitive" operations and are widely scattered. They are now cooped up in their dens. Without allowing the enemy, the Japanese imperialist aggressors, a breathing spell, we must go over to an active counter-offensive, aim blow after blow in quick succession and advance again to the homeland.

If we move forward to the border areas and farther into the homeland in an active offensive, and hit the enemy hard from the rear, this will be of great significance in spurring the broad masses of the people on more forcefully to the struggle against Japanese imperialism and to the reactivation of the Korean revolution.

For the moment we must launch the spring offensive to strike at the enemy strongholds in the border area along the Amnok River, and drive the enemy into a passive and defensive position. Thus, we must cause great confusion in their frontier guard setup and make thoroughgoing preparations for the operation of advancing into the

homeland by acquiring ample stocks of war materials including clothes, food and ammunition.

We must ensure success in the coming sally into the homeland by acquainting the KPRA soldiers with its aim and tasks, and by conducting political activities among the broad masses of the people.

After making full preparations for the sally, the main unit of the KPRA should advance on the Musan area by breaking through the Japanese imperialists' frontier guard line and quickly crossing the Amnok River. Thus, by exploding the false propaganda of the enemy who are talking loudly of having "completely wiped out" the KPRA and by fully demonstrating the strength of this army, we must infuse hope of national resurrection in our people groaning under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, and actively inspire them to participate in the anti-Japanese struggle.

In order to develop the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle continuously, we should closely unite the broad masses of the people in the national liberation front.

We must dispatch political operatives and small detachments to various parts of the homeland to restore and put in order the wrecked revolutionary organizations, and form new revolutionary organizations among the workers and peasants. They should unite the broad patriotic forces firmly under the banner of the anti-Japanese national united front by carrying out underground activities in a vast zone including the border areas along the Amnok and Tuman rivers. Thus, the national liberation movement should be developed vigorously in various forms in conjunction with the armed struggle of the KPRA.

We must launch new operations with large units in the area northeast of Mt. Paektu after successfully completing the operation of advancing on the Musan area.

Being a vast forest zone adjacent to the homeland, the area northeast of Mt. Paektu is suitable for carrying on guerrilla activities and exerting revolutionary influence on people inside the country. Moreover, it is an area where we have already established a guerrilla

district and have been operating for many years, so it has a good mass foundation, too. Besides, this is a zone of strategic importance crossed by the Xingjing-Rajin and Harbin-Dunhua railway lines, the military supply routes of Japanese imperialism for invasion of the Soviet Union. Therefore, vigorous military operations of the KPRA units in this area will not only have great significance in actively pushing forward the Korean revolution but also deliver a severe blow to the Japanese imperialists' policy of continental invasion.

While the enemy is concentrating large forces in the Changbai area we will have to move the main unit of the KPRA to the area northeast of Mt. Paektu and launch bold military-political activities, thus dealing a serious blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors and further developing the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In order to carry out successfully all these revolutionary tasks confronting us today, we must further strengthen the forces of the KPRA from the political and military point of view.

First of all, it is necessary to strengthen the political-ideological education of the KPRA members in order to equip them firmly with a revolutionary world outlook. Our revolutionary struggle is as arduous as ever. Only when all officers and men are equipped thoroughly with a revolutionary world outlook can they fight to the end to achieve the historic cause of national liberation with unswerving faith in the ultimate victory of the revolution in whatever the adversity.

They should fulfil their role well as true educators of the people, as organizers and leaders of the mass movement. To do so they need to be well versed in the flexible tactics of guerrilla warfare, to acquire wide military knowledge, to make a still deeper study of the realities in the homeland and to master the method of working skilfully with the masses of the people.

Strengthening organizational life and maintaining revolutionary discipline voluntarily within the revolutionary ranks constitute the source of fighting power and are a major guarantee of victory. We must always carry out faithfully the organizational tasks assigned to us and must not connive at the slightest slackness detrimental to the

revolutionary ranks. We must in this way establish strict revolutionary discipline based on organizational fidelity and awareness in the ranks of the KPRA.

Comrades,

Today we are confronted with the daunting yet honourable revolutionary task of delivering the homeland and the nation from catastrophe and bringing about a new upsurge in the Korean revolution.

We may possibly meet with bitter trials and tribulations and suffer losses on the path of the revolution. But if we fight on bravely without flinching in the face of these trials and tribulations we will surely win.

We must hasten the downfall of the Japanese imperialist aggressors and further advance the Korean revolution. For this purpose, everyone should display unmatched courage and selflessness on the march into the homeland and deal the Japanese imperialists one heavy military-political blow after another.

LET US RAISE HIGH THE TORCH OF REVOLUTION IN THE HOMELAND

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Officers
of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army Held
on Pegae Hill in the Musan Area**

May 20, 1939

Comrades,

We have readvanced into the homeland in order to deal successive blows at the Japanese imperialist aggressors and imbue in the people at home confidence in the victory of the revolution in accordance with the policy adopted at the meeting of officers of the KPRA in Beidadingzi.

What is the real state of affairs in the homeland as we now see it?

On the first day of our entry into the homeland after crossing the Amnok River, we could see, by the way the workers of the Rimyongsu lumber station are living, that our country is in a deplorable situation with the predatory Japanese imperialists' unheard-of plunder and suppression rampant. In their desperation to expand the war of aggression on the Chinese mainland, the Japanese imperialists have rigged up the "Law on National Mobilization," are robbing Korea of all its natural resources and are forcibly herding the people, including the young and middle-aged, to construction sites to build military facilities, such as railways, roads and airfields, and to the field of battle for aggression. They are destroying the lower organizations of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland active in our homeland and are arresting, imprisoning and murdering

many Korean communists and patriotic people. Having knocked together servile reactionary organizations such as the Korean Anti-Communist Society, they are manoeuvring in a vicious attempt to crush the spirit of national independence and class consciousness of the Korean people. Furthermore, recently the enemy has gone to such lengths as to spread a false rumour that all the KPRA men have “frozen to death in the mountains.” Thus they are trying to crush even our people’s hope of national liberation. As a consequence, the homeland is filled with the resentment of the people, and for many of our fellow countrymen day after day passes in despair without confidence in national liberation.

The real state of affairs in the homeland calls for inspiring the people with confidence in the victory of the revolution and rousing them to the anti-Japanese struggle.

Having marched into the homeland under these circumstances, we are confronted with serious tasks, indeed. By energetic military and political activities we must inflict telling blow on the Japanese imperialists and exert revolutionary influence on the people.

The people in the homeland will derive strength, courage and confidence from the mere sight of our KPRA, which is alive and well. That is why we can exert a great revolutionary influence on the people if we demonstrate the might of the KPRA by vigorously conducting military and political activities.

We should carry out military and political activities with added vigour in the Musan area.

We should move in the direction of Mt. Roun to annihilate the enemy forces entrenched in the Japanese imperialists’ lumber stations around Sinsadong, Singaechok and Tuji Rock and those in Nongsadong, Hongam, Samsuphyong and Yugok. Then we should conduct energetic political work among the masses of the people and inspire them to the sacred anti-Japanese war.

To inflict a military blow on the Japanese imperialists, we should advance rapidly towards Mt. Roun, taking advantage of their weak points.

Thoroughly bewildered by an urgent report that a large unit of the KPRA had crossed the border again, the enemy is making a frantic attempt to hold our military and political activities in check. According to information about the enemy's movements, the Japanese imperialists have activated all the frontier guards and police forces along the border areas in North and South Hamgyong provinces and posted reinforced garrison forces in the areas along the upper reaches of the Amnok and Tuman rivers, centring on Mt. Paektu. They have also sent a huge military force, including the Onishi unit of the Japanese imperialist Kwantung Army and the Zhang Zhao unit of the puppet Manchukuo army, to the Ershisidaogou district in Changbai County, in preparation for encirclement. At the same time, they are trying to contain us in the district of Mt. Phothae, anticipating that our KPRA units will advance to southeast of Mt. Paektu through the Machonryong Mountains. As a result, the enemy forces rushed in from Hyesan are taking up their positions in the area around Mt. Phothae, and the lane between Hyesan and Phothae-ri is chock-a-block with a long procession of marching enemy columns streaming northward.

Every movement of the enemy troops clearly indicates that this time, too, they are focusing their attention on mountainous areas, the southeastern part of Mt. Paektu in particular, calculating that we shall move along mountain ridges. By massing their forces in the mountainous region around Mt. Phothae, they pay little heed to the highway. This is one of the enemy's weak points.

Another weakness is that they are concerned more about night than day. They concentrate on tightening up the night watch, anticipating that we shall go into action at night to ensure secrecy and suddenness in battle.

In view of the enemy's movements we need to march along the Kapsan-Musan guard road, the enemy's new road for guarding the frontier, instead of climbing steep mountains and conduct bold military activities on the march in the daytime, rather than at night.

We must always know how to adopt flexible tactics in keeping

with the prevailing situation. This is a source of our might and a factor in victory.

When the enemy is groping about in the mountains, we should launch an expedition eastward along the guard road, covering a thousand *ri* at a stretch. This alone will let the enemy forces see they are searching vainly for our KPRA and petrify them with fear of a surprise attack from some unexpected place.

The application of one-step-makes-a-thousand-*ri* tactics does not mean simply slipping out in file. We should place the enemy in a passive position by skilfully combining versatile mobile tactics as we did when moving from Chongbong to Konchang—the tactics of pretending to move far away and then turning round to slip in right under the nose of the enemy and of suddenly shifting over to a dispersed small-unit march from a large-unit march in fine array.

Every military action behoves one to be agile and nimble, but the military activities we are to conduct in the homeland at present make it incumbent upon us to be especially so. Therefore, we should maintain a quick pace while on the march, size up a given situation swiftly and accurately and act nimbly and boldly. We should foresee that an encounter with the enemy is likely during the march, in which case we should throw our units into battle boldly to mete out severe punishment to the enemy.

We should slip away to a place inconceivable to the enemy and strike at a vulnerable spot, just as a quick-witted wrestler takes the initiative and wins the game, deftly playing on the opponent's weakness.

Just as our hearts are full of deep emotion after the advance into the homeland, so the hearts of the people will be stirred immensely when they see our dignified appearance. Fully aware of our mission as a political army, we should conduct gallant military activities and, at the same time, undertake energetic political work among the people.

We should explain to the people the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF and expose the nature of the false propaganda carried on by the

Japanese imperialists. We should also conduct lively information activities to make them aware of the enemy's vulnerability and the inevitability of his downfall, the necessity of the triumph of the revolution and the ways and means of struggle. In this way, we should encourage the people to join in the anti-Japanese struggle with confidence in national liberation and positively support our KPRA.

In the Samjang Sub-county area, including Sinsadong, lumberjacks and slash-and-burn peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population; this zone was greatly encouraged by the daring military and political activities carried out by our KPRA in the border area. Accordingly, the revolutionary spirit of the people in this zone was very high before. Now they shrink back, owing to the growing repressive measures of the enemy. But if we attack the enemy and conduct political work, they will be greatly inspired and rise again in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Tomorrow we must leave here and undertake a march of over 100 *ri* to Mupho. Some 20 to 30 *ri* from here at the foot of Pegae Hill, where we are now camping, there is picturesque Lake Samji. From there we must reach Mupho at a run along the Kapsan-Musan guard road.

For the march to be successful its purpose and significance should be explained to every soldier and thoroughgoing preparations made for it. At the same time, the entire ranks should strictly observe discipline and sharpen revolutionary vigilance and thus expose and smash without loss of time all the insidious manoeuvrings of the enemy.

We shall undertake the eastern expedition at a pace as swift as one step makes a thousand *ri*. In this sense, it is advisable to make tomorrow's password "eastern expedition."

I am sure all our officers and men who have started to advance into the homeland with ardent patriotism and overflowing militant enthusiasm will make a great contribution to attaining the purpose of our march into the homeland by satisfactorily performing the tasks assigned to them.

**LET US RISE UP VIGOROUSLY IN THE
ANTI-JAPANESE STRUGGLE TO HASTEN
THE LIBERATION OF THE HOMELAND**

Address to the People in Sinsadong, Musan Area

May 22, 1939

Fellow countrymen,

We are very glad to meet you dear compatriots like this after advancing again into the homeland.

Like you we are sons and daughters of the workers and peasants who are ragged, hungry and humiliated; we are the Korean People's Revolutionary Army fighting with arms in hand against the Japanese imperialist robbers for the restoration of the motherland and the freedom and liberation of the nation.

The KPRA, who love their country and their nation, are now winning one brilliant victory after another in Korea and Northeast China in crushing Japanese imperialism.

The continuous victories won by the KPRA in battles against the Japanese imperialist aggressors are due to the active material and moral support given by our people. Even though surrounded by the Japanese imperialists' rigorous guard, they run the risk of sending food, clothes, medicines and other materials to aid the KPRA, giving it information about the enemy and shielding its members. Literally the KPRA and people are united as one in fighting the Japanese imperialist robbers.

I extend my warm thanks to you and other patriotic people for the

active support you are giving the KPRA.

Fellow countrymen,

Natural resources abound in all parts of our country from the holy Mt. Paektu to Jeju Island, and it is a beautiful land with its picturesque hills and limpid streams. So, from olden times it has been called a country of treasures and a beautiful land of three thousand *ri*. Living in this beautiful land, our people are resourceful, valorous and diligent.

Nevertheless, at present the toiling masses, including the workers and peasants, do not benefit from these rich resources in spite of their toil and moil; they are falling into still deeper misery. If the Korean people find themselves daily in a worsening plight, it is not because they are ill-starred, but because the Japanese imperialists who have seized this country step up their fascist repression and colonial plunder.

The Japanese imperialist aggressors are now robbing our country of all its wealth to feather their own nest. Moreover, while expanding the aggressive war against China, Japanese imperialism enacted the “Law on National Mobilization” and various other evil laws and plunders our country of its precious resources and wealth at random.

The Japanese imperialists have laid forest railways and roads and built sawmills on the spot to plunder the timber in the areas along the Amnok and Tuman rivers and particularly in this zone around Mt. Paektu. Thus, they are recklessly robbing our country of its timber resources.

The Japanese imperialist aggressors are not only plundering our wealth but also bleeding our people white. At present our workers are eking out a bare existence in an indescribable plight. The lives of the lumberjacks and raftsmen in these parts are also wretched. Working in dangerous places without any safety precautions, they become crippled and even lose their lives; they break their backs at work, but find it difficult to make ends meet.

The same is true of the peasants’ position. Many of them lost their land owing to the Japanese imperialists’ and landlords’ harsh

exploitation and came to this mountain recess in quest of a living, but they are now leading an indescribably miserable life, unable to cultivate even a patch of mountain land as they please.

The Japanese imperialists concocted the “Patriotic Labour Service Corps” and draft into them old people, women and even children under age in Korea, to say nothing of youths and middle-aged people, for slave labour in mines and at military construction sites, such as naval ports and airfields. Under cover of “confidential” they commit without scruple the unpardonable crime of collectively burying alive large numbers of people who have been taken to the military construction sites.

The Japanese imperialists are further intensifying the political repression of our people, too. Clamouring for “security in the rear,” they have covered the whole of our three-thousand-*ri* land with a network of army, gendarmerie and police, arresting, imprisoning and murdering brutally the revolutionaries, patriots and innocent people.

Owing to the Japanese imperialist aggressors’ policy of robbery and suppression the Korean people are indeed on the brink of ruin and the whole country has been turned into a living hell with dark clouds looming low over it.

Must our brave and resourceful people, with a 5,000-year-long history, a brilliant national culture and rich resources, become permanent colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism? No, never! We must drive out the Japanese imperialist aggressors and liberate the homeland at all costs. We are powerful enough to accomplish this sacred revolutionary cause.

From olden times our people have displayed unrivalled valour in repulsing foreign invaders. If they pull together with one mind, firmly convinced of victory in the revolution, they are fully capable of defeating any wicked enemy.

Our countrymen have the KPRA, a genuine revolutionary armed force never known in the history of our nation. The KPRA is an army of the workers and peasants fighting to drive the Japanese imperialists out of Korea and to liberate the country. They have traversed a road

of fruitful struggle for ten years and are attacking the Japanese imperialist robbers with flexible guerrilla tactics and matchless strength. This time again, they have come back to the homeland to deal the Japanese imperialist invaders military-political blows and herald the dawn of liberation for our people. They will surely wipe out the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the sworn enemy of our people, who inflict all kinds of misery and slavery on you.

After the July 7 incident the Japanese imperialists are running amuck to swallow up the whole of China, but their ruin is inevitable. Since their plan for an “early end” to the Sino-Japanese War was frustrated, they decided last autumn that “security” in Korea and Manchuria, their rear bases for invasion of the continent, was the prerequisite for that end and started a large-scale “punitive” offensive against the KPRA. Meanwhile, they are stepping up fascist repression in Korea and Northeast China as never before. But the more frantic they become, the greater will be the anti-imperialist forces mustering in resistance. With time more and more people in Korea and China will join the anti-Japanese struggle, and on the world arena the anti-fascist popular front movement and the anti-imperialist national united front movement will attain broad dimensions. Thus, the Japanese imperialists will be scathingly denounced everywhere and in the long run will perish.

Fellow countrymen,

The KPRA fights not only to drive the Japanese imperialist aggressors out of our land and liberate the country, but to build a new society in the liberated country, so that our people can lead a bountiful and happy life. It is an earnest desire of our people to liberate the country and build a new society.

This desire of our people is clearly stated in the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. In the ARF Programme we laid down as a fighting task of our people to liberate the country and build a prosperous independent and sovereign state that will give the people genuine freedom and happiness.

When the Programme of the ARF is put into practice, a people's government will be established in the independent country where the workers and peasants will be the masters, and the masses of the people will be provided with genuine freedom and rights. The workers and peasants will enjoy a happy life free from exploitation and oppression, as masters of the factories and land; women will have equal rights with men, and children will receive free education.

In order to build the homeland into an ideal people's country as specified in the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF, we must destroy the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the robbers, and win back the country.

To accomplish the historic cause of national liberation, all the people must come out vigorously in the sacred war against Japanese imperialism.

It is impossible to achieve the cause of national liberation by the efforts of a few people only. Workers, peasants and all other people must be united as one man in the anti-Japanese front.

If the whole nation is to unite in the anti-Japanese front as one man, the working class must take the lead in the struggle. The workers are the most advanced detachment of the Korean nation. You, the working class, must head the anti-Japanese front for the freedom and liberation of the have-nots.

Unless they are rallied in revolutionary organizations, the working class cannot play the vanguard role in the anti-Japanese front. The workers, before anyone else, must be affiliated with the anti-Japanese revolutionary organizations. At the same time, they must expand the organizations, pull together with the peasants and unite intellectuals, urban petit bourgeois and all others who hate Japanese imperialism and really desire the independence of the country. As the revolutionary organizations are expanded and the broad masses of the people are united, you must constantly organize different forms of large- and small-scale struggles, such as go-slow and strike, and thus deal blows to the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

The forestry workers of Sinsadong should wage all forms of

struggle, including go-slow, against Japanese imperialism's looting of timber, thereby preserving the timber resources of our country and putting the enemy in difficult straits.

In order to hasten the historic cause of national liberation, we need to step up the struggle against the aggressive wars unleashed by the imperialists.

In recent years fascist Germany and Italy and militarist Japan have been expanding their aggressive wars in the East and the West. In 1936 fascist Italy occupied Ethiopia, in 1937 Japanese imperialism started the Sino-Japanese War and last year fascist Germany took Austria by force. These wars instigated by the fascist countries are aggressive and predatory wars to colonize other countries and make slaves of their people.

That is why we must resolutely fight against the imperialists' aggressive war manoeuvres. For the present we must fight against the Japanese imperialists' attempt to expand their aggressive war. This is a struggle to hasten the downfall of predatory Japanese imperialism and accomplish the historic cause of national liberation, and at the same time a sacred struggle for actively supporting the peoples of all the countries invaded by the Japanese imperialists or marked out by them for invasion.

First of all, you must explain and propagandize the objectives and true nature of the aggressive wars waged by the Japanese and other imperialists among the people by various forms and methods, so that broad sections of the people come out against the imperialists' aggressive wars.

You must also categorically reject every evil law and mobilization order issued by the Japanese imperialists with a view to expanding their aggressive war and check and frustrate their manoeuvres for war expansion in every way.

To bring nearer the day of national liberation to the greatest possible extent, all the people should give active support to the KPRA.

It does not necessarily follow that only those who are armed can

fight Japanese imperialism. If you form an organization and give every possible support to the KPRA by united efforts, this will be as great a contribution to the revolutionary work as fighting with arms in hand. Therefore, you must conduct an active information campaign among broad sections of the people about the KPRA which is fighting for the independence of Korea, so that they will give it active material and moral support.

Fellow countrymen,

Japanese imperialism is making desperate efforts to strangle our people's struggle for national liberation, but it will never be able to check it.

At present Japanese imperialism is being rebuffed and driven further into a corner in Korea and China. The Japanese imperialist aggressors will perish in the flames they have ignited, and our people will surely accomplish the cause of national liberation.

Let us all fight on stubbornly to hasten the day when we shall meet again in our liberated homeland and set up a new, genuine worker-peasant government, exploit the rich resources of the country and thus build a new prosperous Korea, an ideal land for the people to live in.

ON PREPARING FOR THE GREAT EVENT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

**Report to the Meeting of Military and Political
Cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary
Army Held in Xiaohaerbaling, Dunhua County**

August 10, 1940

Comrades,

We are gathered here today to discuss the policies and tasks to be carried out by the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in coping with the new, rapidly changing situation.

It is nearly ten years already since the Korean communists founded the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army and launched an armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist marauders. In the past decade the Korean communists, through an arduous struggle, gave a telling blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors militarily and politically and laid a solid foundation for bringing about a new upswing in the Korean revolution as a whole.

First and foremost, during the ten years of hard-fought struggle the KPRA, the central force of the Korean revolution, grew in strength militarily and politically. Since its founding it has steadily expanded and strengthened its ranks with revolutionary youth, including progressive workers and peasants, and armed itself with weapons seized from the enemy, thus reinforcing its military equipment. In addition, through unremitting fierce battles against the enemy and military and political training, all the officers and men of the KPRA

have been tempered militarily and politically like steel and have accumulated a wealth of combat experience. The result is that the KPRA has grown and strengthened into a powerful revolutionary armed force.

We have also laid a firm basis for founding a Marxist-Leninist party. Amid the flames of the armed struggle we Korean communists made tireless preparations to found a Marxist-Leninist party. We revolutionized the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the working people and united them around the communists, so as to lay a mass foundation for building the party. We also trained many communists of worker and peasant origin in practice, through anti-Japanese armed struggle and underground revolutionary activity. Numerous hard-core elements in particular grew out of the severe trials and the fierce flames of struggle; they are the most valuable assets of our revolution. They are now contributing greatly to our revolution, and there is no doubt that they will become the pillars of our future party.

We have achieved great success also in the movement of the anti-Japanese national united front to organize and rally broad anti-Japanese patriotic forces.

We have organized and united workers, peasants and broad sections of the masses opposed to Japan. Particularly, the formation in May 1936 of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, an organization of the anti-Japanese national united front, opened up new prospects for rallying broad anti-Japanese patriotic forces around the communists and expanding and strengthening the revolutionary forces. After the founding of the ARF broad sections of our anti-Japanese masses who love their country and fellow people—workers, peasants, youths, students, intellectuals, small and medium-size manufacturers and tradesmen, churchmen, and nationalists—rallied as one in the national liberation front and began fighting staunchly along the road of anti-Japanese struggle illumined by the Ten-Point Programme.

All these are precious, valuable successes achieved at the cost of

the blood of our revolutionary comrades. We must not efface the successes already won but develop them further and, basing ourselves on them, fight staunchly until final victory.

Comrades,

The rapidly changing situation of today urgently demands that we map out a new line of struggle and fight vigorously for its implementation.

The Second World War fascist Germany provoked by invading Poland is expanding rapidly with each passing day. After its invasion of Poland, fascist Germany occupied a number of countries in Europe and some time ago completely occupied France.

In the East the Japanese imperialists are frantically trying to expand the aggressive war to the whole of Asia. They are manoeuvring to spread the flames of war to Southeast Asia, despite their failure to wind up the war of aggression on the Chinese mainland, which has been going on for several years. Japanese imperialism, which depends on foreign countries for most of its major strategic materials, such as petroleum, steel and rubber, attached vital importance to its inroad into Southeast Asia and has long dreamed of occupying the countries in this part of the world.

The British, French and Dutch imperialists are so concerned with the occupation and pressure by fascist Germany in Europe that they have no time to pay attention to their colonies in Southeast Asia. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the Japanese imperialist blackguards are today going to occupy the countries of this area.

While making frenzied attempts to expand the aggressive war, the Japanese imperialists are making the most desperate “punitive” offensive against the KPRA to guarantee the “security of the rear.”

In the past ten years the Japanese imperialists have sustained telling blows in their colonial rule and aggressive war by the intensive military and political activities of the KPRA. They have calculated therefore that unless the KPRA is “annihilated,” they will not be able to conduct “simultaneous operations against the Soviet Union and China” or achieve their sinister ambition of Asian conquest, and they

are staging an unprecedentedly large-scale “punitive” offensive to “completely annihilate” the revolutionary army. Since last autumn they have mobilized more than 200,000 men—including crack Japanese units, troops of the puppet Manchukuo army and police forces—and thrown planes and a great amount of modern military-technical equipment into the “punitive” operations against the revolutionary army.

Along with the military offensive the Japanese imperialists are intensifying their political and ideological offensive. With a view to cutting off the organizational ties between our revolutionary army and the masses, they are reinforcing their weapons and equipment at internment villages to prevent the people from going out freely and are intensifying as never before the barbaric repression and slaughter of the revolutionary organizations, revolutionaries and patriots. The savage repression and slaughter by the Japanese imperialists have reached a peak and, because of these barbarities, numerous Korean patriots are being massacred ruthlessly.

The enemy is also stepping up the policy of economic blockade against the revolutionary army. The Japanese imperialists are especially tightening their control over provisions; they cruelly punish the people who have salt or matches to spare, on the charge of “collusion with communist bandits.”

However, their massive “punitive” offensive without precedent against the revolutionary army does not mean they are mighty; it is no more than the last-ditch efforts of those who are on the brink of ruin. No amount of large-scale “punitive” offensives and desperate efforts can help the Japanese imperialists to break the indomitable fighting spirit of the officers and men of the KPRA, tempered like steel in arduous struggle, or check the triumphant advance of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

By frantically expanding their aggressive war, the Japanese imperialists are being further isolated internally and externally and are sinking deep into a bottomless mire politically, economically and militarily.

First of all, as the front extends, the Japanese imperialists are unable to meet the rapidly increasing demands for combat forces and munitions. They have already lost more than half of their elite units in the Sino-Japanese War, but still fail to replace them. Obviously in this situation they will be unable to meet the demands for armed forces at their front, which is extending to the whole of Asia.

The Japanese imperialists are experiencing great difficulties with munitions supplies, too. In the Sino-Japanese War they have fully revealed their fatal weakness: They depend on imports for most of the major strategic supplies needed in large quantities for modern warfare. Japanese imperialism's difficulties in the supply of munitions will increase as the war expands and assumes a protracted nature.

The Japanese imperialists' frenzied efforts to spread the aggressive war are meeting with strong resistance from broad sections of Asian peoples, including the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Inspired by the military and political activities of the KPRA, our people are now engaged in all forms of anti-Japanese struggle to counter the brigandish plunder and despotic repression of Japanese imperialism, and the Chinese people are courageously carrying out the anti-Japanese war for national salvation, giving a telling blow to the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

In addition, the peace-loving people of the whole world, including the great Soviet people, are strongly condemning the Japanese imperialist efforts for aggressive war.

The Japanese imperialists are also confronted with the powerful resistance of the people in their own country. Among the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the Japanese population, discontent with the reactionary warlords and trends against the aggressive war are growing with each passing day.

By spreading the flames of the aggressive war to the whole of Asia, Japanese imperialism is further aggravating its contradictions with the US, Great Britain and other imperialist powers, which have their colonies and concessions in this part of the world.

So, the Japanese imperialists are encountering strong resistance

and protest and denunciation from all sides and are heading for an irreparable quandary. All this clearly shows that the fall of Japanese imperialism is definite, that it is a question of time; and it proves that the day is approaching when our people will win the historic cause of national liberation.

This situation urgently requires that we be well prepared for the great event of national liberation.

Basing ourselves on the precious achievements made and experience gained during the nearly ten years of anti-Japanese armed struggle, we must first make thoroughgoing preparations to fight a final battle to vanquish the Japanese imperialist marauders once and for all.

We must also make preparations for founding a working-class party, a people's government and armed forces in the liberated homeland and for continuing to push ahead with our revolution vigorously. Unless we do this, we cannot defend the revolutionary gains or advance the revolution.

Most important in preparing for the great event of national liberation is to preserve and accumulate the forces of the KPRA, the central force of the Korean revolution, while, at the same time, training them to be competent political and military cadres.

Only by doing this, can we successfully fight the final battle with the Japanese imperialists, win a brilliant victory, and build a new Korea in the liberated motherland, with the forces of the KPRA as its backbone. Therefore, we are confronted with the most important strategic revolutionary task of preserving and accumulating the revolutionary forces on our own initiative while avoiding losses in reckless battles.

In order to accomplish this strategic task successfully, our large-unit operations should be switched over to small-unit operations.

The Japanese imperialists are intensifying the "punitive" offensive as never before. Therefore, if we continue to fight the enemy with large units as before, our forces will suffer inevitable losses. This will only help the enemy to realize their attempt to weaken and wipe out

the forces of the KPRA at any cost and will have grave consequences for our future anti-Japanese national liberation struggle. Fundamentally, having our revolutionary forces consumed and weakened through direct confrontation with the enemy making a frenzied last-ditch stand runs counter to the demand of guerrilla warfare, the basic principle of which is to destroy large enemy forces while preserving the guerrilla forces to the maximum. As the enemy makes their desperate efforts, we should smash their designs and preserve and accumulate the forces of the KPRA by switching over to small-unit operations.

Also, that the KPRA halts its large-unit activities and switches over to small-unit activities is an urgent problem in fully preparing the revolutionary forces of our people.

In order to be fully ready for the great event of national liberation, our people should be thoroughly prepared politically and ideologically, while, at the same time, preserving and accumulating the forces of the KPRA. Only by doing this, will it be possible, with the advent of the great event of national liberation, to successfully organize and conduct full-scale popular resistance against Japanese imperialism in coordination with large-unit operations of the KPRA. At present the enemy is intensifying fascist repression and its reactionary ideological offensive against our people as never before, for the purpose of checking their revolutionary advance and lulling their national consciousness and class awakening. Therefore, all the officers and men of the KPRA, the nucleus of the Korean revolution, have the pressing task of carrying out mass political work more actively than ever before.

To conduct mass political work vigorously, we should form numerous small units and political work teams composed of officers and men of the KPRA, so that they can go deep among broader sections of the anti-Japanese masses, and must intensify underground activity. Only then can we achieve success in the work of organizing and awakening the broad anti-Japanese masses revolutionarily, even in the difficult situation when the enemy's "punitive" offensive

against the revolutionary army and their fascist repression of the people are becoming fiercer than ever.

For the KPRA to stop its large-unit activities and switch over to small-unit activities at the present moment is not only demanded by the development of our anti-Japanese national liberation struggle but also advised by the Comintern.

The fascist powers that provoked the Second World War in an attempt to materialize their wild ambition of world domination are making desperate war preparations to invade the socialist state of the Soviet Union, at the instigation of the US and British imperialists. Fascist Germany is busy preparing war against the Soviet Union through a general mobilization of manpower and material resources in a number of occupied countries in Europe; and in the East the Japanese imperialists are scheming to unleash an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, which they have planned for a long time. Protecting and instigating each other in the West and the East, fascist Germany and imperialist Japan have concentrated many crack divisions along the borders of the Soviet Union and in their vicinities, watching for a chance to invade the country. So the socialist state of the Soviet Union, the great bulwark of the working class and oppressed nations of the world, is now faced with the danger of being attacked by the two most bestial fascist powers from the West and the East.

If the fascist powers make a pincer attack on the Soviet Union, not only its security and socialist construction but also the development of world revolution as a whole and world peace will be seriously threatened.

In view of this urgent situation in which the menace of the invasion of the Soviet Union by fascist Germany and imperialist Japan is mounting, the Soviet Union is now pursuing a policy of easing the situation in the East, in order to have time to forestall the fascist aggression and, in particular, check the menace of a pincer attack by the two fascist powers and strengthen the country's defence capabilities.

In this connection, the Comintern has recently sent a liaison officer

to us and advised that the anti-Japanese guerrilla units operating in the area of Manchuria stop large-unit operations for the time being in order to ease the tense situation along the Soviet-Manchurian border and not to give the Japanese imperialist aggressors the excuse of igniting an aggressive war against the Soviet Union.

We have to take into account the advice of the Comintern, because the Japanese imperialists regard the struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrilla units as a “hostile act” against them by the Soviet Union and try to use it as a pretext for provoking an aggressive war against the Soviet Union. It is the lofty internationalist duty of the communists to check and foil the attempt of the fascist powers to invade the Soviet Union and to defend this socialist state. If we suspend for the present large-unit operations according to the Comintern’s advice, it will give the Japanese imperialists no excuse for invading the Soviet Union and will be very helpful to the Soviet Union in carrying out its policy of easing the situation in the East, with a view to making fuller preparations to counter the aggressive schemes of the fascist powers.

Therefore, we should fight for final victory with flexible tactics suited to the situation.

Comrades,

The new strategic policy of stopping large-unit activities to carry out small-unit activities is the most reasonable policy to hasten the final victory of the Korean revolution and develop world revolution in light of the changed situation. All officers and men should accurately understand the significance and correctness of the new strategic policy and stubbornly fight for its implementation.

We should form small units and political work teams by adequately combining political and military cadres, veterans and recruits and actively organize and wage a struggle to carry the new strategic policy into effect as soon as possible.

First, mass political work should be organized and conducted energetically to rally the broad sections of the masses opposed to Japan. Mass political work is of great importance in preparing for the great event of national liberation. Moreover, since the large-unit

activities of the KPRA will cease to exist and Japanese imperialism's fascist repression of the people is being stepped up more than ever before, if we do not actively conduct political work among the people, they will lose confidence in revolutionary victory and, consequently, we shall lose the revolutionary masses whom we have won over to our side.

In order to bring the broad masses into the fold of the revolution, we should conduct exhaustive work to organize and guide mass organizations. The small units and political work teams of the KPRA should go among the broad anti-Japanese masses in Korea and Manchuria and actively work to restore and consolidate, expand and develop the revolutionary organizations, including the ARF organizations destroyed by the enemy. In this way we shall make sure that broader anti-Japanese masses are united in the revolutionary organizations. With a view to organizing and uniting the broad masses and firmly preparing them for a final battle with Japanese imperialism, all officers and men should become organizers of the masses and, at the same time, enhance their role as educators. We must fully acquaint the broad masses opposed to Japan with the viciousness and brutality of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, with the Ten-Point Programme of the ARF, with the strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution, with the rapidly changing internal and external situation and with the inevitability of the downfall of Japanese imperialism.

Only then can we imbue the broad anti-Japanese masses with faith in revolutionary victory and steadily prepare them politically and ideologically so that in the decisive moment of the revolution they may join the KPRA in the final battle.

We are going to conduct mass political work under the harshest fascist repression by the enemy. Therefore, we must observe the principles of underground activity most strictly, always organize and perform any work with the greatest care and thoroughness and guard secrets with our lives.

Second, the military activities of the small units should be

conducted skilfully in the vast areas of Korea and Manchuria.

At present, the military activities of the small units are a major guarantee for hastening the final destruction of the Japanese imperialist aggressors and, in particular, for successfully ensuring political work among the broad masses and consolidating its achievement.

While strictly guarding against reckless military actions that might harm the general interests of the revolution, we should constantly make shrewd assaults everywhere to kill Japanese imperialist troops and police and their lackeys and destroy military installations, thus throwing the enemy's rear into confusion and militarily supporting the political activities among the broad masses. This will keep the enemy in a constant state of terror and increase our people's confidence in the victory of the revolution.

Meanwhile, the small units and political work teams must correctly understand the importance of military reconnaissance in preparing for a final showdown with Japanese imperialism and intensify reconnaissance of the enemy's armed forces, fortified zones and military installations.

Third, every officers and men must do all he can to raise his level of political consciousness and acquire a wealth of military knowledge.

With the great event of national liberation approaching, we need many excellent cadres who are well prepared politically and militarily. Whether or not we shall be ready for the great event of national liberation depends on how firmly all the officers and men of the KPRA, the nucleus of the Korean revolution, prepare themselves politically and militarily.

So all officers and men should make the most of every condition and possibility to intensify their studies in order to more thoroughly prepare themselves politically and ideologically and in military technique. They should intensify their study of Marxist-Leninist theory and, especially, study intensely the line of the Korean revolution, its strategy and tactics. All of them will then become competent political workers capable of undertaking and performing

the duties of a higher rank and skilfully organizing and mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, they should master guerrilla tactics and study hard the advanced military knowledge and the techniques of all arms needed for modern warfare.

Fourth, we must strive to cement solidarity with all the revolutionary forces of the world.

Strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary forces is a lofty communist duty and one of the important factors ensuring victory for our revolution. We should continue to march onward, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Now that the fascist states of Germany and Japan are intent on unleashing aggressive wars against the Soviet Union, we should first actively fight to check and frustrate their aggressive moves for the invasion of the Soviet Union and defend this socialist country and further strengthen friendship and solidarity with the Soviet people.

Reinforcing our solidarity with the fraternal Chinese people is of particular importance in strengthening our revolutionary forces. We should expand and strengthen the fraternal friendship and militant unity of the Korean and Chinese peoples, forged already in the joint struggle against Japanese imperialism.

In addition, we must cement our solidarity with the liberation movement of the working class and oppressed nations the world over and with the international anti-fascist popular front movement, thereby creating more favourable international conditions for readily meeting the great event of national liberation.

Comrades,

Deeply grasping the true purpose of the switchover in our policy and valiantly repulsing the desperate offensive of the Japanese imperialist blackguards with redoubled courage, all officers and men must carry forward energetically the preparations to meet the great event of national liberation. Final victory is ours. It is the Japanese imperialist marauders who will fall.

Let us all carry on the brave struggle to hasten the great event of national liberation.

THE KOREAN REVOLUTIONARIES MUST KNOW KOREA WELL

**Speech Addressed to the Political Cadres and Political
Instructors of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army**

September 15, 1943

Today when the great event of national liberation is at hand I am going to talk to you about the need to intensify the study of the homeland and also about some urgent tasks.

The world situation is rapidly turning in favour of the revolution, and the great event of national liberation is now the order of the day.

The fascist nations—Japan, Germany and Italy—that unleashed the Second World War with the object of dominating the world are going downhill step by step as time goes on.

Backed stealthily by the US and British imperialists, fascist Germany treacherously surprised the Soviet Union with a huge force of 170 divisions, reinforced by aircraft and tanks. They boasted that they would defeat the Soviet Union within a few months, but the Soviet people and the Red Army, led by great Comrade Stalin, gradually resolved the unfavourable situation that prevailed in the first stage of the war. Single-handedly they checked fascist Germany in its frantic attack, for which it had mobilized all internal forces as well as the military force, manpower and resources of the 14 European countries already under its occupation, and they took the counter-offensive.

Early this year at Stalingrad, the incomparably brave Red Army

crushed fascist Germany's 30 crack panzer divisions equipped with the latest weapons, marking a new turning point in the Soviet-German war. It is evident that the fate of the fascist German army was decisively sealed at Stalingrad.

The Red Army has now driven the German aggressors back to the vicinity of the Dnieper, and before long will destroy all the aggressors on Soviet territory and win a great victory.

Firmly believing Germany's victory over the Soviet Union a fait accompli, the Japanese imperialists started the adventurous Pacific War, but they are also suffering one defeat after another on the vast fronts of China, Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

On the Chinese front, the Japanese imperialists are gradually getting into hot water owing to the counter-attack of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army led by the Communist Party of China. The greater part of their armed forces sent to the Chinese front along with the puppet army was directed into operations calculated to "wipe out" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, but one after another their "punitive" operations have come to grief. In North China the Eighth Route Army is gradually expanding its liberated area.

The Japanese imperialists planned to surprise the Americans in Pearl Harbour of Hawaii and administer a mortal blow to the US Pacific Fleet and then, before the United States could recover, seize a wide area of Southeast Asia. They then planned to plunder the rich natural resources, such as oil and rubber, so that they would meet their shortage of strategic materials and cope with the protracted war. Their daydream was that this would enable them to defeat the US and British forces in Southeast Asia and in the Pacific together with Germany's victory over the Soviet Union. But they have already completely lost balance in the Pacific and are suffering defeat after defeat.

Italy has surrendered and Germany and Japan have begun to retreat hastily.

When we analyse the Second World War, there is no doubt that

the fall of the Japanese imperialists is inevitable and that the great event of national liberation is at hand.

1. ON THE NEED TO STUDY THE HOMELAND WELL

Today, with the great event of national liberation almost in sight, one of our most important tasks is to study the homeland well.

A good knowledge of our country and our people is essential for us to discharge our duties successfully as patriots and communists and carry out the Korean revolution with honour.

In order to carry the responsibility for the Korean revolution, we must be well versed in the history and geography of the homeland and be well informed about its brilliant cultural traditions. This is indispensable to us in fostering ardent patriotism, increasing our readiness to serve the country and the people with devotion, and in educating our people by understanding their preferences and so persuading them to become actively involved in the revolutionary struggle.

At the same time, a good knowledge of our history, geography, economy and culture is essential for us communists to apply Marxist-Leninist principles creatively to the realities of our country, take an independent attitude and form our own views with regard to the revolution in our country.

Also, for the purpose of saving our fine national traditions and national riches from the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers' policy of national eradication, we must know well about our history, geography and culture.

Not only are the Japanese imperialists now intensifying their cruel colonial plunder of our people in order to make up for their successive ignominious setbacks in the war, but also, with the object of erasing our country from the map forever, they are openly pursuing

the national assimilation policy, raving about the “same ancestry” and “oneness of Japan and Korea.” Distorting or deleting our time-honoured brilliant history and cultural traditions and widely propagating the “*samurai* spirit” of the “Empire’s subjects,” these colonial rulers of Japanese imperialism are trying to stamp out all that is Korean. In order to prevent Korea’s resurrection, they forbid the use of our language, spoken and written. Furthermore, they prohibit the Koreans from using their proper names, forcing them to change their names according to Japanese fashion, such as Ushiichiro and Umasaburo.

Now that the Japanese imperialists are making a frenzied attempt to erase the history and culture of our nation and Korea forever, we, the true patriots of Korea, must study our homeland well. This is one of our most important revolutionary tasks.

We must study our country hard in order to reconstruct our liberated country well in the future.

The commanding officers and soldiers of the KPRA are all fighters who have taken the road of revolution from a burning desire to restore the Japanese-imperialist-ridden homeland and build a new society of happiness in a liberated country. Even amidst the difficult conditions of hard battles being waged against the Japanese imperialist army of aggression, we have been working to instil a sound, revolutionary world outlook in the commanding officers and soldiers of the KPRA, with particular stress on an intensified study of Marxist-Leninist principles and the lines, strategy and tactics of the Korean revolution.

The current situation with the great event of national liberation fast approaching makes it imperative that while studying Marxism-Leninism we acquire a deep knowledge needed for the buildup of the economy and culture in a liberated homeland.

As communists of Korea, how can we expect to cope adequately with the Korean revolution without being well versed in the history, culture, nature and geography of Korea and the good ethics and customs of its people?

Korean communists must know well, boast of and love ardently the 5,000 years of our people's history and brilliant culture and the physical aspects and rich resources of the homeland. They must hold to the lofty ideal and firm resolve to build a communist society, a paradise for the people, in their beautiful country.

In the first place, we must make a thorough study of our history.

When we say we must study the history, we mean that we must be acquainted with the history of our people's struggle and creative activities, not the history of kings or other feudal rulers.

A solid knowledge of this history is indispensable to us in order to develop an ardent feeling of patriotism and foster both national pride and revolutionary self-respect.

From olden times our people waged an unyielding struggle against the tyranny of the feudal rulers and foreign invaders and developed science and culture by their own creative labour and wisdom, thus making Korea famous in the East.

Our people are brave and resourceful, industrious and peace-loving. In particular, our people are highly patriotic and fight indefatigably against foreign invaders in defence of the dignity of the nation.

The invasion of our country by foreign aggressors has been ceaseless since ancient times, and it has been more rampant especially during the latter part of the 19th century, and after.

From olden times the Korean people rose as one man in a holy war to defend their country and they repulsed the aggressors each time an invasion occurred. They defended their country heroically as recorded in 5,000 years of honoured history.

The history of our people in ancient times and in the Middle Ages was a history of struggle against aggression in defence of the homeland—repulsing the invasions of Sui and Tang and those of Khitan and Yuan to the north and curbing the invasion of the Japanese to the south. In modern times it has been a history of anti-imperialist struggle, a history of national liberation struggle, fought against the invasion of the Japanese and US imperialists.

Foreign aggressors invaded our country ceaselessly for ages, but were unable to break the patriotic loyalty and valour of our people at all, failing to bring them to their knees.

Not only were the people of Koguryo resourceful and intrepid, but they regarded defending their country with all their devotion as the most honourable thing. It was considered the men's duty to learn military arts and from childhood they were trained in running, riding, archery and fencing. The military arts were the basis of all folk games and sporting contests. There is a story about Ondal, a man of obscure birth, who was taken into service after winning a hunting game and performed great feats in defending the country. This eloquently shows that in evaluating people in Koguryo importance was attached to their military accomplishments and their wisdom and bravery.

Because the people of Koguryo were educated in patriotism, received military training and were disciplined to be brave from an early age, they acquired a high sense of national pride and a stout heart and safeguarded the country's honour and the nation's dignity by repulsing the three-million-strong invading army of Sui, the largest country on the Asian continent.

The people of Silla and Paekje living in the southern part of our country firmly defended their territories with great fortitude so that no foreign enemy dared to intrude.

If in the period of the Three Kingdoms those three countries, Koguryo, Silla and Paekje, had unitedly repelled the foreign invaders, our homeland would have been further developed.

When hundreds of thousands of Khitan troops invaded our country, the people of Koryo, under the command of General Kang Kam Chan, dealt them a crushing blow at the Amnok River and at Kusong, thus saving the country.

Under the Ri dynasty, too, our people fought courageously against the foreign invaders. The feudal rulers, however, instead of taking measures to cope with alien aggression by strengthening the national defence and training the army, only sang the praises of peace and indulged in a life of ease. Taking advantage of this, the vicious

Japanese *samurai* invaded in great force in 1592. The feudal rulers, who had been easy-going, neglecting the necessary day-to-day buildup of defence, found themselves powerless to check the invasion, so they ran away to Uiju with the king, abandoning the country and people to the mercy of Japanese intruders.

The sagacious and intrepid people of Korea, however, fought the aggressors with valour everywhere—the South Sea, Jinju, Yonan, Pyongyang and other places. Admiral Ri Sun Sin, in command of a meagre naval force, defended the sea off the coast of Jolla Province and stopped the advance of Japanese invaders. They won a great victory through annihilating the Japanese naval force off Hansan Island. The patriots, including Kwak Jae U, raised armies of volunteers, defeating the Japanese invaders everywhere. Peasants, lower-grade officials and even monks living in seclusion in mountains raised volunteer armies and even the women fought with them. The people fought for seven years with a do-or-die spirit against the atrocious and heinous Japanese *samurai* and at last drove the enemies out of their territory and thus defended national honour and dignity.

In the middle of the 19th century, when our country was invaded by the capitalist powers from Europe and America, the incompetent and bigoted feudal rulers indulged themselves in factional strife, greedy only for power and pleasure without any regard for the country and people, but our people unyieldingly fought against the aggressors.

In 1866 the people of Pyongyang sank the US pirate ship *General Sherman*, which intruded into the Taedong River. Our people and soldiers also repulsed an invading French ship.

In 1894 the peasants of Jolla Province started a peasant war directed against the misgovernment of the feudal rulers. At that time, too, the peasants and patriotic soldiers and scholars not only fought the rulers, but also waged a bloody struggle against the Japanese army of aggression that had made inroads into our country by taking advantage of its internal confusion.

As you can see, over a long period of 5,000 years the people of Korea fought unflinchingly against the foreign aggressors and defended their country, demonstrating their ardent patriotism, courage and indomitable spirit to the whole world.

But the feudal rulers did not try to reject the foreign forces and foster the national resources to preserve the integrity of the country. Instead, they acted as flunkeys to the great powers and indulged in factional strife, fawning upon foreign forces and backed by them, and ended by committing the never-to-be-pardoned treachery of selling the country over to the Japanese imperialist aggressors.

After the country was seized by the Japanese imperialists in 1910, our people unremittingly launched the Righteous Volunteers movement, the Independence Army movement, the anti-Japanese movement of workers, peasants, youths and students, and so on. And in the latter part of the 1920s they waged a violent struggle against Japanese imperialism and its lackeys.

Particularly in the early 1930s we, the communists who are true patriots, organized and pursued a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle. We thus advanced the national liberation struggle of Korea to a higher stage, and over ten long years we dealt heavy political and military blows to our enemy, Japanese imperialism, pushing it towards its doom.

The intelligent and brave people of Korea will never succumb and the Korean spirit will remain alive forever. The anti-Japanese national liberation struggle of the Korean people, guided by the all-conquering revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, is bound to win and our homeland will certainly be liberated. The day is not far off when the Korean spirit will be demonstrated to the whole world.

By intensely studying the glorious history of the struggle of the Korean people, we must cultivate even further ardent patriotism, national pride and burning hatred for the enemy.

The Korean people are a talented, sagacious and civilized people who developed brilliant traditions in science and culture.

Our forefathers in ancient times created a resplendent culture that

contributed to the flowering of the civilization of the East.

In olden times our people began to produce iron. In the period of the Three Kingdoms they made and used ironware widely in their daily life and displayed a high degree of craftsmanship in gold, silver and bronze.

In the first half of the seventh century our ancestors built Chomsongdae, the world-famous astronomical observatory, thus greatly contributing to the development of meteorology and astronomy.

Architecture was a well-developed art in the period of the Three Kingdoms. The nine-storied pagoda of Hwangryong Temple was built in the seventh century and the Tabo and Sokka pagodas of Pulguk Temple have preserved their original appearance intact until today, over a thousand and several hundred years later. All this proves eloquently the development of architecture in those days. The mural paintings of the ancient tombs of Koguryo, which are not discoloured though thousands of years have passed, and the stone statues and reliefs of Sokkuram (a rocky cavern) of Silla also display the high level of the ancient art of our country.

Our country also saw music and dance highly developed in ancient times. Our ancestors promoted music with the production of excellent national instruments, such as *kayagum* and *komungo*, and developed a folk dance that was outstanding in its graceful, rhythmical movement.

Our advanced culture, metallurgy and ceramics had already spread abroad during the period of the Three Kingdoms and become famous. At the same time artisans, architects, painters and scholars sailed across the sea to Japan and spread knowledge of our literature and crafts, thus strongly influencing Japanese cultural development.

The people of Koryo greatly developed the printing industry by inventing metal type for the first time in the world and manufactured the Koryo ceramics that the world values as treasures because of their distinctive colours, patterns and models. All these made our country famous.

Our people, who had used *Ridu* characters for writing ever since the period of the Three Kingdoms, produced the *Hunminjongum*, the

most advanced characters, in the year 1444 and thus greatly helped to develop our culture.

Even when the feudal rulers who had fallen prey to worship of great powers were idling their time away, reciting the Confucian scriptures and chanting poems about the beauties of nature, the people were putting their distinguished talents to use and producing works of art worthy of world praise. With technicians they invented the original mighty turtle-shaped armoured ship, the world's first iron-clad warship.

Through the quoted examples we can realize clearly how talented and wise our people are and how greatly our nation has assisted mankind's development of science and culture.

We communists must know more about, and learn to value, the traditions of science and culture established by our ancestors. By doing so, we shall be able to develop science that genuinely serves the people and helps to build a new society and to create a national culture, democratic and socialist, in a liberated country. A new socialist national culture never arises out of nothing. It is created by critically inheriting and developing the excellent traditions of our national culture handed down from generation to generation. In order to create a new socialist national culture we must be well aware of the fine traditions of our national culture and critically analyse and appreciate them.

Ours is a homogeneous nation with 5,000 years of history; it is a valorous, ambitious nation that has been vigorously fighting against foreign invaders and successive reactionary rulers from olden times; and it is a talented nation that has contributed greatly to mankind's development of science and culture.

We are communists who love the homeland and the people more ardently than anybody else. We must further heighten our national self-respect and pride as Koreans and have revolutionary self-confidence and pride as fighters who have been waging ten or more years of bloody struggle for the liberation and independence of the country. Without such feelings one becomes a pitiable and servile

national nihilist, that is, a flunkey. Worship of great powers and national nihilism are, in the long run, bound to lead one to betray and ruin one's country and nation. Being most ardent lovers of the country and the people, we communists must resolutely fight against national nihilism and worship of great powers, which ignore our nation and the history of our country.

If we had lacked that intense patriotism that defends the dignity of our country and loves our nation, we would not have become true patriots and communists faithful to the revolution of our country. As we had the ardent spirit of loving and valuing the country and nation more than anyone else, we could begin the struggle to liberate the Japanese-imperialist-ridden homeland and people and become today's fine communists, who have been firmly armed with the revolutionary world outlook of Marxism-Leninism and tested in the prolonged revolutionary struggle.

We must have a good knowledge not only of the country's history but also of its geography.

The ultimate goal of our revolution is to make our country rich and mighty, so that our people will lead a full and happy life. In other words, it is to build a paradise of socialism and communism in our country. Who builds this paradise? We must do it by ourselves. We must defeat the Japanese imperialists and then construct in the homeland a socialist state like that of the Soviet Union with advanced industry and agriculture. To this end we must exploit our abundant natural resources to reconstruct and develop all fields of the economy, including industry, agriculture and fisheries.

Our country has every condition to build a rich, strong, independent and sovereign state, whether from the viewpoint of area or population or resources.

Situated in the east of the Asian continent, our country borders the continent on the north and its three sides—east, west and south—face the sea. It covers an area of more than 220,000 square kilometres with a population of 23 million—neither too big nor too small. Among those countries known as being powerful or civilized in the world there are

many far smaller than our country in both area and population. As regards natural resources few countries are richer than ours.

It has huge deposits of hundreds of kinds of valuable and useful minerals, including iron ore, a veritable treasure house with gold, silver and jewels.

Over the Paengmu Plateau, the northern region of our country, an inexhaustible deposit of magnetic iron ore is buried and the western plain areas abound in good-quality limonite. The estimated iron ore deposits already amount to thousands of millions of tons and the figure is expected to increase.

High-caloric bituminous coal abounds in the northern region and anthracite in South Phyongan Province and in the Thaebaek Mountains of central Korea. Coal supplies are inexhaustible, more than our people can consume for many generations.

Our country is so rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, black lead, molybdenum, magnesite and other valuable metals and ores that the world might well be envious. Moreover, quantities of limestone can be found everywhere.

We have rich power resources, particularly hydroelectric power. In the northern region, including the Kaema Plateau, which is called the roof of the country, there are enough hydro power resources to produce several million kw of electricity. If we turn the flow of water to the East Sea from the Kaema and Pujon plateaus, we can find many places suitable for building power stations, thanks to its high heads. In fact the Hochongang, Jangjingang and Pujongang power stations are situated there, and the Suphung Power Station with a generating capacity of 700,000 kw, the biggest in the East, also relies on the northern hydro power resources. If we make better use of these resources, we would turn out millions more kw of electricity. This will make our country rich in electricity.

Our country produces the most nutritious rice in the world. In the south there are the Mangyong Plain of Kimje, the Ryongnam and Kyonggi plains, where millions of *sok* of good-quality rice are produced every year, and in the north are the Yonbaek, Namuri and

Pura plains. Over 15 million *sok* of rice are annually turned out in more than one million hectares of paddy fields. If we establish a people's state someday and reclaim the tideland along the west coast, we would obtain hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile lands to produce several million *sok* of rice. Our hills are suitable for fruit growing, so our country is famous for fruit—the apples of Hwangju, Taegu, Anbyon and Pukchong, the oranges and persimmons of the south coast, the pears of Haeju and Togwon, and the sweet chestnuts of Pyongyang and Jungsan.

Our country is surrounded by the sea on three sides and therefore abounds in marine resources. It adjoins one of the world's three major fishing grounds, the East Sea, which has various kinds of fish and yields an abundant catch. In spring shoals of mackerel and anchovy come up from the south while shoals of herring come from the north. In summer sardine comes up just off our coast and in winter pollack, Korea's special product, comes in swarms. Once these cruising fish are netted, the catch can reach millions of tons. The East Sea is rich in tasty fish, such as trout and yellowtail, and the South Sea and the West Sea also have plentiful marine resources.

The natural resources of our country are really abundant, but our people do not enjoy the benefits of these rich resources. Today the Japanese imperialists, in an attempt to secure the huge military supplies needed for the aggressive war against China and for the Pacific War, annually plunder Korea of eight billion kw/h of electricity, over three million tons of iron ore, over five million tons of coal, and over 800,000 tons of cement. They ship to Japan more than ten million *sok* of rice, or over two-thirds of the total annual output, over 100,000 head of cattle and the seafoods produced in the East, West and South seas. Their piratic plunder has rapidly exhausted the natural resources of our country. So that these rich resources can truly serve the people's welfare, we must defeat the Japanese imperialists and establish a people's state owned by the workers and peasants. If we establish a people's state and then develop power, coal, metal and chemical industries, agriculture and

fisheries, using our abundant resources, our country will become wealthy, powerful and civilized, with advanced industries, and our people will live on rice and meat, a dream cherished by them for thousands of years. By then as many as a hundred million people, not just the present 23 million, will be well-off.

Our country is abundant not only in natural resources, but in beautiful natural scenery. Everywhere we can see hills and mountains and clear rivers, presenting a picturesque view. Beautiful mountains—the sky-kissing Mt. Paektu in the north, then Mt. Kumgang and Mt. Thaebaek, and Mt. Halla on Jeju Island! Vast plains stretch endlessly, drained by the Amnok, Tuman, Taedong, Han, Raktong, Kum and many others that wind their way to the east, the west and the south! And the wonderful landscape along thousands of miles of coastal lines! Korea is, indeed, a beautiful land of 3,000 *ri*. Moreover, there are many hot springs, including those in Juul and Yangdok, and spas are found in Sambang, Kangso and all the other parts of the country.

Our country will become a happy land if the beautiful mountains, crystal waters and picturesque scenery all serve the people to promote their health and recreation! We must liberate our country as soon as possible, build rest centres for the working people in scenic spots, and erect sanatoria where there is clear water and fresh air to promote the health of our people.

There are many countries on the globe, but ones as beautiful and good to live in as our homeland are rare. A country with picturesque mountains and rivers, its fertile land producing various cereals and fruits and with underground deposits of gold, silver and other treasures, a country where an intelligent, gallant and civilized people are living—what a proud and precious homeland it is!

Today, however, our people are leading the worst life in the world and our brilliant national culture with its 5,000 years of traditions is losing its colour. They have no right to eat at will the rice produced by themselves nor freedom to travel about their own territory. Numerous compatriots, brothers and sisters are on the brink of starvation. Unless we defeat the enemy, Japanese imperialism, and

establish a people's state whose power belongs to workers and peasants, the beautiful land of Korea will not bring us joy, nor will gold, silver and other valuables, even if boundless, make our people well-off.

We communists, the revolutionaries of Korea, must drive out the Japanese imperialists and achieve the age-old dream of national liberation, thus building on our territory of 3,000 *ri* a paradise of communism that the world might well envy. For the realization of this historic cause we have been fighting indefatigably for ten-odd years, and we shall continue to fight in future, too.

2. ON SOME PRESSING TASKS

Today, in the Second World War, the Japanese imperialists find themselves in a tight corner and are becoming more desperate as their days are numbered.

Their oppression and plunder of the Korean people have reached their zenith since the Pacific War. They have over three divisions of their army permanently stationed in Korea, while largely extending the machinery of fascist repression, including police and gendarmes. The enemy is engrossed in the bestial suppression of Koreans, arresting and imprisoning them without reason under the name of "rebellious Koreans" whenever they are considered suspicious.

The Japanese imperialist policemen are beating indiscriminately even the aged under the pretext of "unpatriotic persons" if they fail to learn by heart the "Oath of the Empire's Subjects" in Japanese, and severely punishing the children on the "charge" of speaking their mother tongue.

The Japanese imperialists are not only making a desperate effort to erase everything Korean but also plundering a huge amount of labour forces and materials under the signboard of the "successful

conclusion of war.” They are forcing a number of Korean youths into the battlefields as conscripts, only to use them as cannon fodder. Besides, they have drafted almost all the able-bodied young and middle-aged Koreans for forced labour without pay in coal mines and construction sites for military establishments in Japan.

Those who escaped labour requisition have been forcibly dragged into the “patriotic service corps” and are worked cruelly and endlessly for nothing. Young pupils, too, have to undertake backbreaking labour under the pretext of “working service” all the year round.

In order to meet the increasing demands of the war, the Japanese imperialists are intensifying their economic plunder more than ever before, thus depriving the Koreans of even brass vessels, spoons and chopsticks.

Greatly inspired by the military and political activities of our KPRA, the Korean people are intensifying the anti-Japanese struggle under difficult circumstances where the enemy’s fascist suppression has reached its climax. The workers continue to go on with various forms of struggle, including strikes, sabotage and mass escape, at the factories, important construction sites, ports and munitions plants in Seoul, Pyongyang, Chongjin, Hungnam, Pusan and other principal industrial cities. The peasants are unyieldingly fighting against the forced delivery of produce, murderous war burdens and coercive mobilization. Ideological movements and school strikes by teachers and students are frequent. The young and middle-aged people combat military service, draft and forced labour. Particularly, in response to the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the masses show an ever-increasing trend towards hand-to-hand fighting with weapons, and many youths and students are trying to get in touch with the KPRA.

In defiance of the tight cordon of the Japanese imperialists posted along the borderline with the permanent marshalling of their armed forces hundreds of thousands strong, detachments of the KPRA have marched deep into the homeland and attained great victories by their smart action. The main unit is now making successful political and

military preparations for the great event of national liberation.

Although the Japanese imperialists are desperate in their attempt to escape their doom, the internal and external situations are changing decidedly in favour of the revolution.

However, no matter how mature the revolutionary situation at home and abroad may be, a decisive victory in the revolution cannot be won unless the Korean communists, the leading force of the Korean revolution, act as the host to organize and mobilize the masses successfully.

We must put all our energies and talents into the struggle to hasten the great event of national liberation as soon as possible.

In order to meet this great event with full preparation, we must further strengthen the military and political activities of the KPRA to reinforce our own revolutionary forces and thus get the whole nation ready for the general mobilization for the final battle with the Japanese imperialists.

First, for this purpose we must step up the anti-Japanese national united front movement on a nationwide scale and firmly unite all patriotic forces of the country, thus laying a solid mass basis for fighting it out with the burglar, Japanese imperialism.

The anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country has made a rapid advance since the founding of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland in May 1936.

The lower organizations of the ARF have become widespread in the areas along the Amnok and Tuman rivers and its networks spread deep into the homeland, uniting the people from all walks of life around this united front.

Since 1939 the united front has branched out over the northeast part of Mt. Paektu and many other places of the homeland, despite the harsh suppression of the Japanese imperialists.

However, all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces throughout the country are not yet fully involved in the anti-Japanese national united front. If we fail to firmly organize and unite all forces opposing Japanese imperialism, we cannot have a solid mass basis for a

decisive battle with the enemy, which will break out at home in the near future. Therefore, we must expand and strengthen the united front organizations all over the country and organize and rally all forces that can join hands with us. This is a key factor in deciding the fate of our last battle. We must form the lower organizations of the front in various places by sending many more competent political workers to the homeland and unite all the anti-Japanese forces—youths and students, intellectuals, conscientious native capitalists and patriotic men of religion with workers and peasants as their core. This organizational and political work must be done energetically.

The objective situation in the homeland is now unprecedentedly favourable for strengthening and developing the anti-Japanese national united front. The last-ditch suppression and plunder by the Japanese imperialists have placed all the Koreans in a dreadful predicament, irrespective of their political views, property status, knowledge and religious beliefs. Workers are either drafted or forced to toil at munitions factories, equal to a life behind bars. They have to slave endlessly, eating only 100 grammes of Manchurian defatted bean cake for each meal.

It is needless to mention their low wages and the inadequate labour protection.

The peasants are in a much worse plight. The crop has been sharply decreased because they till devastated lands without young men. Still worse, most of their harvests are plundered by the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and officials, with the result that the peasants find it very difficult to make a living.

Curtailed statistics issued by the Japanese imperialists show that more than 50 percent of peasant households have run out of provisions in spring dearth. In fact, all of the peasants live on arrowroots unearthed from under the snow in winter and grass roots in spring. What is more, the enemies bleed the poor countryside of Korea dry by imposing upon the peasants all sorts of war burdens, such as the “national defence donation,” the “arms contribution” and the “lottery ticket.”

The students and intellectuals are also in the worst state of misery. The war has forced the closure of schools. All the university and college students, whose number could be counted on our fingers, have been conscripted under the name of “volunteers” and the secondary schools have been turned into military training camps. Even the pupils of primary schools have to do military training and the days spent on forced labour are more than the actual school days.

The situation of workers, peasants and all other sectors of the Korean people today is at its lowest ebb. Therefore, every Korean bitterly laments the state of this world by saying, “When will it come to an end?” and thirsts for the day when the KPRA will defeat the Japanese imperialists and liberate our nation.

Under these circumstances, if we actively promote the anti-Japanese national united front movement, the broad masses of all strata, except a handful of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, will vie with each other in joining it. So today, when the enemy’s repression and murder are at their peak and a tight cordon is placed around us, we must acquire a proficient method of political work and underground activities and make energetic endeavours to successfully organize and mobilize the masses for the final battle.

Second, we must build revolutionary bases more reliably as strong organizational centres in the homeland. The main units of the KPRA must have strong bases from which they may fight a last battle with the thieving Japanese imperialists. Without such bases we cannot rapidly reinforce the ranks of the KPRA with the youths at home, train them in a short period, or deal a decisive blow to the enemy.

The building of revolutionary bases in the homeland can fully be realized when the prevailing situation and the balance of forces between friend and foe are taken into consideration. As the days go by, the Japanese imperialists will be further isolated and their forces dispersed, finding themselves highly vulnerable in our homeland. Then we shall be able to set up revolutionary bases deep in the mountains in all parts of the country and, relying on them, expand and reinforce the armed ranks and lay the mass foundation.

The mass foundation for building the revolutionary bases is very good. We have already established underground revolutionary organizations in the homeland. A number of young people have evaded forced labour and conscription by the Japanese imperialists and hidden themselves in the mountains, and the youths in different areas have formed secret organizations and prepared weapons and are ready to join the revolutionary army the moment it advances. Some of them have already got in touch with the KPRA, and others, to this end, are coming to our units, breaking through the death line. Therefore, if we set up revolutionary bases in the Rangnim and Thaebaek mountains and other deep mountains in the country and call for the Korean youths, many will flock together from all quarters. If we rapidly reinforce our armed ranks with the rallied youths and train them, with those who have been tested and brought up through the anti-Japanese armed struggle over ten years as their core, and wage a decisive battle against the Japanese imperialists, we shall certainly drive them out of our land and achieve the cause of national liberation by our own efforts.

Our main units should get ready for an advance into the homeland promptly if the situation arises. Then they should occupy the mountains of various regions in North and South Hamgyong provinces, North and South Phyongan provinces, Kangwon Province and Hwanghae Province. Establishing contacts with the local leadership cadres we have already trained, we should enrol many patriotic youths, including those who have escaped conscription and forced labour and are wandering about in the mountains in quest of our units, and we should arm and train them in preparation for an impending decisive battle.

To this end, we should form the main units beforehand according to the regions, organize the reserve units and prepare necessary weapons.

We have ample opportunity to arm the revolutionary people at home, in case of emergency. There is a considerable stock of arms seized from the enemy in the past period and we have every

possibility of capturing their weapons and arming many more people when the great event takes place. Therefore, it is quite possible to arm our rapidly increasing ranks, as over ten years of combat experience shows.

Meanwhile, we should see to it that some of our units set up new guerrilla bases in eastern and southern Manchuria and further escalate the armed struggle so as to hold in check the Kwantung Army of Japan and assist the main units that may operate in the homeland.

We have already trained our own leading cadres to liberate the country. We have not only commanding officers with combat skills and rich experience in military and political activities obtained during fierce battles and in different circumstances for ten-odd years, but also political workers possessed with the excellent art of leadership and revolutionary work method whereby they are united as one with the people, to organize and lead them.

These revolutionary leading cadres are, indeed, a priceless treasure of the Korean revolution. If we form the whole nation into a combat unit with them as a framework in time of need and launch a decisive battle against the Japanese imperialists, we shall be able to defeat these burglars.

Third, the entire force of commanding officers and soldiers of the KPRA should have everything in full readiness politically and militarily in order to meet the great event of national liberation.

Victory in the revolutionary struggle depends largely on the political and ideological preparedness of the participants and mainly on the political and theoretical level and the art of leadership of the commanding officers who organize and lead the struggle. However, even though the situation is favourable and the conditions are mature, these commanding officers will never lead the masses to victory without correct strategy and tactics and scientific leadership based on accurate judgement of the balance of forces between friend and foe. Therefore, in order to meet the great event in readiness, it is most important for us, the leading personnel of the revolution, to firmly arm ourselves with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and possess

correct strategy and tactics and the refined art of leadership. This is a pressing issue that arises before us not only to win a decisive battle for national liberation but also to build a new country after defeating the Japanese imperialists and thus liberating the homeland.

Our task does not come to an end with national liberation. We should build a people's state in our liberated homeland and make it rich, mighty and independent. If we are ignorant of the revolutionary theories and the practical problems of state building, we shall never carry out this honourable task successfully. So the members of the KPRA should study more than ever before to raise their political and theoretical level.

All the commanding officers and soldiers should, first of all, study more profoundly the strategic and tactical lines of the Korean revolution and be well informed about Korea including its history and geography.

Also, they should raise their military technique to a higher level.

All of them are national treasures, who have gained rich fighting experience in the fierce flames of guerrilla warfare for more than ten years. But guerrilla warfare alone will not win the coming decisive battle against the thieving Japanese imperialists. We shall have to have a showdown with the strong Japanese army equipped with modern military techniques. Accordingly, if we fail in the application of various modern tactics—offensive, landing and air-borne operations—we cannot expect a successful battle with the aggressive troops of Japanese imperialism. Therefore, we must combine up-to-date military techniques with our wealthy experience of guerrilla warfare, and modern tactics with the swift and peerless guerrilla tactics, and then annihilate the enemy, overwhelming them by strategy and tactics.

For this purpose, it is essential for us to study and master the offensive and defensive tactics of a regular army and intensify tactical training, practising modern tactics such as amphibious and air-borne operations.

It is, of course, not an easy job to finish in a short span of time the

political and theoretical studies and the military studies equivalent to the several years' courses of study in a regular college and military academy.

However, we are not mere students going to school but revolutionary fighters carrying on the bloody revolutionary struggle. Our study is not a private affair for improving merely our own qualifications. It is our duty as those responsible for national liberation and the future destiny of the country, a militant task assigned to us by the beloved motherland and the revolution. Revolutionaries are iron-willed people who can do anything if necessary for the revolution. We are revolutionary fighters who have overcome all difficulties and ordeals and won one victory after another by displaying the lofty revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in any adversity whenever the revolution demanded.

The present commanding officers must be prepared to command tens of thousands of officers and soldiers in the several higher ranks in future and the present soldiers must be determined to become political or military cadres capable of commanding thousands of troops.

You comrades must study for the day when the dreams of the comrades-in-arms fallen in the sacred struggle for national liberation, so longing for the future homeland, the people's country and the future society of socialism and communism, will have come true. If we study and train in a revolutionary and militant way with great stamina and mental attitude becoming revolutionaries, we can surely master any difficult theories and techniques in a short span of time.

The dark clouded homeland and people are anxiously waiting for us and the acute situation is urging us forward. Let us meet the great event of national liberation in full readiness by studying and training hard with all our efforts!

ON FOUNDING THE PARTY, STATE AND ARMED FORCES IN THE LIBERATED HOMELAND

Speech Delivered to Military and Political Cadres

August 20, 1945

Comrades,

In consequence of the victory won by the anti-fascist democratic forces in the Second World War, the aggressive army of the Japanese imperialists was routed and our people have realized their historic cause of national liberation. This great victory is associated with the precious blood shed by hundreds of thousands of the fine sons and daughters of Korea. They fought bravely in the arduous struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors to restore the country, to bring freedom and happiness to the people, and to build a paradise of socialism and communism in the country, free from all exploitation and oppression.

Our people have finally succeeded in putting an end to nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule; they have won their freedom and liberation. A bright future awaits them; they have now the possibility of building a new, independent and prosperous Korea.

With the accomplishment of the historic cause of national liberation we are now faced with a fresh struggle. We must continue to advance the Korean revolution on the basis of our triumphant success, and through our own efforts to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

What must be done to carry out this enormous task?

First of all, we must found a Marxist-Leninist party which will be able to guide the Korean revolution steadily to victory. At the same time, we must set up a people's government to solve the question of power, the fundamental question in the revolution, and organize the people's armed forces which will defend our country, people and revolutionary gains. These three immediate tasks are a revolutionary duty brooking no delay in the revolution's rapid advance in our liberated homeland.

We must push ahead dynamically with the founding of a party, state and army, relying on the invaluable revolutionary achievements and rich experience gained during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Thus we will, without doubt, fulfil the historic task of building a new Korea creditably.

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At the present stage the most important and historic task facing the Korean communists is that of founding a Korean communist party, which will be the General Staff of the Korean revolution and the vanguard detachment of the working class.

Without a revolutionary working-class party, a General Staff of revolution, we will not be able to rally the working people and broad sections of other democratic forces around the revolution; we will also be unable to successfully set up a people's government or form the people's armed forces by organizing and mobilizing the masses.

We have already laid the foundations of a unified Marxist-Leninist party in our country. At the height of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we fought fierce battles to frustrate the conspiratorial manoeuvres and subversive activities of internal and external enemies of all colours. Thus, we surmounted the fundamental weaknesses manifested in the early years of the Korean communist movement,

and laid a firm organizational and ideological groundwork for the founding of a party.

In the first place, we prepared new communist core elements, who were tried and tested in the practice of the grim revolutionary struggle, enough for us to lay solid foundations today for building our party.

In the early 1930s when the destiny of our nation was at stake, our finest sons and daughters took up arms for the country's liberation and the people's honour, fighting indefatigably for 15 years. They grew to be ardent revolutionaries, dependable core communists, during this period of gory struggle.

We, communists, who grew up in the flames of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, are the staunchest of all revolutionaries. We not only overcame factionalism completely—that cancer of our communist movement of the 1920s—but also armed ourselves with the progressive ideas and theories of Marxism-Leninism. We fought all adversities fiercely, unhesitatingly offering our youth and lives to implement the correct line for the Korean revolution. That is why we have enjoyed the absolute support and love of the masses and their great hope rests on us. We, communist core elements, who were tested and trained in actual revolutionary struggle and enjoy the people's unreserved support and love, must now serve as the main force and organizational backbone in the founding of a Marxist-Leninist party in our liberated homeland.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle the factionalist sycophants and the narrow-minded national chauvinists manoeuvred feverishly to undermine the revolutionary ranks from within, taking advantage of the Japanese imperialists' conspiratorial machinations. We got the better of their counter-revolutionary plots and subversive activities opportunely, and closely united the revolutionary ranks with one idea and will, ensuring the Marxist-Leninist purity of the communist ranks.

This provides our future party with an important guarantee to promptly expose and crush any factional activities or subversive and

sabotaging manoeuvres on the part of all kinds of class enemies and opportunists. It also ensures that the party will unyieldingly defend the unity and cohesion of the ideology and will of its ranks, the lifeblood of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Moreover, we established a firm mass foundation for the founding of a party. To do this, we patiently conducted political work among the country's workers, peasants and many other working people during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, despite the Japanese imperialists' rigid surveillance and brutal suppression. This was effective in arming them with revolutionary working-class ideas and training them through actual mass struggles against Japanese imperialism.

We can thus have complete faith in the development of our Party, as the true defender and representative of the Korean people's interests. It will develop on a sound basis, having struck deep roots among the working masses and maintaining kindred ties with the people. In this way our Party will now be founded not on sand but on the foundations of the organizational and ideological preparations made during the long and hard-fought anti-Japanese armed struggle.

However, we must never rest content on these assets. Our struggle to found, consolidate and develop the Party in the liberated homeland will no doubt face just as difficult and complicated problems as those we previously had to tackle during the organizational and ideological preparations for its founding.

The vast majority of our workers are not fully prepared either organizationally or ideologically to be the leading class, because they have not had the organizational training and ideological education conducted by their revolutionary vanguard. In addition, because of nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our workers, peasants and other strata of the people are still considerably infected with all sorts of obsolete ideas implanted by the Japanese imperialists. What is worse, the absurd calumnies and slanders and demagoguery amassed by the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys against the Korean communists made many of our people distrust

communism and prejudiced them against it. This will be a great obstacle in the path of our Party's endeavours to fundamentally establish itself among the majority of the working masses, to win their support and trust, and to strengthen itself organizationally and ideologically in close contact with them.

We must also expect that the factionalists and the renegades of the revolution who, eager for hegemony, were engrossed in their factional strife, finally destroying the Korean revolution, will disguise themselves again as revolutionaries and try to deceive and toy with our honest working masses. What is more, the US imperialist armed forces of aggression will be stationed in the southern half of the country, south of the 38th Parallel. Taking all this into consideration, there will be many difficulties to overcome in our future activities.

It is in this context that we must found a party, establish a people's government and carry out an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and thus build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

How then can a Marxist-Leninist party be built in our country?

We must first found the Korean communist party, a unified working-class party, as soon as possible. This will centre around the core of communists fostered and tempered in the grim anti-Japanese armed struggle. It is true that some of the communists who worked at home may still lack organizational training and may still feel the ideological aftereffects of the factionalists. But we have a reliable core detachment prepared for the Korean revolution, a detachment born and bred in the long armed struggle. If we put all our trust in them and work broad-mindedly with them, they will take the correct path of revolution. Only in this way will we be able to prevent a split in our communist ranks, to defend the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks, and to rally the working class and broad sections of other revolutionary forces closely around the Party.

The Korean communist party must in no way be an organization for only a few. It must be a mass political party which is deeply rooted among the workers, peasants and other working masses. It

must be an experienced General Staff of the revolution which organizes and leads the building of a new Korea. Therefore, we must rapidly expand the Party ranks with excellent people from among the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. They will devote their efforts in the interests of the working masses and will play a positive, vanguard role in the setting up of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Furthermore, on the basis of the organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party we must ensure the identity of the ideology, purpose and action of all our members. There must be no factions. We will arm all party members with Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory, establish voluntary iron discipline and hold fast to the principle of democratic centralism. In forming party organizations we must particularly preserve strict revolutionary vigilance against the subversive machinations and factional activities of political speculators and factionalists. We must expose them promptly and smash them.

We must firmly prepare cadres of our party politically and ideologically, so that it may fulfil its mission and role as the General Staff of the Korean revolution. They are its nucleus. They will be the most influential force in determining the destiny of the Korean revolution. Unless we organize and steadily expand the communist ranks of fine political cadres, we cannot raise the party's leadership role. Nor will we be able to repulse all our enemies within and without, or successfully build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state. Therefore, our urgent task is to found the party and, at the same time, develop well-qualified party cadres who are armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory and capable of defending and implementing the party's lines and policies. Therefore, we must start by setting up a training centre for Party cadres.

If our party is to rally the broad masses around itself and fix its position of leadership, we must also set up mass organizations for different trades and strata. Without maintaining kindred ties with the broad masses, the Party cannot become a genuine revolutionary

organization. It cannot play its part as the vanguard of the working class without their protection and support. The vital question of whether we win the masses over to the party and the revolution or not is decisive of the destiny of the party and the outcome of the revolution. Therefore, revolutionary organizational activity should always begin with mass organizational and political work.

Even in the gloomiest period of the Japanese imperialist colonial rule we sowed the seeds of revolution among the people. We tended the seeds carefully despite all our difficulties and saw them bear fruit; we relied on the strength of the masses and led the revolution to victory. In other words, the leading core forces of the Korean communists were also born out of the organized masses and developed with active support and protection of the people.

Hence, the formation of mass organizations, the transmission belts that link the party with the masses, will be of great significance. They will help to consolidate and develop the party organizationally and ideologically, building up the revolutionary forces and enhancing its leadership role.

In instituting mass organizations, we must, above all, organize the youth, the reserve forces of the party and the future of the revolution.

A problem vital to in our country's destiny is to rally the youth around the party, the youth who are masters of a new society and who can be depended upon to build a wealthy, strong country. That is why we quickly marked their mission and role in the development of the revolutionary movement and paid serious attention to youth work throughout our armed struggle. Both the preparations of the organizational nucleus for the building of the party and the founding and reinforcement of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army were begun with the activities of the Young Communist League. We trained many youths as devoted revolutionary fighters by intensifying the work of the YCL and other youth organizations.

On the basis of this experience we must now unite the broad young masses, such as young workers, peasants and students, into a democratic youth organization to form an organized political

detachment; we must develop it into a vanguard which will fight heroically in the fore of the struggle to build a new country, into invincible, iron-disciplined revolutionary ranks.

To unite and organize the women, who account for half of the entire membership of our society, is important in expanding and strengthening the revolutionary forces and accelerating the construction of a new, prosperous state.

From experience gained in women's activities during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we know we must organize a women's union that would embrace the broad sections of working women in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and the demands of the new situation.

The revolutionary consciousness of our women is very high, as they were subjects of multiple maltreatment and repression under the barbarous colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the shackles of feudalism. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle the fine working women of Korea, in particular, fought as courageously as the men for the country's liberation and the people's honour, and for their social emancipation and freedom. The women revolutionaries, who were firmly armed with a communist world outlook and matured in strenuous ordeals, took up weapons and fought heroically, negotiating the rugged snow-covered mountains. Even the forests of bayonets behind enemy lines, the cruel tortures or the gallows did not daunt them. They held fast to their revolutionary principles and defended the honour of communists.

We must carry forward this brilliant tradition of our resourceful and brave women fighters, so that all our women would play an important role in the setting up of a new country.

We must also promote the formation of trade unions when building mass organizations. The role of the working class is very important in the construction of a new Korea. It must always take the lead, both in defending the revolutionary gains against subversive and sabotaging manoeuvres of all enemies within and without, and in building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state. It should

guide the masses by setting a practical example. To do this we have to unite the workers into trade unions as fast as we can, and give them organizational and ideological training, enabling the working class to fulfil its historic mission of building a new, democratic Korea with honour.

To rally and organize the peasants, who account for over 80 per cent of our population, and rouse them to the revolutionary struggle is now one of the most important tasks before our communists.

Our peasants lived a subhuman life, far behind modern civilization because of the Japanese imperialists' predatory colonial policy in our countryside, and their obscurantist policy towards our nation.

The sagacious Korean people with their 5,000-year-long history have a brilliant civilization of their own; they must develop it and join the advanced countries of the world in all the spheres of politics, the economy and culture as soon as possible. Before this can happen we must fully emancipate the peasants, who form the major part of our population, but who are the most backward, from the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudal customs. It is vital that we raise their class awareness and educate them in patriotism and collectivism, so that they will be the main force in the construction of a new country, together with the working class. To do this we must form peasants' unions and unite all of them firmly within them.

2

The fundamental question in the revolution is that of power. We communists, true patriots of Korea, and the revolutionary people organized and waged the protracted anti-Japanese armed struggle to destroy Japanese imperialism, establish a genuine people's government in the liberated homeland and build a new, prosperous Korea. In the days of fierce and bloody battles we endured all

hardships, without fear of death, in order to establish the government which would bring freedom and happiness to the people in our liberated country.

Our dream to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state, which would be governed by the people, came true at last when we accomplished our sacred task of national liberation.

So, what kind of government should we set up in the liberated homeland?

The barbarous colonial rule of Japanese imperialism hampered the development of capitalism in our country. It remained for long a colonial semi-feudal society. That is why the Korean people are still confronted with the task of carrying out an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. As far as the question of power is concerned, in the light of the character and goal of our revolution at the present stage, we should found a democratic people's republic that would represent the interests of all the Korean people.

The democratic people's republic must be founded by the Koreans themselves. The Korean people are capable of setting up their own government and we have rich experience in organizing people's power.

In the early days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we shattered the "Leftist" line of the factionalist sycophants on settling for a "Soviet" power and set up a people's revolutionary government, a true people's power, in the guerrilla bases or liberated areas. We stipulated the need for setting up a people's government in Article I of the Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and fought for a long time for its realization. If we now draw on this experience and maintain and implement the line of establishing a people's government, we will succeed in setting up a people's government of a new type in the liberated country.

To build the democratic people's republic we must first, under the leadership of the working class, form a democratic national united front embracing various strata of the democratic forces, such as the broad masses of peasants, intellectuals and conscientious native

capitalists. We will set up a people's government on this basis. Ours is a united front to build the democratic people's republic, so it must include the patriotic, democratic forces of all spheres and levels—workers and peasants who are the real masters of the country, working intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie, and conscientious native capitalists—who want to build a democratic, sovereign state, and we must see to it that no reactionary forces, such as pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, infiltrate this front.

Furthermore, we must build up a people's government around a selected core of fine patriots who will work devotedly for the country and people.

We will ensure that our people's government, under the leadership of the working-class party, rallies the workers, peasants and all other patriotic, democratic forces affiliated with the democratic national united front around itself as closely as possible. It should isolate all counter-revolutionary forces, such as the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, reactionary landlords and comprador capitalists, and serve as a powerful weapon in the class struggle against them.

In setting up a government, we communists should neither take a passive stand nor act in a conservative way. In forming a democratic national united front or establishing a people's government, the communists must always take the initiative and play an active leadership role, as front-rankers and organizers leading various sections of the masses. We cannot neglect, even in the slightest, the work of establishing power in our homeland, liberated at the cost of the precious blood of our revolutionary comrades-in-arms. Neglect would amount to a betrayal of the wishes of our dead comrades and the long-cherished national aspiration of the Korean people. Therefore, we must do everything in our power to set up a people's government, as early as possible in our land of 3,000 *ri*, where darkness prevailed for nearly half a century. This government will be a banner of freedom and liberation for our people and will open up the road ahead to prosperity for the motherland and the well-being of future generations.

The struggle for the establishment of power is a class struggle, a serious question of who will conquer whom.

We must keep in mind that some will take advantage of the complicated situation created in the liberated homeland. The factionalists, who destroyed the revolution wearing the masks of communists, the nationalists who degenerated into the servants of Japanese imperialism and even the pro-Japanese agents, will make frantic efforts to seize power and satisfy their brazen political ambitions disguising themselves as patriots. Therefore, we must keep a sharp revolutionary vigilance and expose and smash every attempt by the enemy to conspire and subvert.

What then is the programme of action for the people's government at the present stage? It is as follows:

1. To form a democratic national united front embracing all the patriotic, democratic forces of our country such as the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, conscientious native capitalists and conscientious men of religion and, on this basis, to establish a democratic people's republic.

2. To ensure freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief and guarantee citizens over eighteen years of age of both sexes the right to elect and to be elected.

3. To confiscate and nationalize all the factories, enterprises, railways, banks, ships, farms, irrigation facilities and all the properties owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese Koreans and traitors to the nation.

4. To confiscate the land of the Japanese nationals and reactionary pro-Japanese Korean landlords and distribute it gratis to the landless or near-landless peasants.

5. To liquidate completely the remnants of Japanese imperialism and all the elements left by it.

6. To introduce an eight-hour workday and a minimum wage system to ensure the workers' living and provide the unemployed with jobs.

7. To make sure that men in both the cultural and technical spheres

are well treated in public life and their living conditions improved.

8. To revitalize the time-honoured, brilliant national culture of the Korean people, develop our spoken and written language and introduce a system of compulsory education gradually.

9. To enforce a progressive income tax system based on the incomes and living standards of the people.

10. To abolish the financial agencies of Japanese imperialism and cancel all its usuries and credits.

11. To establish equality of the sexes in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life and pay equal wages for work of equal value.

12. To prohibit infringement upon human rights and any type of inhumane punishment.

13. To promote friendship with peoples and states that have dealings with the liberated Korean people and our independent country on an equal footing.

3

For our country to become a fully sovereign state we must organize our own powerful national army capable of defending the country and people and safeguarding the gains made in the revolution.

A country without its own national army can hardly be called a fully sovereign state. We never had a powerful national army of our own. This was one of the main reasons why our country was occupied by the Japanese imperialist aggressors. In the past the feudal rulers of the Ri dynasty kept some armed forces merely to repress the people, but they were powerless and insignificant. It was impossible with these forces to repel the Japanese imperialist regular army of aggression equipped with modern weapons.

If we do not form a powerful revolutionary army simultaneously with the establishment of a people's government in the liberated homeland, we will not be able to safeguard the revolutionary gains won at the cost of our blood against the armed invasion of foreign imperialists. We will again suffer the bitter experiences of a ruined nation.

At present our country is in an extremely complex situation. Though the Japanese imperialists were defeated, it is reported that the armed forces of US imperialism are to occupy Korea south of the 38th Parallel. Of course, the US imperialists formally sided with the Allies in fighting against the Japanese, German and Italian fascists in the Second World War and directly participated in the war against Japan.

But we well know how the United States came into being and has expanded. US imperialism began to stretch its aggressive tentacles to our country towards the end of the 19th century. In 1905 it helped the Japanese imperialists to occupy Korea through the conclusion of a secret agreement between Katsura and Taft.

The aggressive army of US imperialism, which has long been looking out for a chance to invade our country, is going to be stationed in the southern half of Korea. This political situation demands a sharpening of our revolutionary vigilance. It also poses as a most urgent task to organize a powerful national army of our own to defend the country and people against foreign imperialist aggressors.

We must form a revolutionary regular army through our own efforts whatever the obstacles.

We have solid assets for the formation of a revolutionary regular army. In the gloomiest days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule the Korean communists organized the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, the first revolutionary people's armed force in our country, consisting of advanced workers, peasants and patriotic youth. The members of the KPRA united as one man and fought courageously for the liberation of the homeland and the honour of the nation. Through the trying ordeals of the 15-year-long anti-Japanese armed struggle for national independence and social emancipation, the

KPRA matured, to become an army of invincible iron ranks, an army of cadres, prepared politically and militarily. This means that firm foundations have already been laid for us, so that we can immediately form our revolutionary regular armed forces.

We must organize a revolutionary army with the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people around the revolutionary fighters who have gained experience in the trials of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. In building up these new armed forces we must instil in our soldiers a fervent love for their country and people, a burning hatred for the enemy, a revolutionary spirit to overcome all hardships and to stand on their own feet. They must also know about the traditions of unity between officers and men and between the army and the people, revolutionary comradeship, the popular style of work, voluntary military discipline and a revolutionary way of life. All these were characteristics of the personnel of the KPRA during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The foundation of the revolutionary armed forces is a very important problem decisive to the destinies of the state and people. We who are the cadres forming the leading core, must participate directly and take the initiative in this work. We must do all we can to organize a revolutionary regular army, invincible people's armed forces thoroughly equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideology, as soon as possible in the liberated homeland.

* * *

Comrades,

It depends largely on our role as the leading core of communists whether the three major tasks—those of founding the party, state and armed forces—in the liberated country are successfully carried out or not.

In order to satisfactorily carry out these tasks we must first educate the workers and peasants and all other sections of the broad patriotic

forces and unite them firmly on the side of the revolution; we must actively organize and mobilize the masses of the people, whose political enthusiasm has increased with the joy of liberation, in our efforts to build the nation. Only on the basis of this work and with the active support and participation of the broad masses of the people will it be possible to accomplish these three major tasks.

True, our struggle to realize these tasks will probably encounter numerous unforeseen difficulties and obstacles, and we will have to tackle many complex problems. But we communists do not fear difficulties; we are revolutionary optimists who believe in final victory under any adversity. We have the revolutionary trait of carrying through our tasks to the end, no matter how difficult they may be. In the days of the grim anti-Japanese armed struggle we fought solely for the independence of the country and the liberation of the people, and we were undaunted by hardships and death, or eating and sleeping in the open air. If we work with the same indomitable spirit, we will be able to carry out any difficult task successfully.

We communists do not look to revolution for attaining any high rank, individual fame or career or wealth or pomp. We are fighting for the independence and sovereignty of the country and the freedom and happiness of the people. We are fighting for socialism and communism. Whatever work we may do and wherever we may do it, the question of rank or status must be irrelevant to us. We must conscientiously carry out our assignments, regarding them honourable. We must single-heartedly dedicate all our energy and talents to the interests of the country and people, to the interests of the revolution.

We must work, believing in and relying on the strength of the masses at all times and at all places. To do this we must go right among the people and teach them, and also try to learn from them. We will have to understand and satisfy their demands and wishes without hesitation and share life and death, the sweet and the bitter with them, thus winning their support and trust.

We have much more to learn in order to found the party,

government and people's armed forces. We cannot succeed in these tasks with revolutionary zeal alone. We must prepare thoroughly, politically, theoretically and practically. To this end, we must patiently study the advanced ideology and theory of Marxism-Leninism and make a deep study of the experiences of the Soviet Union, an advanced state, while at the same time, accumulating experience after experience in the course of our actual work.

True, it cannot be said that we are young when the experience we have gained in our revolutionary activities is considered. But no matter how long an experience we have in revolution, if we do not constantly prepare and train ourselves politically, we will become arrogant and indolent and fall behind advancing reality. We will thus be unable to play our part as revolutionary cadres and will become stragglers in the revolution. Therefore, we must seek and remedy defects in actual revolutionary work at every opportunity, strengthen comradely criticism and self-criticism, checking ourselves regularly. We will thus constantly prepare and train ourselves politically.

Not only must we take the utmost care to advance in the right direction but we must try energetically to prevent the emergence of careerists and bureaucrats among the cadres of a new Korea who will be engaged in all spheres of party and state activity.

Experience has shown that careerists ultimately degenerate into factionalists.

We must also nip any negative elements in the bud, such as arrogance, bureaucratism, subjectivism and liberalism. We must mercilessly combat all leftovers of Japanese imperialism.

In this way we will found our communist party, the vanguard detachment of the working class, and develop it into a powerful Marxist-Leninist party as early as possible. We must push forward steadily the establishment of a people's government, and the forming of the revolutionary regular armed forces with all the power we have.

THE BUILDING OF A NEW KOREA AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

Talk to the Political Workers to Be Dispatched to Local Areas

September 20, 1945

I would like to speak about some tasks you must tackle in the local areas.

In the past we waged a fierce anti-Japanese armed struggle to liberate the country, but today we must do everything in our power to build a new Korea.

In order to promote the building of the country and carry out the Korean revolution successfully, it is necessary to found a party and establish state power and to build the economy and culture by mobilizing the broad masses of the people. If we are to carry this historic task out in the right way, we should go among the masses of people, first and foremost, and prepare conscientiously for its fulfilment. This is precisely the urgent task we have to tackle at the present moment. We decided to dispatch you to different localities for the realization of this immediate task. You should be fully conscious of your responsible duty and work in the local areas in a manner befitting revolutionaries.

Above all, you must show the masses of the people the right road for Korea to take.

Our people, who have greeted the liberation after groaning under

the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, are now highly elated and bursting with enthusiasm to build up the country. But they are at a loss which road to take and what to do. Only when they know the road Korea should take, will they be able to work industriously to build a new country with bright prospects, and to ensure success in this endeavour.

Individuals representing various elements have now sprung up everywhere and, calling themselves “revolutionaries” and “patriots,” insist on their own respective doctrines and assertions and argue about the road Korea should choose. Some cry that the feudal system should be revived in Korea, while others advocate for a bourgeois system. Still others claim that our country should immediately take the socialist road. All these are erroneous assertions that contradict the realities of Korea and the demands of our people.

As we have already said, our country is now at a stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Therefore, we must follow the course of liquidating the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and of building a genuine democratic society. This is exactly the path the realities of our country demand and what the masses of the people desire. This road alone can enable our people to win the complete independence of the country, to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state, and to enjoy genuine freedom, rights and happiness, and thus ensure the prosperity of our nation.

You should unremittingly explain and propagate our policy for nation-building among the masses. You should do this by rousing the advanced elements to activity and setting various mass media in motion including newspapers, so that they, fully aware of the right road for Korea to follow, will forge ahead vigorously along it.

One of the important tasks facing us today is to be fully prepared to cope with any unexpected state of affairs.

At present the US troops in south Korea, the forces of an imperialist state that landed there, are enforcing a military administration and, under their patronage, the pro-Japanese elements

and traitors to the nation are gradually bringing their anti-popular machinations into the open. The situation in the liberated country is very changeable and no one knows what will take place and when.

That is why we must make thoroughgoing preparations to cope with any unforeseen event that might occur. Only then will we be able to defend the great victory of the country's liberation won through our long-drawn-out sanguinary struggle and succeed in the great cause of nation-building.

In order to be prepared for any unexpected event, we should solidly build up bases in such mountainous areas as Kanggye, Huichon, Hyesan and Chonma on which we could rely to fight in case of emergency. Experience gained in the anti-Japanese armed struggle shows us that it is very important to build up good bases on which we can depend in emergencies.

Those of you who are being sent out to local areas must correctly understand the purpose and significance of building such bases and stint no effort in this work.

You should organize many paramilitary corps and self-defence corps in the local regions, made up of fine youths, and educate and train them fully. Besides, adequate military supplies, consisting of food, clothes, weapons and such like, have to be kept in store.

You must intensify the political education of the people and pay special attention to laying a solid mass foundation we can rely upon to fight, in case an unfavourable situation arises.

Preparations for founding a revolutionary party of the working class should be promoted actively.

The present-day reality of our country urgently demands that a Marxist-Leninist party, the General Staff of the revolution, be founded at the earliest possible date. Without a revolutionary working-class party we cannot unite the masses of the people and mobilize them actively for the country's construction, nor can we carry out our revolution successfully.

Its organizations should be set up in all areas for the founding of such a party. At present, communist party organizations have come

into being in some localities, but in general it cannot be said that the work of creating party organizations is proceeding well. You should delve thoroughly into the existing party organizations and consolidate them and, at the same time, do all you can to form new ones where necessary.

We must be careful about enrolling new members when forming party organizations, and increasing their ranks. We should admit a large number of advanced elements to the party from among the workers, poor peasants and farmhands, but we should not lay too much stress on the level of education of those eligible for membership. Since our workers and peasants could not afford to study in the past no matter how eagerly they wanted to, the level of their education cannot be high. It will not do, however, to consider them unqualified to join the party. The point is not the level of education but ideology. We should enlist in the party anyone who is regarded as steadfast in his way of thinking and is ready to share life and death with us in the same revolutionary ranks, even though his education is rather low. You should go among the working masses, get to know them and make a list of those workers, poor peasants and farmhands who are strenuously striving to build a new country and admit many of them into the party to increase its membership as quickly as possible.

What we should pay attention to in recruiting party members is to prevent alien elements from worming themselves into party ranks. We should not forget that all kinds of alien elements, including agents of the Japanese imperialists, seek to worm their way into the party ranks. You must keep your vigilance sharp and accept party members with care to fully ensure the purity of party ranks.

Another important thing in preparing to found a revolutionary party is to foster its hard core.

Only when there are many hard-core elements can we educate large numbers of members who would join its ranks to be true revolutionaries after the party is established in the future, and also can work efficiently to strengthen it. Therefore, you should earnestly

strive to rear such a hard core. You should steadily enlarge the ranks of core elements by training them in a way that you understand and choose activists from the working masses and educate them tirelessly, testing and steeling them in the process of nation-building.

The ranks of cadres of party organizations should be firmly built up with core elements. According to our basic study, we cannot say that the cadre ranks of the party organizations now active in localities are built up well. Without building up the ranks of cadres properly it is impossible to strengthen party organizations and enhance their role. Good people should be appointed to leading positions in the party organizations to be newly formed and, at the same time, alien elements and political speculators must be thoroughly purged from the ranks of cadres of existing party organizations and the vacancies filled with core elements.

Further, efforts must be devoted to forming local government bodies and to reinforcing them.

Only when a genuine people's power is established can we use it as a weapon to smash all manoeuvres of the enemy to atoms, transform society on a democratic foundation and achieve the victory of the revolution.

People's committees are being set up on the people's initiative in some local areas now, but they have not been organized as yet in many localities. You must try to set up organs of people's power in all areas as soon as you can and enhance their role. In this way you will lay a solid foundation for the establishment of a democratic central government.

What is important in setting up organs of people's power is to satisfactorily build up the ranks of their functionaries. People's committees are essentially different from the former provincial or county administration offices of Japanese imperialist rule; they are government bodies serving the interests of the masses of the people. It should be vouched for, therefore, that real servants of the people, who enjoy the confidence of the masses and can work devotedly for them, are assigned to work in these bodies.

Along with this, it is important for functionaries of the organs of the people's power to develop a proper style of work. If those on the people's committees work by shouting at the people and ordering them about like government officials of Japanese imperialism, they will not receive the support of the masses and will in the end be unable to enhance the role of the organs of people's power. You should educate these functionaries untiringly to attain a proper style of work and show them a living example of this. You should thus make certain that they acquire a truly popular style of work—always counting on the strength of the masses of the people, going among them and heeding to what they say, and sharing life and death, joys and sorrows with them.

One important question that we must pay our attention to at present is to set right the confused social order and to creditably defend the security of the people.

The current situation in our country is very complicated and the social order is in a state of turmoil. Taking advantage of this, Japanese imperialists' henchmen and other reactionaries, hiding among the masses, resort to every available intrigue to obstruct the building of a new country. The pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are becoming increasingly active in their manoeuvrings, particularly after US troops landed in south Korea. In these circumstances we must increase our vigilance and struggle tenaciously to smash the machinations of the reactionaries, including the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

In order to frustrate all the moves of the reactionaries, ensure success in nation-building and reliably safeguard the security of the people, the power of the broad masses should be enlisted and, at the same time, people's security organizations should be formed. You must set up people's security organizations in the local areas, including security forces composed of stalwart youths in keeping with the actual conditions there. In this way, you will maintain social order and fully safeguard the successes achieved in nation-building, as well as the lives and property of the people from enemy encroachment.

Next in importance is that we must strive for the rehabilitation and readjustment of the ruined industries and for the stabilization of the people's living standards.

After their defeat the Japanese imperialists totally destroyed our factories, mines, railways and power stations when fleeing, so that the factories and enterprises are not operating now. This cannot but be a great disaster to our newly liberated people. But we must not be disheartened or depressed. Under all circumstances we must rebuild and operate the wrecked factories and enterprises by our own forces, thereby consolidating the economic foundation of the country.

You should begin by taking possession of the industrial establishments formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and by rebuilding and readjusting the dilapidated ones. And you must see to it that as soon as they are reconstructed and readjusted, they are commissioned to start production.

In restoring and managing factories and enterprises, you possibly could suffer a shortage of manpower. The workers, therefore, must be provided with the necessary conditions to prevent them from leaving the factories and enterprises, and helped settling down to their jobs.

Besides, the workers should be properly educated. They should clearly understand that although in the past they worked for the Japanese imperialists and capitalists, they are now working for the country and the people and for themselves as the masters of the country and factories. Thus, they will be encouraged to make every effort to rebuild and run industrial establishments with an attitude worthy of masters.

You should pay close attention especially to the question of the people's living. While the social order is chaotic and the country's economy is not managed as it should be, the people have a very hard life. Factories and enterprises should be swiftly reconstructed and put into operation to do away with unemployment and to stabilize the workers' lives. On the other hand, all manner of practices detrimental to the stabilization of the people's living should be resolutely combated. Simultaneously, measures should be taken to solve the

food problem, and work should be organized to rearrange the former property of the enemy and distribute among the people what they need.

Another thing you have to do in the local areas is to have educational institutions rebuilt, readjusted, and operating.

We should strive to completely eliminate the remnants of the colonial enslavement education system of Japanese imperialism and create a people-oriented and democratic education system. For the time being we must select and assign teachers and rebuild and readjust educational establishments so that school management would be normalized to teach our spoken and written language to the children and youth.

We must not remain indifferent to education, putting off or underestimating it. It is, after all, for the good of the rising generation that we communists are engaged in the revolution, isn't it? Bearing in mind that teaching is a worthy and honourable job to train the pillars for the country who will shoulder its future, you must endeavour to ensure its success.

To continue. You should wage an energetic struggle to eradicate the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudal customs.

The enthusiasm of the masses for nation-building cannot be increased nor can a new, democratic Korea be built without doing away with these survivals and customs.

You must awaken the masses and rally them to the struggle against the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudal customs. Specifically, the young people, who are so sensitive to what is new and have a strong sense of justice, should be made to take an active part in this struggle. At the same time, education should be strengthened to arm the people with patriotic and democratic ideas. Thus, colonial servility and old feudalistic conceptions will be erased thoroughly among the masses, and all will engage in building a new life with lofty national pride and a new, democratic spirit.

To carry out our historic cause of nation-building successfully at present, we must firmly unite the broad sections of the people.

Rallying the broad masses is a decisive guarantee of the victory of the revolution. We should, therefore, exert all our efforts to unite the masses.

You should never think that the question of uniting the masses is easily solved. Some people have not as yet shaken off the influence of the vile propaganda conducted by the Japanese imperialists against communism in the past, while a considerable number of people cannot exactly figure right from wrong, owing to the manoeuvres of the reactionaries. This being the case, if you neglect even one scrap of work in rallying the masses, you may lose a multitude of people.

You should always pay attention to work with the masses and make endeavours to knit them together. You should intensify the education of the masses for them to receive a correct understanding of communism, and should vigorously carry on work among people of all strata to solidly rally the broad masses.

You must work efficiently to unite the masses; first and foremost, to enlist them in organizations. We should form mass organizations extensively with the workers embraced in workers' organizations; peasants in peasants' organizations; young people in youth organizations; women in women's organizations; and men of culture in organizations of the same interests.

You have to skilfully guide the existing social organizations towards democracy and consolidate them and, where these organizations are still non-existent, to set them up as soon as possible. You should give effective guidance in the work of expanding and strengthening these social organizations in order to form unified mass organizations as fast as you can and rally broad sections of the masses.

Simultaneously, the work for forming a strong, democratic national united front should be carried out satisfactorily.

Only by forming a strong, democratic national united front is it possible to strengthen unity among people from all walks of life, rally all patriotic, democratic forces in a body and actively mobilize the broad masses for the building of the country. We must form a

powerful democratic national united front with democratic political parties and social organizations and enlist all patriotic, democratic forces who love the country and the people into its activity.

Having a correct understanding of the importance of the united front, you should strive to step up work with patriotic people of all strata who desire the full independence of the country and its democratic development, and achieve the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces including the workers and peasants. A solid foundation should thus be laid for forming a powerful democratic national united front in our country.

While out in the local areas you will do well to work with the main stress on implementing the tasks mentioned above. In the course of your work, you may run up against a number of difficult problems. But, whatever obstacles and difficulties you come across, you must overcome them courageously, displaying a revolutionary communist spirit, without any vacillations.

I am convinced that you will carry out your honourable tasks with credit, getting the best of one bottleneck after another in the lofty revolutionary spirit you displayed in the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

ON PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

**Lecture Delivered to the Students of the Pyongyang
Worker-Peasant Political School**

October 3, 1945

Five months ago the German aggressors, who had unleashed the Second World War with the sinister aim of conquering the whole world, were defeated, and the Japanese imperialists, their allies, had to surrender unconditionally on August 15 last. Thus, the Second World War ended in an enormous victory for the anti-fascist democratic forces. Mankind has already embarked upon a peaceful life.

The victory of the anti-fascist democratic forces over international fascism brought about a tremendous change in the postwar international situation. The anti-democratic forces were weakened considerably all over the world, whereas the democratic forces were consolidated more than ever before. This signifies that the history of mankind has entered a new phase of development.

The present world situation has set new, great and glorious tasks before mankind. The most important post-war task is to wipe out the remnants of aggressive fascism and to work for peace and democracy. Today, in all parts of the world the people are making energetic efforts to carry out this sacred task.

The Korean people waged a prolonged, gory struggle to crush Japanese imperialist aggressors and to regain their lost country, and have finally achieved the historic cause of national liberation.

Consequently, our people threw off the yoke of colonial slavery

imposed on them by the savage Japanese imperialists for nearly half a century and have been able to advance energetically along the road to independence and sovereignty. This is a great historic event for the Korean nation.

We must make every effort to build a new Korea in our homeland, regained at the cost of the precious blood of numerous revolutionaries and patriots.

1. THE BUILDING OF A NEW KOREA AND DEMOCRACY

Today our nation is confronted with the important historic task of building a free, independent and prosperous country by wiping out the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism.

In order to carry out successfully this task of building the country we should first give Korea the right orientation. Otherwise, it will be impossible not only to properly organize and mobilize the masses of the people for nation-building but also to achieve the complete independence and sovereignty of the country. Moreover, our people will be forced to live in colonial slavery again. Therefore, the road our Korea should take is a matter of vital importance affecting the destiny of the country and the people.

Our liberated people are today living with boundless joy, great hopes and excitement; they are filled with enthusiasm for nation-building. However, the masses are at a loss as to the road to take. We must show them, as soon as we can, the correct road Korea should follow.

The road Korea should take is the road to progressive democracy, true democracy. This road alone will give our people freedom, full rights and a happy life and guarantee the country complete independence and sovereignty.

At present the reactionaries are feverishly scheming to divert our people to the road of anti-democracy.

The feudal forces are making the absurd attempt to restore feudal autocracy in our country. Why should we reestablish in the new, liberated Korea that worn-out, rotten feudal autocracy which cruelly oppressed and exploited the masses of the people? It is a ridiculous, anachronistic daydream. It is only natural that our people should now unanimously condemn such a reactionary, anti-popular scheme of the feudal forces.

On the other hand, some circles advocate the establishment of a bourgeois republic in our country, clamouring for what they call “people’s rights” and “democracy.” Their “people’s rights” and “democracy” have long been advocated by the propertied classes. We know from history that as soon as they seized power by winning the masses of the people over to their side under the misleading watchwords of “people’s rights” and “democracy,” the capitalists set up a bourgeois dictatorship and began to betray the people. In the final analysis, the bourgeois republic that some people advocate means, literally, power for the landlord and capitalist classes while their “people’s rights” and “democracy” are no more than a smokescreen for a handful of privileged classes to cover up their oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people, holding all state power in their hands.

The advocates of setting up a bourgeois republic in our country are none other than comprador capitalists. They are pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who, during the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, betrayed the country and the people and worked hand in glove with the Japanese imperialists in oppressing and exploiting our people. Hardly had the US troops landed in south Korea than the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation advocated pro-Americanism and, with the backing of the imperialist forces, are plotting to set up a reactionary government in our country and to lead our people along the road to anti-democracy.

We must not be deceived by their cunning moves; we must not set

up a bourgeois republic in our country, embellished with the ostentatious watchwords of “people’s rights” and “democracy.”

However, we are not in a position to establish a socialist system in our country right now. Some people are claiming that we should set up “Soviet” power immediately. They do not fully understand the specific situation of Korea.

In the past the Japanese imperialists, who occupied our country for nearly half a century, pursued a barbarous colonial policy, severely restricting the development of capitalism in Korea. Therefore, our country still remains a semi-feudal society. Considerable remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudal relations still exist in our society; feudal relations of exploitation are still prevalent, especially in our countryside.

In building a new Korea we have to take this reality into consideration. Our requirements must neither be below nor above the present level of historical development in founding a state. We must, on all accounts, set ourselves the goal of nation-building which conforms to Korean reality, and correctly lead the masses to its attainment.

Today the Korean people want to take the road to progressive democracy that will, not in words but in deeds, make the masses of the people the masters of their country and make everyone free and happy. We, the 30 million Koreans, who were cruelly exploited and maltreated for long years under the feudal system and Japanese imperialist colonial rule, deprived of freedom and rights, cherish the road to progressive democracy; it is a road that holds out a promise of grandeur and progress for the motherland and eternal prosperity for the people. Only when we follow this road, will the masses of the people devote all their efforts and talents to the foundation of a state and success be achieved in building a new country.

We must set up an independent and sovereign state based on progressive democracy. To do this we must found a democratic people’s republic. Today, in all parts of the country, people’s committees are being set up on the initiative of the masses. We must

organize people's committees as rapidly as we can in all localities and, on this basis, found the democratic people's republic.

The democratic people's republic is a power which accords with our people's will and is best suited to our country's reality and, needless to say, it is a people's power which embodies genuine democracy. Only this power will actively protect the interests of our people and firmly ensure the prosperity and progress of the country and the people.

In order to build an independent and sovereign democratic state we must firmly rally all patriotic forces of different walks of life under the banner of democracy. The great task of building a new Korea will be accomplished only through the efforts of the masses, firmly united as one. As long as different parties and groupings tread different ways, as at present, each insisting on its own views, the task of nation-building will never be realized. Only when all fellow countrymen, who love their country and people, unite firmly in a body and set out to build the country, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs, property status and levels of learning, will the complete independence and sovereignty of the country be effected.

Particularly, the present situation in our country urgently demands a mighty struggle to rally the masses of the people closely together. Pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries, who pretend to be patriots, are trying their utmost to draw the unawakened people into their fold by sweet words and are desperately trying to realize their political ambitions. In this situation, if we fail to unite all the patriotic forces, we will be unable to opportunely crush the activities of the reactionaries or build a new, democratic Korea.

We must organize a national united front to represent all patriotic and democratic forces of different sections if we want to firmly unite the broad masses.

The national united front movement was necessary in our country when we fought against the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists; it is needed in the same way today when the country is free. Of

course, this movement is different now in content and form from what it was before. The former anti-Japanese national united front aimed at fighting against Japanese imperialist colonial rule over Korea and emancipating our people from colonial slavery to win freedom and independence. The movement took the form of an illegal, underground movement. However, the national united front we are going to form now is aimed at eliminating the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism, and achieving the country's complete independence and sovereignty; therefore, this movement is now legal and open.

Our united front is an out-and-out democratic united front. We must form the national united front opportunely on a democratic basis and unite the workers, peasants and the broad masses of all other strata to arouse them for actively building the country. Thus, all the people will pool their efforts to construct the new Korea, wiping out pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries.

If we form a democratic national united front and strengthen and develop the movement in this way, we will be able eventually to build a unified and independent power, that is, a truly democratic state. This is precisely the road to progressive democracy that we should take.

2. THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF OUR DEMOCRACY

The democracy we aspire to is fundamentally different from that of Western capitalist countries, and it is not a slavish copy of that of a socialist country. If we tried to apply uncritically the former or the latter to our country, which has just been liberated after 36 years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, it would be a grave mistake.

Ours is a new type of democracy that is most appropriate to the

reality of Korea which is now in the stage of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Therefore, it possesses a number of characteristic features.

What, then, are the characteristic features of our democracy?

1) Independence. Our Democracy Is Characterized by Independence

The prime fundamental requirement of the whole nation now is to achieve complete independence. In the past our people lost their country to the Japanese imperialists and were forced to lead the grim life of slaves; as a people without a country they suffered dreadfully. Therefore, our people are striving to set up a completely independent state as soon as possible, now that the historic cause of national liberation has been achieved.

We must build an independent and sovereign state in order to win complete national independence. An independent stand is an indispensable requirement of genuine national independence. Unless we maintain an independent stand, it will be impossible to win complete national independence, to safeguard national dignity and interests and to achieve the prosperity of the country and the people.

If we are to have an independent and sovereign state, we must attain progressive democracy. Our democracy opposes dependence on and submission to other countries and requires adhering to an independent stand and a creative attitude, which means resolving any problem arising in the building of our country by our own efforts, according to our own judgement. Therefore, only a state based on genuine democracy can become a powerful, dignified sovereign state, a fully independent state.

Certain people today wait for national independence to come by itself and place their hopes on foreigners building an independent state in our country. This is quite absurd. How can any foreigner build our country for us? That is absolutely out of the question.

Trying to bring about national independence through the efforts

of others is the flunkeyist mentality to live at the expense of others. If we expect other people to build a new Korea, instead of believing in our own people's ability, complete national independence will never be effected; Korea will again be reduced to an imperialist colony.

In order to build a truly democratic state we must rely on ourselves. When we strive to solve all problems arising in the building of a state in conformity with our country's specific situation with the attitude of a master, and to overcome all hardships through our own efforts, we will succeed in building a new, democratic Korea and achieve complete and lasting national independence.

We must tax our energies to build a new country by adhering strictly to an independent stand. Thus, we will eliminate the remnants of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and feudalism so that our country will become a truly independent and sovereign state based on progressive democracy.

A sovereign state which meets the essential requirement of our democracy, characterized by independence, will not tolerate foreign interference and will not be subjected by others.

Our democracy is against our being subjected by others and of subjecting others. An independent and sovereign state that embodies progressive democracy does not meddle in the internal affairs of other countries but respects their sovereignty.

It is because of their intrinsic nature that imperialist states invade and subject others. Imperialist states trample grossly on the sovereignty of other countries and interfere in their internal affairs; they use all sorts of conspiratorial activities to invade and subject small and weak nations. No matter how strong it is, an independent and sovereign democratic state must never act like the imperialist states.

The democratic state to be built in our country in the future should conclude diplomatic relations, and endeavour to promote friendship with the countries and peoples that respect our national sovereignty on principles of equality and mutual benefit.

2) Coalition. Our Democracy Is Characterized by Coalition

Our democracy is not a democracy for one class alone, one political party, one organization or one religion; it is a democracy for the broad masses of the people. Therefore, this democracy demands the formation of a national united front to represent all anti-imperialist and patriotic classes, political parties and organizations and a coalition of broad sections of patriotic people, for our democracy applies the principle of attaching the greatest importance to the interests of the whole nation and subordinating everything to them.

At present, some people do not duly understand this requirement of our democracy and are making erroneous claims. Some try to form a united front even with enemies of the people under the slogan of unconditional unity, while others are coming out with “Leftist” slogans, even opposing those whom we can win over to our side. This is hindering the coalition of all patriotic forces. We must organize the national united front properly in accordance with the essential requirements of progressive democracy and rally the broad masses resolutely.

Today all the people want to carry out an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and build an independent and sovereign democratic state in our country. People of all walks of life, except the enemies of the people, such as pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, long for the establishment of an independent and sovereign democratic state in liberated Korea.

Our working class and peasant masses in the past were deprived of elementary freedoms and rights under Japanese imperialist colonial rule; they experienced cruel oppression and exploitation and suffered from starvation and lack of rights. Therefore, they are now enthusiastic about wiping out the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and building a new, democratic Korea. Korea’s intellectuals, youths and students, who also experienced national oppression and maltreatment under the brutal colonial rule of

Japanese imperialism, demand the building of a new Korea which will ensure them freedom of action and enable them to develop a democratic national culture and national education. As for the petty tradesmen and handicraftsmen, as well as conscientious non-comprador capitalists, their freedom of business was suppressed under Japanese imperialist colonial rule and they were made bankrupt economically by Japanese monopoly capital. That is why they also hope to see the remnants of Japanese imperialism wiped out and a new Korea built which will warrant the development of private enterprise. Patriotic religious communities keenly realize that unless national independence is achieved there will be no freedom of religious belief; they, too, are willing to participate actively in the building of a new country.

Seeing as people of all walks of life have a vital interest in building a new, democratic Korea, the task for the whole nation now is to set up an independent and sovereign democratic state. Because of this identity of interests, all the people can form a united front on a democratic basis and effect a firm alliance and solidarity.

Our democracy reflects precisely these interests of the whole nation and the demands of the masses. Therefore, it is characterized by coalition in the form of a united front and constitutes progressive democracy that serves the broadest masses of the people.

We must bear in mind, however, that our democracy assures the independence of the different strata, while at the same time requiring the coalition of all the patriotic forces.

Our united front is a coalition of people of all sections of life based on the interests of the nation as a whole. However, this general coalition involves specific independence for each section. While firmly united under the single banner of democracy, all classes, political parties and organizations retain their respective freedom to exist and develop independently with due regard to politics and ideology, organization and information.

We must not ignore the independence of each stratum under the pretext of a nationwide coalition. If we only stress the coalition of

people of all sections of life and do not recognize the independence of each section, they will not be interested in the affairs of the united front nor will they display creativity and activity in the building of a state; this will be a great obstacle to the formation of the national united front and to the fulfilment of the task of the whole nation. Hence, we democrats must respect the independence of each section, while, at the same time, striving for the coalition of the entire nation.

But we must not lay too much stress on the independence of each section. This independence must neither exceed permitted limits in the light of nationwide unity nor go beyond the interests of the nation as a whole. If we allow separate classes, political parties and organizations to have excessive independence, we will not be able to achieve national unity or to properly organize and mobilize the efforts of all the people for the work of building a state. If things proceed in this way, it will be impossible, in the long run, to secure the interests of the people of each section, to say nothing of the fundamental interests of the nation as a whole.

It is a major requirement of our democracy to achieve a general coalition while ensuring independence for the various sections. Only when we form a coalition on a nationwide scale, giving full consideration to the independence of each section, will we be able to set up a truly solid united front and rapidly build a new society where the whole of our people will enjoy a happy life.

Thoroughly embodying progressive democracy we must establish a national united front and materialize the unity and cohesion of the whole nation as soon as possible, so that we can vigorously organize and mobilize the efforts of all the people for the building of a new Korea.

3) Freedom. Our Democracy Guarantees the Masses of the People Freedom and Equality. This Is One of the Major Characteristic Features of Progressive Democracy

Bourgeois democracy guarantees freedom and rights to a handful

of privileged classes and leaves the broad masses of the people without any. The “freedom” and “equality” advocated by bourgeois democracy is merely a cover-up for a cruel exercise of power by the propertied classes.

Our democracy is fundamentally different from bourgeois democracy. It is resolutely opposed to a lack of rights and inequality and pledges equal rights to the people in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and allows the masses to exercise their freedom and equality in practice.

Therefore, our democracy rules out privileged circles and ensures all equal political rights. Citizens of both sexes over 20 years of age, with the exception of quislings and traitors to the nation, regardless of class, nationality, religious beliefs, profession, property status and education, have the right to elect and to be elected. Special people are not appointed to serve in the organs of power at all levels, but those who are elected by the people of their own free will, that is, true servants of the people who enjoy the profound trust of the masses. It is they who carry out the national policies. Thus, the masses of the people directly exercise their political rights and actually take part in running state affairs.

A genuine democratic state embodying our democracy is to vouch for the people having freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, religious belief, and residence and to reliably support the freedom and equality of the masses politically and economically.

Democratic freedom must be linked with unity based on centralism.

Democracy and centralism cannot be separated from each other; they form an integral whole. Unless democracy is guaranteed, we cannot expect genuine centralism and vice versa. Therefore, it is a matter of great importance to strictly combine democracy with centralism.

Only centralist unity firmly guarantees democratic freedom and equality. Only with centralist guidance and discipline is it possible to opportunely eliminate violations of democratic freedom and equality and bring democracy into full play among the masses, and to actually

realize freedom and equality along truly democratic lines. If there was no centralist guidance and discipline, we could not ensure democratic freedom and equality; a state of anarchy could result. In the final analysis, democratic freedom and equality will be meaningless, unless they are combined with centralist unity. Therefore, guaranteeing unity based on centralism is an indispensable prerequisite for realizing democratic freedom and equality for the masses of the people.

However, we must not put a one-sided stress on centralist unity. If we attach importance only to centralist guidance and discipline and neglect democratic freedom, it will lead to the undermining of centralist unity itself.

Centralist unity can be durable only when based on democratic freedom and equality. Centralist discipline is strengthened with the increase of the political awareness of the masses of the people, and as they take an active part in the nation's political life by exercising their democratic freedoms and equal rights expediently. Hence, in order to consolidate centralist unity we must guarantee the people democratic freedom and equality and give full play to democracy among them, so that they can take an active, conscious part in the nation's political life.

Therefore, democratic freedom must rely on centralist guidance and the latter must be based on the former. Only democratic freedom relying on centralist guidance is genuine democracy and only centralist guidance based on democratic freedom is genuine centralism.

By combining democracy and centralism in an expedient way we must effect genuine democratic freedom and equality in order that the masses of the people can become full-fledged masters of the country and dedicate all their efforts and zeal to nation-building.

4) Prosperity. Our Democracy Aims Not Only at Independence and Sovereignty, National Unity and Democratic Freedom But Also at the Building of a Prosperous Country

Unlike bourgeois democracy that serves the wealth and pomp of a

handful of privileged classes, our democracy serves the well-being and prosperity of all the people. Therefore, it is an indispensable requirement of our democracy to build a prosperous country. This alone will raise the people's material and cultural standards, substantially ensure them a happy life, and further, consolidate the sovereignty of the country and enable it to enter the international arena on an equal footing with other countries.

The building of a prosperous nation is also a voucher for developing progressive democracy. When the country prospers our democracy will be consolidated on a sound basis and will display its vitality more fully.

After establishing a people's power, in order to build a prosperous country, we must rehabilitate the national economy, strengthen the country's economic foundation and develop a flourishing national culture. Unless the economy and culture are developed, we cannot expect the country and people to prosper and advance or to achieve complete independence. Therefore, we must first strive to rehabilitate and develop the country's economy that was destroyed by the Japanese imperialists and revive and develop the national culture they had trampled.

The construction of the country's economy and culture should strictly conform with the interests of all sections of the people. While working hard to develop the country's economy and culture as a whole, we must take into account the interests of people of different strata and provide them with adequate conditions for improving their standard of living.

We must ensure jobs for the workers, free them from all vestiges of imperialist and colonial oppression and exploitation, and steadily improve their working conditions. As for the peasants, we must abolish high farm rents and usury and, further, carry out an agrarian reform to put the principle of "land only for the tillers" into effect. The small and medium tradesmen and manufacturers should be given freedom of enterprise within limits that will not conflict with national interests. We must abolish miscellaneous taxes and levies, set up a

fair and uniform system of taxation and fix a reasonable income tax system, to free the working masses from the heavy burden of taxation. At the same time, we must give our intellectuals the opportunity to engage freely in scientific and technological pursuits and bring their talents into full play; we must enable the sons and daughters of poor families to go to school and the students to study to their heart's content. We must also see to it that patriotic people of all walks of life work according to their mental aptitude and abilities and bring their talents to full display.

It is a matter of great significance in building a new Korea to improve the conditions of people of different walks of life. Only by doing this, will it be definitively possible to make the building of a new Korea a task for the masses of the people and bring their creativeness and activeness into play in order to set up a prosperous country.

We must organize and mobilize all the people to push ahead energetically with the building of a new nation. Thus, we will establish a prosperous democratic state where everybody will be provided with clothing, food, employment and education.

5) Revolution. One of the Major Characteristic Features of Our Democracy Is That It Aims at Revolution

The course of development of the history of mankind is precisely the course of revolution in which the legacies of the old society are eradicated. Without revolution it is impossible to develop society or to build an independent, sovereign state.

Our democracy demands that the remnants of the wicked colonial rule of Japanese imperialism be eliminated completely and the remnants of feudalism inimical to the democratic movement be mercilessly eradicated in all spheres of politics, the economy, culture and ideology. This emanates from the nature of our democracy that opposes reformism, in general, and aims at revolution.

In order to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state we

must carry out an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. But in the beginning we must wipe out the remnants of the forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces and completely eliminate the legacy of the fascist colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism; we must establish a genuine people's government, and root out the ideas of Japanese imperialism and feudalism remaining in the minds of the people. In addition, we must carry out an agrarian reform and the nationalization of key industries and effect various other democratic reforms such as sex equality and the democratization of education and the judiciary.

Only by carrying through an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution is it possible to prevent the Japanese and other imperialists from stretching out their tentacles of aggression to our country again. And only by doing this, is it possible to achieve independence and sovereignty, national reunification and democratic freedom and to build a prosperous, strong country.

Certain people, however, are not willing to fight against the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism. Some of them claim: "The remnants of Japanese imperialism have already completely disappeared from Korea." There are even people who preach that only by collaborating with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation will we be able to build an independent and sovereign state. When we say that pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation should be wiped out and that the property of the Japanese imperialists and their stooges should be confiscated and nationalized, some people wrongly sympathize with and defend the enemies of the nation, saying, "It's too harsh," and "Everybody must join hands in building a state."

Such irresolute ideas and political opinions that reject the revolution and claim unprincipled unity are a great obstacle to achieving national unity and solidarity, and are very detrimental to the building of a state.

Our democracy demands that we struggle uncompromisingly against the enemies of the people, while working hand in hand with

anti-imperialist democrats. Of course, if we are to build our country well, it is necessary to rally the broad masses and unite with people of different walks of life. However, we must not unite unconditionally. We should work jointly with all the patriots of different sections who love their country and people but should never do so with pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. How can we join hands with the “Messrs. Politicians” who, in the past, betrayed the country and the people and worked together with Koiso and Abe, governor-generals of Japanese imperialism, clamouring for “national autonomy” and what not? Needless to say, cooperating with them is not a step that would benefit the homeland and the people.

At present, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are desperately trying to recover their old position. Alleging that our country “should be placed under a mandate” they are simultaneously engaged in acts of treachery that run counter to the fundamental interests of the whole nation. In the past these fellows actively supported the colonial policy of Japanese imperialism and, taking advantage of the aggressive “Greater East Asian War,” freely plundered our people of lives and property, working hand in glove with the Japanese imperialists. We cannot build a new Korea if we do not eliminate them.

The broad masses of the people in Korea want us not to ally ourselves with bogus democrats pretending to be patriots but to wipe them out and achieve true cohesion with the anti-imperialist, patriotic and democratic political parties as well as people of various strata in order to actually carry out our revolution. Only when we resolutely oppose the reactionaries, including pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, bring about the genuine cohesion of people of all strata who love their country and nation and push energetically ahead with the building of a state, will it be possible to build a new, democratic Korea, unified, prosperous and strong, removing the differences between north and south Korea.

We must wage an energetic struggle to carry our revolution into

effect substantially by getting the better of all the wrong tendencies to boycott revolution and closely uniting the broad masses of the people. Thus, we will successfully bring to a close an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and accelerate the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

6) Peace. Our Democracy Aims at Peace

Bourgeois democracy is used as a means to create discord among the people and to unleash a war of aggression against and plunder others. Our democracy, however, serves to promote harmony and friendship among the people and to maintain and consolidate peace.

Our democracy, a democracy for the broad masses of the people, aims at building a new society where people can lead a free and happy life. Therefore, it considers it a major task to struggle to secure domestic and world peace, resolutely opposing antagonism and enmity among nations. Hence, if we struggle resolutely to realize our democracy, it will contribute positively to ensuring domestic peace and to establishing world peace.

We must direct our efforts to maintaining and consolidating peace in our country to meet the requirements of progressive democracy. In order to ensure peace in our country, we must make sure, first and foremost, that people of all strata and democratic political parties maintain good relations and press forward with the work of building a state, helping each other.

There are people at present who take objectionable steps that might obstruct the harmony and cohesion among the population. Some communists frankly oppose the Democratic Party. If among the Democrats there are individuals who oppose the people, democracy and the Communist Party, then, of course, we must fight them resolutely. However, it is wrong to oppose the Democratic Party as such because of a few bad elements. Likewise, some Democrats categorically oppose the Communist Party. This is a very dangerous tendency.

If this unprincipled tendency of rejecting and opposing other parties increases, it will run counter to the interests and requirements of the broad working masses and hamper our democratic movement and the cohesion of the masses of the people immensely. The wrong practice of opposing other parties, which is manifested among certain people at present, might have grave consequences—the raising of conflicts among people of different strata and the undermining of peace at home.

We must pay special attention to eliminating such unsuitable tendencies to disrupt peace in the country. We must fight irrevocably against practices of all kinds that might provoke enmity and discord among different sections of the people and parties, while, at the same time, smashing the activities of the reactionaries wholly to destroy domestic peace. So, we will ensure that all patriots, whether members of a political party or not, unite firmly and work together under the banner of democracy for carrying out their duty in building the country.

We must strive for world peace while fighting for domestic peace.

Peace does not come of itself; it must be won through struggle. The forces of world reaction are seeking for a chance to invade other countries, and are hell-bent on disturbing peace and driving the people into the holocaust of war. Unless we struggle against such aggressive forces, we cannot maintain and consolidate the peace of the world. Only when peace-loving people throughout the world join their efforts and expose the schemes of international reaction at every step to destroy peace and intensify their struggle against them, can a lasting world peace be attained.

We must promote friendship with peace-loving people the world over and, in solidarity with them, struggle vigorously against imperialism and the forces of war, thus contributing greatly to the cause of world peace.

We would say that these are, in general, the characteristic features of our democracy.

3. LET US STEP UP THE WORK OF ESTABLISHING A PEOPLE'S POWER

The Korean people, who have embarked on the building of a new Korea with the joy of freedom and liberation, are fighting to smash the colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism and to set up a genuine people's power. We must organize and mobilize fittingly the enthusiasm of the masses to build their country in order to energetically step up the work of establishing a people's power.

It is necessary to convene people's congresses at all levels for establishing a people's power. The people's congresses we are going to hold are aimed not at cajoling the masses of the people to secure certain authority but at electing people's representatives reflecting the will of the masses.

The holding of people's congresses will be an outstanding event in our people's political life. Through the congresses our people will participate directly in the establishment of power for the first time in our history, and they will realize fully that they are the masters who are wielding that power. The people's congresses will not only be a magnificent opportunity to test our people's preparedness; they will also be a great political school that will help to rouse the masses of the people politically and heighten their eagerness for building the country.

The people's congresses at all levels must elect representatives who are able to serve the people faithfully in the organs of power at all levels, from the ri up to the centre, in accordance with the unanimous will of the people, so that people's committees can be formed at all levels and a central government set up.

This power alone, created by the unanimous will of the people, can become a genuine people's power that will serve their interests.

Only that power, composed of people's representatives elected at people's congresses, can represent all the Korean people and become a fully qualified state power to organize and mobilize the masses of the people to build a unified, prosperous and strong country.

Anti-popular, anti-democratic elements are now opposing the convocation of people's congresses and are trying to rig up a government at will. They are working to empower the leaders of some political parties to appoint or dismiss Cabinet ministers as they please. This is not a genuine political movement for the benefit of the people but absurd anti-popular activity emanating entirely from their thirst for power.

We must smash all the conspiratorial activities of the anti-popular, anti-democratic elements and wage a vigorous struggle to establish a democratic central government through the people's congresses. In order to lay the firm foundations for a democratic central government, we must primarily step up the work of establishing a people's power in north Korea where favourable conditions have been created for building a new country.

Correctly understanding the essence of progressive democracy and fully realizing it, we must found a democratic people's republic, a genuine people's power, and build a new, flourishing and democratic Korea.

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

**Report to the Inaugural Congress of the Central Organizing
Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea**

October 10, 1945

Comrades,

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

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

The foundation of the communist party will be a historic event of immense importance for the development of our revolutionary movement and the social and political life of the Korean people. With the foundation of the party, our working class and toiling masses will have a true representative and protector of their interests, and the Korean revolution will have its militant General Staff.

We must all take an active part in the discussion on founding a Marxist-Leninist party and the weighty tasks confronting it, thereby

realizing the historic mission that the Korean communists have assumed for the revolution.

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

Comrades,

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

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

The situation in our liberated country, too, has turned definitively in favour of the revolution. With the liberation of our country on August 15, our people, who had long been oppressed under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, with no freedoms or rights whatsoever, smashed the Japanese imperialists' last manoeuvres before their defeat in all parts of the country, and embarked on the creation of a

new, democratic life, while exposing and denouncing pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. With the country's liberation democratic political parties and social organizations began to spring up all over the country; people's committees, the organs of people's power, came into being under the guidance of the communists; a struggle to eradicate the aftereffects of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and to build a new, free and independent Korea was set in motion through all the political, economic and cultural spheres of life. Today, delighted with their freedom and liberation, all of our workers and peasants and other patriotic people of different sections are bubbling with tremendous patriotic enthusiasm and are taking part in unison in the building up of the country.

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

However, our present situation is very complicated and many difficulties and obstacles lie ahead of our revolution.

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

Though their revolutionary zeal is very high, our people still have

no clear idea of the road liberated Korea should take and fail to participate in the building up of the nation as an organized force.

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

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

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

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

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

North Korea, where the Soviet forces are stationed, is provided with favourable conditions for revolutionary development. The Soviet forces respect the freedom and independence of small nations; since their stationing in north Korea they have actively supported and

encouraged our people in their struggle to put down the activities of pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and other reactionaries and build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. This being the case, north Korea now has broad prospects for successfully building a new country.

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

In such a situation it is impossible immediately to establish a united party composed of the communists in both north and south Korea. Yet, we should not wait with folded arms until the situation is ripe for forming a united party. The diametrically opposite political situations in the north and the south urgently demand that we press forward with the revolution and the work of building a party, in conformity with the specific conditions in the two parts of the country. Availing ourselves of the favourable situation prevailing in north Korea, we must form the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, a strong central leadership body of the Party.

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

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

2. ON THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL LINE

Comrades,

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

In Seoul and other places the "heroes" of various factions have come out with their respective claims, and are trying to set up parties in contravention of the Marxist-Leninist principles of party building. Some of them are even scheming to rig up a sort of "third party." These are factional, counter-revolutionary activities that are aimed at destroying the cohesion of the communist ranks and causing confusion in party building.

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

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

Building up the organizational backbone correctly is very

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

The Korean Communist Party founded in 1925 was dissolved without discharging its historical mission. This was mainly because its organizational backbone was not strong enough. At that time the KCP did not take its roots deep among the working class and other broad sections of the people. Moreover, its leadership consisted of factionalists; they scrambled for hegemony, seeking only fame and distinction. In consequence, the KCP failed to achieve unity of its ranks; it was unable to withstand Japanese imperialism's repression and was forced to dissolve three years after its founding. If the KCP had consisted of true revolutionaries, with the progressive elements of the working class at its core, it would have survived, organizing and leading mass struggles, in spite of Japanese imperialism's harsh repression and the unfavourable conditions in which it had to work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have so far had no united Marxist-Leninist party in our country; quite a few of our communists have been engaged in scattered activities at home and abroad. In consequence, tendencies to liberalism, individual heroism and parochialism have become engendered in the minds of some people. Factionalism which appeared in the early days of our communist movement has not been eliminated completely and the factionalists have carried on their manoeuvres in various forms. To cap it all, the nearly half a century of Japanese imperialist colonial rule implanted all sorts of bourgeois ideas in the minds of our people.

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

In order to secure the Party's unity of ideology, purpose and

action, it is necessary, first of all, to root out factionalism and parochialism.

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

Factionalism greatly harmed our communist movement in the past, and is today in various ways still hampering our building of the Party and the country. Those infected with factionalism are only eager for fame and distinction. They slander their comrades and alienate them from each other. Outwardly they agree to everything and pretend to observe discipline but, behind the scenes, they form factions and carry out sabotaging activities. Some of them are not yet free from their factional habits. They, acting in groups, try to make good their political ambitions; they are engrossed in random talk, claiming that not to support the "Seoul Centre" is a factionalist act or that such-and-such persons must hold leading posts in the Party.

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

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

the unity and cohesion of the communist ranks.

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

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

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

These tendencies that find expression in the communist ranks are a great obstacle on the path to ensure unity of the Party's ideology and purpose, and to carry out our revolution. We must intensify our struggle against all kinds of "Left" and Right opportunism and firmly uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

However, we must not stigmatize people as opportunists at random just because we oppose "Left" and Right opportunism. Some of our comrades' political and theoretical level is still low, and they

are not able to assess problems correctly; they may even advance erroneous claims. We must not regard these people as if they inclined towards “Left” or Right opportunism; we must patiently educate them to analyze all problems specifically and judge them correctly.

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

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

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

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

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

democratic centralism within the Party.

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

What is particularly important in strengthening Party discipline is that all its members should unconditionally obey its decisions. True, before the Party adopts a decision on any problem, all can discuss it in accordance with the democratic principle. However, once the decision is adopted, no one is allowed to criticize it or fail to carry it out. We must see to it that Party members have the revolutionary habit of adhering to Party lines, policies and decisions without reservation and implementing them.

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

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

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

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

3. ON THE PARTY'S POLITICAL LINE

Comrades,

The Korean communists are now confronted with the important task of correctly leading our liberated people to the successful building of a new country.

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

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

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

For the present, we must mop up the remnants of Japanese

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

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

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

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

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

democratic people's republic successfully.

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

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

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

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

We must organize the masses and activate them to waging an energetic struggle against all reactionaries, such as pro-Japanese

elements and traitors to the nation. We must expose and shatter every enemy conspiratorial manoeuvre in time and prevent them from worming their way into the people's power organs or into the revolutionary ranks. We can then promote the democratic development of the country and build a people's state where the working masses can live happily.

In order to build a new Korea successfully, we should tear out the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism by the roots, at the same time wiping out the reactionary forces.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In order to democratize society, it is necessary to realize the social emancipation of women who make up one half of the population. In the past our women were humiliated and ill-treated in every way, deprived of all rights and freedoms; we must emancipate them completely from their feudalistic social status and grant them equal rights and freedoms with men so that they will creditably do their bit in the building of a new country.

In order to build a flourishing, independent and sovereign state, we must lay solid economic foundations; for this, we have to reconstruct and develop our national industries. We must nationalize the factories, mines, railways and other key industries owned by the

Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, and put them under the ownership of the people. At the same time, we should make every effort to rehabilitate the factories, enterprises and railways destroyed by the Japanese imperialists, eradicate the aftereffects of their colonial rule in industry and develop the national economy. We shall thus be laying the solid economic foundations of the country and stabilizing and improving the people's deteriorated standard of living.

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

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

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

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

In expanding the Party ranks it is essential to recruit progressive

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

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

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

To this end, we should build up the organizations of the Communist Party and decisively enhance their role. We have not yet formed them in all localities; the existing organizations are still

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

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

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

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

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

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

We should guide the trade unions, the peasants' unions and all other public organizations in forming their central bodies and in

settling their own well-regulated organizational systems as soon as it is practicably possible, and should vouch for our Party's firm leadership in them. In this way, we would knit the broad sections of the population closely around our Party, organize and mobilize them actively for the building of the country.

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

Comrades,

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

It is the lofty duty of the communists to fight devotedly for the interests of the country and the people, for the interests of the revolution. I firmly believe that all our communists will consolidate our Party in every possible way and take an active part in the struggle to carry out the revolutionary task facing the Party.

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

ON THE BUILDING OF A NEW KOREA AND THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

**Speech Delivered to the Senior Officials
of the Provincial Party Committees**

October 13, 1945

Before going into the subject of the national united front, I should like to refer to the experience of other countries with the united front.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, Dimitrov made a report on "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Comintern in the Struggle for Working-Class Unity and against Fascism," in which he advanced the line of forming broad anti-fascist popular fronts based on working-class unity and solidarity. At the time, Germany was under the sway of Hitler's savage fascist dictatorship, and in Italy Mussolini's fascist dictatorship was being consolidated.

The fascists sought to enslave not only the people of their own countries but all of mankind, and to turn the whole world fascist. It was necessary to form popular fronts in many European countries to fight against the ruthless dictatorships and aggressive policies of the fascists. Not only the working people, headed by the working class, but also those capitalists, who were calling for liberty and democracy, could participate in the popular fronts. Some capitalists, to say nothing of workers, peasants and other working people, also saw the urgent need to repress international fascism which attempted to conquer the whole world and enslave all of humanity. Fascist Italy's conquest of Ethiopia was a danger signal, that was a warning of the imminence of the

Second World War. The question of the popular front was raised at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to meet this crisis. The congress recommended to the Communist parties of different countries that they form anti-fascist popular fronts. The French and Spanish Communist parties were the first to adopt this tactical line.

In the East, national united fronts had to be formed against Japanese imperialism as its aggressive schemes to conquer the Asian peoples were becoming ever more pronounced.

National united fronts were formed in countries fighting against imperialist colonial rule, and in those fighting to eliminate the danger of being colonized. Popular fronts were organized in countries like France and Spain which were in danger of becoming fascist. In essence, the popular front and the national united front were similar in that both were opposed to fascism and imperialist aggression, but the specific conditions in different countries gave rise to these two forms.

China affords us a good example of the national united front. When Japanese imperialism occupied Manchuria and extended its evil hand of aggression to the Chinese mainland, the Communist Party of China proposed that the Kuomintang and the CPC should collaborate and by rallying all the forces of the nation, come out in an anti-Japanese struggle for national salvation. This proposal was not accepted for a long time owing to the obstinacy of the Kuomintang reactionary group, but the CPC's sincere and persistent efforts gradually earned the support of the people throughout China. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, the collaboration of the CPC and the Kuomintang crystallized finally and the anti-Japanese national united front was formed. The Kuomintang reactionary group that had been so persistent was forced to accept the CPC's proposal under the pressure of the unanimous demand of the Chinese people for national unity and resistance to Japan for national salvation.

The Second World War was an anti-fascist war of liberation for the democratic forces of the whole world. Thanks to the decisive role of the Soviet army in the war, Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated and many countries in Europe and Asia were liberated from the fascist yoke.

Which road should liberated Korea take? The most important and fundamental problem we must take into account in deciding this is that Korea had been a colony of Japanese imperialism for so long. Because of Japanese imperialist rule, Korea's capitalist development was greatly retarded and its social system remained colonial, retaining many of the vestiges of feudalism. The feudal relations of exploitation are especially predominant in our countryside.

The Korean people, therefore, are faced today with the task of pursuing an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and the building of a democratic people's republic.

Who then is to lead this revolution, the working class or the capitalist class? The capitalist class of Korea, in collaboration with Japanese imperialism in the past, exploited and oppressed the Korean people and deceived them with the slogans of "national reform" and "self-government of the nation." Of course, by this we do not mean that there were no native capitalists at all who were against Japanese imperialism.

It was the working class of Korea that courageously fought Japanese imperialism to the bitter end. Though the Korean Communist Party, founded in 1925, was dissolved in 1928 because of factional strife, that did not mean the end of the communist movement. From the 1930s on, the communists of Korea fought valiantly, with arms in hand, against Japanese imperialism.

It goes without saying that the capitalist class of Korea that capitulated to Japanese imperialism and collaborated with it is not entitled to lead the revolution. Only the working class that fought Japanese imperialism courageously to the end can and must lead the Korean revolution.

In determining our course, we must also take the favourable international situation prevailing after the Second World War into consideration and, along with this, the fact that the armed forces of the United States, an imperialist country, and the Soviet Union, a socialist state, are stationed in the south and the north of our country, with the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line, besides the fact that our Party is not yet very strong.

A united front should be formed to build a democratic people's republic of all the patriotic, democratic forces, including not only the working class and the peasantry but also the native capitalists. Only in the course of struggling—not in words but in deeds—for the founding of a people's republic can we win the masses over to our side.

We have to keep in mind that intellectuals, religious people, and capitalists, too, are stirring now, though not in an organized way. They are unorganized at present, but as our organization and forces grow stronger, they will gradually organize themselves. Seen in this light, we cannot ignore the nationalist forces at the given stage and should not place obstacles in the way of the formation of the national united front by alienating them in an unprincipled manner.

The Communist Party, owing to the vicious propaganda launched against it by the Japanese imperialists and the harm done it by the factionalists in the past, does not as yet have the support of the broad masses, and some sections of the masses who are not politically awakened still harbour illusions about the nationalists.

Needless to say, since our united front is a front for the building of the democratic people's republic, a coalition with the lackeys of Japanese imperialism is utterly inconceivable. We can and should join up with those native capitalists who have a conscience and who want to build an independent and democratic state. Only the formation of a united front of this type will enable us to build the democratic people's republic and rally the masses of the people from all walks of life.

The Communist Party must not be inert or passive in this struggle. Communists must play the most active and positive role and stand at the head of the masses, leading them forward in the struggle to set up the democratic people's republic. Only then will the masses follow the Communist Party.

The native capitalists are always liable to waver in the course of this struggle. Experience shows that they frequently deceive the masses or betray the national interests when looking after their own narrow class interests. They are afraid of the revolutionary advance of

the masses and are apt to vacillate as the revolution proceeds. We should, therefore, promote unity with the native capitalists even when they fail to display enthusiasm for and vacillate in the work of building the democratic people's republic but, on the other hand, we should constantly expose and criticize their criminal acts and vacillations. This is the only way by which the masses will be able to see the native capitalists clearly in their true colours and, at the same time, to understand the policies of the Communist Party to the full.

The Communist Party should unhesitatingly cooperate with the parties that advocate the reunification and independence of our country, but it should under no circumstances tail after them, much less become absorbed in some other party. While working hand in hand with them, the Communist Party should always maintain its own identity.

At present, the Democratic Party of South Korea is vehemently opposed to our clearing out the lackeys of Japanese imperialism. This is by no means accidental. The Democratic Party of South Korea is a grouping of landlords and comprador capitalists who, until yesterday, collaborated with the Japanese imperialists. With the defeat of Japanese imperialism, they suddenly turned pro-American and have come out seeking US support in place of Japanese protection. There were only a few of Korea's landlords and capitalists who did not become minions of Japanese imperialism; the overwhelming majority of them, working at its beck and call, exploited and oppressed their fellow people. This is an indisputable fact. It is, therefore, only right that we should weed out these pro-Japanese landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation to the very last one.

The native capitalists, too, are quite alarmed at our struggle against the remnants of Japanese imperialism, for they also served this imperialism more or less in the past. It is wrong to argue that we should not expose and criticize their criminal acts while calling for a national united front. In the united front we should adhere strictly to the principle of struggling with them while uniting with them. This alone will heighten the political consciousness of the working masses and make it possible to overcome the vacillating nature of the native capitalists.

There is one question which we should clarify in this regard. This is the question of how to define the lackeys of Japanese imperialism. We cannot call a man a lackey simply because he worked for the Japanese. Over a period of nearly 40 long years many Koreans found it impossible to make a living without working for Japanese imperialist establishments. Needless to say, those who suppressed and murdered people deliberately in order to destroy the revolution, those who betrayed and sold out the national interests to Japanese imperialism, and those who collaborated actively and intentionally with Japanese imperialism should definitely be defined as lackeys. Such traitors to the nation must be done away with through the struggle of the masses by arousing them. But those who had to serve in Japanese imperialist establishments in order to make a living or did so under pressure, and those lesser clerks who worked half-heartedly and performed no more than a passive role there cannot be labelled as lackeys. These people should be educated and remoulded, and a path for regeneration should be open to them.

Our immediate task is to found the democratic people's republic. We cannot skip over a stage in the development of the revolution; we must work out a correct strategy and tactics for carrying out the tasks arising in the present stage of the revolution.

The immediate objects of our struggle are the lackeys of imperialism who are taking great pains to reintroduce the imperialist forces, and the feudal forces, that is, the landlords that have allied themselves with them. In order to oppose the remnant forces of imperialism and the feudal forces and complete the democratic revolution, the democratic people's republic, a people's power led by the working class, must be built. That can be accomplished through the formation of a democratic united front, of which the working class is the core and which embraces the broad masses of the peasantry and the patriotic intellectuals, and even the native capitalists who possess a national conscience.

The basic programme of the Party, which represents the strategic demands arising in the present stage of the revolution, is unalterable,

but its action programme which represents tactical demands can change whenever necessary. The basic programme of the Communist Party such as “Factories to the workers” or “Land to the peasants” is immutable, but its action programme should be drawn up in keeping with the changing situation. We should, therefore, elaborate an action programme best suited to the present situation and fight for it.

If we are to form a united front now, we must primarily strengthen the alliance of the workers and the peasants and win the broad masses of the peasantry over to our side. To defend the interests of the peasants and win them over, we must begin with a struggle to reduce farm rents and then, while carrying on the struggle to confiscate the land of the Japanese imperialists and their minions, we must gradually develop a struggle to confiscate the estates of all the landlords and distribute them among the peasants. Thus, the struggle should gradually be extended from a small scale to a large scale one.

If we want to win over the broad masses and weaken the forces of the enemy, the most important thing is to strengthen the ranks of the Communist Party.

To begin with, we should fight the opportunists who have wormed their way into the Party. They have no consistent principles and are seeking to destroy the unity of the Party, flitting like bats from one side today to another tomorrow. They are the people we should dislike and guard against most.

Next, we must watch out for those who are lackeys of Japanese imperialism but have disguised themselves as Communist Party members. They pass themselves off as ardent communists to conceal their crimes. They indulge in ultra-Leftist phraseology and actions, clamouring that they would immediately overthrow the capitalist class and establish “Soviet” power. Their real aim, however, is to bring the revolution to naught by wrecking the Communist Party and hoodwinking the working class. We should wage a merciless struggle against these alien elements that have sneaked into the Party.

Moreover, we should not neglect our self-education; we must keep ourselves from degenerating and becoming dissolute. It not

infrequently happens that even a simple, upright communist is swayed by a desire for personal fame and gain; he degenerates and becomes dissolute once he has some power. This not only leads to his own ruin but also brings about the grave consequence of divorcing the Party from the masses. We communists have no other objective than serving the people and working devotedly for them.

If we communists truly fight for the people, the people will open their hearts to us, and even those who were hostile towards us, not clearly knowing what kind of people we were, will come to understand us.

Nowadays, I often hear words like “people’s rights” and “democracy.” These are fine words in the sense that they signify a government which grants rights to the people, a government in which sovereignty rests with the people. But “democracy” of the US or British type does not fit present-day Korea. West European “democracy” is already out of date and, moreover, if we adopt it, we will fail to attain our goal of achieving the country’s independence; our country will be reduced again to a colony of foreign imperialism. It is, therefore, necessary to set up a new, progressive democratic system in Korea in keeping with its actual conditions.

Our task for the present is to quickly educate the masses, who are not yet fully awakened, and lead them in the fight for their own genuine democracy. The masses are not clear as to who is defending and who is harming their interests. Therefore, we must do everything in our power to constantly publicize and explain our Party’s stand to the masses. We should not only educate the masses but learn from them too, heed their opinions and satisfy their demands.

The building of a new, democratic Korea depends entirely on whether we succeed in strengthening the Communist Party, forming the national united front and rallying the broad masses around it. Every communist should wage an active struggle continuously to expand and strengthen the Party ranks, cooperate in good faith with the friendly parties and win over the broad masses of the people.

LET US UNITE AND BUILD A NEW, DEMOCRATIC KOREA

**Speech Delivered at the Welcome Party Given
by Representatives of All Social Strata in Pyongyang**

October 13, 1945

Friends,

For the past 36 years our nation was oppressed and humiliated under Japanese imperialist colonial rule. We have finally discarded the shameful life of a stateless people and won back our freedom and rights and embarked on the road of dedicated struggle to build a new, democratic state.

Sitting together with you, representatives of all social strata in Pyongyang, today when our country is rejoicing at its liberation, I can hardly restrain my overflowing emotions.

I am heartily grateful to you, representatives of all walks of life in Pyongyang, for arranging this significant gathering despite the busy life you are leading today to build a new Korea.

Twenty years have passed since I left my dear home with the determination to liberate the country. During these years we never forgot even for a moment the homeland trodden underfoot by Japanese imperialism and our people suffering misfortune and hardships in the shackles of colonial slavery; we took up arms and fought hard battles against predatory Japanese imperialism.

Our brave and resourceful people did not abandon their national spirit even under the Japanese imperialists' harsh repression, but gave

active material and moral support to the armed struggle we communists were waging. Thanks to this support, we could, even in grim situations when we were faced with manifold difficulties and tribulations, fight to the finish with invincible courage, convinced of national liberation.

Friends,

Now that we have accomplished the historic cause of national liberation, we are confronted with the new militant task of creating a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Today our people are calling for a genuine democratic power representing their will and championing their interests. On the liberation of the country, they rose to set up organs of people's power, and in many localities they have already formed people's committees. In South Phyongan Province the organ of people's power is called People's Political Committee; this, in my opinion, reflects the will of the masses who desire a government for the people. We should form, as quickly as possible, a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic, democratic forces and, on this basis, set up a democratic government, so that a genuine people's policy will be pursued. We should create a new, democratic Korea, prosperous and civilized. To this end, we should establish a people's power, and rehabilitate and develop the country's economy and culture by actively enlisting the efforts of all the people.

One important task in building a new Korea is to train large numbers of our own native cadres.

We meet up with innumerable difficulties and bottlenecks in creating a new, democratic Korea in our liberated land. Among others, the shortage of native cadres represents one of our greatest headaches. Cadres are required everywhere, but we have not many competent officials. This puts serious obstacles in the way of our nation-building.

The shortage of cadres is an aftermath of the harsh colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. In the past the Japanese imperialists made every effort to keep our people ignorant and backward and prevented

the creation of cadres in our country.

The rapid training of fine native cadres is the key to the building of a new Korea.

To solve this problem we must train cadres through practical activities. We should also train them by setting up numerous political schools, organizing short courses and the like, and admitting good people to them.

In particular, we should promote public education with all speed and train cadres on a long-term basis. We should do away with the remnants of the Japanese imperialist system of colonial enslavement education and establish a people-oriented education system, setting up large numbers of schools at all levels, thus bringing up our children and young people to be competent builders of a new Korea.

First of all, we should institute people's colleges and universities as soon as possible. In view of our present conditions, of course, this is no easy task. As a result of the colonial obscurantist policy of the Japanese imperialists, north Korea does not have a single college and, for this reason, we have no experience in directing institutions of higher learning. Although we plan to found colleges and universities, there are no available buildings, there is a hitch in preparing textbooks and laboratory apparatuses, and few intellectuals are suitable to become teachers. However, we cannot sit idle just because there are so many difficulties in this sphere. A bright future is unthinkable for the country without the establishment of institutions of higher learning and a systematic training of cadres.

We must surmount all these difficulties and push ahead vigorously with the building of people's institutions of higher learning. If we organize, for example, a preparatory committee for building these institutions and solve the problems arising in the process one by one, we could have them quite soon.

It is important to heighten the role of intellectuals in the building of a new Korea. Condemned in the past to national oppression and discrimination under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our intellectuals had no opportunity to give full rein to their knowledge

and technical skills. But things have changed now. An avenue to free activity in all fields of political, economic and cultural life has opened up to them. We must see to it that the intellectuals take a firm stand on the side of the people and participate zealously in the building of a new Korea, contributing all their knowledge and skills to the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

In order to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state, we must form regular people's armed forces.

If a nation is to win complete independence and build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state, it must have its own army. Without a powerful national army, a country cannot become an independent state; the history of our country affords ample proof of this. Our people did not have a national army in the past strong enough to defeat foreign invaders and thus they lost their country to the Japanese imperialist aggressors and had to lead the life of a stateless people.

Never again must our people become colonial slaves. We, therefore, must organize regular people's armed forces at all costs. We have a liberated homeland and its people, fired by a great patriotic enthusiasm, and have fighters who waged a hard-fought revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism for 15 years. We should form regular armed forces without delay having these fighters as the backbone.

Even under the deepest adversities in the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, we formed the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army, a revolutionary armed force. Now that our country has been liberated, we can organize a better people's army on the foundation of the revolutionary armed force.

In the future all our youths, filled with patriotic ardour, should take up arms and be ready to fight for the country and the people, even at the cost of their lives.

To build a new country, we should reconstruct the industrial facilities and farms wrecked by the Japanese imperialists in their flight as fast as possible. They even ruined our handicrafts. At present we have neither food nor consumer goods. We have not even a single

pencil. The people as a whole should be mobilized to get at least the handicrafts functional before anything else, and to rehabilitate and reequip the devastated factories and enterprises.

Everyone should come out in the nation-building effort; those with money could donate their money, those with technical skills their skills, and those with strength their strength. In this way we would first secure the conditions for the people to earn a living.

The successful implementation of all the tasks arising in building a new country necessitates the close unity of all the people. Unity for our liberated people is the source of might and the guarantee for victory. Success in building a new Korea depends on the firm unity of our 30 million people. All the patriotic, democratic forces, except the pro-Japanese, traitors to the nation and other reactionary elements, should strive to build a new Korea, closely knit together under the banner of the democratic national united front. When all democratic political parties, groups and people from all walks of life who truly love their country and nation and care for its future, rise up in close unity to build a new country, our sacred cause of nation-building will make good headway. You should make efforts to energetically bring about the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces.

Friends,

We communists formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea on the tenth of this month and proclaimed the birth of the Party to the world.

As you all know, in the past the Japanese imperialists conducted absurd, wicked propaganda to nullify the influence the communists had on the masses and to harm their prestige. Not having yet shaken themselves free from the influence of such evil anti-communist propaganda, some people still hold a prejudiced view about the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is the working class's militant unit and vanguard that jealously champions the interests of workers and other toiling masses and that strives for the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state. For us communists, there is not and

cannot be any other aim than to struggle for the true interests and welfare of the working masses.

At its recent Inaugural Congress the Communist Party laid down as its basic political line at the present stage to found a democratic people's republic and develop our country into a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state, and advanced its immediate tasks. These tasks are to form a democratic national united front comprising patriotic, democratic forces from all walks of life and, on this basis, to set up the democratic people's republic; to facilitate the democratic development of the country by eliminating all reactionary elements including the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the lackeys of international reaction; to lay the firm foundation for an independent and democratic state by forming people's committees in all localities and introducing democratic reforms, restoring and developing the economy and improving the material and cultural standards of the people. The Communist Party and its members will strive unyieldingly to put its political line into practice which fully accords with the fundamental interests of all the Korean people.

The Communist Party is on no account an exclusive organization for a small number of communists. We will build the Communist Party into a mighty mass party, rooted deep among the broad working masses. The Communist Party will admit into its ranks large numbers of progressive elements from among the workers and peasants fighting selflessly for the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state and thus keep expanding its ranks continuously.

The Communist Party will not hesitate to cooperate with those parties and patriots that advocate the complete independence of our country and its democratic development. We will strive to achieve the unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces of various social strata and wage an uncompromising struggle against all phenomena inimical to the formation of the democratic national united front.

In conclusion, I hope that you will work energetically, with all your might and ardour, to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

EVERY EFFORT FOR THE BUILDING OF A NEW, DEMOCRATIC KOREA

**Speech Delivered at the Pyongyang
Mass Rally of Welcome
*October 14, 1945***

Dear fellow countrymen,

I should like to express warm thanks to you for giving us such an enthusiastic welcome today.

We are very glad to meet compatriots of ours in our liberated country. We have fought the Japanese imperialist aggressors for a long time to achieve the historic cause of the country's liberation and bring about this day of meeting.

The vicious Japanese imperialism that oppressed and exploited our nation for the past 36 years has collapsed and the dark clouds hanging for long years over the 3,000-*ri* land of our fathers have been dispelled and, at last, the day of liberation has come, which our people awaited so anxiously. The 30 million people of Korea, groaning under the barbaric colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, have been restored to freedom and liberation by the smashing of the fetters of colonial bondage and, having emerged from their cheerless life, have entered onto a wide avenue leading to a new life. Today our 3,000-*ri* land is radiating hope, like the bright morning sun.

Despite the cruel repression of Japanese imperialism, our people waged a gory struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors at home and abroad to restore their unfortunate country, without losing

their revolutionary constancy and national faith. The true patriots of Korea, in particular, took up arms and waged a long and arduous struggle against Japanese imperialism to win liberation for their country and freedom and happiness for the people. When faced with hardships, they mustered even greater courage, bearing in mind their country and people trampled underfoot by the Japanese imperialists. Courageously overcoming all difficulties and trials, they fought heroically to achieve the sacred cause of national liberation.

I should like to pay my deep respects to the revolutionary fighters and to you, fellow countrymen, who have fought staunchly for the historic cause of national liberation despite cruel repression and persecution by Japanese imperialism.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I should also like to express heartfelt thanks to the heroic Red Army of the Soviet Union who assisted in our people's cause of liberation.

Dear fellow countrymen,

Thanks to the decisive role of the Soviet army in the Second World War, the fascists, heinous enemies of mankind, were defeated; there is now a new situation in the world. Casting off the yoke of fascism and imperialism, the peoples of many countries in Europe and Asia are advancing along the new road of democracy, and oppressed nations in every part of the world are making an energetic bid for freedom, democracy and national independence. The world reactionary forces are today on the road to decline and ruin and the international democratic forces are growing in scope and strength with a new, irrepressible great power.

This was the international situation at the time when our people embarked on the road of creating a new history.

Now that the old dream of national liberation has been realized, the Korean people are faced with the historic task of building a new Korea. From now on our people will have to promote the work of building their state and attaining complete national independence.

We must build a democratic, independent and sovereign state in liberated Korea. This is in full accord with the specific realities of

Korea and the will of our people. Only by building such a state can we make our country wealthy, strong and enlightened and bring prosperity to our nation.

Unless we build a democratic, independent and sovereign state, we cannot achieve national prosperity and progress nor break away from colonial slavery.

From their experience of life in the past, the Korean people are well aware how wretched it is to be colonial slaves.

In bygone days the Japanese imperialists seized Korea and, enforcing their barbaric colonial rule on its people, cruelly suppressed them, arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered them at random, and wreaked havoc in order to strangle the nation. The Korean people were subjected to the severest national oppression and exploitation by the evil Japanese imperialists and forced to live as colonial slaves amidst tears of blood, deprived of even elementary political rights and democratic liberties.

Never again will our people tread the path of colonial slavery nor repeat the bitter life of a ruined people.

The masters of liberated Korea are none but we, Korean people. The workers, peasants and other sections of the working masses, who had borne vicious insults and humiliations under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past should become the true masters of the new Korea, and it is they who should decide all national affairs. We should build a new, prosperous and democratic Korea, a genuinely people's country where all the people participate in state administration and the working masses can enjoy prosperity.

To achieve this, the question of power should be solved before any others.

The government to be built in the new Korea will be a genuinely people's government, capable of defending the interests of the masses in every way and firmly guaranteeing the prosperity and development of the country and the people. It is precisely a democratic people's republic that will form such a government.

We should set up a people's government body in every region as

fast as we can, and build it up and, on this basis, found a democratic people's republic. Then, the people's government should provide true political rights and a happy life for our people, who had groaned so long under oppression in the past.

In order to build a new, democratic Korea a vigorous struggle must be waged against the reactionaries, including the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

The pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are even now hatching all sorts of plots to hinder the building of a new Korea. Unless we counter their moves, we cannot build a truly people's government nor bring about the democratization of the country. We should keep a sharp lookout on every move of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, and thoroughly expose and destroy all anti-democratic attempts of the reactionaries, whatever form they take.

Meanwhile, we should step up the struggle against the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism. We should root out the remnants of the obsolete ideologies implanted by the Japanese imperialists; we should be filled with a great national pride and self-respect and arm ourselves with new, democratic thought.

An important problem in the construction of a democratic, independent and sovereign state is to lay a firm foundation for the national economy by rehabilitating and developing it.

Pursuing a cruel colonial policy in Korea, the Japanese imperialists retarded the development of our national economy to the utmost and, when pulling out after their defeat, went as far as to destroy even the few small factories and enterprises ever built in Korea. They devastated our agriculture, too.

This being the case, we must try to rehabilitate the national economy at the earliest possible date. Only when the national economy is developed can the bitter lives of the people be improved, complete independence achieved, and the prosperity and development of the country attained.

All the people should struggle energetically and rapidly to

rehabilitate the industry and agriculture devastated by the Japanese imperialists and lay the firm foundation of the national economy by devoting all their strength, wisdom and skills to it.

An urgent task in building a prosperous, enlightened country is to introduce a democratic system of education and bring about the flourishing and development of our national culture.

In the past the Japanese imperialists enforced the colonial policy of enslavement education to keep our people ignorant and backward and work them like beasts of burden, and made deliberate efforts to suppress the Korean language, spoken and written, besides all the precious cultural heritages of our nation and to obliterate our national consciousness.

We must get rid of the remnants of the Japanese imperialists' reactionary colonial system of enslavement education and establish a people-oriented education system to provide the sons and daughters of our working people with broad opportunities for learning, and strive to revive and develop our national culture on a democratic basis.

Fellow countrymen,

The work of nation-building today that confronts the Korean people is a truly great and important undertaking. Success in carrying out this historic cause depends entirely on the efforts our people make. We should do everything possible for the building of a new, democratic Korea.

This great work of building a democratic, independent and sovereign state cannot be accomplished simply by the efforts of a particular political party or one individual. In order to build a new, democratic Korea the whole nation must unite firmly and all the people must join in. Only by rallying the whole nation, can we frustrate all the manoeuvres of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, put an end to the present disorder quickly and step up the cause of nation-building.

To achieve national unity is the fundamental question in the building of a new, democratic country. Unless the whole nation

unites, we cannot hope to build a new, democratic Korea or achieve the country's complete independence. On no account must we forget the bitter lessons of the past when we lost our country and were reduced to the miserable status of a stateless people because we had no national unity.

Now the lackeys of Japanese imperialism and other reactionaries are perpetrating acts everywhere prejudicial to the unity of the nation. We must promptly smash such moves of the enemy to split the nation, and people of various strata must forge a firm unity in their efforts to build a new country.

In order to achieve the unity of the whole nation a democratic national united front, embracing the broad masses from all walks of life, should be established. Today the situation in our country calls urgently for the earliest possible formation of the democratic national united front to solidly unite all the patriotic, democratic forces. We should resolutely rally all the patriotic, democratic forces aspiring to the complete independence and democratic development of the country around the national united front. All the people should thus tackle the task of nation-building in a united effort.

The time has come when we Korean people have to unite all our forces to build a new, democratic Korea. People of all strata should display patriotic enthusiasm and turn out to build a new Korea. To contribute positively to the work of building the state, let those with strength give their strength; let those with knowledge give their knowledge; let those with money give their money; and all people who truly love their country, their nation and democracy must unite closely to build an independent and democratic state.

Today a broad avenue to the building of a new, prosperous Korea has opened up before us. However, the bright future of a new Korea cannot come into being of itself. In order to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state we must overcome manifold difficulties and do a vast amount of work. In any event all people should work with a firm determination to build the state by their own efforts.

When our people unite their strength and wisdom, they will find nothing is beyond their power and that no fortress is unassailable. Our people are an intelligent people who have a brilliant national culture. Liberated today from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism our people are full of enthusiasm to build a new, democratic Korea and ardently desire the achievement of complete independence at the earliest possible date. Therefore, it is well within our power to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state through our own efforts.

Let all the Korean people fight courageously in unison for the building of a new, democratic Korea with great hopes for a bright future and a firm faith in victory.

Long live the independence of Korea!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the Korean people!

DECISION ON THE LAND PROBLEM

**Adopted at the First Enlarged Executive Committee
Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

October 16, 1945

1. All the land formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and the pro-Japanese reactionary Korean landlords shall be confiscated and distributed among the peasants to be cultivated by their labour.

2. All the forests, rivers, ponds and lakes which formerly belonged to the Japanese imperialists shall be dispossessed and made the property of the people, and the local organs of power shall be authorized to manage them.

3. All irrigation facilities, formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists and reactionary pro-Japanese landlords, shall be confiscated to be managed jointly by the peasants' committees or the people's committees and used by the peasants.

However, the water taxes on the irrigation facilities run by Korean landlords shall be decided upon in consultation with the people's committees or the peasants' committees.

4. The farm crops produced on land confiscated from the Japanese imperialists and reactionary pro-Japanese landlords shall be the property of tenant farmers and the tax be paid to the local organs of power, at the rate of about 30 per cent of the harvest.

5. The farm rent on the land which was under the control of the Oriental Development Company may be reduced to 30 per cent or

less as agreed by the people's committees and the peasants' committees concerned in consideration of the specific conditions in the respective regions, the difference in fertility of paddy and non-paddy fields, etc.

6. The tenant farmers who cultivate the land of Korean landlords shall pay the landlords farm rent at a standard rate of 30 per cent, and relevant taxes shall be paid by the landlords to the local organs of power.

7. The Korean landlords shall pay the land income tax, which is to be assessed through a correct investigation of their actual conditions that will ensure them a secure livelihood.

8. Definition of pro-Japanese, traitorous landlords:

1) The traitors to the nation and their successors who, prior to the "annexation of Korea by Japan," rendered services to Japanese imperialism and the "annexation of Korea by Japan."

2) Those who worked viciously in collaboration with the predatory agencies of Japanese imperialism after the "annexation of Korea by Japan."

3) Those who cooperated directly or indirectly with Japanese imperialism in its war of aggression.

But the landownership of those who were formally appointed as public officials shall be recognized, provided that their neighbours or tenant farmers prove that it was against their will.

9. Regulations on land distribution.

1) The land shall be distributed in principle to the farmhands and poor peasants.

2) In land distribution, priority shall be given to those who took part in the national and class movements and in the national liberation movement and their bereaved families, in the event of their wish to take up farming.

3) In land distribution, priority shall be given to those who participated in the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle and their bereaved families, in the event of their wish to take up farming.

4) In land distribution, priority shall be given to the bereaved

families of those who were killed in the Japanese imperialist war of aggression, in the event of their wish to take up farming.

5) Those who now till the tenanted land shall also have priority in the distribution of relevant land.

10. The land of reactionary pro-Japanese landlords shall be surveyed, and a verifiable investigation shall be conducted not only of its location and size but of all the past and present acts of the landlords.

ON LAUNCHING THE PARTY PAPER

**Talk to the Officials in the Information Department of the Central
Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea**

October 17, 1945

Several days ago we formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea. As a result, our working masses, including the working class, have acquired a powerful vanguard, the General Staff of the revolution, which will lead them unswervingly in the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Now that the Party has been founded, we must quickly launch its newspaper, the Party organ. The Party paper plays a very important role in accurately educating Party members and the masses of the people and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle. It is a mighty propagandist promptly disseminating the Party's line and policy widely; it is a reliable organizer staunchly defending that line and policy and arousing the masses for their implementation. The publication of the Party paper is essential for informing Party members and other people promptly and correctly of what the Party intends to do, leading them along the right road, and for rallying broad sections of the masses around it to ensure success in the revolutionary struggle.

The present political situation in our country is very complex. Although Japanese imperialism has been destroyed, American troops, an imperialist army, are stationed in the area south of the 38th Parallel. Since the first day of their landing in south Korea, they have been whipping up the reactionaries, including pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation, in an attempt to get a

foothold, obstructing the democratic advance of the south Korean people in every possible way. Meanwhile, factionalists and renegades of the revolution, who in the past did enormous harm to the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle and the Korean communist movement, are each trying, under the guise of revolutionaries, to draw the masses of the people over to their side. In particular, pro-Japanese elements and other traitors are making every attempt in Seoul and everywhere else across the country to divide the democratic forces and get a reactionary foothold.

At present, however, we do not acquaint the masses as well as we should with the Party's line of exposing and frustrating the reactionaries' plots and moves and firmly uniting all the patriotic, democratic forces to build a new, democratic Korea. Local Party organizations and the people themselves are not very familiar with this line and are quite at a loss as to what has to be done and how.

By founding the Party paper without delay, we must show Party members and the people the course of action to follow and inspire them to wage a vigorous struggle to frustrate the reactionary activities, and how to build a new country.

It would be best to name the Party paper *Jongno* (the Right Road Tr.). It is an important duty of our Party that the masses of the people should be well informed of the Party's line in the complex political situation prevailing in our country and be guided along the right road. Therefore, it is proper to name the Party paper *Jongno*, in the sense that our Party charts the correct line for the people and leads them to follow it.

Seeing as our country was liberated quite recently, the publication of the Party paper will have many difficulties to overcome. However, we have had experience of publishing work in the past during the arduous revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialists. This is a precious asset for successful publishing activities today. If we organize the work competently on the basis of our experience of revolutionary publishing work in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we will be able to overcome the difficulties

arising today in issuing the Party paper.

As we do not have the forces to open a separate newspaper office in the present conditions, the editing of the paper should be the responsibility of the Information Department for the present, and the materials should be prepared by members of the Executive Committee of the Party Central Organizing Committee and leading personnel of the departments. In the meantime, when the foundation for issuing the paper has been prepared, there should be a separate office, and fine comrades from among the information workers should be appointed as full-time reporters to write for the paper. The paper should be a weekly at first and, after the staff is enlarged, a daily.

Close attention must be paid to improving the quality of the Party paper.

From the very first issue the editing of the Party paper should be substantial and of good quality. In other words, it should convey the Party's intentions plainly and correctly. This is essential for accurately educating Party members and other people and enlisting them actively in the work of nation-building. If the Party paper fails to convey the Party's plans correctly or only carries long, clumsy articles using many difficult words borrowed from Chinese ideographs, it will be unable to fulfil its role well as an organizer and propagandist. Its articles should be short yet substantial, and should be written plainly in our letters so that everybody can understand them.

In order to improve the quality of the Party paper it is necessary to raise the responsibility and role of the staff of the Information Department. Those who write and edit articles for the paper should display a high sense of responsibility and devote all their energies and talent to ensuring good quality.

The publication of the Party paper necessitates the instalment of good printing equipment. This equipment prove to be a big obstacle in the preparations for founding the newspaper. This problem must be solved quickly. While keeping the existing printing equipment in good order, we must work to acquire new equipment. In the future we should construct the print shop buildings.

OUR TASK FOR BUILDING A NEW, DEMOCRATIC STATE

**Speech Delivered at the Welcome Party Given by the People's
Political Committee of South Phyongan Province**

October 18, 1945

I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks and respects to you, officials of the People's Political Committee of South Phyongan Province, for having arranged this significant gathering for me, and to representatives of all the social quarters and noted persons of Pyongyang present here.

I crossed the Amnok River when I was 14, firmly determined not to return before Korea became independent. Young as I was, I could not repress my sorrow as I sang the *Song of the Amnok River* someone had written and wondered when I would be able to step on to this land again, when I would return to this land where I had grown up and where our forefathers' graves were.

But the day I longed for has come at last. We have reunited in this way. What a joy it is for us!

We did not forget you in the homeland even for a moment while fighting in alien lands. We were well aware that you ardently loved the country and sympathized with and supported us fighting outside the country. This was of great help to us.

We owe our country's liberation to the armed struggle and various other types of struggle, legal and illegal, like your struggle, against Japanese imperialism, waged by many revolutionaries and patriotic

people of Korea at home and abroad. Your struggle gave enormous encouragement to those of us fighting in foreign countries.

There is a saying that a stateless people are more miserable than a dog in a house of death. This is true. The country is more precious to us than anything else. In foreign countries we felt this more keenly and fought for the country's independence. We were firmly convinced at the time that the day would dawn, the happiest day of all, when we would liberate the country and build a new joyous life in spite of all difficulties, and so we kept on fighting valiantly.

We knew that the Soviet Union, our neighbouring country, sincerely helped the oppressed nations in their liberation movement, and we firmly believed that if we fought in common with the Soviet people we would certainly win. So we fought to the end in the face of all difficulties and won freedom and liberation at last. Our aim of beating off Japanese imperialism has been attained.

Now our struggle has entered a new stage. We are faced with the great and difficult task of building a new, democratic state. What should we do to bring this great task to fruition?

First of all, we must root out the evils of factional strife, that scourge of the liberation movement in our country. At one time factional strife ruined our country and prevented our nation from uniting to fight the foreign invaders. We must not repeat this mistake.

Unity is everything to us. All patriotic, democratic forces should unite firmly. As yet, we have no national united front. We must create a democratic national united front which would resolutely rally all forces that are patriotic and genuinely democratic.

Next, we should promote friendship and solidarity with friendly nations in every way. We should do everything in our power to strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union. The Red Army not only helped the cause of our people's liberation at the cost of its blood, but also remains in our country to help our struggle to build an independent and sovereign democratic state. We must not be too much of a burden to our loyal friends, but must strengthen our unity and establish a new power by ourselves at the earliest date. Thus, we

will see that our country advances side by side with the friendly countries of the world on an equal international footing as a completely independent and democratic state.

One of the most urgent tasks confronting us is the rehabilitation of industry, and the reconstruction and development of the national economy. With all possible speed we should readjust and rebuild the factories, mines and enterprises wrecked by the Japanese imperialists in their flight, so that production gets underway. By doing this, we will provide a secure livelihood for the workers, eliminate unemployment and stabilize the living of the people as a whole.

In order to reconstruct and develop our national economy, freedom of business activity should be given to entrepreneurs and their initiative encouraged. All the entrepreneurs should work honestly and industriously in the interests of the country and the people.

It is important to develop agriculture along with industry. Unless agriculture is developed, it is impossible to solve the food problem and develop industry.

All the people should possess great patriotism for these tasks to be carried out successfully. The Japanese imperialists trampled upon the national pride of the Koreans and instilled a servile spirit in our youths. It is essential to revive national pride in our people in order to build a democratic and independent state. We should root out the colonial servile spirit and advance with a high sense of national pride and self-confidence in everything we undertake.

Let us unite our strength and work vigorously to build a new, democratic state.

THE PRESENT INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF WOMEN

Lecture Given to Women Officials in Pyongyang

October 25, 1945

Comrades,

Some time ago I was asked by several women comrades to speak about the present internal and international situation and the tasks of women. It is very good that our women want to know about the present internal and external situation and their tasks. Only when they are fully aware of the events taking place across the world today and the situation in our country and clearly realize their own tasks, will the women be able to take an active part in the work of nation-building.

Now, I would like to speak first about the internal and international situation.

As you know, fascist Germany and Italy and militarist Japan unleashed the Second World War and plunged the whole world into the holocaust of war. Obsessed by their aggressive ambitions, they harboured the delusions of wiping the land of socialism off the face of the earth and making the world's people their slaves by attacking the Soviet Union and conquering the whole world. They mobilized millions of troops and every type of modern weapon of mass destruction to carry out their wild schemes and committed unprecedented atrocities.

But the war ended in a great victory for the anti-fascist, democratic forces of the world longing for peace and democracy. As

a result, the international position of the Soviet Union has risen immeasurably; a road of democratic development has been opened up before many countries; and favourable conditions for national independence have been created for the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Today the people of many countries in Europe and Asia have entered upon the road of democratic development, and the people's struggle for national independence is mounting in all parts of the world. Freed from the bondage of fascism, many European countries began to set up democratic governments, and the liberation struggle of the people entered a new, higher stage in China, and in many other countries. Today the voices of the people calling for peace, democracy and national independence are rising higher and the international democratic forces are growing in scope and strength with each passing day.

Now that the thunder of guns in the Second World War has subsided, the capitalist countries find themselves extremely weak politically and economically. In many of the capitalist countries defeated in the war, including Germany, Italy and Japan, the reactionary ruling machinery is in confusion and the economy is falling into stagnation. Today the workers in capitalist countries are waging a vigorous struggle for improvements in working conditions and wage increases, and the democratic advance of the masses is more powerful than ever before. All this indicates that the capitalist system is being shaken to its very foundation.

This worldwide change is directly reflected in our country, too.

The Korean people brought about the country's liberation through a long and gory struggle. The Japanese imperialists, who occupied our country and harshly oppressed and exploited its people for 36 years, have been driven out to the last man and wide vistas have been opened up in the land to build a new people's state.

However, after liberation our country was divided into the north and the south, with the result that entirely different situations prevail in the two parts of Korea.

As you can see for yourselves, in north Korea all the people have turned out, joyous over their liberation, and set to work with utmost energy to build a new country. In many localities people's committees have been formed on the initiative of the people and a campaign is unfolding everywhere to eliminate the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and create a new, democratic life. Work is forging ahead to reconstruct the factories, mines and railways destroyed by the Japanese imperialists in their flight.

However, the actual situation in south Korea is entirely different from that in north Korea. Upon landing in south Korea, US troops declared that any resistance would be punished according to military law. With the landing of US troops, south Korea has become an area of US military government. In Seoul and in the rest of south Korea pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation who once bled their fellow people white and cringed before the Japanese imperialists, are today swaggering about with the backing of US troops, and the patriotic activities of the people are obstructed in every way. Such being the actual situation, the south Korean people feel insecure, although they danced for joy at liberation in the belief that a new, free world had opened up for them.

This is the situation in which our people are now fighting to build a new Korea. We should quickly unite the forces of the entire nation to smash the moves of the reactionaries including the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation, and build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

What, then, are the tasks facing the women of liberated Korea in the present internal and international situation?

First of all, the women should take an active part in nation-building.

In order to establish a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state, it is necessary to set up a people's government, completely liquidate the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and rapidly develop the economy and culture. Owing to the feudal and Japanese imperialist colonial rule, social progress was

long at a standstill in our country, the survivals of feudalism and capitalism are deep-rooted and everything is in ruin and disorder. In this situation, it is very difficult to creditably build a state but this task has to be accomplished without fail. In order to realize this responsible yet honourable task of nation-building successfully, those with money should contribute money, those with strength—strength, and those with knowledge—knowledge; and all people, young and old, men and women, should rise up as one. This is where the masses of women should play a telling role.

A very important task confronts the women in the building of a new Korea. It can be said that the women who account for half of our population play a role equitable to one wheel of a wagon in the work of nation-building. If the wagon is to run smoothly, its two wheels must rotate normally. Hence, if our nation-building is to meet with success, the women must play a big role side by side with the men.

If the women make an effort, they will be able to do everything and make an immense contribution to the work of nation-building. Our women will be as proficient as the men in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

Many of our women fought worthily for the country and the people. In the past quite a few Korean women were active in the anti-Japanese armed struggle and made an enormous contribution to the sacred cause of national liberation. The women revolutionaries, who either fought arms in hand against the enemy or engaged in underground mass work during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, are none other than the daughters of workers and peasants.

If all of our women turn out as one with the full realization that they also are workers building our new country, notable victories will be won in nation-building.

Active participation in nation-building is an important guarantee for attaining women's emancipation.

Bound through the centuries by feudal ethics, Korean women had to isolate themselves from social activities to remain cooped up in their homes; they lived a bitter life, held in contempt, and endured

every kind of humiliation. If our women are to extricate themselves from this old position and achieve social emancipation, they must join in the work of nation-building.

Some women hesitate to take part in nation-building at present, saying, "What good can we women do? If we women push ourselves forward, nothing will come of it." Moreover, some women sneer behind the backs of other women who are engaged in social work. This is not an attitude worthy of the women of liberated Korea. Unless they get rid of this wrongful attitude, they can never bring about their own social emancipation.

We are now fighting to build a new, democratic society. Our work of nation-building is at the same time an important revolutionary work to free the women from their double and treble fetters and social inequalities. Only by participating in the work of nation-building can they extricate themselves from their old positions.

Naturally, women participating actively in the work of nation-building under the present conditions will meet with many difficulties. They not only lack experience in social and political work but also shoulder heavy household loads. When, in the future, the country's situation improves, favourable conditions will be created for women to take up social work. But things are different at present. Nevertheless, they should not hesitate about participating in building the country because of hardships and obstacles. It is wrong to think that the great and extensive work of building a new country is going to be easy. We should face up to hardships and bottlenecks lying ahead of us in building the country and overcome them.

Our women should be fully aware of their responsible duties in building a new Korea and plunge into social and political work, making every effort to help build the nation.

The women should definitely raise the level of their ideological consciousness in order to work well in nation-building and achieve their social emancipation.

They will be unable to become true builders of a new Korea if they do not raise the level of their ideological consciousness. Those

who are not awakened politically and ideologically will be unable to display a high degree of enthusiasm in nation-building, and to really enjoy the freedoms and rights they are entitled to. In the past the Korean women were totally ignorant, so they acknowledged all forms of social and domestic maltreatment and contempt and regarded their wretched position as that of women of a colonial country as their lot. When they raise the level of their ideological consciousness and become politically and ideologically mature, they will not repeat their bitter, hard life of the past; they will be able to build a new, happy life.

If the women are to increase their level of ideological consciousness, they must learn to read and write and so do away with illiteracy. Literacy is essential for them to read newspapers and books and thus be informed of the situation and the country's demands; they must study widely to raise the level of their ideological consciousness. If they are illiterate, they cannot learn advanced revolutionary theories or acquire scientific knowledge. In order to build a prosperous country, they must also take an active part in the country's economic and cultural construction, and for this, they should know how to read and write. There is an old saying that knowledge is power. This is by no means accidental.

In the past the Korean women were prevented from studying, even though they wanted to, by very tight social and domestic restrictions. But now all women are provided with conditions for studying. Bearing in mind that as long as they are illiterate, they can neither raise their level of ideological consciousness nor contribute to the work of nation-building, the women must strive to learn how to read and write.

The women members of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army did not stop studying for a single moment even in conditions of continuous battle. Although they were dog-tired and were numb with cold in snowstorms, they studied by a campfire late into the night, and carried their books while on the march across steep mountains. They did this so that they could arm themselves firmly with advanced

ideas and revolutionary theory and fulfil their revolutionary duties with credit.

All our women must follow their example and make every effort to study persistently. They must rid themselves of their illiteracy as soon as possible and acquire advanced ideas and scientific knowledge in order to become fine workers for building a new country.

Besides learning, the women should wage a vigorous struggle against the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudal abuses in order to raise the level of their ideological consciousness.

Vestiges of Japanese imperialist and feudal ideas are still rooted deep in the minds of our women. Quite a few women think a life of idleness is good and hold labour in contempt, and envy the rich; they are reluctant to undertake social work and have no national pride; they judge people according to their family status; they invite sorceress to exorcise evil spirits and consult fortune-tellers. All this is a manifestation of the survivals of Japanese imperialist and feudal ideas. Unless they shake off the vestiges of Japanese imperialist ideas and old feudal practices, they can never become genuine democratic women of a new Korea.

All the women should come out as one in the struggle to root out the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudal abuses. We should wage an energetic campaign against the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudal practices among women, so that they will rid themselves of ignorance and become politically and ideologically awakened.

Today one of the important tasks facing the women is to widely promote the founding of a mass democratic organization of women.

If our women are to carry out their responsible duties well, they must have their own mass democratic organization. Only when they form a democratic organization and are united in it, will they be able to contribute to the building of a new country by united efforts and grow up into fine workers through democratic education and organizational training. However great their enthusiasm for nation-building is and no matter what bold efforts they make, the women

will not succeed in accomplishing their tasks for nation-building and their own social emancipation unless they are all united in one organization.

Therefore, a women's democratic organization should be set up as soon as possible to effect this unity. All the women officials should correctly understand the significance of setting up the women's democratic organization and lead the masses of women to accelerate this work. Thus, all the women will be firmly united in a single democratic organization in order to join the struggle to build a new, democratic Korea and achieve their social emancipation.

Such, in general, are the major tasks facing the women in the present internal and international situation. The women officials should clearly understand the women's immediate tasks and actively mobilize the broad masses of women to the struggle to realize them.

ON FORMING THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE

Concluding Speech Delivered at the Meeting of Active Democratic Youths

October 29, 1945

Comrades,

This meeting of active democratic youths is attended by Korea's most progressive youth. The course of action the youths should take and their immediate tasks in building a democratic, independent and sovereign state were discussed at it. This is of profound significance in developing our youth movement.

In the past the Japanese imperialists, who had occupied Korea, established a government-general and set up an enormous machinery of repression, such as the army, gendarmerie, police and prison. Thus, they suppressed our people cruelly and reduced Korea to a supplier of food and raw materials, to a military base for their invasion of the continent. They seized control of our key industries and plundered our wealth at their pleasure. Their plunder of the Korean people was an unheard-of thing in history. Not only that, they pursued a policy of colonial enslavement education in our country, and made a desperate attempt to deprive us even of our mother tongue and our names.

The Korean people, however, did not remain passive under the evil Japanese imperialists' colonial rule but waged a tireless struggle against it. The resourceful, valiant youths burning with a determination to liberate the country always stood at the head of the

Korean people's struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Korean youths were courageous in the nationwide struggles waged against the Japanese imperialists, such as the March First Movement, the June Tenth Independence Movement and the Kwangju Student Incident. Especially at the turn of the 1930s our true young communists took up arms and went off to fight the Japanese imperialists. During 15 long years of heroic struggle they defeated and wiped out Japanese imperialist aggressors and accomplished the historic cause of national liberation. Indeed, the Korean youths performed immortal exploits in the sacred struggle for national liberation.

Comrades,

The liberated Korean people are now confronted with the important task of building a new, democratic state. The struggle to carry out this task is going on under extremely complex and difficult circumstances.

Now that the army of the Soviet Union, a socialist state, has entered north Korea and the troops of the United States, an imperialist country, have landed in south Korea, totally different situations prevail in north and south Korea today, with the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line. Unlike in north Korea, where the reactionary forces are curbed by the patriotic, democratic forces, in south Korea the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation, backed by the US forces, are busily preparing their political foothold and are openly manoeuvring to check the struggle of the people for the creation of a new, democratic Korea. The situation in south Korea is a serious impediment to our nation-building endeavours.

We must fearlessly surmount all obstacles placed in the way of building our nation and set up a democratic, independent and sovereign state without fail. Of course, an international conference will be convened in the future to discuss the Korean question and other problems of post-war world peace. But, no matter what resolution this conference may take on the Korean question, it depends entirely on us, Korean people, whether we get the better of

the difficulties ahead of us and build a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state in our country. If our 30 million fellow countrymen are not united and, consequently, weakened, we cannot build a democratic, completely independent and sovereign state no matter what just decision the international conference may adopt. The masters of Korea are precisely the Korean people. And success in building a new, democratic Korea depends, in the final analysis, on the unity of our nation.

Therefore, we must achieve the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces. One pressing problem, in particular, is to closely unite all young people, who are energetic, brave and eager for the country's prosperity and development, under the banner of democracy.

In order to rally the vast masses of youth as one we must set up a democratic youth league. Its founding is not for satisfying the political lust of just a few, but for uniting all the youths of Korea to successfully build a democratic, independent and sovereign state which will provide our people with a happy life. In other words, the formation of the DYL is urgent for us to carry out the revolutionary task that faces us.

Our country still has many remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and also feudal forces in considerable measure. By feudal forces we have in mind not those who seek to preserve the old feudal ways in ethics, for example, how to treat elders and how to deal with the question of relations between sexes. We mean those forces that seek to maintain feudal relations of production. Since considerable remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and feudal forces still exist, we are faced with the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

When we speak of democracy, we imply the kind of democracy that suits our specific conditions. Ours is not the American-style "democracy," that is, bourgeois democracy, under which participation in government is restricted and controlled by capital, nor is it the Soviet-style. The one we advocate is people's democracy under which people from all walks of life can participate in government,

enjoy political freedom and exercise political rights, and which provides a happy life for our people.

When people's democracy has been realized and the tasks of the democratic revolution accomplished, the peasants will be freed once and for all from the feudal relations of exploitation and the workers granted various democratic rights, including an eight-hour workday. Then non-comprador capitalists will also be allowed freedom of business dealings.

If we are to put this kind of democracy into effect and successfully carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, we must make sure that all young patriots are rallied closely.

Our nation-building endeavours will never culminate in success through the efforts of communists alone. Only when we unite the broad masses of the people and wage an energetic organized struggle, can we defeat the reactionary elements and prevent the Japanese imperialists from returning to our country. Only then also will we be able to set up a genuine people's government and successfully forge ahead with the building of a new country.

Unless we form a mass organization embracing the broad sections of the youth, we will be unable to rally them closely under a single banner. The Young Communist League is, as its name indicates, a youth organization accessible only to young proletarians embracing communism. Consequently, many young people remain outside the YCL because of their social standing, although they love their country and cherish democracy. Not a few young people of worker and poor-peasant origin, eligible for membership, remain passive onlookers to its activities instead of joining the YCL. The prime reason for this is that in the past the Japanese imperialists conducted malicious propaganda against communism on a wide scale. Besides the YCL, there are now various youth organizations in our country, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Paegui Youth League, and other parties and groups are trying to win over young people to their side. If, under these circumstances, we fail to form a

single mass youth organization comprising different sections of young people, the vast masses of the youth, which is an important revolutionary force, cannot be united as one with the result that our youth movement may break up completely.

And the question of eliminating unemployment among the youths which you have raised can only be solved successfully when a mass youth organization is set up.

In order to put an end to unemployment among young men and women, we must quickly repair and operate the factories and mines wrecked by the Japanese imperialists, and also build a large number of new plants and enterprises. This requires lots of manpower, materials, funds and technology. We must make sure that all the patriotic people, the youth in particular, devote all their energy, technical skills and talents to the work of nation-building. This necessitates the formation of a mass organization capable of uniting our youth as one man.

In order to do away with unemployment among the youth the suggestion could be that the young people build and run the factories themselves. This involves funds. Nobody, however, would willingly give a loan to individual youths. Only when a mass youth organization, embracing all the young people, is formed on a sound basis, will the youths be able to obtain credit and factory sites.

There are some comrades at present who seem to harbour the thought that maybe the formation of the DYL would sway the youth organization to the Right. This is a mistaken view. Even if we create a mass youth organization and keep its doors open to admit broad sections of young people, we do not intend to take in pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. We must not only keep these fellows out of the youth organization but come out in no uncertain terms against them.

Some comrades are seeking to retain the YCL organization, fearing that when the DYL is formed, former YCL members might be rebuffed by other youths. Of course, a few unsound elements may creep into the ranks of the DYL and oppose former YCL members.

But the overwhelming majority of youths would support and follow those YCL members who are striving to build a new country. Since our democratic forces are powerful today, they are fully capable of frustrating the moves of impure elements even if they do plot evil-doings. So that the doors of the youth organization do not need to be closed.

It is said that some young people are now suggesting to form the DYL separately, leaving the YCL intact. But such a measure is unnecessary. At the present stage all youth organizations should contribute to the implementation of the tasks set by the democratic revolution. And why should we split up the ranks of the youth, keeping both the YCL and the DYL? This is senseless and quite harmful to the revolution. Only when we dissolve the YCL on our own initiative and found the DYL, can we steer the broad sections of youth undeviatingly along the path of democracy.

We have ample possibilities to form the DYL and unite the broad masses of the youths in it. Today our young people have the common obligation to carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Those youths who love the country and are anxious to build a new Korea, no matter what social quarters they come from, should dedicate all their strength and wisdom to the democratic revolution. In fact, not only the youths of worker and peasant origin but also those from other social strata now subscribe to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and are ready to take an active part in building a democratic Korea. This is an important condition making for the unification of our young people in a single youth organization. And we are now carrying on the youth movement under favourable circumstances.

We rallied the youth and other people from all walks of life even in those difficult days in the past when we waged the armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

I will tell you of an incident in the anti-Japanese armed struggle. At that time there was a unit in China called the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army. They hated the communists for no reason at

all and often brutally killed them. Nevertheless, we braved this danger and went to meet their commander with the aim of fighting the Japanese imperialists together. We explained to him that the Korean and Chinese peoples had the same aim in the struggle and persuaded him to join us in the struggle against the common enemy. Thus, we conducted the assault together on the Dongning county seat where large troops of Japanese imperialism were concentrated, and won the battle. In this battle we communists took on the most difficult and painful tasks and displayed valour and a self-sacrificing spirit. Our anti-Japanese guerrillas showed a noble spirit in rescuing AJNSA soldiers from danger. In this battle we not only delivered the enemy a telling blow, but also exerted a good influence on the ideologically weak AJNSA men and raised their morale considerably. After the battle they fought well alongside us against the Japanese imperialists. Later many of the AJNSA soldiers became communists under the influence of the noble traits of our communists.

Like this, even under such tough conditions we won over the AJNSA soldiers through joint action with them. So, under the favourable conditions in which we are conducting a legal struggle today, there is no justification for failing to win over various sections of the youth. If you go among the masses of youth and work energetically, you will be able to unite all the patriotic youth closely.

The young enthusiasts, who are progressive fighters, must take the lead in the youth movement and try to win over the broad masses of the youths, and unite all young men and women inclined towards the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state. All patriotic youth should be enrolled in the DYL organizations, irrespective of religion or property status. Since workers and peasants make up the overwhelming majority in our class composition and form the major force of the revolution, primary importance should be attached to winning over young workers and peasants.

The formation of the DYL requires adequate preparation, however.

In this connection we should pay attention to the fact that some

people, not quite aware of the line pursued in forming the DYL, may be reluctant to having the YCL reorganized into the DYL. The lack of a correct understanding of the present situation in our country and of our revolution's requirements may lead one to remain within the narrow limits of the YCL and oppose its reorganization into the DYL. Such a narrow-minded view should be discarded. You should strive to carry the line of forming the DYL through to the end.

The active democratic youths should explain the necessity of dissolving the YCL at present to the broad sections of young people, so that they will take an active part in forming the DYL, fully convinced of the correctness of this line. At the same time, each province should call a meeting of young enthusiasts at the earliest possible date to set up a DYL organization. After such groundwork, we should soon have the DYL organized and the youths closely united behind this league.

I am convinced that you will make every effort to set up the DYL, a mass youth organization, in line with the aim of this meeting.

ON FOUNDING A UNIVERSITY

Talk with Educational Workers

November 3, 1945

In the past the Japanese imperialists intensified colonial exploitation and plunder in Korea, and trampled upon every political right and freedom of our people. They blocked the way of the Korean people to learning. They not only forced colonial enslavement education on them but tried to plunge them into ignorance.

Due to their wicked colonial policy of enslavement education, our country possesses very few schools at the present time. Take Pyongyang for example. It is a big city with a population of four hundred thousand, but it has only several secondary and specialized schools. This fact suffices to show the seriousness of the consequences of the Japanese imperialists' colonial enslavement policy.

Now that liberation has been won, we must eliminate all the vestiges of the colonial enslavement education system imposed by Japanese imperialism and develop educational work on a democratic basis.

Large numbers of our own cadres are needed to build a new Korea. They are essential for building the nation and developing the national economy and culture. At present we are very short of cadres. Their training is one of the most urgent problems posed by the conditions prevailing in our liberated country.

We must train the cadres needed for the building of a new country

with all possible speed. To this end, we must build numerous primary and secondary schools and, at the same time, set up institutions of higher learning. However, the present situation in our country does not permit our setting up many colleges and universities immediately. To begin with, we have to build a university.

A university is badly needed under the present conditions. It will make it possible to simultaneously train cadres who will work in all fields of political, economic and cultural life. Being the first, it will serve as the foundation for building many colleges in the future in quick succession. It will be our main cadre-training centre and serve as the parent body for building future colleges.

The founding of the university will involve many difficult problems. At present we have neither educational cadres nor experience in directing institutions of higher learning; we also lack the material and technical basis for founding them. This being the case, it is by no means easy to set up a university which is quite different from a college. However, we must cope with all these difficulties and found the university without fail.

If we are to have the university and run it, we must, first of all, tackle the problem of teachers. Primarily, we must convene all the scholars in north Korea and, if their number proves insufficient, invite progressive scholars from Seoul. This will enable us to have enough teachers to staff the university. The problem of funds for building the university may arise, but if we bring the patriotic zeal and creative initiative of the masses into full play, who are taking part in the building of a new country, this will be solved.

The sons and daughters of working people must be enrolled in the university, those who were denied the opportunity of learning in the past under the vicious colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Before liberation the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people could not go to school, no matter how eager they were to study, because they had no money. Now that the country has been liberated, they are keen to study to their heart's content. These sons and daughters longing to acquire an education should be allowed

to enter the university, and thus make good their dreams.

The university should train them to be competent cadres faithfully serving the country and the people. For this purpose, it should provide them with an education in keeping with our actual conditions and impart plenty of practical knowledge that can be applied in building a new Korea.

In this way we must see to it that the university becomes a genuine people's university educating the sons and daughters of working people and training cadres to serve the working people.

From now on we must make adequate preparations to found the university.

I am going to take this opportunity to emphasize a few more problems relating to education.

Schoolchildren and students should receive a good education.

The most important aspect of their education is erasing the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism from their minds. Owing to its protracted colonial rule and colonial enslavement education, our children and youths have many survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas. If these old ideas implanted by Japanese imperialism are not erased from the minds of the children and youths, it will be impossible to bring them up to be competent persons. We should set to work with great energy to root out these ideological remnants among the pupils and students and instil democratic ideas in them.

Another important aspect of the education of the schoolchildren and students is to imbue them with a higher degree of national pride and self-respect.

With the object of turning Koreans into their colonial slaves, the Japanese imperialists once distorted and trampled underfoot our age-old history and brilliant national culture and even tried to deprive them of their language, spoken and written, and their names, prattling on that "Japan and Korea are one" and "Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent." Consequently, many of our children and youths had no national pride and self-respect.

Schoolchildren and students should be well versed in our spoken and written language, history, geography and culture. Only then will they be able to love their country and nation with a high degree of national pride and dignity and make selfless endeavours to build a new Korea.

Large numbers of qualified teachers should be trained to educate the schoolchildren and students. We should take steps to train new teachers. Since many secondary schools are to be built in the future, colleges must be erected to train teachers to staff them.

In parallel with training new teachers, we must educate the existing ones in democratic ideas. Training courses must be opened to re-educate teachers.

With a view to doing away with the survivals of Japanese imperialist colonial enslavement education and giving schoolchildren and students a good education, we should compile new textbooks. For the present, translated textbooks of mathematics, natural sciences and the like may be used, but the textbooks of mother tongue, history and geography and the like must be written anew.

As part of the development of educational work, we should introduce a compulsory educational system in the future. Thus, all children and youths should attend school and be brought up to be the nation's dependable pillars.

While giving a good education to the schoolchildren and students, we must pay serious attention to adult education.

At present the overwhelming majority of our population are illiterate. If we are to build a new, prosperous country, we must do away with illiteracy entirely. We should set up numerous schools for adults and enable all the working people to learn how to read and write.

Now that liberation has been won, there is plenty to do in the sphere of education. We should make every effort to forge ahead with educational work.

TALK WITH PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

November 5, 1945

I think you experienced great difficulties before in conducting the anti-Japanese movement for the country's liberation at home and abroad.

In the past 36 years the Korean people were subjected to every manner of humiliation and contempt, and suffered from poverty and hunger under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Having been deprived of their country, many compatriots left their beloved native parts for alien lands to seek a livelihood.

However, the Korean people did not lose their national spirit; they rose resolutely against Japanese imperialism. For long years Korean revolutionaries and patriots carried out various ways of struggling, including armed struggle and underground activities for their country's liberation and independence. They endured trying ordeals and shed a great deal of blood in these battles. Our people, who fought a protracted gory battle against Japanese imperialism, have at last accomplished the historic cause of liberating the homeland.

Now that their country is liberated, our compatriots who were scattered in foreign lands, are returning to their homeland. In days long past, they had crossed the Amnok and Tuman rivers and the Korea Strait, shedding tears of blood, overcome with the sorrow of a ruined nation. But today, they are recrossing them with tears of emotion, overwhelmed with the joy of liberation. Those fighters who

went abroad, with the lofty aim of winning the independence of Korea and carried on the struggle there, keeping their national principle, are also coming home one after another, filled with enthusiasm for nation-building. Our land is now overflowing with the ecstasy of liberated people and their ardour for creating a new life.

At present our people are faced with the weighty task of building a democratic, independent and sovereign state. In order to accomplish this important task of nation-building we still have to conduct a hard struggle. Building a new country is by no means plain sailing; it is a rugged path requiring arduous, complex struggle. However, we must keep to this road, come what may, and carry out the task of nation-building with flying colours, braving all hazards and difficulties.

To build a new, democratic Korea we must make a clean sweep of the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The pro-Japanese elements, who betrayed the country and nation in the past as minions of Japanese imperialism, are now going to great lengths to recover their old position. They are trying in every way to hinder the building of a new Korea and doing their utmost to turn our country once again into a colony of imperialism.

In this situation, as long as the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism are left as they are, nation-building cannot succeed nor can a new, democratic Korea be built. All the people must pool their efforts and eliminate the pro-Japanese elements to the very last one, and push ahead with the construction of a new Korea.

What is most important in building a new country is that we have the right attitude towards nation-building. We must be adamant in our determination to build the country entirely by our own efforts. Only when we take such a stand, can we achieve the complete independence of the country and successfully build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state for our people to enjoy a free and happy life.

In order to bring about its full independence, prosperity and progress, a nation must be resolved to do everything by itself, believing in its own strength. If we did not believe in our own

strength and depended on others, we could not carry out the great task of nation-building properly. History knows no instance of a people having achieved genuine national independence and prosperity through relying on others.

Dependence on foreign forces is the road to national ruin. We must not follow the path of dependence on foreign forces that was taken by the corrupt and incompetent feudal rulers in the past. Our people must build a new country entirely by their own efforts. This should be the unshakable faith of our people who have now embarked on nation-building.

At present, some people want to try building an independent state in Korea by relying on other countries. Some pin their hopes on the US armed forces that landed in south Korea. This is the height of folly.

From the very start, America, as an imperialist state, has historically infringed upon the sovereignty of other countries. There are countries in the world subordinated to it, but there is no country that has attained independence with its help.

The US troops that landed in south Korea have opened the road of regeneration for the pro-Japanese and traitors to the nation, while hindering the patriotic advance of the south Korean people. As a result, these pro-Japanese elements and national traitors, the enemies of our people, are swaggering about in south Korea today.

From every point of view—the history of America and the deeds of American troops stationed in south Korea—we must have no illusions about America. Its history is replete with aggression and plunder. Today the US troops that landed in south Korea are gradually revealing themselves to be an aggressive army by nature. If we harboured any illusions about America and tried to build a new country with its assistance, we could not build an independent and sovereign state but would be reduced again to the status of a homeless race as in the past.

We must categorically reject the mistaken idea of trying to build the country by relying on other countries; we must always work hard

to build a new Korea by our own efforts.

The Korean people are fully capable of building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state on their own. They are an ingenious and valorous people with a long history of five thousand years, a people with a firm patriotic spirit who passionately fight for their country and nation. To avoid a repetition of the colonial slavery of the past, they have now risen. Their enthusiasm for nation-building is great, indeed. Moreover, our country has abundant natural resources. Its mineral resources are unlimited, and its hydroelectric and marine resources are also rich. If we bring the inexhaustible might of all the people into full play and exploit and utilize the country's abundant resources rationally, nothing is impossible for us; we will for certain be able to build a new country, wealthy, mighty and civilized.

To build a democratic, independent and sovereign state through their own efforts means that our people must all unite closely under the banner of democracy. Only when all the people who love their country and are concerned about the future of the nation unite in a body and join in the nation-building, can the construction of a new Korea be facilitated.

Therefore, all those who wish to see a new, democratic Korea must unite. Not only the workers and peasants but also all other patriotic, democratic forces of different sections, including non-comprador capitalists, should unite solidly and pool their efforts in the building of a new country.

The present-day reality that calls for promoting nation-building through the firm unity of the whole nation requires that those who participated in the struggle against Japanese imperialism in the past be the first to unite. All people who took part in the anti-Japanese struggle in the past, no matter whether they were engaged in the communist or nationalist movement, whether they fought at home or abroad, must pool their efforts and take part in nation-building. Only by doing this, can the unity of the patriotic, democratic forces be strengthened and the cause of building a new country be successful.

Some nationalists, however, slander the communists and are against cooperating with them. This is a wrong attitude that emanates from the lack of a correct understanding of the communists. Even in the darkest period of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the true communists of Korea upheld their will to free the country with fortitude and fought a prolonged, gory fight invariably to the end for the freedom and liberation of the people. The communists are true patriots who ardently love their country and people.

We must not be bamboozled by the machinations of reactionaries who bar the way to building a new country. In a bid to attain their own foul political ambitions, the enemies of the people, slinging mud at the communists, are now dabbling in all sorts of conspiracies to disunite our democratic forces. We must smash their manoeuvres to atoms and achieve the unity of all patriotic forces as soon as possible.

There is no reason why communists and nationalists cannot unite in the effort for nation-building. In the past, the communists and nationalists jointly conducted the anti-Japanese struggle to liberate the homeland. For the sake of the freedom, happiness and prosperity of our nation, all must unite closely and build a new, democratic Korea through concerted effort. Unity alone is the patriotic road to take for the country and the people; it is the true road to nation-building, the road to guaranteeing a new, democratic Korea. If nationalists are really concerned about the fate of the country and the people, they should join with the communists and work together with them.

We sincerely respect the patriotic nationalists who want to make a positive contribution to nation-building and hope that they will play a great part in the building of a new Korea. You must have a correct idea of the communists and work hard to see that all nationalists will try to build a new country in cooperation with us communists.

I hope that you will take an active part in the worthy undertaking of nation-building, an undertaking aimed at building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

LET US SURMOUNT THE DIFFICULTIES STANDING IN THE WAY OF NATION-BUILDING

**Speech Delivered before the Workers
of the Pyongyang Railway Factory**

November 10, 1945

Dear railway workers,

Fascist Germany and militarist Japan, those heinous enemies of mankind, were defeated and the Second World War ended in victory for the freedom-loving, peace-loving democratic forces. As a result, a large number of small and weak nations and exploited peoples the world over were liberated from the imperialist yoke and embarked upon the creation of a new life.

Our people won freedom after smashing the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and are advancing energetically along the road of democracy.

In the past the Japanese imperialists not only deprived the Korean people of all their political rights but tried desperately to stamp out everything Korean. In particular, with a view to meeting the manpower and material needs of the criminal war of aggression they had started, the odious Japanese imperialists drafted large numbers of young and middle-aged people of Korea for military or labour service and plundered our natural resources, and in the end, even robbed us of our brass tableware.

Under Japanese imperialist colonial rule our people led a miserable life in hunger and poverty, and were subjected to all sorts

of national insult and ill-treatment. They harshly exploited and oppressed the railway workers, too, and forced them to live like slaves.

The Korean people, despite their ruthless suppression, waged a fierce struggle for long years to liberate the country and achieve national independence. The true Korean communists and other patriots took up arms and engaged in a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle, thus accomplishing the historic cause of national liberation.

Today, with the advent of liberation our workers and people have regained their usurped country and become its masters. All the industrial and transport facilities, including factories, mines and railways, which the Japanese imperialists had used to plunder Korea of its resources and squeeze its workers mercilessly, are now in the possession of the people, and we are in a position to build a new, democratic Korea in this land. However, we should not expect all questions to be solved easily, simply because our country has been liberated. Many difficulties confront our people who have embarked upon the building of a new Korea.

Our country is liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, but it has been split into the north and the south, with the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line. The situation in the country is very complicated. The reactionaries are viciously attempting to prevent the building of a new country by taking advantage of the complex situation today.

In south Korea, the pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and other reactionaries are plotting to obstruct the democratic progress of the country in every way under the aegis of the American troops. They go to the lengths of slipping subversive elements and saboteurs into north Korea to impede the struggle of our people who have risen up to build a new Korea. This inevitably places a big obstacle in the way of our nation-building.

Our economic situation today is likewise very difficult. Our national economy is very backward owing to the predatory colonial policy that was pursued for such a long period by the Japanese

imperialists; moreover, even the few factories, mines and railways that existed are really negligible because they were all wrecked when the Japanese were defeated.

Our people are now very badly off. We lack everything, including food. We must begin to build everything from scratch. All we have are empty warehouses and account books. We have to build a new country on the ruins, with only these warehouses and account books at hand.

Whether we overcome the present difficulties or not is a matter of importance affecting the future of our country. If we do not get the better of them, we may encounter even greater difficulties in the future and not succeed in building a new, prosperous democratic Korea.

However, having failed to get the better of the present food shortage, you are making a clamour. Some people even go so far as to ask us for rice. How would we have any rice now after we had to fight the Japanese imperialist aggressors on Mt. Paektu for such a long time to win back our usurped country? The railway factory workers are not the only ones suffering from the food shortage today; the workers of other factories and the peasants are also suffering. It is shameful and a serious matter, indeed, that you workers, who must take the lead in nation-building, should not succeed in surmounting the food shortage and are clamouring so loudly. Stirring up trouble will not bring you rice; we can get rice only when all of us work hard in close unity.

Our present difficulties can never be eliminated by the efforts of a few people. Some railway workers are now saying that the management bureau director should be dismissed because he does not give them food and wages on time. But you need to consider this matter more deeply. True, a resolute stand must be taken against the practice of being indifferent to the workers' life and working in a bureaucratic manner. However, since the country's food problem and economic situation are so difficult, the dismissal of some official will not solve the matter. You have to have a correct understanding of the

specific conditions of the country, which was liberated not long ago, and, therefore, behave fittingly. Instead of making a clamour just because there are difficulties in building a new Korea, we should join our efforts to courageously overcome the difficulties that lie ahead.

In the past we revolutionaries fought the Japanese imperialists for as long as fifteen years and won out even in indescribably arduous conditions. We armed ourselves with weapons snatched from the enemy and solved everything for ourselves, thus valiantly getting the better of the difficulties facing us. The anti-Japanese guerrillas sometimes went hungry for days on end, crossing steep mountains and sleeping under the open sky, exposed to the wind. Nevertheless, they did not succumb to the difficulties, but fought to the end under the banner of the anti-Japanese struggle. Whenever adverse circumstances arose, they volunteered to take the bull by the horns and carried out their revolutionary assignments with credit in the face of all hardships. When they fell in the fight against the enemy in the steep mountains of an alien land, they shouted at the top of their lungs, “Long live the independence of Korea!” and “Long live the Korean revolution!” and laid down their youth and lives without hesitation in the sacred cause of freedom and liberation for the country and the people. Even though they were guerrillas fighting against the Japanese, how could they not know that it would be much better to live comfortably in a warm house with their parents, wives and children? But they devoted their all to the struggle solely to defeat predatory Japanese imperialism and to win back their robbed country.

We should follow this example of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Let us all get the better of the difficulties and rise to build a new, democratic Korea.

The working class is the most progressive and revolutionary class. It was none other than the working class who, in the past, fought bravely against Japanese imperialism to the end. Our workers who have now become the masters of the country ought to make every effort, at the head of the masses, to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Comrades,

In order to build a new Korea, we have to rehabilitate and develop the economy by restoring the devastated industries as fast as possible. For this, we must first restore the railways, the arteries of the country, and return transport onto a normal footing.

Unless the railways are operated normally, the people's living standards cannot be improved, nor can the national economy be developed, nor a new, democratic Korea be built successfully. Only when the railways are operated normally can people travel as they wish, and materials be transported promptly to places needing them to lay the economic foundation for building an independent and sovereign state. Therefore, the obligations of the railway workers in the building of a new Korea are very important.

Today the workers and technicians on the railways are confronted with the important task of restoring the damaged railways quickly and normalizing the disordered train services.

When they were defeated, the Japanese imperialists damaged our railway facilities and drove off many locomotives, passenger cars and goods wagons in their flight. As a consequence, the train services are not functioning properly now, so loads of materials have piled up at stations and are being spoilt. This places a great impediment before nation-building and the task of improving the people's standard of living. We must right this abnormal situation at the earliest date.

In order to run the railways properly, the damaged locomotives, passenger cars and goods wagons must be repaired and the railway lines, bridges and tunnels restored rapidly. Needless to say this is difficult to do because there are not enough railway technicians and skilled workers. However, if the workers and technicians put their heads together, they can easily cope. They should stint no effort in making the train services run normally.

In particular, the workers and technicians of the railway factory must try to build up the factory themselves. All the technicians and workers, who had worked in this factory previously but are now employed elsewhere, must be made to return.

Today all the materials and equipment in the railway factory are owned by the people; you are the masters of the factory; its workers and technicians must work energetically to restore and repair as many passenger and goods wagons as possible, manage the factory skilfully by taking good care of the equipment, economizing on materials and raising their technical skills.

In the future we must normalize the rail transport and, on this basis, develop rail transport further. The narrow gauge should be replaced by the standard gauge and then, the railways can be switched over to electric traction. The officials and workers on the railways should keep such prospects in view in their work.

In order to restore the damaged railways rapidly and develop rail transport, the railway officials and workers must discard the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism and foster a spirit of working selflessly for nation-building.

At present they retain many ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism. I am told that some workers in this factory try to do only the easy jobs, instead of thinking how to undertake difficult jobs for the building of a new country. This is also a manifestation of the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideology. If all workers thought like this, who would run the factories and the railways and who would be responsible for the future of our liberated homeland?

Today our workers, as genuine masters of the country, work not for the Japanese imperialists and capitalists but for their own well-being and the well-being of all other people, and for the building of a new, prosperous Korea. Therefore, they must try to work more and regard it as a great honour to do harder jobs than others do.

Railway officials must get rid of all forms of bureaucracy, and see to it that the workers are fully aware of being masters of the railways and do away completely with the servile spirit of working any old way as in the days under Japanese imperialist rule. All the officials and workers in this field should campaign resolutely against the erroneous attitude of neglecting state property, idling about and managing rail transport in a slipshod manner, as well as against the

habit of remaining indifferent to nation-building. Thus, everyone should try to restore and readjust the railway facilities as soon as possible, manage the railways efficiently, and energetically participate in nation-building with an ardent patriotic spirit.

Strict discipline should be enforced on the railways to achieve smooth-running rail transport. Strict discipline and order on the railways are essential to avoid railway accidents and ensure the smooth flow of transport. All railway employees should set up a strict discipline and system of work, obey the orders and instructions of superiors, and consciously abide by the set discipline.

At the same time, you must be on the alert against any acts of reactionaries to impede nation-building. At present reactionaries are lurking within our ranks, spreading false rumours and plotting to destroy our factories and railways. All railway officials and workers should keep a sharp lookout for their insidious moves and expose and shatter their subversive activities and sabotage in good time, thus securely defending the railways and their factories and protecting the gains attained in the building of a new country.

Our workers must steadily raise their political-theoretical, technological and cultural levels in order to play the vanguard role in nation-building. The situation today is different from that of pre-liberation days when the workers lived in ignorance outside the realm of politics. If you know nothing and have a low intellectual level, you can neither have foresight, nor analyze or assess any questions properly, nor do much towards nation-building. You should study and study in order to arm yourselves with progressive ideas and raise your politico-theoretical, technological and cultural levels.

I firmly believe that you will make every effort, as befitting the new Korea's working class, to restore the railways, the arteries of the country, as soon as you can by overcoming all difficulties, and will ensure the smooth work of rail transport.

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENUINE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

**Speech Delivered at the Second Enlarged Executive Committee
Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

November 15, 1945

Comrades,

In order to achieve the complete independence and sovereignty of the country and carry out the Korean revolution effectively, it is essential to solve the question of power. People's committees are now functioning in different areas, but a central organ of power has not as yet been organized. People from all walks of life who love their country and nation earnestly hope for the early establishment of a central government and the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state. We should take active measures to set up a central government by properly organizing the broad masses who are so enthusiastic about nation-building.

However, we must not thoughtlessly organize any type of government, just for the reason that we have to solve the question of power quickly. Finding a correct solution to the question of power is a sacred duty for us communists.

The kind of power there should be in our country, freed from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, is a very important matter that has a bearing on the destiny of the country and the people. If an anti-popular power is set up in Korea, as the pro-Japanese and traitors to

the nation claim, we will be unable to bring prosperity to the country and the people and, moreover, our country will be reduced again to a colony of imperialism.

All the Korean people, who have set out to build a new country after liberation, call for the establishment of a genuine people's power capable of achieving the country's prosperity and progress and ensuring them a happy life. This is a legitimate demand posed by the Korean people, who for long years were deprived of their country and were cruelly oppressed and exploited by the Japanese imperialist aggressors. We have to set up a democratic government in accordance with the will of all the people and thoroughly prepare for it.

Nevertheless, some people, ignoring the desire of the masses, try to establish an anti-popular government.

Certain people are saying that the "People's Republic," rigged up by a few individuals in Seoul, should be recognized. We can never recognize such a "government." We oppose the "People's Republic" because it cannot be a political power that would fight for the interests of the Korean people.

The "People's Republic" is composed of those elements who cannot count on the support of our people. It comprises Syngman Rhee, an anti-communist and a pro-American, and pro-Japanese elements and national traitors as well as sham revolutionaries-factionalists, but excludes the real patriots—steadfast communists. It is self-evident that a "government" of this type cannot be a political power championing the interests of the masses. In short, the "People's Republic" cannot be considered otherwise than an anti-popular, bourgeois regime for exclusive privileged classes.

How can we communists support this "government"? We cannot regard the "People's Republic" as a political power of our people and are not obliged to do so. Advocating support for the "People's Republic" is, after all, a Right capitulationist stand intended to relinquish the Party's leadership over political power, the basic weapon of the revolution, and to hand political power over to the reactionaries; besides, it is an anti-popular act of obstructing the

establishment of a genuine people's government.

We must not be taken in by imperialists' tricks in setting up a government. They are now seeking to establish a reactionary government in our country and make our people colonial slaves once again, by making use of their lackeys. Under these conditions, if we approve of an anti-communist, anti-popular government, this would amount to going against the national wishes of the Korean people and aiding the imperialist policy of colonial enslavement.

In establishing a government we must categorically reject anti-popular Rightist tendencies and sharpen vigilance against the intrigues of the imperialists and their stooges.

Along with this, we must combat the assertion of the "Left" opportunists. They argue that a proletarian dictatorship should be set up in our country and the socialist revolution carried out at once. This is an ultra-Leftist move taking no account of the objective requirements of social development in our country and the preparedness of the masses; it is an extremely dangerous move, divorcing the masses from our Party and wrecking national unity.

The Communist Party must totally repudiate erroneous Rightist and "Leftist" views and approaches manifested in the question of establishing a government and strive to find a correct solution to the question of power in accordance with its political line. Our Party has already set forth a policy of establishing a democratic people's republic suited to our concrete realities and the demands of the masses of the people. We should exert all efforts to set up the democratic people's republic, a genuine people's power.

The government of the democratic people's republic should consist of representatives of the Communist Party and all other progressive and patriotic political parties and representatives of people of all walks of life, except pro-Japanese elements and national traitors. This government should include competent persons who can work earnestly for the country and the people, faithfully defend the interests of the people and who enjoy the confidence of the masses. A government of this type alone can serve as a powerful revolutionary

weapon for building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state, and become a patriotic and people-oriented government that struggles for the interests of the broad masses of the people.

We should begin by uniting the masses in establishing the democratic people's republic. The same with all other matters, the setting up of a people's government in particular cannot be successful without winning over the masses. The "People's Republic" at present advanced by certain people was trumped up by a handful of people overnight without any mass foundation. This "regime" is to be manufactured without so much as forming a national united front properly and laying a mass foundation. How can it be a government of our people?

After winning over the broad masses of the people, we should, under our Party's guidance, hold a conference of a national united front comprising democratic political parties and workers', peasants', youth, women's and other mass organizations and discuss the question of organizing a central organ of power. Thus, ours should be a government firmly based on a national united front, a representative of all democratic political parties and social organizations. Only a government set up on the basis of a national united front, representing all sections of the patriotic democratic forces, can enjoy the absolute approval and acceptance of all the Korean people and international support, and correctly discharge its historic mission. If a government is set up with no mass foundation, it is like a house built on sand and cannot have the backing of the masses of the people.

Our Party's policy, therefore, is to form a solid democratic national united front before setting up a government and to build a mass foundation for people's power.

We must first concentrate on winning over the masses.

The whole Party should be activated for a vigorous campaign to rally the broad masses of the people and strive to win over every single person who wants to help in nation-building. In this way, even conscientious non-comprador capitalists, not to mention the workers, peasants and intellectuals, should be united firmly in a national united

front. Only when we form a strong democratic national united front and definitely win over the broad masses, can we smash all reactionary manoeuvres, establish a genuine government of the Korean people and successfully build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. We should form a national united front mainly with patriotic and democratic organizations fighting for the interests of the country and the people. Our united front can be joined only by the most revolutionary party that truly represents the national interests of the Korean people and by those national and democratic political parties and social organizations that are totally opposed to imperialism and the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, and are ready to take an active part in implementing the tasks of the democratic revolution for national liberation.

We can form a democratic national united front with political parties like the Democratic Party. True, the friendly parties show a certain amount of vacillation in the revolutionary movement, and sometimes voice objections. But we must work with these parties on the principle of criticizing and uniting for a united front.

We must form various mass organizations as early as possible that include people of all strata in order to win over the people at large and have a solid democratic national united front.

At present there are various mass organizations in different localities, but none of them have a central leadership as yet. While strengthening the trade unions at factories and enterprises, we should inaugurate a central leadership for them at the earliest possible date. And a central peasant organization with a unified system should also quickly be formed as well as a unified organization for women.

In particular, we must actively promote the work of reorganizing the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League, a broader-based youth organization.

Reorganizing the YCL into the DYL is a highly important measure to bring young people closer together in general and to develop the youth movement further. Under the present complex political situation in our country, if the YCL, a limited youth

organization, is left intact, the youth movement cannot go beyond narrow bounds and, further, the Korean youth movement could possibly be disrupted. If the youth movement is guided through the YCL, the working youth may be divided into various groups. Therefore, we must set up a democratic youth organization to rally the broad sections of the young people.

Almost all the Korean youth are the sons and daughters of working people, including the workers and peasants, and they suffered harsh exploitation and oppression, having no freedoms or rights under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Therefore, all young men and women, with the exception of a handful of reactionaries, can be affiliated with the unified democratic youth organization and mobilized for the democratic revolution and nation-building.

While forming mass organizations, Party guidance over them should be intensified. In particular, close attention should be paid to guiding the women's organizations. Our Party should give proper leadership to these organizations so that for the present they would attach importance to such matters as encouraging women to overcome illiteracy, throw off feudal customs, improve their living and take an active part in nation-building, and that they would strive to get results in all these measures. Women should be made aware and tempered in this way.

By forming mass organizations and increasing our guidance over them, we should unite the workers, peasants, youth and students, women and all other sections of the broad masses closely around our Party and so lay a solid foundation for a national united front.

The formation of a powerful democratic national united front calls for enhancing the role of the Communist Party.

While maintaining its independent character in the united front, the Communist Party should play the leading role and assure definite guidance of the mass organizations. To this end, Party organizations should be consolidated and the strength of the Party constantly enhanced.

At the same time, all Party members should be encouraged to acquire a correct understanding of our Party's united front policy and

actively lead the masses of all segments. First of all, we must see to it that they, clearly aware of our Party's policy towards friendly parties, work well with them.

The formation of a national united front in our country today is a pressing task, the fulfilment of which brooks no delay. We should give great impetus to the struggle to form a solid democratic national united front as soon as possible. We will thus firmly unite the broad patriotic, democratic forces and then, set up the democratic people's republic, a genuine people's power, so eagerly awaited by our people.

In order to be successful in setting up a unified democratic government, we should first step up preparations in north Korea, where favourable conditions have been created for the building of a new country. We have to form a democratic national united front that will embrace the broad patriotic, democratic forces of different sections in north Korea and, on this basis, form a provisional central organ of power which will represent the interests of the people. This provisional government should definitively win over the vast masses to the revolution and lay a secure groundwork for establishing a unified central government. It should put into effect a series of people-oriented and democratic policies to this end—the correct solution of the land problem, rehabilitation and development of industries, stabilization and improvement of the people's standard of living, establishment of social order and introduction of a democratic electoral system.

We organized people's committees in different localities in preparation for the setting up of a provisional central organ of power in north Korea and, at the same time, have taken concrete steps to organize administrative bureaus. These bureaus should direct the respective economic spheres, effect inter-provincial relations in north Korea and bring order into the confused state of affairs.

We will have to strengthen the local people's organs of power and administrative bureaus and, on this basis, organize a provisional central organ of power in north Korea like a provisional people's committee of north Korea and lay a solid foundation for the establishment of a unified central government.

Lastly, allow me to make a few brief remarks on the land problem raised at today's meeting.

The solution of the land problem is a primary task arising in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. A correct solution of this matter is indispensable for abolishing the feudal relations of production that fetter our social development, for freeing the peasant masses from age-old backwardness and poverty, and for building a new, democratic Korea. Our Party, therefore, should put special emphasis on the solving of the land problem.

In the future we will confiscate the land of the landlords and distribute it among the farmhands and poor peasants. As regards the land shared out among the peasants, the right to only cultivation should be granted, but not the right to sell. This alone will prevent the revival of the exploitation system in the countryside and realize the centuries-old desire of our peasants to become the masters of the land.

If the land problem is to be solved correctly, the peasants must be well prepared politically. We should awaken them by campaigning to introduce the 3:7 tenancy system in the rural areas, so that they themselves would make insistent demands for land. Our Party should intensify its information work through its organ and its members to ensure that the peasants take an active part in the struggle for the acquisition of land.

We should enrol many farmhands and poor peasants in the Party, who have been tested and steeled in the struggle to solve the land problem, and should expand and strengthen the peasants' organizations.

Comrades,

Our Party bears the heavy responsibility for leading the Korean revolution, and the destinies of the country and the people hinge on its activity. The key to success in the immense task of nation-building facing us at present, too, is how our Party fights. Bearing the Party's historic task deeply in mind, we have to wage an energetic struggle to surmount all difficulties and obstacles lying in the way of nation-building, and strive to accomplish our honourable revolutionary tasks in building a new country.

ON ESTABLISHING THE PYONGYANG INSTITUTE

**Talk with the Officials of the Pyongyang Institute and
Local Party Organizations While Designating
the Site for the Pyongyang Institute**

November 17, 1945

In former days when the Korean people's country was usurped by the Japanese imperialists because they had no powerful national army of their own, they were subjected to colonial oppression and cruel exploitation. A glimpse at the houses here in Jiul-ri is a clear enough indication of the cruel humiliation the Koreans suffered under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese discriminated against the Koreans at every step, even in dining rooms and lodgings, and exploited Korean youth like beasts of burden. A person without a homeland is always destined to lead such a miserable life. There is a saying that stateless people are more miserable than a dog in a house of mourning. That is quite true. Under the Japanese imperialist rule, our people were forced to live with pent-up grievances. You can find traces of the sorrowful, piteous life the Koreans had led under the tyranny of Japanese imperialism not only in Jiul-ri but everywhere else in our country. Why, then, shouldn't we be full of hate for the Japanese?

Our people can never allow such humiliating slavery to be imposed upon them ever again. We must not fail to build an independent and sovereign democratic state by our own efforts and

found our powerful regular national army.

But before anything else we need plenty of cadres to build a new, democratic Korea and found our national army, a modern regular army. Our primary revolutionary task is to train cadres quickly who will shoulder the responsibility of the new Korea. So we must set up an institute which will graduate large numbers of military and political cadres who will constitute the backbone of the modern regular armed forces.

It is advisable to choose a site in Jiul-ri for the institute. There are factory buildings there formerly run by the Japanese imperialists. This place is suitable for training, as it faces the lower reaches of the Taedong River. Moreover, nearby orchards, if tended with care, can supply apples for the students. It has many other good points, besides.

It is of great importance to equip the institute in an exemplary manner and run it well, because it will be the first military and political academy in our liberated homeland. In the future we will set up many schools and cadre-training institutions for various spheres. But only when we have built this first military and political academy into a model and manage it well, will educational workers throughout the country come here to learn, and acquire good experience of school construction and cadre training.

To begin with, the institute's buildings have to be well furnished and quickly at that.

However, since new buildings for the institute cannot be erected right now, the existing ones must be repaired well and put to use. Of course, the buildings in Jiul-ri are not good ones as they were erected by the Japanese imperialists. The Japanese built all the houses in a slipshod, makeshift fashion, probably with a view to their possible downfall. To be sure, there is no reason for colonial rulers to build good houses at great expense. Though these houses were jerry-built by the Japanese and had become somewhat dilapidated, they can be used as the institute's temporary buildings, if they are well repaired. The brick walls can be left as they are, but

the inner walls made of earth can be chipped off and rebuilt so as to rearrange the rooms suitably. Some houses need to be made functional, even if their structure has to be revamped drastically. The building which served as the dining room for Korean trainees in Japanese imperialist days cannot be used as it was. Therefore, its structure has to be changed fundamentally and equipped with good hygienic and cultural facilities.

But you must first furnish the barracks for the students in order to accommodate them the moment they enter the institute, and then repair the auxiliary buildings. Barracks should be allotted on the principle that students would be able to carry on with their daily routine, with each class as a unit. There should be rows of beds with blankets for each squad to sleep in each room. It would be a good idea to place stools in front of the beds so that the students could use them for study or for meetings. Attractive slogans should be hung up in the barracks, and each class should have its own wall-newspaper and honour-board in an eye-catching way.

Lecture rooms, training grounds and shooting ranges should be well laid out and the mess, sickbay and living quarters kept attractive, clean and tidy. The auditorium should likewise be well appointed by repairing one of the big houses.

The room devoted to nation-building, in particular, should be tastefully furnished and turned into a centre for political, ideological and cultural education, in other words, into a place of study and recreation for the students.

The buildings should have an excellent heating system so that students can pursue their studies without feeling the winter cold. There are plenty of building materials and electrical appliances now in Jiul-ri, which the Japanese imperialists left behind when they fled. The institute should acquire them to repair the houses and fix the electrical installations. The electrical devices should be so well fitted that the students could study and live with bright enough lights; the people living in this locality should also be allowed to have electric light. How happy the peasants will be if new houses with electric

light will be built for them in the liberated country!

The work of repairing the institute's buildings should be completed in one month to accommodate all the students at some time this year. Lectures are to begin early next year. However, under no circumstances are the repairs to be haphazardly done because of the time limit. In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we lived diligently even in very difficult conditions and, even if we camped for only one single day while on the march, we kept our billeting area tidy. There are comrades among the institute's officials who had also led a camp life in those days. Hence, they will be able to give effective guidance in keeping the institute spick and span.

The student body of the institute should be well chosen. Undoubtedly, local Party and other organizations will select and send core elements to the institute. But, when enrolling them the institute should be sure to take only wholesome persons, examining them once more. Thus, chance individuals will not infiltrate the ranks of the students.

Not only men but women too should be enrolled in the institute. For too long our women have experienced all manner of restrictions and maltreatment, condemned to feudalistic and colonial exploitation, oppression and ethical bondage. In the old days, Korean women were denied access to learning and, worse still, their social activity was out of the question. That was why our women had fought so valiantly over many long years to win their social emancipation and equality. Particularly in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, many Korean women, arms in hand, fought heroically against the Japanese imperialists, for the independence of their country and their own emancipation, exposed to the biting wind and rain in the rugged mountains, side by side with the men. We should translate into reality the centuries-old aspirations of our liberated women at the earliest possible date. They should be free to study and take an active part in social activities just as the men. The institute should enroll and educate some 50 excellent girls each term. In this way they will become fine women cadres in the future and will play a leading role

in different spheres of state activity.

While adequately building up the institute, it should be run properly also.

First of all, you should clearly define the aim of its education and carry it out.

The aim of education at the Pyongyang Institute is to train cadres for building a new, democratic country and the revolutionary regular army of our people. The principles, contents and methods of education at the institute should all serve this purpose and fully tally with it. Education here should not be conducted the way people were taught to read and write in the past as a means of serving the feudal rulers, nor should it be conducted the way the Japanese imperialists imposed colonial enslavement education on our youth and children to make them their servants. The educational system at the institute should be revolutionary and people-oriented, through and through, faithfully serving our revolution and people. Along with theories, problems arising in revolutionary practice should be explained to the students one by one in easy-to-understand terms and their principles brought home to them, so that they possess revolutionary theories, advanced scientific knowledge and practical ability. Our educational policy is to give a practical education combining theory with practice and applying what has been taught in everyday life.

It is highly important for the institute to intensify the political and ideological education of the students. This education should be conducted in conformity to the actual conditions of the students and the revolutionary tasks set before us. We should strengthen political and ideological education among the students to uproot the vestiges of Japanese imperialist ideas and feudalistic thought as soon as possible. Along with this, we should instil a patriotic spirit in the students—ardent love for and faithful service to the country and the people—and arm them firmly with advanced Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theories and the revolutionary ideas of our Party. The institute should keep the students fully informed of the internal and

external situation and the tasks set by the Party and the state in each period and properly organize them for carrying out the revolutionary tasks.

The revolutionary method of work among the masses should be explained in detail to the students. The students of this institute will become cadres who, at their workplaces after graduation, will disseminate Party policy among the masses and unite them around the Party. The institute should encourage the students to acquire a method of work among the masses and a popular style of work so that they will work admirably in the future, going among them and enjoying their support and confidence.

If one wants to become a military or political cadre of a modern regular army, one should, of course, be well versed in modern military science and techniques. Without the military-technical know-how, one cannot educate and train military personnel as need be, nor can one discharge one's military duties precisely. Especially, since the students of this institute are expected to contribute greatly to the build-up of the modern people's armed forces, they cannot discharge their duties unless they are armed with modern military science and techniques. Therefore, the institute should impart advanced military science and techniques sufficiently to the students.

Instruction in modern military theories and techniques should be available in military training, but, on all accounts, these subjects should be acceptable to our specific conditions. Nearly 80 per cent of our land is mountainous. Hence, tactical training, shooting and all other military drills should be conducted mainly in the mountains to fit in with the terrain of our country and tactics in mountainous areas should be taught well.

It is desirable, when forming the ranks of the students, that the unit be the class, group and squad for a certain length of time and that a class be composed of about 100 men, a group of about 30, and a squad of about 10. On enrolling the students, the institute should form them into ranks, establish rigid discipline as in a regular army and

make them lead a collective life. Their everyday life, too, should be orderly; it should be run in a civilized manner. Thus, all activities and life at the institute will prove to be education for them and an example.

The institute should make adequate preparations to set up military schools for the various services and arms by developing itself when necessary in the future.

It is not easy to found an institute and teach students to be useful, fine workers, as we personally experienced in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. This is a very complicated and difficult matter. Bringing up a child so that he can stand on his own feet is no easy task. Why, then, shouldn't difficulties and obstacles crop up in the training of so many sons and daughters of Korea into fine pillars, who will shoulder the future of the country, into real masters of the Korean revolution? In view of the situation in our recently liberated country, it may, as a matter of course, be difficult to build and run an institute. There is no need to think that there is any mystery about this job, however. If we organize the work scrupulously, drawing on the experience gained in rearing the reserves of the revolution while fighting in the mountains, we can succeed. It all depends on whether or not our officials pitch in, heart and soul, with a revolutionary spirit and confidence.

Coming to the conclusion that the institute is of great significance in founding a regular army, it may possibly be accompanied by the machinations of reactionaries. You should always be on the alert and sharpen your vigilance, thus preventing reactionaries from raising a finger and smashing their manoeuvres. You should expose their moves to the students too and make them see through their viciousness so that the students maintain their revolutionary vigilance at all times.

The institute's officials should do good Party work in liaison with its organizations here.

Our country is now in an extremely difficult situation because of its lack of cadres, but we are going to send excellent cadres to this

institute. We will not hesitate to send those who fought together with us in the past, and also the competent ones who underwent regular training with the approach of the great event of national liberation.

It will be good to name the institute Pyongyang Institute after Pyongyang, inasmuch as it is the first institute we are setting up after our return to the homeland.

Appropriate preparations should be made for the inauguration of the institute. You should arrange a parade and hold a grand inaugural ceremony to instil pride and confidence in the participants arriving from the capital and the localities, and make the ceremony an outstanding occasion for establishing the order of life in the institute and inspiring the students' enthusiasm for study.

TASKS CONFRONTING INTELLECTUALS IN NATION-BUILDING

**Speech Delivered before Teachers
and Intellectuals in Pyongyang**

November 17, 1945

Dear friends,

Our people have defeated the predatory Japanese imperialists and regained their land; they have now embarked on the building of a new Korea.

The teachers and intellectuals of liberated Korea are faced with the momentous tasks of nation-building and of actively contributing to the construction of a new Korea.

If you are to perform important tasks in nation-building admirably, you must, first of all, have a clear understanding of the path to be taken by our Korea.

Some people say at present that a bourgeois republic should be set up, that Korea should follow the road to capitalism. Others argue that a proletarian dictatorship should be established immediately, that Korea should take the road to socialism. Both are erroneous allegations confusing the people who have come out for nation-building. The argument that a bourgeois republic be set up in our country is tantamount to reducing the Korean people to colonial slaves of imperialists again; and the one that a proletarian dictatorship be established in Korea right now is as stupid as trying to feed a toothless infant with bean-mixed rice. We should never set up a

capitalist system in liberated Korea nor should we build a socialist society right away, skipping necessary stages in revolutionary development.

Our country is now at the stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. We should under all circumstances build a progressive, democratic society that would be appropriate to this character of our revolution.

Our homeland has been liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, but its survivals still remain in no small measure, hampering the building of a new Korea. With its defeat the pro-Japanese elements, its stooges, sustained a telling blow, but they still have considerable forces to counter the democratic forces. These remnant forces are seeking to divert the people from the path of struggle in building a new, democratic Korea, and to lead them to oppose democracy, and are plunging into all sorts of reactionary moves.

The complete independence of the country cannot be achieved if we do not thoroughly get rid of these remnant forces.

The feudal forces which were hand in glove with Japanese imperialism still exist to a considerable extent in our country today, besides these remnant forces. They are reactionary forces which, as a major social foothold of the Japanese imperialist aggressors in the past, impeded our agricultural development and exploited our peasants harshly. Unless these forces are wiped out in our country it is impossible to ensure the democratic development of society.

We should eliminate the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces entirely and build an independent and sovereign democratic state. To do this we should carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and establish a democratic people's republic.

In order to carry the nation-building to triumph, we must unite all patriotic, democratic forces. We must unite the whole nation, including the workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, religious people and conscientious native capitalists. People of all walks of life,

who love their country and nation and treasure democracy, should form a national united front at the earliest possible date, and rise up for nation-building in firm unity.

Now some intellectuals, it is said, are pondering over which way to go in the present complicated political situation. The road for the intellectuals of liberated Korea to follow is quite clear. Our teachers and intellectuals must reject the road to reaction. If they, like some intellectuals, follow in the wake of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation and serve imperialists, they will commit a grave crime against the country and nation. If our intellectuals truly want to serve the country and the people, they should take the course of helping in the construction of an independent and sovereign state, firmly united under the banner of democracy. You should understand that this is the only right path for you to take.

In days gone by, our teachers and intellectuals were spiritually depressed, being the target of relentless national oppression and discrimination by the Japanese imperialists. At the time of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the teachers and intellectuals of Korea were considered to have committed a “crime” for studying Korean history and geography, and their pursuit of science and truth was totally blocked. In those days, though they had anti-Japanese feelings and national conscience, the overwhelming majority of them served in Japanese imperialist establishments against their will, under coercion, for a living. But the present position of the liberated teachers and intellectuals has changed radically. Our teachers and intellectuals, together with the workers and peasants, have become the masters of the country and broad vistas have been opened for them to study science and search for the truth, and work for the people by fully displaying their talents and abilities.

Now is the time for the intellectuals to work for their country and nation. Teachers and intellectuals should devote all their knowledge and expertise to the building of a new, democratic Korea. Knowledge and expertise have their worth and can produce a tangible effect when used in the interests of developing the country and promoting the

welfare of the people. Intellectuals should place their knowledge and skills at the service of their country and people in an active form and stint no efforts for the national progress and prosperity.

To begin with, teachers and intellectuals should actively join in the work of enlightening and awakening the masses of the people.

The building of a new, democratic Korea calls for the strength of the broad masses of the people and, if they are to be actively organized and mobilized to contribute their strength to the nation-building effort, they should be awakened politically. Our people are not well prepared politically as yet and not clear about which way to choose. In this situation, great efforts must be made to educate the masses. Teachers and intellectuals, in particular, should play an important role in this work.

Teachers and intellectuals should fully explain and publicize the character and tasks of our revolution among the vast masses, thoroughly exposing the reactionary nature of all the intrigues and machinations of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. At the same time, they should explain to the masses that for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and the early establishment of the democratic people's republic it is necessary to form a democratic national united front and bring about the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces. Thus, it should be made certain that the people have a correct understanding of the road to be followed by Korea, and to come out actively, united, in the struggle against the Japanese imperialist and feudal survivals obstructing nation-building.

In educating the masses attention should be paid to the use of simple words understandable to them. If you explain something in difficult terms the masses of the people will scarcely be able to understand and will not take the trouble to understand, either, so this type of information work will get you nowhere. You should always use simple words common among our people when conducting information work to reach the hearts and minds of the masses.

In order to awaken broad sections of the people, a vigorous anti-

illiteracy campaign should be launched.

In the past the Japanese imperialists pursued a colonial obscurantist policy in our country to make the Korean nation their permanent slave. Consequently, many Koreans were denied access to schooling and remained illiterate; they did not even know how to read or write their own names.

We must try to eliminate this baneful aftermath of Japanese imperialist colonial rule as soon as possible. Otherwise, the political and cultural level of the people cannot be raised nor can the zeal of the masses be aroused in nation-building. Teachers and intellectuals should go among the broad masses of the people, including the workers and peasants, and launch a lively campaign to abolish illiteracy. All people will then get to know how to read and to write letters.

To continue. Teachers and intellectuals should energetically participate in the struggle to build the economy and culture of the new Korea.

The rehabilitation and development of the country's economy and culture is a very urgent problem in nation-building. Only when the factories and other enterprises which the Japanese imperialists laid waste are rapidly rehabilitated and the national economy is developed, can we stabilize and improve the people's deteriorated living and lay the economic foundation for building a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state. At the same time, only by rehabilitating and developing the national culture, trampled underfoot by the Japanese imperialists, is it possible to arouse national pride and self-confidence among the people, give scope to their once suppressed national consciousness and build a new, civilized Korea.

Progressive teachers and intellectuals with their knowledge and skills, must be very conscious of their honourable tasks in building the country's economy and culture; they must devote all their energy and talents to make a positive contribution to the laying of a solid economic foundation for a new, democratic Korea, and to the flourishing and development of national culture.

But the most important task of the teachers is to bring up the rising generation to be fine workers of a new, democratic Korea.

In order to build an independent and sovereign democratic state and achieve prosperity for the country and nation, we must bring up a splendid younger generation who will become the mainstay of the country in the future.

Teachers should inculcate democratic ideas in students. Only then can they train them to be patriots who passionately love their country and fellow people, to be reliable pillars of the country. If they educate the students fittingly, their parents will likewise be educated through them. While giving good ideological education to the students, practical knowledge needed for nation-building should be imparted to them.

If we are to educate the rising generation well, we should build plenty of schools and keep them neat and tidy; we also should compile new textbooks in our own language. Teachers should take an active part in the work of building schools and in compiling textbooks.

One of the important aspects of educating the younger generation today is to eradicate all the vestiges of the colonial enslavement education system imposed by Japanese imperialism. These residues still remain in our educational institutions today. Unless they are destroyed we will not be able to train our younger generation to be fine workers of a new Korea. The teachers should try to root out the remnants of Japanese imperialism in all spheres of education and to set up a new, democratic education system.

Teachers and intellectuals must completely shake off the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas in order to contribute to nation-building.

These ideological survivals are more noticeable among teachers and intellectuals than in anyone else, because in the past they were the ones to receive the colonial enslavement education of Japanese imperialism and to work in its establishments. Unless they get rid of the survivals of the old Japanese imperialist ideas, they cannot render good service to the building of a new country and become genuine democratic workers. All the teachers and intellectuals must actively strive to rid themselves of the outworn ideological virus spread by the Japanese imperialists

and arm themselves with new, democratic ideas.

The political consciousness of teachers and intellectuals at present is very low. Intellectuals ask various political questions these days. Not a few of the questions are because of their political immaturity.

This is largely a result of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, in particular, the machinations of alien elements who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks after liberation. Alien elements seduced the unsophisticated people with all kinds of false propaganda and deceptive tricks, and provoked a good deal of vacillation among some of the intellectuals.

Teachers and intellectuals should tirelessly strive to raise the level of their own political consciousness. In this way they will learn to analyze and judge all issues correctly from a political viewpoint and to promptly expose and smash every move of the reactionaries.

An important way of raising the level of the political consciousness of the teachers and intellectuals is through a concentrated study of politics. In this way they should learn scrupulously why the path we follow today is the right one and how to build a new, democratic Korea; they should follow the internal and external situation precisely.

While steadily raising the standard of their political consciousness, they should endeavour to acquire advanced scientific knowledge and technology. It will be a great mistake to imagine that your knowledge is vast. In fact, the knowledge accumulated by our teachers and intellectuals under Japanese imperialist rule is of little use in building a new country. If you rest content with your present knowledge and technology and do not try with an open mind to learn, you cannot keep abreast of developing events nor can you contribute to nation-building. You should never be self-complacent but strive to raise your standard of scientific knowledge and technology.

Our people expect a great deal of their teachers and intellectuals. You should accomplish the responsible tasks ahead of you with credit by devoting all your energies to the building of a new, democratic Korea and the education of the rising generation.

THE PRESENT TASKS OF THE SOUTH KOREAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Talk with Youth Workers from South Korea

November 19, 1945

I am very glad that you have come to visit me, even though you had to travel such a long distance.

You said that in their struggle to build the country the broad sections of the youths in south Korea are now exposing and denouncing the crimes of those who collaborated with the Japanese and betrayed the nation. That is wonderful. The south Korean youth workers must lead the masses of the youth along the right path who are striving to build a new Korea with high patriotic zeal.

You asked me which road liberated Korea must follow. This is a very important question. Only when they well know the road our country is to follow can the youth workers be efficient in their work among the youth.

Today, the oppressed peoples the world over are struggling for national independence and the voice of the masses of the people demanding freedom and democracy is growing even louder as the days go by. In short, the world is heading rapidly for national independence, liberty and democracy.

Freed from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our country, too, must advance along the road of democracy. We must wipe out the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism, build a new, democratic society and win complete national independence as soon as possible.

The ardently patriotic, enthusiastic youths must work harder than anybody else for the successful fulfilment of the great cause of nation-building. Our youths must play a notable part in the struggle for the building of a new country, just as in the past they performed heroic feats in the sacred struggle for national liberation. Now our revolution demands that all patriotic young people join in the work of nation-building, united firmly under the banner of democracy.

We have worked out a policy in north Korea, to meet the requirements of the revolution, for the formation of the Democratic Youth League, a mass youth organization, capable of rallying all patriotic youths, and are striving to carry it out. The south Korean youth movement, too, must advance in this direction. You said that on hearing of the policy on founding the DYL, south Korean youths are going to form a similar organization. I think that is exactly what they should do.

It is an urgent task in the prevailing situation to rally the broad masses of young people in south Korea and develop the youth movement along democratic lines.

The landing of US troops in south Korea has created a grave situation there. Reactionary elements, who have begun to raise their heads with the presence of the Americans there, are now working more openly against the people. At the instigation of the American reactionaries, collaborators with the Japanese and traitors to the nation are impeding the patriotic nation-building activities of the young and other people in south Korea in every way. They are resorting to all sorts of plots to stamp out the democratic forces and mislead our people into coming out against democracy.

The situation makes it imperative for the south Korean people, the youths in particular, to firmly unite as one. Only when they stand solidly together, can the young patriots of all strata frustrate every scheme of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors, win genuine freedom and rights and contribute to building a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

To achieve the unity of the masses of the young people in south

Korea, a single democratic mass-based youth organization must be founded.

At present, there are many youth organizations in south Korea. The fact that there are different organizations prevents the masses of young people from uniting and even results in a split in the youth movement. Only when a single mass-based youth organization is set up, can a division of the movement be prevented, its sound development guaranteed and broad sections of the youths enlisted actively in nation-building.

The formation of a democratic youth organization and the unity of the broad masses of the youths in south Korea are also vital for the creation of a united front.

As I said to comrades from Seoul some time ago, a solid democratic united front embracing people of all strata, who love their country and nation, must be formed in order to frustrate the reactionary moves in south Korea and succeed in nation-building. To this end, the broad masses must be enlisted in the youth and other social organizations for laying a firm foundation for a united front. It is advisable for a democratic youth organization to be formed at the earliest date and that it work efficiently for nation-building in unity with other democratic social organizations.

It is important to work out a good programme and rules when founding a democratic organization for the broad masses of the youths in south Korea. They must fully reflect the aspirations of young people from all walks of life. Only then will the youths actively support the organization and join it.

The programme must clearly define its nature as a mass youth organization for all patriotic and democratic-minded young men and women and state its fundamental aim as striving to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. It should also set out the immediate tasks of the organization—to wipe out the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism in all spheres, to actively participate in rehabilitating and developing the national economy and culture and abolishing illiteracy, to strive for equality of sexes, to win

freedom of speech, press, assembly, association and religion as well as the right to elect and to be elected, and to promote friendship and solidarity with the democratic youths of the world.

The rules, too, must be well prepared. They must stipulate the principles of the formation and composition of the organization, the duties and rights of its members and other important problems arising in its activities. In particular, the formalities of recruiting must be defined precisely. They should not be so complicated as to bar even qualified people from being admitted.

The draft programme and rules must be explained and propagated among the masses of young people. In south Korea various youth organizations are asserting themselves at present, confusing young people as to the path they should follow. Under these circumstances the mass youth organization must give wide publicity to its democratic programme and rules so that young people would be eager to join it, with a clear understanding of the validity of its formation as well as their duties.

If it is to admit broad sections of young people and advance the youth movement in south Korea, the democratic youth organization must build up its cadres properly.

Even if you found a mass youth organization and adopt its programme and rules, no matter how good, you cannot rally the broad sections of the youths and enhance the role of the organization without a fitting build-up of its cadre ranks. Therefore, you must pay primary attention to consolidating the ranks of cadres. They must be fine persons with sound ideology, a strong fighting spirit and organizing ability. Such people will not vacillate whatever the difficulties; they will lead the masses of the youths in the building of a new country.

In order to build up the cadre ranks of the youth organization, the existing youth workers must undergo constant training in practical activities. At the same time, youth workers should be taught in some kind of training institutions, too. Though it may be rather difficult under the situation in south Korea, short evening courses or

something similar could be set up for the education of promising youngsters as cadres.

One of the important questions in developing the south Korean youth movement is to mercilessly combat all kinds of factional tendencies.

Our nation once failed to unite because of factional strife and the country was swallowed by Japanese imperialism. Factional strife also brought disaster to the national liberation and communist movements in our country. Instead of fighting Japanese imperialism in unity, the factionalists indulged in scuffles. Moreover, factionalism affected even the youth movement badly. And some are even now taking to factional strife, when the country has been liberated. We must not tolerate such a practice.

The south Korean youth workers must always be on the alert to prevent the emergence of factions in the ranks of the youths and combat uncompromisingly even the slightest manifestation of factional tendencies.

The youth organization must have strict organizational discipline if it is to forestall the rise of factions among the young people. If the discipline is slack, decisions and instructions of the organization will not be carried out effectively and factional tendencies may appear. You must strive to fix strong organizational discipline so that no violations of the decisions and instructions will be made and no factionalism be allowed to infiltrate.

Next, you must pay close attention to enhancing the education of the young people.

In the first place, you must teach the young people properly to get rid of the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas. During their occupation of Korea in the past, the Japanese imperialists pursued a vicious colonial policy extensively spreading obsolete and corrupt ideas among our people and youths. As a result, these ideas still survive to a great extent in the minds of our youths. The south Korean youth workers must improve the education of the young people to help all of them root out the Japanese imperialist ideological

remnants from their mind and to arm themselves firmly with a democratic ideology.

What is especially important in the education of the youths is to imbue them with a spirit of loving their country and people.

When they are imbued with ardent patriotism, young people will work faithfully for nation-building despite all difficulties, staunchly fighting against pro-Japanese elements and traitors who attempt to sell out our nation again as colonial slaves to imperialism.

The significance of patriotic education is well illustrated by the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Throughout the years of that struggle we were deeply concerned with equipping the guerrillas with a patriotic spirit. Consequently, they fought heroically for many years against the Japanese imperialists to win freedom and liberation for their country and people, often eating grass roots and tree bark and experiencing all manner of trials. Some of our comrades were captured in those days and brutally tortured by the enemy. But they did not yield; they denounced the enemy even on the gallows and upheld their honour as revolutionaries to the last moment. They were able to be brave in the fight against Japanese imperialism because they passionately loved their homeland and fellow countrymen.

Our liberated youths, too, must be imbued with ardent patriotism just as the anti-Japanese guerrillas were. The south Korean youth workers must intensify education for young people so that all of them would have a high sense of national pride and dignity, and would love their country dearly. In this way the youths, who are sensitive to the new and have a strong sense of justice, will be trained to willingly dedicate even their lives to the struggle for their country and people.

Now I would like to clear up some questions for the south Korean youth workers.

Some maintain that those who worked in Japanese imperialist institutions are pro-Japanese elements without exception. This is not correct. In defining pro-Japanese elements we must consider the fact that our country was under Japanese imperialist colonial rule for a long time. In those years quite a few Koreans were employed in their

establishments. Most of them, however, were compelled to do so—they had to earn a living. You cannot brand them all as pro-Japanese elements, can you?

By pro-Japanese elements we mean those who helped the Japanese imperialists deliberately and actively and committed atrocities, hand in glove with them. Those who were passive should not be regarded as pro-Japanese elements, even if they were forced by the imperialists to serve in their institutions or obliged to do so to earn a living. Rejecting such people as pro-Japanese elements would not benefit the revolution.

Victory in the revolution depends on how many people we win over. And winning over the masses is more urgent in the present situation in south Korea. Only when the broad masses of the people there are united, can you successfully fight the reactionaries who are trying to set our country against democracy. Therefore, you must have a truthful idea of what a pro-Japanese element is and define him accurately, so that you can win over as many people as possible.

You must have a correct understanding also of the kind of “democracy” that is now professed by the Americans in south Korea. It is bourgeois democracy for the landlords and capitalists.

“Democracy” advocated by the pro-Japanese elements and traitors in south Korea is also bourgeois democracy, that is, American-style “democracy.” Clamouring for bourgeois democracy, the Americans, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors are now plotting to rig up a reactionary regime in our country. You must not be deceived by their scheme.

The democracy we need is not the American brand of “democracy;” we need a genuine democracy for the broad masses of the people. The south Korean youth workers must try to establish a people’s government which will ensure genuine democracy as desired by the masses of the people.

Work with the youths is worthwhile and honourable. When we were younger, we had experience both with urban and rural youths and found it really worth our while.

If you work well among the young people and arouse them to activity, you will have nothing to fear. If you organize and educate them properly, they will display strength enough even to move even a mountain.

In the past we aroused the masses of young people to a powerful struggle against Japanese imperialism. We united many young people and fought barehanded at first, and later arms in hand by founding the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army with the youths. Thus, we defeated Japanese imperialism and achieved the great victory of national liberation.

You must clearly understand the importance of work among the youths and strive for success. The youth workers must prepare well, both politically and ideologically, working hard to read many good books and enhance their level.

You may encounter many difficulties and obstacles and even fail at times in your work among the youth. But you must not feel frustrated. You must cope courageously with all difficulties, always confident of victory.

I hope you will strive to develop the south Korean youth movement by frustrating all the schemes of the reactionaries, and to build a new Korea.

PATRIOTIC YOUTHS, UNITE UNDER THE BANNER OF DEMOCRACY!

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting to Form the Democratic
Youth Organization of South Phyongan Province**

November 26, 1945

Comrades,

I would like, first of all, to warmly congratulate the youth delegates of South Phyongan Province for making such valiant efforts to unite the patriotic youths of liberated Korea and build a new, democratic Korea.

This meeting, aimed at forming the democratic youth organization of South Phyongan Province, is of great importance in strengthening and developing the youth movement in our country. The formation of this organization will go a long way towards hastening the founding of the Democratic Youth League, rallying broad sections of the patriotic youths and raising the role of young people in nation-building.

After they were liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our people embarked on a serious struggle to create a new history. For nearly half a century, they were deprived of the country by the Japanese imperialist aggressors and forced to live the life of colonial slaves. Now that they are liberated they are eager to build a new, democratic Korea, free and independent, and strive to set up their own government as soon as possible.

However, even now, more than three months after liberation, the

democratic central government for which our nation is craving has not been instituted. This is partly due to international relations, but, to our regret, we cannot but admit that the main reason is that our nation has not yet been closely united owing to the manoeuvres of the reactionaries, including pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation.

We must build a democratic, independent and sovereign state and, to this end, set up a democratic people's republic, a genuine people's government, without fail. This is the only path we must take.

Our cause of nation-building is of truly great importance and, in the course of bringing it about, we would meet with many difficult problems. Nevertheless, we must courageously surmount every obstacle and difficulty, thus realizing our goal.

In order to found the democratic people's republic, the whole nation must unite firmly under the banner of democracy that augurs a bright future for the country and a happy life and great hope for us. Unless all the people are united, it is impossible to create a free, happy life and build a genuinely independent state.

Therefore, we must do everything we can to rally the broad masses of the people close together.

First of all, you must have a clear idea of what is meant by the people. Some construe it in too narrow a sense. By the people we do not mean the workers and peasants alone; we mean people from all walks of life except pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and other reactionaries. These people can all be rallied under a single banner.

However, it is no use crying for the unity of the nation in words only. Since liberation everybody has been talking about the unity of the nation, but our nation is not yet united. We must achieve unity not in words but in deeds.

We need the firm unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces. Only the unity of the patriotic people who love their country, nation and democracy can be reliable. We must rally people of all strata who really want to see a democratic, independent and sovereign state built and the country and the people prosper, to step up the work of nation-building.

It is especially important to unite the masses of young people solidly. They are the vanguard fighters of the revolution. They are the most courageous in the revolution and no revolutionary struggle can be victorious without their active participation.

The same is true of our nation-building effort today. Young people are the main pillars in the building of a new, democratic Korea. In order to have nation-building succeed, all the patriotic youths including young workers, peasants and intellectuals should be united under the banner of democracy. Only when the patriotic youths of all strata aspiring to democracy unite solidly and participate actively in the building of the country, will we be able to surmount all the difficulties confronting us and build a new, prosperous and democratic Korea victoriously.

This, precisely, is the reason why we are confronted with the task of forming a democratic youth organization embracing broad sections of the patriotic youths. We have already proposed the policy of reorganizing the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League and, accordingly, a meeting of active democratic youths was held in October to discuss and decide on the founding of the DYL.

However, the work of reorganizing the YCL into the DYL is proceeding very slowly and, moreover, there is a continued tendency to split the ranks of young people. In some local areas various youth organizations are being formed, which do not conform with the line of founding the DYL. In some other areas, they are even trying to create reactionary youth organizations and draw the unawakened young people into them. Some student youths of bourgeois origin are obstructing the founding of the DYL and disrupting the unity of the ranks of the youths, maintaining that students should not join the DYL but the Students' Union.

We must resolutely overcome such a wrong tendency and push ahead with the work of uniting the broad masses of young people into a single youth organization.

Today our youths do not want to fall again into imperialist colonial slavery, but ardently desire the democratic development and

full independence and sovereignty of their country. Therefore, we are fully able to embrace many young men and women in the democratic youth organization.

We should rally patriotic youths of all social strata closely under the democratic banner, who are willing to serve in the building of a new, democratic Korea, irrespective of party affiliation, religious beliefs, property status and education. Bearing in mind that unless the unity of young people is achieved, their energies cannot be mobilized well enough for the work of nation-building; the youth workers should take vigorous action to found the DYL.

It is essential for the founding of the DYL to thoroughly explain the line of organizing the DYL to the young people.

The DYL we are going to found is a youth organization of a new type which exactly meets the specific conditions of our country and the objective needs of the revolution. If you think that the founding of the DYL simply means the replacement of the YCL signboard, you are grossly mistaken. The DYL will have a new programme and rules in keeping with its character, instead of taking over those of the YCL as they are now.

We should see to it that all young men and women clearly understand the character of the DYL and the correctness of the line of its formation, and strive to found it without delay.

At the same time, we must be on the lookout for any moves of the factionalists impeding the unity of the masses of the youths. While opposing the policy of reorganizing the YCL into the DYL, they are now, in various ways, obstructing the work of rallying the broad sections of patriotic youths. All the patriotic youths should work energetically to expose and frustrate their moves, thus contributing to bringing about the unity and cohesion of the young people.

With a view to organizing the DYL and rallying young people on a broad scale, DYL organizations should be formed in all units at the earliest possible date. As soon as this meeting is over, South Phyongan Province should send officials of its youth organizations to all the local areas to form and readjust the city and county DYL

organizations and, at the same time, set up new DYL organizations in places where there are young people and expand their ranks.

Officials of youth organizations should not only endeavour to draw young workers and peasants into the ranks of the DYL but pay close attention to uniting the student youths in them. Fooled by the vicious propaganda of the reactionaries, some students are going against the interests of the people today. This is very serious. We must rapidly form DYL organizations at schools and rally the students of all strata in them and lead them along the right path. We would thus prevent the reactionaries gaining a foothold among the students.

While forming DYL organizations, we should firmly increase the ranks of DYL workers. First, good people should be selected as provincial DYL workers. We should reinforce the ranks of the DYL workers with young people whose work has been tested ever since liberation; in other words, those young people who are ideologically sound, popular among the masses and have great organizing and managing abilities.

It is important to work commendably with young activists. DYL organizations should get to know them through practical work and rouse them to activity. Assign them tasks according to plan, examine and sum up their implementation in good time, and then give them new assignments, again examine and sum up the results. This is how they should be educated and roused to activity. DYL organizations will thus be able to be expanded and grow stronger and their role be enhanced positively. These organizations should constantly expand the ranks of young activists and recommend the best, promising ones for membership in our Party from among them or send many to school to train them to be excellent builders of the country.

Comrades,

Today the position of our young people is fundamentally different from the past. Before, under the atrocious colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, they had been subjected to all manner of humiliations and insults; they had no rights whatever to participate in political affairs. After liberation, however, they came to take part in

government with genuine political rights and became the masters of the country.

All patriotic youths should be true builders of a democratic, independent and sovereign state and continue to advance to become reliable pillars of the country. It must be ensured, therefore, that large numbers of excellent native cadres be produced from among the young people ready to actively contribute to nation-building and fight for the country and the people even at the cost of their lives.

Today our young people are confronted with really responsible yet honourable tasks in the construction of a new country. The prosperity of our liberated country depends largely on how they fight and work. Patriotic youths from all walks of life should realize keenly the great mission they have been charged with in the building of a new country and everyone, rallied closely under the democratic banner, should join in the nation-building.

By making selfless efforts to build a new, democratic Korea, they must carry out their responsible tasks with credit as youths of liberated Korea.

First and foremost, they should wage a resolute struggle against the enemies of the people who are hindering the building of a new, democratic Korea.

There are now quite a few reactionary elements in our interior seeking to disrupt the unity of the democratic forces, and putting obstacles in the way of the masses striving to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. Those who are trying to halt our people's advance are the lackeys of Japanese imperialism— pro-Japanese elements and other national traitors. They are enemies of the people who betrayed the country and nation and bled our people white in the past, and who today are trying frantically to do the same. These days the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors have been, under various ostentatious signboards, plotting craftily in all areas to fool the people and put a spoke in the wheel of nation-building.

We should wage a vigorous struggle against them by the united efforts of the masses.

All our young men and women should stand close together, shoulder to shoulder, in the forefront of the struggle against the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors. “Korean youths, be brave! Give a sharp rebuff to the reactionaries obstructing the building of a new, democratic Korea!”—this is the important fighting slogan set before our youths today. The enemies’ anti-popular moves will be smashed for certain when the masses are organized and when our young people struggle in steel-strong unity. All patriotic youths should turn out as one in the struggle against the pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and other reactionaries to liquidate the enemies of the people to the last man. This is the prerequisite for strengthening the unity of the young people and making a success of the building of a new, democratic Korea.

While opposing the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation, the young people should launch a vigorous struggle to wipe out the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism in all spheres to ensure the democratic development of the country and establish a genuinely democratic central government.

One of the important tasks facing the youths now is working for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and culture.

Without developing the economy and culture we can neither achieve full independence nor build a wealthy and powerful democratic Korea. Therefore, young men and women should devote all their energies and talents to rapidly rehabilitating the factories and other enterprises demolished by the Japanese imperialist aggressors, to laying a solid economic foundation for the country, and to making national culture blossom and develop.

In order to rehabilitate and develop the economy and culture of the country, it is essential to develop science and technology.

In the past the Japanese imperialists forced enslavement education on the Korean people and prevented them from studying science and technology in order to turn them into their permanent colonial slaves. As a result, our country has very few scientists and technicians. For lack of scientific knowledge and technology, our people now fail to

run the industrial establishments properly; they meet with many difficulties in nation-building. In these conditions, we must try to develop science and technology as soon as possible.

Today this is the honourable task of the youths. Young people susceptible to the new and burning with patriotic ardour should study hard to improve their scientific knowledge and technology and thus promote the country's science and technology. By doing this they will contribute greatly to the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and a flourishing of national culture.

We should educate the young people well to become competent builders of a new country.

Our youths are still ideologically at a low level and lacking in political tempering. They should be given a good democratic education and trained well if they are to contribute greatly to nation-building. By intensifying their education, we must arm them with progressive thought and prepare them well politically.

It is important, above all, to convince them of the scientific truth that the new is sure to win in the struggle against the old, and of the justness of our revolutionary cause, so that they will have faith in victory.

In view of the fact that pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and opportunists are now making all sorts of evil moves, the young people could possibly waver in the work of nation-building if they do not have a true idea of our revolution. Only when they clearly realize that our Party's line of nation-building is absolutely correct and are convinced that we are sure to win, will they be able to thoroughly repulse the moves of the reactionaries and opportunists and carry on with the building of the country effectively.

It is an important warrant of victory in the revolution that the masses are deeply convinced of the justness of their revolutionary cause and have a firm faith that they will triumph. We should commendably educate the young people to be firmly confident of the justness of the line of building a democratic, independent and sovereign state and to have faith in victory, so that they will fight to the end to fearlessly surmount all obstacles and difficulties in nation-

building and build a new, democratic Korea.

In educating the young people, it is especially important to inspire them with great national pride and dignity.

In the old days the Japanese imperialists distorted our history and trampled upon our national culture, making every attempt to smother our people's national consciousness. As a result, even now quite a few people and youths are lacking in national pride and dignity.

Therefore, the education of young people should be increased in order to wipe out the mentality of a colonial slave and heighten national dignity among them.

In order to instil national dignity in them they must know well our history and culture. We must teach them to have a clear understanding that the Koreans are a resourceful people with a long history, a brilliant national culture and a fine patriotic spirit, and that if only we make the effort, we can build as prosperous and powerful a country as others in the world. By doing this, we would become sure that all the young people strive to carry out their honourable revolutionary tasks, confident that they would be able to accomplish the cause of nation-building by their own efforts.

And we must give the young people an adequate education, explaining in detail the present internal and external situation, and have them clearly understand their important duties in nation-building.

Our young builders of the country—young workers, peasants and intellectuals—should advance proudly, with a high national pride and dignity, shoulder to shoulder with the democratic youths across the world, and do their bit to strengthen friendship and solidarity with progressive young people the world over. Thus, they would demonstrate to the whole world the enterprising, driving and gallant stamina of the Korean youths.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize once again that we must achieve the unity of the whole nation and, by our concerted efforts, crush the enemies of the people who are hampering the building of a new country, and set up a democratic, independent and sovereign state as soon as possible.

WHICH PATH SHOULD LIBERATED KOREA TAKE?

Speech Delivered at the Mass Rally in Sinuiju

November 27, 1945

Fellow countrymen,

I have been back home for several months now, but various circumstances have prevented my coming here. Only today have I the opportunity to meet you. Availing myself of this occasion, I would like, first of all, to express my wholehearted thanks for the warm welcome you have given me.

Citizens, the German fascists and Japanese imperialist thieves launched the Second World War with the aim of reducing all of mankind to the status of colonial slaves, but they were wholly defeated by the peace-loving peoples of the world and the anti-fascist democratic forces. As a consequence, many small and weak nations have been set free from the yoke of fascism and imperialism to embark on the road of building a new life.

For the past 36 years 30 million of our compatriots were subjected to harsh treatment and merciless exploitation, deprived of all political rights and freedoms under the Japanese imperialists' fascist oppression. After suffering the hard life of a colonial slave, large numbers of our fellow countrymen were finally compelled to leave their dear homeland, where their ancestors had lived generation after generation, for alien lands like Manchuria, across mountains and rivers in quest of a livelihood. They had to lead a bitter life in foreign

lands, too, subjected to national oppression and humiliation.

Our people, however, never yielded to the Japanese imperialists. Despite the cruel suppression of the Japanese imperialists their national spirit remained alive and their anti-Japanese sentiments mounted daily. This is illustrated clearly by the history of our anti-Japanese struggle.

The Korean people continued to fight the Japanese imperialists for a long time. Our revolutionaries and patriotic people fought courageously against them at home and abroad to regain their usurped country; a great number of patriotic fighters laid down their precious lives in this glorious struggle.

The March First Movement, the June Tenth Independence Movement, the general strike of the workers in Wonsan and the Kwangju Student Incident were mass events demonstrating the stamina of our people in their fight against the Japanese imperialists' colonial enslavement policy.

True, the lack of organizational unity and correct leadership based on scientific strategy and tactics left our nation vulnerable to the Japanese imperialists' repression, and resulted in the failure of those anti-Japanese struggles. But no suppression could break the indomitable will of our anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and patriotic people who loved their country and nation and were determined to win the independence of the country at all costs.

In the early 1930s the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle of our people developed into an armed struggle. The true Korean communists organized the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army and waged an armed struggle against the heinous Japanese imperialist aggressors for the country's independence and the freedom and emancipation of the people. Thus, after 15 years of hard struggle they brought the cause of national liberation to fruition, liberated our nation completely from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism and demonstrated to the peoples the world over the resourceful spirit of our nation.

You must never forget that the liberation of our country was won

entirely through the hard-fought 15-year-long anti-Japanese armed struggle.

By repulsing the Japanese imperialist plunderers and accomplishing the historic cause of national liberation, our people emerged from hopelessness into freedom and light.

Then, which path should liberated Korea take? The path of building a democratic, independent and sovereign state which will bring freedom and happiness to our people.

Today our people are faced with the responsible and difficult task of setting up a democratic people's republic, a genuine people's state. There is no other more urgent and important national task than this for the Korean people. It is no exaggeration to say that our nation's bright future depends precisely on the effective realization of this task.

The united efforts of the whole nation are necessary for us to build such a new state. A democratic Korea cannot be built by the efforts of a few persons, but only through the endeavours of all the people. In order to carry out the great historic task of building a new Korea, all parties and groups without exception must boldly work in cooperation with each other, closely united under the banner of democracy.

However, there is still no unity among the people who have the responsible mission of building a new Korea.

Even now, three months after liberation from the Japanese imperialist colonial yoke, some people are engrossed only in factional strife, instead of joining in the nation-building effort. Paying no heed to the interests of the country and the people, they are trying to enlarge the forces of their own groups, thereby splitting the masses. This disrupts national unity and greatly impedes the work of building the country and stabilizing the people's living.

Rehabilitation of the factories and enterprises wrecked by the Japanese imperialists is still making little progress, industrial establishments are not yet operating properly, and the food problem has not been adequately solved so that the people's lives are far from perfect. Educational work at the schools is also suffering. Schools are not receiving any fuel, with the result that the pupils and students are

unable to study fittingly because of the cold. Not only that, social order is still in a weak state. These facts may be ascribed to certain shady elements who, acting contrary to the interests of the people, are hindering our people from building the country in unity.

The lack of national unity has been well illustrated by the recent incident in Sinuiju and Ryongampho. This was provoked entirely by reactionaries, including pro-Japanese elements and other traitors. Taking advantage of the lack of social order and the hardships of our people, and also of the fact that some rogues lurking in the Communist Party and government bodies committed acts detrimental to the interests of the people, the reactionaries egged on the pupils and students to stir up trouble and then, to use violence. Shooting at our own people is not only a disgrace to the nation but also a serious hindrance to nation-building.

Those who instigated the recent riot have to be regarded as traitors to the nation, whoever they may be, and they must naturally face a severe trial by the people.

We must all soberly ask ourselves whether we acted justly towards the country and the people, and make good our mistakes.

Citizens,

In order to found a democratic people's republic and win complete independence and sovereignty for the country, we should get rid of all those who obstruct national unity and achieve the unity of the entire nation as soon as possible.

Today, when we are striving to build a new, democratic Korea, a host of difficulties lie ahead of us. We should surmount the difficulties in the path of nation-building through the efforts of the masses, the united force of our 30 million fellow countrymen. People from all walks of life, except the reactionaries like the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, should pool their efforts and come all out to build the country.

We should form a solid democratic national united front at the earliest possible date in order that the whole nation would pool their efforts.

To form this front individual political parties and organizations should refrain from factional activities aimed only at pushing themselves to the fore. We need only those political parties and organizations that work for the good of the people, and we need only that kind of struggle which accords with their interests. Every political party and organization must work in the interests of the country and nation, instead of attempting to assert itself or stick to its own opinions. They must endeavour, therefore, not in words but in deeds, to achieve the unity of the nation.

If any political party or organization should act in an unfriendly way to the national united front in disregard of the interests of the people, it should be disbanded by the hands of the people themselves. The people should repulse every factor detrimental to the unity of the nation thoroughly and strive to form a solid democratic national united front.

Some people today are speaking ill of the Communist Party. They have the wrong idea. The Communist Party is the most advanced, revolutionary political party upholding the interests of workers, peasants and other working people. All its lines and policies are for the masses at present and truly represent the interests of our people. The Communist Party is doing everything possible to form a solid national united front in our country and, on this basis, to set up a genuine people's government and found a democratic, independent and sovereign state providing a life of plenty for all the people. Only when all the people support the Party can our nation-building effectively proceed.

Someone asked me just now: General, are you also a communist? Yes, I am a communist. Communists are true patriots fighting unswervingly for the complete independence of the country and the happiness of the people. If a man called a communist does not love his country and nation, he is not a true communist. I am not the kind of communist who looks up to foreign countries but one who relies on our own people and fights for the benefit of the Korean nation and people.

We must distinguish real communists from sham ones. You must not call all communists bad or think badly of the Communist Party just because of some misdeeds of a few shady alien elements who have infiltrated the Party. Former stooges of Japanese imperialism, who wormed their way into the Party in disguise, are perpetrating wicked deeds, threatening people and feathering their own nests. In this way they have tried to isolate the Party from the masses of the people and lower its prestige in their eyes. We should clean out the Party of such shady alien elements to make it a mass party which truly enjoys prestige among the masses and their unquestioned support.

Well aware that without the leadership of the Party there can be neither a national united front nor the prosperity and development of our country, you should actively support its line and policies and join the communists in building a new, democratic Korea.

In order to form a strong national united front, the Communist Party and also the Democratic Party should destroy to the last man the former lackeys of Japanese imperialism and others, who are hindering the unity and cohesion of the nation, and follow the democratic line in the interests of the people.

At the same time, we must begin quickly forming mass organizations. Relying on the existing mass organizations active in different localities, we have to form mass organizations, each having a unified system from the top to the lowest unit, and enrol people of all social strata into them.

We should rally the broad masses of the people to build up a solid democratic national united front and actively enlist them in nation-building. All the patriotic people of various social strata—workers, peasants, intellectuals, merchants, entrepreneurs and men of religion—closely rallied in the democratic national united front should stint no effort to build a new country.

In order to build a new, democratic Korea, not only men but women, who make up half of our population, should all be mobilized. They should energetically try to participate in state and political

activities on an equal footing with the men. They must try their utmost to get rid of feudal conventions and to raise their political and cultural level, thereby becoming fine workers capable of building and running the state, and to actively contribute to nation-building.

Further, we should stabilize and improve the people's living. Unless their standard of living is stabilized, we cannot commendably form a national united front nor build a new, prosperous country.

We should rehabilitate the factories and enterprises and get them functioning as soon as possible so as to provide everybody with a job, thus eliminating unemployment. At the same time, we must take immediate steps to settle the food problem, and provide food rations regularly to factory and office workers, teachers and students.

We should stabilize prices. So far the profiteers' unscrupulous steps have prevented the stabilization of prices and have affected the lives of the people enormously. While combatting profiteering, we must take concrete measures to stabilize prices.

The introduction of democratic reforms is the basic step for stabilizing and improving the living of the people. We must try to introduce various democratic reforms, such as an agrarian reform, nationalization of key industries, fair and uniform taxation, and an eight-hour workday for shop-floor workers and office employees. These reforms are essential for stabilizing and improving the people's living and, consequently, for strengthening the national united front and accelerating the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

First of all, we must try to introduce an agrarian reform. We must confiscate the land owned by the Japanese imperialists and landlords and distribute it free to the peasants, thereby satisfying their centuries-old thirst for land and breaking the feudal fetters hindering social progress.

An important task facing us today is to restore public order.

The complex situation in the country and the manoeuvring of certain unhealthy elements are reasons why public order is disrupted today. Although our people won freedom with liberation, they are

prevented from exercising their legitimate rights and feel uneasy in their daily life because of the confused state of public order. We must wipe out the unhealthy elements disrupting public order as soon as possible and adjust the disturbed public order.

It is important in establishing public order to enhance the role of the public security organs. We should urge the security men to more insistently remove the remnants of the Japanese imperialist police that bullied the people and to cultivate a spirit of faithfully serving the people. We must thus make sure that the security organs really do protect the lives and property of the people.

A democratic government is indispensable for consolidating the unity of all the people and for establishing a democratic, independent and sovereign state. We, who are building a new Korea, have no need for any government other than a democratic one.

The democracy we are speaking of is not the US type of “democracy” catering to the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes that oppress and exploit the working masses nor the Soviet style of democracy. Ours is a new type of democracy, a Korean-style democracy applicable to the conditions prevailing in our country. We should make every effort to give full play to this genuine democracy and thus exercise a democratic government that provides the people with political rights and freedoms, relies on their forces, and guarantees their interests and happiness.

In order to follow a correct democratic policy we must raise the role of the people’s committees, the organs of people’s government.

If these committees are to conduct their activities in the right way, they must be supervised effectively. Our people are entitled to control and supervise their activities. All the people should exercise supervision fittingly so that the people’s government organs would be cleansed of pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries, and that the people’s committees could always work faithfully in the interests of the people.

We must ensure that the people’s committees endeavour to establish state and public order by relying on the people’s strength,

bring about the ideological unity of the masses, develop production and improve the people's standard of living.

Citizens,

All the Korean people, wherever they work, should try to bring to completion the historic cause of building a new country, closely united under the banner of democracy. Only then will we be able to build a prosperous, democratic, independent and sovereign state at the earliest possible date.

Long live the independence of Korea!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the Korean people!

LET US CREATE THE AIR FORCE OF THE NEW KOREA

**Encouraging Speech Delivered
at the Sinuiju Aviation Association**

November 29, 1945

Our nation that had been exploited and oppressed for 36 years under the tyranny of the evil Japanese imperialists, won freedom and light with the country's liberation.

The Japanese imperialists occupied Korea in the past and carried off as much of our valuable resources as they wanted to, and left no stone unturned to utterly destroy our national consciousness and culture. They slaughtered large numbers of innocent people and tried to exterminate the Korean nation, even to the point of depriving the Koreans of their mother tongue and names. Regarding the Koreans as an inferior nation, they did not teach them any technical skills. On the contrary, they forced unbearable colonial slavery on our people.

Nevertheless, the Korean people did not yield to the Japanese imperialist aggressors and fought dauntlessly for long years against their colonial rule. The guerrillas waged a bloody armed struggle to defeat predatory Japanese imperialism and liberate the country and the people and, at last, vanquished the Japanese invaders and achieved national liberation.

The Korean people have now become the legitimate masters of their country. The beautiful land of three thousand *ri* and its rich mineral resources have all become their property.

Our liberated people are now confronted with the honourable task of building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state—a new, democratic Korea. We must devote all our energies and wisdom to the earliest realization of this historic task.

The most important factor in creating a new, democratic country is the close unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces. We have to liquidate the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionary forces, and strive to unite all the patriotic, democratic forces.

If our country is not to become a colony of foreign imperialists again but to develop into a prosperous, independent and sovereign state, it must have a powerful people's army. In organizing a regular national army, the formation of an air force is of great importance.

So far Korea has had no air force of its own. We have to form an air force for the new Korea that is capable of reliably defending the blue skies of our country.

To this end, we have to form an aviation organization, to begin with, and develop aeronautics. It can be said that aeronautics is a yardstick for measuring the level of a country's development and the progress of its science and technology. We have to try hard to raise aeronautics, as well as techniques in all other fields, to a higher level. At your request and wish, I have agreed to accept the presidency of the Aviation Association of Korea.

Since our country has just been liberated from the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule, it is below world standards in very many respects. We have to make a new start now in everything. We can and must advance to be on a par with the developed countries in the technological sphere and in all others. Bearing this firmly in mind, we must strive to reach world standards as soon as possible.

The air force in any country is affectionately regarded by its people and leaders. Stalin called the Soviet air force "my hawk."

We should create a people's air force quickly to reliably defend the skies of the new Korea. We must create air routes so that Koreans could travel by air.

In our country, however, there are very few people, at present, who are familiar with aeronautical techniques. In the past, Koreans had no opportunity to learn such techniques.

It is very good that you are learning aeronautics; this can be regarded as a precious bud in the building of a new country.

Just as the peasants sow and look after the buds with great care, so must this bud to form an air force of the new Korea be nursed carefully, enabling our young people to fly the skies of their motherland at will.

You have now a serious responsibility in creating the air force. You must be both the seed and the bud of the Korean air force which is to be set up in the future.

If you are to fulfil this heavy responsibility, you have to first arm yourselves firmly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and a revolutionary world outlook.

In the past the Japanese imperialists tried to turn the Korean people into “subjects of the Japanese Empire,” clamouring that “Japan and Korea are one” and that “Japanese and Koreans are of the same descent,” and imposed colonial enslavement education on our youths over a long period. Many Koreans worked at Japanese establishments for a living or were pressed to serve the Japanese army on behalf of Japanese imperialism. Therefore, we Koreans retain to a large extent ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism. While you retain these old ideological vestiges, you cannot contribute to the building of a new country.

You have to try strenuously to root out these ideological hangovers as soon as possible and arm yourselves with the progressive ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

You should now steadily improve your technical standards by studying and training diligently. Aeronautics is intricate and cannot be mastered in a short space of time. You must not rest content with your present technical standards but learn constantly from advanced aeronautical techniques and carry on vigorous training to improve them further, while training large numbers of aeronautical technicians.

Physical fitness is most necessary for learning aeronautics. You have to build up your strength physically by leading a well-regulated life and regularly doing various physical exercises zealously.

Since you lead a collective life, you have to enforce a rigid discipline.

This is a place where a good many young people will be assembled. You should quickly found a youth organization and intensify organizational life and political education among the young men and women.

If you want to defend the skies of the country reliably, you should become members of the Communist Party. You cannot become Party members just for the asking. In order to become Party members you must be an example to others in work and study harder.

Needless to say, you will meet with many obstacles and difficulties in forming the air force. You can hardly expect to have none in the undertaking you are tackling as pioneers. But you must not become disappointed. If we help each other and pool our efforts and talents we will be fully capable of surmounting them all. We have to surmount all difficulties courageously by our own efforts, never hesitating or shrinking before them.

If we inform the masses of the people of the air force through wide information work for them to get a correct understanding and knowledge of it, we will be able to muster unreserved nationwide support. Our people will actively back the formation of the Korean air force. And our attempts to build the air force will also receive international assistance.

We must be firmly resolved to overcome all the difficulties ahead of us. An inflexible determination will enable us to cope with everything.

From now on we need not hesitate in anything we do for the good of our country. You must continue to engage in research and in your endeavours to develop the Korean air force.

Where there are airfields there are possibly people who are familiar with aeronautical techniques. You should organize aviation

associations in such places and bring these people together, enrol young people wishing to study aeronautics in them and thereby actively expand your ranks.

And it is imperative to amalgamate the aviation associations formed in Pyongyang, Sinuiju, Hamhung, Chongjin and Hoeryong and set up local branches to function under the unified leadership of the Aviation Association of Korea.

In the future we will be able to join the International Aeronautical Federation.

You have to march forward energetically with the firm belief that you can build up world-class air force.

Our goal of building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state and creating a people's air force will certainly be reached.

STUDENTS SHOULD ACTIVELY HELP IN BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

**Speech Delivered at a Large Lecture for Students
from Middle Schools and Schools of Higher
Levels in Pyongyang
*December 7, 1945***

Comrades,

All of you present today are students. I like students very much. I wanted to meet you earlier and have a talk with you, but owing to pressure of work I only got the chance to do so today.

People now call me a general and regard me as a special sort of man, which I am not. I grew up in a farm village and my life has been the same as that of any other ordinary person. At one time I was a student like you. I went to school and studied with the help of my comrades and our people. So I understand the thoughts and feelings of students quite well.

Students think a lot about their future during their school days and look forward with great ambition to their prospects. You, too, must be thinking in various ways of your promising future. School experiences are long remembered. I still remember my school days when I used to brood over Korea's destiny, and such recollections always revive a sense of pride in me.

Today I am going to speak about the immediate tasks of the young students who have great ambitions.

Our society now consists of three major forces—the workers,

peasants, and intellectuals. If we are to build a new, democratic state, we must closely unite these three forces. Otherwise, we cannot efficiently combat the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, and other reactionaries, nor can we hasten the building of the country. The fundamental question of uniting them, therefore, is posed in the building of a new country.

Closely rallying the intellectuals in order to enlist their knowledge and talents to the full is of great significance in building a new, democratic Korea. Intellectuals must devote all their efforts to this cause and the young intellectuals especially must zealously participate in the work of nation-building.

Young intellectuals are sensitive to the new, aspire after a new society with a fervent revolutionary spirit, and are willing to devote their knowledge with patriotic ardour to the development of the country and the prosperity of the nation. So they can play a very important part, both in the revolutionary struggle and in the building of the national economy and culture.

Students with knowledge should strive to contribute to the work of nation-building more than anyone else. You are the new generation that has to carve out the future destiny of the country. You have to work hard to become the pillars of a new, democratic Korea, and true workers advancing with the destiny of the country on your shoulders.

Ardent students,

I will speak frankly about the situation in our country to you, who ardently wish to fight for justice, even braving sacrifices.

We have already driven the Japanese imperialist aggressors from our land and carried out the historic cause of national liberation. This did not come about of its own accord. Some people are saying that the liberation of our country is a “bloodless revolution.” But this is not really the case. Our people have waged a long-drawn-out struggle with blood to win back their usurped country from the Japanese imperialists. True Korean communists fought heroically, arms in hand, to overthrow Japanese imperialist colonial rule and liberate the country. They have shed their blood in plenty in this struggle.

The country has been liberated but its complete independence has yet to be won. It is nearly four months since liberation but our people have not yet set up the independent, sovereign state they have longed for so ardently.

Our road of building a new Korea is fraught with many difficulties. At present, many people do not understand the road Korea should follow; they are groping about in different directions. They are no better prepared for this than a first-year pupil, if their preparedness can be likened to a grade in the school system. In fact, the state of affairs in our country can be likened to building a new army with recruits.

In the main this is because our country had no revolutionary party in the past. The Korean Communist Party was founded in 1925, but it was disbanded in 1928 because of harsh repression by the Japanese imperialists, the lack of revolutionary principles within its ranks, and massive factional strife. Later the Korean communists endeavoured to form a party, but until the country was liberated they did not have a unified party. In these circumstances the masses of the people were not organized nor did they get a political education and training under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Needless to say, it is difficult to build the country in such a situation. Nevertheless, we must overcome all difficulties courageously and build a new Korea, come what may.

A most urgent task for us today is to do away with the remnants of Japanese imperialism.

Pursuing a vicious colonial policy, the Japanese imperialist aggressors sowed the seeds of imperialism everywhere during their occupation of Korea. For this reason there are many survivals of Japanese imperialism. Although the aggressors have been disarmed and their colonial ruling machinery liquidated in our country, their collaborators and ideological hangovers still exist.

The Japanese imperialists have only laid down their arms but they themselves have not been wiped out. They and their aggressive ideology still persist. This you are well aware of.

Take one example.

When we returned to Pyongyang after liberation, we found our national flag flying at the house of a Japanese who used to brag that his country was the strongest in the world. I asked a child from that house why they had put up the flag. The child answered, "They say we are now obliged to hoist the Korean national flag but that some day we'll put up the Japanese national flag again." The child's answer shows that the Japanese imperialists still nurture the imperialist aggressive ambition to invade Korea and China again and then conquer the rest of Asia.

In view of this, we have to try hard to eradicate the survivals of Japanese imperialism. If we do not eliminate these remnants completely we shall be unable to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state, and the imperialists may conquer our country once again.

First of all, we must totally liquidate the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The stooges of Japanese imperialism are working against our people in every way, concealing themselves among the masses. So we must step up the struggle against the stooges who actively helped the Japanese imperialists in the past and who will do so in the future, too.

We should at the same time eliminate the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism from the minds of the people. Its ideological influence still remains in everyone's mind because our people were subordinated to its colonial rule for such a long time. That is why the struggle against these ideological remnants must be intensified.

In order to wipe out these remnants, the national consciousness of the people must be enhanced. We must see to it, therefore, that ideological education is intensified so that all the people would strive to combat these survivals with a high sense of national pride and self-respect.

The survivals of Japanese imperialism cannot be wiped out in a day or two. In order to wipe them out, all the people must fight tirelessly. Homes, political parties, public organizations, and the rest

of the country must join in the struggle to sweep away the remnants of Japanese imperialism and pursue it ceaselessly and forcefully. Our young students must be in the forefront of the battle to do away with the surviving forces and ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism.

We must liquidate the survivals of Japanese imperialism as early as possible, set up the government so desired by the Korean people, build the economy and culture and thus create a new society where everyone will live in happiness. In this way we will attain complete independence and sovereignty and bring prosperity to the country and the people.

The entire nation must unite solidly in order to efficiently combat the survivals of Japanese imperialism and successfully build a new, democratic Korea. If everyone does what he thinks with no regard for national unity, we shall be unable to surmount the difficulties in our path and accomplish the cause of nation-building.

Uniting the entire nation does not mean banding people together without principle. We have to unite with all people who love their country but not with the stooges of Japanese imperialism, the traitors to the nation, and other reactionaries, who betrayed the interests of our people.

The reactionaries are now manoeuvring craftily to prevent our people from uniting and split the nation. The recent student incident in Sinuiju is a graphic illustration of this.

When I was informed of the disturbance, I went there immediately. I asked the students why they had acted in that way; they answered that they had unconsciously been misled. The incident was not thought up by the students themselves, but triggered off by the reactionaries who incited some naive students to the unrest behind the scenes.

It is to be deeply regretted that such a disturbance took place at a time when all the people should be being united in the cause of nation-building. The Sinuiju student incident reveals that our nation is not yet united. It is a disgrace to our nation.

There is no need to explain how wrong it was to have plotted such an incident that people fought each other when nation-building had already begun. The troublemakers are extremely reactionary for they undermine national unity and impede the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state in our country; in the final analysis, they are as bad as the traitors who sold our country to the Japanese imperialists in the past.

You should champion the cause of the country, the nation and the working masses heart and soul, resolutely opposing the reactionaries who disturb the unity of the people and impede the efforts to build up the country.

You should have a correct idea about the Communist Party.

Rumour has it that the Party is bad; this rumour was spread by the reactionaries and by some people who are quite ignorant about what communism really is. Communism is an ideology for the building of a society where the masses of the people are well off in freedom and happiness. That is why I have supported communism from childhood.

In my school days, I used to think a great deal about the unjust society where man is oppressed and exploited by man, and confirmed my determination to fight for the freedom and happiness of the people. If you have read much and correctly analyzed social phenomena, you, too, must have attained the same idea. The Communist Party is the most progressive and revolutionary party; it opposes exploitation and oppression in any form and strives to build a new, democratic society to make everyone happy and well off.

How, then, can you say that the Party is bad? It is a mistake to discredit the Party on the grounds that some wicked persons abuse its name in their mischief-making. My experience from early years in the struggle for the country and the people has led me to the firm belief that the Communist Party is not bad at all and that unless all the people give unstinting support to it, the building of a democratic, fully independent and sovereign state will be impossible.

Without the correct leadership of the Communist Party the revolution will never be able to triumph. This has been proved over

and over again by historical facts in our country.

Take the March First Movement. It was an anti-Japanese struggle involving the whole nation. The world marvelled at the outbreak of the movement, in which the Korean people bravely fought against the Japanese imperialists in every nook and corner of the country, shouting for independence. The entire nation rose against the Japanese imperialists but it fell through. Why did it fail? Partly because it did not win international support and was isolated. But a more weighty reason was that the movement lacked organization, was spontaneous and disorderly because there was no revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country capable of giving effective leadership to the revolutionary movement of the masses.

In the subsequent period, too, many massive anti-Japanese movements took place in various forms. They all failed, however, due to the absence of correct leadership by a revolutionary party of the proletariat.

The important lesson to be drawn from the history of the revolutionary movement is that for the building of a new, democratic state, the masses of the people must be organized under the leadership of a revolutionary party and the broad masses must actively support the party.

The misconception on the part of some people about the Communist Party is also largely due to hooligans who, worming their way into the Party, are engrossed in feathering their own nests and in wielding power. The communist ranks have no room for undesirable elements who violate the interests of the people. At present, two months after the founding of the Party, the number of genuine Party members wholeheartedly devoted to the people has gradually increased, and by a stepped-up struggle to consolidate the Party the undesirable elements lurking in the Party will be eradicated before long.

You students must have a correct understanding of the Communist Party and support it ardently and advance energetically along the road indicated by it.

Besides, it is important to have a correct view of the people's committees, too.

The people's committees are the government organs of our people. If we are to set up a central government organ and build a new, democratic Korea, we have to naturally strive to consolidate the local people's committees and increase the part they play.

The local people's committees now existing around the country have not been elected by all the people because of the complicated situation prevailing after liberation. It is probable, therefore, that undesirable elements might be on them. Even so, their presence should not be held against the people's committees themselves. Instead, the undesirable elements should be thrown out and replaced with faithful people. You, students, must support the people's government organs and actively help to consolidate them.

The same is true of your attitude towards the public security organs.

Our security organs are dedicated to the work of protecting the lives and property of the people and guaranteeing peace and order and the well-being of the people. If any of the security workers commit acts not in keeping with their mission, we must take steps to correct their mistakes. It would not suit to hold their misconduct indiscriminately against the security organs themselves. We should staff the organs with good people and help them to carry out their mission fittingly.

If you are to actively contribute to the building of a new Korea, you must have a correct political view. Otherwise, you could also be deceived by the reactionaries, for they are now resorting to vicious means, in one way or another, to bring false charges against our workers who are striving for nation-building. You have to guard against being fooled by the reactionaries, who are obstructing the cause of nation-building in pursuit of their selfish interests. In your tireless efforts to increase your political awareness, you must acquire a high level of political consciousness that will enable you to judge all questions correctly and maintain the right stand and attitude.

One of the important tasks facing young students today is to actively help to educate the masses.

Our task is to enlighten and awaken the broad masses if we are to build the country successfully. Only when we step up education of the masses, clearly show them the road Korea should follow and bring the revolutionary tasks home to them, will they participate in the work of nation-building voluntarily and dedicate all their strength and wisdom to the struggle for building a new Korea.

Students, the young intellectuals, therefore, should zealously educate the masses to build a progressive, democratic country, instead of just sitting and lauding independence. You must go to factories and farm villages and teach the masses how to read and write, and explain clearly what kind of state we must build in our country, and what to do to build the country well, so that they will join in the building of a new Korea.

Students,

You are now confronted with very important revolutionary tasks. All the young students must unite solidly in order to effectively carry out the serious but honourable tasks entrusted to you for the building of a new Korea.

You must all rally in close unity behind the flag of the Democratic Youth League and make every effort to help in building a new, democratic country.

I hope you, students, will join us in the all-out struggle to establish a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AT ALL LEVELS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORTH KOREA

**Report to the Third Enlarged Executive
Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing
Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea**

December 17, 1945

Comrades,

The Korean people have expelled the Japanese imperialists from the territory of their homeland and have won freedom and independence with the help of the heroic Red Army of the Soviet Union. A broad avenue has now opened for the liberated Korean people.

We will never forget the fraternal help given us by the great Soviet people, the Red Army and Stalin.

From the moment the Red Army entered the Korean territory, we began to organize the Communist Party in north Korea. In the three months following liberation, the Party did no small job in organizational work. During these months it grew rapidly and now has 4,530 members.

Provincial, city and county Party committees have been formed, and Party cells set up in many districts. The Party now has five publications. So that Party members have a basically correct understanding of the present political situation in north Korea. Many Party committees have already corrected the “Leftist” errors

they made in their early stage.

But, although the Party organizations at all levels have achieved considerable success in their work, they still have grave defects. These shortcomings show up primarily in the organizational work of the Party. The formation of the Party is not yet complete organizationally.

Statistics on Party membership are not in proper shape, and uniform membership cards have not been issued to Party members.

Party committees have not yet been built up with the finest personnel, and Party organizations have yet to be set up in a large number of factories, enterprises and farm villages.

Pro-Japanese and other hostile elements have sneaked into our ranks in local Party organizations, because no procedures for admission to the Party have been made. These hostile elements try to damage the prestige of our Party in the eyes of the masses and wreck its unity. They can be found not only among the rank-and-file but also in the leadership bodies of our Party.

For instance, a certain Kim, secretary of the Yangdok County Party Committee, was a police sergeant in that county during Japanese imperialist rule, yet he is now “directing” the Party organizations. A certain Kwon, chairman of the Yangdok County People’s Committee, served as head of Iljin Association, a pro-Japanese organization, in that county before liberation and is now presenting himself as a “communist.” Many other similar instances could be cited.

These facts show that the ranks of our Party are infected with pro-Japanese elements.

1. ON IMPROVING THE COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY

The present composition of our Communist Party is as follows:

Workers.....	30%
Peasants	34%
Intellectuals, tradesmen and others	36%

We can see from these figures that the Party is not developing on a sound basis. The Party ranks consist primarily of peasants and intellectuals. Thus, the Party has failed to become a truly working-class party. A party with such a composition will not be able to carry out the will and demands of the working class to the full.

Stalin said, “The Party must be, first of all, the *advanced* detachment of the working class. The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat.” We have failed to observe this principle in our work.

How does it happen that our Party ranks include many peasants and intellectuals and only a small number of workers? The reasons are as follows:

First, our Party committees and officials have not maintained close ties with the working class or worked properly with it. Our Party officials do not go among the workers but wait for the workers to come to see them.

Second, Party cells have not yet been organized in many factories and enterprises.

Third, workers who want to join the Party have found it very difficult because of the stipulation that sponsors of applicants for Party membership must have more than one year’s Party standing. This amounts to placing an artificial barrier in the way of the workers who desire to join the Party.

We cannot tolerate such a practice any longer. We must put to rights the course of recruiting new members so that chiefly workers and advanced elements from among the urban and rural working people can join the Party ranks.

2. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY UNITY AND DISCIPLINE

Another big defect in the work of the Party organizations is that Party unity is not strong enough and discipline is lacking. This is inconsistent with the spirit and organizational principles of the Party.

Various groupings have appeared within the Party organizations in Hwanghae, North Phyongan and South Hamgyong provinces. This is a very dangerous phenomenon weakening the unity of the Party and lowering its prestige.

Some local Party committees ignore or do not faithfully carry out the directives of the Central Organizing Committee. This grossly violates the Party's principle of democratic centralism and weakens its discipline.

Some provincial Party committees do not consider it their duty to report regularly to the Central Organizing Committee on their work and the work of their Party organizations. There was even one episode—when we sent a man from the Central Organizing Committee to South Hamgyong Province, the Provincial Party Committee would not receive him. In that province, the Young Communist League has not yet been reorganized into the Democratic Youth League, in spite of repeated instructions from the Central Organizing Committee.

We must consider the behaviour of some provincial Party committees that disregard the instructions of the Central Organizing Committee as an act of liberalism incompatible with the organizational principles of a Marxist party. Lenin once said, "... the Communist Party will be able to perform its duty only if it is organized in the most centralized manner, if iron discipline bordering on military discipline prevails in it, and if its Party centre is a powerful and authoritative organ, wielding wide powers and enjoying

the universal confidence of the members of the Party.” “Whoever weakens in the least the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially in the period of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.” Many of our officials have forgotten this teaching of Lenin’s.

We must not forget even for a moment that quite a few pro-Japanese elements have sneaked into our Party, and that they will resort to every conceivable scheme to disrupt its ranks.

If we want to have an influential, prestigious party, we must strive with all our might to strengthen discipline in the Party and preserve its unity.

3. ON STRENGTHENING OUR TIES WITH THE MASSES

Our Party now has very few workers in its membership. This is because the ties between the Party and the masses are weak.

Party bodies are failing to do their organizational and educational work properly among the masses, and leading officials do not go out to factories, enterprises, coal mines or farm villages. Therefore, they are not familiar with the actual conditions in the localities and are ignorant of the mood of the masses. As a result, an unfortunate incident occurred in Sinuiju in which middle-school students armed themselves and raided the provincial Party headquarters at the instigation of the national socialists. A similar incident happened in another place, too.

Communists have failed to mobilize the masses actively to tackle the immediate tasks arising in all spheres of the political and economic life of north Korea, such as rehabilitating industrial enterprises, putting rail transport in order and securing voluntary deliveries of farm produce. Leading Party officials do not deem it

their duty to go to the factories and talk to the workers, listen to their demands, explain the present situation in our country to them, settle problems that crop up in their work or set concrete tasks for them.

If we shut ourselves up in our offices instead of going among the masses, we will not be able to win them over, and the people will not follow us. We will thus find ourselves divorced from the masses of the people. If we do not constantly strengthen our ties with the masses, and if we do not listen to them, teach them and also learn from them, the Communist Party, a party of the working class, will not be able to become a truly mass party competent to lead all the working people.

If a party always approaches the broad masses of the working people and keeps in close contact with them, that party will be ever-victorious. In contrast, if a party is isolated from the masses and becomes bureaucratic, that party will turn impotent and collapse. Stalin said, "We may take it as the rule that as long as the Bolsheviks maintain connection with the broad masses of the people they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, as soon as the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the masses and lose their connection with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all their strength and become a mere cipher." Some of our Party officials do not fulfil this basic requirement and many local Party organizations ignore it.

4. ON GUIDANCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

Party leadership bodies pay little attention to giving guidance to the trade unions. As a result, the trade unions are failing to mobilize workers, technicians and other office workers to the full for the work of rehabilitating and putting factories and enterprises back into operation, raising labour productivity and strengthening labour discipline.

Provincial and city Party committees have underestimated the importance of giving guidance to the trade unions. This has resulted in many non-Party people holding leading posts in these unions and Party members making up but a small proportion of the trade union membership.

Some trade union committees, far from helping the management in its work, put obstacles in the way of running the enterprise. For example, the workers in a certain industrial enterprise in Sadong (which has a trade union) raised an illegal demand under the “guidance” of a Party member, organized something like a strike and went so far as to beat up the manager and engineers. Though their wages were higher than they had ever been in the years of Japanese imperialist rule, the workers came out with a strong demand for a wage increase. It should be realized that the country’s economic situation does not allow us to grant large wage increases. Before we can do this, all the industrial enterprises must be rapidly restored and put into operation, and labour productivity must rise.

In guiding trade unions, we should not just focus attention on the question of improving the immediate living conditions of the working class without taking into consideration the long-range interests of the national economy. It is important to get them to enlist the patriotic zeal and creativity of the working people in the struggle for the rehabilitation and construction of the national economy. Only by doing this can we steadily improve the living standards of the working people.

The Party is not an ordinary organization; it is the highest form of organization of the working class, an organization that leads all other working-class organizations. Concerning the leadership of a communist party over trade unions and other social organizations, Stalin said, “It only means that the members of the Party who belong to these organizations and are doubtlessly influential in them should do all they can to persuade these non-Party organizations to draw nearer to the Party of the proletariat in their work and voluntarily accept its political leadership.” This statement of Stalin should be the

guide to our Party's work with trade unions.

Some comrades assert that guiding trade unions is none of the Party's business and that trade unions do not need to work under its leadership. This is a view quite contrary to Marxism-Leninism. We should relentlessly combat such wrong tendencies.

5. ON THE TRAINING OF CADRES AND ALLOCATION OF PARTY FORCES

Being a young party, our Communist Party is very short of leading cadres who have been tested and seasoned in practical work.

Moreover, we cannot say that the small number of cadres we have now are all doing their jobs well and working devotedly in the people's interests. Some leading personnel who are communists seek only high posts and neglect their duties, and fall short in their self-discipline, feathering their nests by taking advantage of their positions. The former security chief of North Phyongan Province, for instance, lived a fast life and had several mistresses. He occupied a number of houses and misappropriated a stupendous amount of confiscated Japanese property. Upon learning of this, of course, we dismissed him at once.

We also have Party members who refuse to go to work at a lower level when told to; they consider it shameful.

One of the big defects found in some of our leading Party workers is that, in selecting and assigning personnel, they do not observe the principles of personnel management but display favouritism for their friends and relatives. Such officials are eager to surround themselves with their relatives and close friends.

As you see, we lack cadres and, moreover, those we do have are still very immature. In spite of this, the provincial Party committees do not pay close attention to the training and education of cadres and,

after they assign personnel, fail to give them any assistance.

We should always remember the following words of Stalin with regard to personnel: “After a correct political line has been worked out and tested in practice, the Party cadres become the decisive force in the work of guiding the Party and the state. A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice, and who are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal.”

We should train cadres, assign them fittingly, teach them through practice, check up on their work, give them help when needed and keep exact statistics on them.

We are now in dire need of competent newspapermen. As a result, our Party publications are working very unsatisfactorily and are failing in their task of explicitly explaining and popularizing the line of our Party.

The Central Organizing Committee of our Party must intensify the work of training and educating cadres to ease the shortage and raise their qualifications.

6. ON THE WORK OF ISSUING PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS AND KEEPING MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

A serious defect in the work of provincial and city Party committees is that they do not keep accurate statistics on their Party

organizations and members. They have no standard forms for registering and keeping statistics on Party members, and they do not compile monthly statistics on their membership.

Party members do not as yet have uniform Party membership cards. This situation is fraught with the danger of hostile elements forging Party cards and passing themselves off as Party members. The Central Organizing Committee has now prepared uniform Party cards. We will soon issue them to Party members. Great vigilance should be exercised to avoid Party cards falling into the hands of hostile elements in the process of issuing them to Party members. While issuing the membership cards, we should check up on the Party members and expel the alien elements who have wormed their way into the Party.

7. ON THE QUESTION OF THE UNITED FRONT

Our Party is not working as well as it should in establishing a united front with the democratic political parties. Instead of trying to solve the weighty problems facing the Party and the people in cooperation with the friendly parties, some of our comrades provoke unnecessary friction. This places great obstacles in the way of forming a united front with the democratic political parties and social organizations.

In the localities, it is not uncommon for communists to oppose members of the democratic political parties and vice versa. We cannot tolerate such a practice.

Why do we need a united front? It is needed to unite all the people, put political and economic life quickly in order at home and build our country into a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state. The Party cannot carry out this great task single-handedly. Only in unity with all the democratic political parties and

social organizations in the country and with all the people can we realize the cause of building a unified, democratic and independent state.

Comrades,

What lies at the bottom of the mistakes and defects discovered in the work of the organizations of the Communist Party of North Korea? It is the unsatisfactory work of the Central Organizing Committee.

Now, then, can we eliminate all these shortcomings? Yes, of course. To do this, we should first strive to preserve the unity of our Party ranks and establish iron discipline within the Party. Without this, we cannot do anything, nor can we strengthen our Party and make it invincible.

8. OUR TASKS

What, then, are our Party's immediate tasks?

First, the political line of our Party at the present stage is to establish a unified democratic government in our country based on an alliance with all the democratic political parties and social organizations and transform north Korea into a powerful democratic base for the building of a unified, democratic and independent state. Therefore, we should, on the one hand, rouse the working masses in the urban and rural areas to the struggle for the speedy democratization of the political, economic and cultural life in north Korea and, on the other, form a united front with all the democratic political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea and strengthen it in every way.

Second, the issuing of Party membership cards should be done with scrupulous care. This is of great political significance. Party cards should be issued only to those who have really joined the Party.

We should not regard issuing Party cards merely as technical work, but as that of closing the Party ranks, a political work of purging them of reactionaries, seekers of high posts and other unsound elements who do harm to Party work.

Third, the *Jongno* newspaper staff must be enlarged and competent workers assigned there so that the quality of the paper would be improved, and its circulation be boosted to 50,000 copies. At the same time, the newspaper must be turned into a daily. We must thus see to it that our newspaper becomes a mass propagandist and organizer.

Fourth, the growth of the Party must be properly controlled. The finest of the working people in the urban and rural areas, particularly advanced workers, should be enrolled in the Party ranks.

Fifth, disorderly practices have to be eliminated in the work of compiling statistics on Party membership. Every Party organization must enforce the system of collecting and summarizing monthly statistics on Party members and see that they take good care of their membership cards.

Sixth, Party cells should be formed in factories and enterprises and strengthened organizationally.

Seventh, the Party bodies should direct special attention to the training, assignment and education of Party cadres, and organize Party schools and short courses to train them at provincial, city, county and sub-county level.

Eighth, Party conferences should be held at provincial, city, county and sub-county Party committee level to discuss questions pertaining to the immediate tasks of the Party.

I am convinced that our Party organizations will successfully carry out the above-mentioned tasks set before them.

FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the Third Enlarged
Executive Committee Meeting of the Central
Organizing Committee of the Communist
Party of North Korea**

December 18, 1945

Though agreeing with your speeches, I am going to emphasize some questions.

First, the Communist Party must be consolidated organizationally. The Party still fails to strike roots deep among the working class and its ranks include a large number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. We have not yet organized Party cells widely in factories, mines and other industrial enterprises on the organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Therefore, the provincial, city and county Party committees as well as the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea must pay particular attention to guiding the work of Party cells before anything else.

Second, we must strengthen the unity of the Party in ideology and purpose to further consolidate it. Factional acts in the Party must be thoroughly rejected. For instance, such factional acts as took place in the Haeju City Party organization in Hwanghae Province, must be quashed quickly.

Third, Party discipline must be strengthened.

The strengthening of Party discipline is a decisive guarantee for

the consolidation of Party organizations and the implementation of the Party line. Therefore, it is very important to make every Party member strictly observe the standards of Party life.

Some Party members working on the provincial, city or county Party committees regard themselves as highly-placed persons. Party members working in both higher and lower organs should understand that they are all equal in that they carry out their duties to the Party organizations.

The Party's decisions and instructions must not remain a dead letter, but become duties for all Party members from leadership personnel down to the rank and file.

I consider that Kim Hui should be punished for his violation of Party discipline.

Fourth, the basic way of training Party cadres must be not only at school but also through practical work in Party cells at factories, mines, civil organs and farm villages. That is the way to train cadres.

Fifth, the reporting system must be strengthened.

One of the big drawbacks in our Party work is that provincial Party committees do not report on their work to the COCCPNK. Because they do not report, the COCCPNK is out of touch with actual conditions in the local areas and cannot take timely measures and formulate policies.

In the future the provincial Party committees must report regularly to the COCCPNK on their work.

Sixth, instructions have been given on many occasions to reorganize the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League, but they have not yet been carried out in some localities. I emphasize once again that the YCL has to be reorganized into the DYL without delay in all local areas.

TO MR. HO HON

December 20, 1945

I am very glad to be writing to you in the liberated homeland.

I well know that under the Japanese imperialist colonial rule, though your heart was heavy with the grief of national ruin, you unwaveringly followed the patriotic, anti-Japanese road and kept your national principles unsullied.

I express my gratitude for your sincere sympathy and support in the past to the anti-Japanese armed struggle of the Korean communists for national liberation.

I already know from messages and letters that you are concerned about me and are anxious to meet me. These are also my sentiments. I would like to meet you right now, but as it is, I am unable to do so. That is why today I am writing to convey my greetings.

Having returned to the homeland about which I never stopped thinking, awake or asleep, I am now working and living among my compatriots with really great joy and happy emotions. Whenever I see the patriotic enthusiasm and indomitable fighting spirit of our people, who rose valiantly for the building of a new state, full of great hope and ambition for the future, I feel a boundless joy and derive great strength from them.

Though the Japanese imperialists suppressed our people for 36 years and tried to crush our national spirit, the Korean people are alive and their national spirit is also alive.

Bright vistas have opened up for our liberated people.

But the situation in our country is very complicated indeed. As you yourself see, the situation in south Korea is so complicated that it is impossible not to be concerned about it. The democratic activities of the patriotic people for building a new state in south Korea today are severely restricted by the US military government, whereas the anti-democratic manoeuvres of the reactionary forces, including pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, are intensified as the days go by. All the moves of the Americans in south Korea are shady and make us feel that they are little different from the acts committed by the Japanese imperialists in Korea in the past.

Today the situation prevailing in south Korea demands that all the revolutionaries and patriotic democrats there correctly assess the trends of the situation and take the right attitude along patriotic and progressive lines.

We have to set up a democratic, independent and sovereign state in liberated Korea. In order to carry out this historic task, we must make great efforts to establish a democratic government. The democratic government we are going to set up is a genuine people's government that will provide the masses with freedoms and rights.

The reactionaries are now seeking to form a bourgeois government and introduce a bourgeois democracy in our country. Bourgeois democracy is a democracy for the handful of people belonging to the privileged and exploiting classes; it is not a democracy for the working masses.

We should clearly understand the reactionary nature of bourgeois democracy and fight against it resolutely, and make every effort to win genuine democracy.

The people in north Korea are today firmly entering on the road leading to genuine democracy. In north Korea the masses are provided with the conditions for enjoying democratic rights and freedoms in all branches of social life, such as speech, the press, assembly, association and religion, and measures are being taken to democratize all fields of political, economic and cultural life. By carrying out democratic reforms in the near future, we will lay the solid socio-economic

foundation of genuine democracy, and build the basis for founding a unified, democratic, independent and sovereign state.

In order to realize genuine democracy the south Korean people should launch a wide and vigorous campaign against all sorts of anti-democratic machinations of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. I think that all the revolutionaries and patriotic democrats in south Korea should be in the forefront of the masses in the struggle to build a new, democratic Korea.

I think that if we are to win the complete independence of the country and build a new, prosperous democratic Korea, what we need, first and foremost, is to have the right attitude towards nation-building. We must definitely reject that wrong viewpoint of turning for help to outside forces in our nation-building and take the correct attitude of building the country by the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

Some people in south Korea are now flattering the Americans and kowtowing to them in order to make a successful career, without caring at all about the destiny of the country and the nation, and are spreading illusions about the United States among the masses.

I think we must not cherish any illusions about the United States. If we imagine that the United States, an imperialist country, would present complete independence to our country, that would be very foolish, indeed.

It is my firm belief that you will try to rid the prominent patriotic democrats and the masses in south Korea of all illusions about the United States and cultivate a sense of national independence in them. All Koreans, who are conscientious and judicious, hope that their nation will build a new country with their own distinct identity. I think that if people like you, who enjoy the trust and respect of the masses, work well, great success will be achieved in imparting a sense of national independence to the broad sections of the people.

One of the most important problems in building a democratic, independent and sovereign state is to strengthen the unity of the broad democratic forces.

As you are well aware, the democratic forces in south Korea are disunited at present. This is mainly due to the factionalists quarrelling in factions. You can see from the situation in south Korea that those who style themselves patriots and revolutionaries have formed different parties and groups and, each pushing forward their own party and group, are indulging in factional strife. This places a big obstacle in the way of strengthening the unity of the democratic forces and rallying broad sections of the patriotic people.

Factional strife brings ruin to a country and revolution. This has been proved by the history of our country. At one time factional strife even ruined our country, and it also did great harm to its national liberation movement.

In south Korea today factionalists are indulging in factional strife once again, instead of learning a lesson from the bitter historical facts of the past. With a view to breaking up the democratic forces from within, the American reactionaries and their lackeys are now covertly egging the factionalists on to create factional strife.

There is not a single good faction among them, and factional strife only benefits the enemy. As the south Korean realities show, the factionalists have no scruples about collaborating with the enemy to achieve their objective. They are patriots or revolutionaries in name, but in fact they do not care a straw about the revolution and the country.

Owing to factional strife, the struggle in south Korea for building a new country is today experiencing trials and complications. Anyone who loves the country and nation and would like the Korean revolution to win, will not be able to remain indifferent to this situation.

I think you have a correct attitude towards factional strife. The factionalists are willing to draw anybody over to their side for their factional aims. You should fight resolutely against factions, and if the factionalists approach you, you should offer them principled criticism and strongly advise them to unite for the complete independence of the country.

Your conduct and attitude could considerably influence other

people. If you take a correct stand, thoroughly denounce the manoeuvres of the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries and wage a positive struggle against factions, many people will follow you and great success will be achieved in this struggle.

I think that while combating factions, the patriotic democrats of different strata should strive to achieve unity. If we are to build our nation to good purpose, we should join hands with all people who love their country, irrespective of party affiliation, religious beliefs and political views, and win over the broad masses of the people. We must unite with all the people who have a spark of patriotism in them, even if their political stand is non-committal.

In particular, it is of great importance to join with such patriotic democrats as Mr. Ryo Un Hyong in winning over the broad masses and expanding and strengthening the democratic forces in south Korea. Mr. Ryo Un Hyong had anti-Japanese, patriotic views in the past, and today is opposed to our country's subordination to any other country, so he has great influence among the masses including the youths and students. Therefore, you would do well to work together with patriotic democrats like him.

It is a really important question to win over the masses of the people. It is impossible to build a new country solely through the efforts of the communists or a few patriotic democrats. Therefore, we should concentrate all our efforts on rallying the broad masses and expanding and strengthening the democratic forces.

I have written here some of the things I had wanted to speak to you about.

I feel certain you will keep my advice in mind and act along the true line of nation-building. The road of struggle you will traverse in future may be fraught with difficulties and complexities, but I hope you will fight well without losing sight of the importance of the responsibility you bear.

In conclusion, I sincerely wish you good health and great success in your patriotic work. I am ready to meet you at any time.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

**Lecture Delivered at a Political Forum Sponsored
by Democratic Youth Organizations**

December 22, 1945

Today I would like to explain why the national united front is necessary for the revolution in our country and how to form it.

The revolutionary forces should be formed competently on the basis of a correct analysis of the prevailing situation and the correlation of class forces in order to win victory in the revolutionary struggle. The question of the united front is one of the important Marxist-Leninist strategic and tactical questions to win over the masses and guarantee decisive superiority for the revolutionary forces.

The forming of a solid national united front in our country is a very urgent task at present. Whether we form a strong national united front or not is a serious question of whether we can rally the revolutionary forces solidly or not, of whether we can thoroughly isolate the counter-revolutionary forces or not; accordingly, it is one of the vital questions on which the victory of our revolution depends. Therefore, we have laid stress on the question of the national united front.

If we are to build a new, democratic Korea successfully by actively organizing and mobilizing the efforts of all the people in the complicated internal and external situation of today, we must

understand the question of the national united front definitely. In particular, it is necessary for our youths—young builders of the nation—to understand it clearly.

1. THE CHARACTER OF OUR REVOLUTION

In order to discuss the question of the national united front we must first analyze the character of our society, just like in any other political question. Only then can we actually recognize the necessity and significance of the national united front in our country and form it properly to meet the demands of our revolution.

Then, what sort of society is present Korean society?

Ours is a semi-feudal society which has only just been freed from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, that is, a society which still retains considerable vestiges of Japanese imperialism and feudalism.

As you all know, the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea for nearly half a century, pursuing their vicious colonial policies.

The Japanese imperialist aggressors ruled our people savagely through a governor-general's office in Korea whose ruthlessness was without precedent in world history. They created a ramified network of various repressive apparatuses all over Korea, such as the army, gendarmerie and police, deprived the Korean people of all elementary rights and freedoms, and cruelly suppressed and slaughtered them. Indeed, they committed a monstrous fascist rule of oppression and a reign of terror all over Korea.

At the same time, they seized all the key branches of the Korean economy, arbitrarily plundered our valuable natural resources and turned Korea into Japan's supply base of raw materials and its commodity market. They restrained the development of Korea's national economy to the utmost and bled our people white. Thus, they

kept our economy in an extremely backward state and forced our people to hover on the brink of starvation and poverty.

Furthermore, with the sinister aim of keeping the Korean people forever in colonial slavery, they carried out a malicious policy of obliterating our people's national consciousness. They attempted to stamp out our long history and brilliant national culture, forced enslavement education upon the Korean people and imbued them with the servile idea of submission.

As you see, the Japanese imperialists pursued monstrous colonial policies in all spheres of our political, economic and cultural life and grossly retarded the country's capitalistic development. If they developed anything at all in Korea, it was only those things which were needed to strengthen their colonial rule and plunder.

It is the character of Japanese imperialism and its predatory nature that is to blame for our country having feudal relations of production today and remaining a semi-feudal society. Japanese imperialism itself was not highly developed capitalism but one with many vestiges of feudalism. Therefore, it could not fully develop capitalism in Korea. Especially, in order to maintain and consolidate their colonial rule over Korea the Japanese imperialists deliberately worked hand in glove with the feudal forces and preserved feudal relations in our country. In the past, along with the comprador capitalists, the landlords formed a major social foothold in our country for the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese imperialists hampered our social development by preserving vestiges of the mediaeval feudal system and utilizing them to heighten their colonial rule and exploitation.

As a result, there are many vestiges of Japanese imperialism and feudalism still left in our country. The remnants of Japanese imperialist colonial rule are rooted deeply in all fields of political, economic and cultural life and even in our people's ideology and morality. The remnants of the feudal system are functioning in all spheres. Moreover, pro-Japanese forces, implanted by Japanese imperialism in the past, are still not eliminated along with

considerable forces of feudalism. The remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism create a great obstacle to our social development today.

In analyzing the character of Korean society we must bear in mind the presence of the armed forces of US imperialism in south Korea, in one half of our country. They have set up a military government in south Korea, and are holding back the democratic advance of the masses and promoting the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries, the enemies of our people.

We must base ourselves on this actual situation of our society in defining the character of the Korean revolution.

At present, the Korean revolution is at a stage where it must sweep away the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and build a new, democratic society, that is, at the stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

The immediate targets of the Korean revolution are the imperialist agents, including the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, who are trying to implant the forces of imperialism again into our country, as well as their accomplices—the forces of feudalism. Both of these forces are supporting each other because of their common aims and interests and are closely united. The remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, and other imperialist agents as well as the feudal forces, are opposed to our country's democratic progress and are resorting to every possible means to steer Korea along the road to anti-democracy. They oppose the democratic forces and are banding together the old, decadent reactionary forces in an attempt to ignite a civil war in our country, and, in alignment with foreign forces of aggression, are trying to make our people the colonial slaves of imperialism again. Therefore, without actively struggling to defeat both of these reactionary forces we cannot build the nation properly or establish a democratic, independent and sovereign country.

If we are to thoroughly isolate the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and other imperialist lackeys and feudal forces, step up the struggle against them and carry out the founding of the state

successfully, we must win over all patriotic and democratic forces and build up the revolutionary forces. It is precisely for this reason that the question of the national united front arises.

2. THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT

This is not the first time the question of the united front has been raised. It was raised a long time ago; however, the united front movement at home and abroad has accumulated much experience since then.

The anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country developed dynamically from the early 1930s under the leadership of true communists.

Entering the 1930s, the Japanese imperialists, who occupied Korea, repressed the Korean communist movement and the national liberation struggle still more harshly, while increasing their aggression on the continent. They were hell-bent on stepping up their fascist oppression and colonial plunder of the Korean people. This increased our people's anti-Japanese sentiments. As a result, the anti-Japanese struggle was intensified among the broad masses of our people, including the workers and peasants. The prevailing situation called for the close unity of the broad masses and the development of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle onto a new, higher stage.

Basing themselves on this objective demand, in the early 1930s the genuine Korean communists organized their armed forces and waged an anti-Japanese armed struggle, at the same time carrying on an energetic struggle to form an anti-Japanese national united front. Thus they united broad sections of patriotic people opposed to Japanese imperialism under the anti-Japanese banner and actively

organized and mobilized them for the struggle against Japan. Particularly, in May 1936, we formed the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland—an anti-Japanese national united front organization. This was an epoch-making event in developing the anti-Japanese national united front movement to new heights in our country. The ARF included workers, peasants, intellectuals, small and medium tradesmen and manufacturers, religious people, nationalists—masses of people of all strata who were opposed to Japanese imperialism and aspired for the liberation of the country. By rallying broad sections of patriotic people around the ARF, we could build up the mass foundation of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, intensify our armed struggle, further expand and develop the overall anti-Japanese national liberation struggle in our country.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we also materialized the united front with the Chinese people. We waged a powerful struggle against Japanese imperialism, the common enemy of both the Korean and Chinese peoples, by strengthening our solidarity with the Chinese communists and forming an anti-Japanese allied front with Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units that had been opposed to the communists.

Through this united front movement carried into effect in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we gained valuable experience. This experience is a precious asset for strengthening the national united front today when we are building a new country.

The united front movement was realized in other countries of Europe and Asia, too.

The people of Europe, who love peace and democracy, have waged united front movements ever since the days when the ominous forces of fascism began menacing the world. In 1933-35 the fascist Hitlerites raised their heads in Germany and at the same time Mussolini's fascist dictatorship was strengthened in Italy. Many people of Europe formed a united front in order to wage their struggle effectively against the fascists, who were out to conquer the whole world and enslave humanity. Not only in France and Spain but also in

Germany freedom- and peace-loving people and organizations fought against Nazi fascism, relying on the united front.

The united front movement developed in colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in capitalist countries. The colonial and semi-colonial people set up national united fronts to counter the further intensification of the aggressive activities of the imperialists and their policy of colonization.

The national united front, aimed at opposing imperialist aggression, represents the whole nation. The imperialists, by invading other countries, not only oppress and exploit their workers, peasants and other working masses but also infringe upon the interests of the rest of the people, including non-comprador capitalists, with the exception of a small handful of imperialist lackeys. Therefore, the broad masses of the people of all strata join the struggle against imperialist aggression. It is true that the workers and peasants are the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle; they fight against the aggressors more staunchly than any other class. However, not only workers and peasants join in this struggle but the rest of the nation, too, and thus, in due course, the national united front is formed.

This is eloquently proved by the experience of the anti-Japanese national united front movement in our country; it is also proved by China's example.

The Chinese people were united across the nation when the Japanese imperialists invaded China and struggled against the colonization of their country. As Japanese imperialism occupied Northeast China and stretched out its dishonest hands of aggression to China proper, the Communist Party of China proposed to the Kuomintang that both parties put an end to civil war immediately and form a united front to wage an anti-Japanese struggle to save the nation, advocating that the people should be given freedom of speech and association as well as weapons. For a long time, the recalcitrant reactionaries of the Kuomintang turned a deaf ear to this proposal and continued to pursue a policy of non-resistance. However, as broad sections of the Chinese people, in response to the CPC's call,

demanded that the whole nation unite and launch an anti-Japanese struggle to save the nation, the reactionaries of the Kuomintang could not but accept the CPC's proposal. As a result, cooperation between the CPC and the Kuomintang was materialized in China and the anti-Japanese national united front came into being.

Internationally speaking, the united front movement expanded further and developed after the appeal made by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern held in 1935. At this congress Dimitrov advanced the line of forming an anti-fascist popular front; he appealed to peace- and democracy-loving people all over the world to step up the joint struggle against the fascists, since the menace of fascism was increasing. Thus, the anti-fascist popular front movement developed on a worldwide scale.

As you see, the united front movement has been pursued extensively at home and abroad for a long time.

3. THE IMMEDIATE TASK OF THE KOREAN REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

As I have already mentioned, the Korean revolution at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Our immediate task is to strive to build a fully independent and sovereign state which will be able to join, on an equal footing, all the countries of the world which oppose the forces of aggression and war and love peace and freedom, to completely eliminate the evil consequences of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and feudal remnants from all spheres of life, and to achieve the country's democratic advancement.

This great task of nation-building confronting us cannot be accomplished by the efforts of any one grouping or a few persons; it can be fulfilled successfully only by correctly organizing and

mobilizing the efforts of the broad masses. To this end, it is imperative to unite all patriotic and democratic forces firmly.

Uniting the broad masses is a decisive guarantee for the victory of the revolution. Unless we win over the masses and guarantee the preponderance of the revolutionary forces, we cannot repulse the offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces or achieve victory for the revolution. If our revolution is to be effective, we must first work to win over the broad masses of the people.

We should strive to rally all the people of different strata under the banner of democracy, who are opposed to the imperialist agents including the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces. Only by doing this, can we set up a truly democratic state, sweep away the survivals of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and democratize society, while also quickly building up the nation's economy.

The Japanese imperialists destroyed all our factories and enterprises and devastated our agriculture. Therefore, only ruined factories and enterprises and barren soil are left in our country. Our economy is in such a state that it is impossible for only a few people to rehabilitate and develop it; it is necessary to mobilize all the people. Those who have strength must contribute their strength, those with knowledge their knowledge and those with money their money; all the people must be stirred up to rehabilitate and develop the nation's economy and build a new, democratic Korea.

We are building our country today in an extremely complicated situation. In south Korea now, unlike in north Korea, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionary forces are assembled under the wing of US imperialism; they are making desperate attempts to obstruct our people who have risen to build a new, democratic Korea. The pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation remaining in north Korea, too, in alliance with the reactionaries in south Korea, are trying to frustrate our people's cause of building the nation. Moreover, bogus revolutionaries and factionalists who pretend to be patriots are trying to divide the people

and are taking steps to confuse them so that they will not know which road to take. This situation urgently demands that we step up our struggle to rally all the patriotic, democratic forces who are interested in the building of a new, democratic Korea firmly around the national united front.

At present, all sections of the people in our country are interested in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Only when this revolution materializes and a democratic, independent and sovereign state is built, can the people of all strata be assured of genuine political rights and democratic freedom, and enjoy a happy life.

In the past, under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, all the Koreans, except for a small handful of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, suffered harsh oppression and exploitation. Not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals, small tradesmen and handicraftsmen, but even the non-comprador capitalists suffered from the national oppression and humiliation of the Japanese imperialists while economically, they were steadily bankrupted and ruined by Japanese monopoly capital. In short, all the people were keenly aware, through their own experience, of the misery of living in colonial bondage to imperialism as they had not their own government.

For this reason, not only the proletariat today but all the rest of the people, including conscientious non-comprador capitalists, are opposed to the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries trying to transform our country into an imperialist colony again, and are demanding the building of a democratic, independent and sovereign state. Therefore, the workers, peasants and the rest of the working masses and also conscientious non-comprador capitalists can take part in the building of a new, democratic Korea.

This shows that it is vitally important to form a solid national united front in our country and that it is possible to form this front from the broad masses of all strata of the people.

We must rally all the political forces, who love the country and the

people and desire the democratic development of the nation, around the national united front.

There are various strata of people in our country, such as the workers, peasants, intellectuals, religious people, landlords and capitalists, and they all want to have their own political organizations representing the interests of their respective classes and circles. So that different political parties and social organizations were formed after liberation and more will be formed in the future, too. In the past, Koreans living abroad belonged to various political organizations. Those that represented the interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals were active among them as well as those that represented the interests of the landlords and capitalists. Even today, after liberation, there are political organizations in our country for the working masses and those for the landlords and capitalists.

We must increase our efforts for bringing the masses of different sections into democratic mass organizations in order to lay a firm foundation for the national united front. Youth workers, in particular, must strive to carry out our Party's line of organizing a democratic youth league, the only youth organization, as soon as possible, to unite all patriotic young people. We must include patriotic people of different strata in the democratic mass organizations and firmly unite the political parties and social organizations around the national united front that desire a democratic, fully independent and sovereign state; thus, they will all join efforts to set up a new country.

If we are to organize a solid national united front and rally broad sections of patriotic people, we must first strengthen the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has advanced the only really correct political line showing the road for our people to take; it is a revolutionary party fighting more staunchly than any other party for the country's democratic development and for the freedom and happiness of the working class and other working masses. Only by strengthening the Communist Party and elevating its leadership role, can we resolutely rally our democratic forces and guide the masses of

people along the right road, and successfully carry out the Korean revolution.

In the past, our country had no revolutionary working-class party capable of fittingly leading the masses. The Korean Communist Party was founded in 1925 but dissolved in 1928, owing to the repression of Japanese imperialism and the cursed factional strife among the factionalists. It is true that even afterwards the communist movement continued to exist in our country while an uninterrupted struggle was waged to found a communist party, but nothing came of it until the country's liberation. Since there was no revolutionary party of the working class, the work of organizing the masses could not be carried out under a unified party leadership; the anti-Japanese struggles waged in our country before had often come about spontaneously and, therefore, they could not but suffer setbacks.

We must remember this bitter lesson of the past. All of us should actively help to strengthen the Communist Party, deeply conscious that without its leadership we cannot build the country properly or win victory for the Korean revolution. Thus, we will, under its leadership, closely unite all the patriotic and democratic forces around the national united front and actively organize and mobilize them for the establishment of a new, democratic Korea.

4. TWO UNITED FRONTS

There are two united fronts—the right and the wrong one. One is the united front advocated by true patriots who love their country and people and the other is the “united front” advocated by the anti-popular, anti-democratic elements.

Then what sort of united front should ours be?

At present some people insist on indiscriminate unity without any principle, on the plea that a united front must be formed. This is not

the true united front we advocate. Ours must not and cannot possibly be a united front that unites those Koreans, who are pro-Japanese elements or traitors to the nation.

We need a united front to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and build a democratic, independent and sovereign state. Nevertheless, they insist we should form a united front even with the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces. This is absurd. How can we join with the enemies of the people? It is impermissible for us, who are going to build a progressive new society, to forgive even in the slightest the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and the feudal forces and then form a coalition with them.

We must not include the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other anti-popular, anti-democratic elements in the united front; we must fight resolutely against them.

But what we must have in mind here is to correctly define who the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation are. Those who betrayed the country and the people by giving active help to the Japanese imperialists in the past should be regarded as pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. However, we must not brand people at random as such. During the 36 years our country remained a colony of Japanese imperialism, some Koreans were employed at Japanese establishments, but most of them had to serve the Japanese imperialists in order to earn a living or because they were forced to, and adopted a passive attitude. There were not many who, while working at Japanese imperialist establishments, assisted them in the repression and slaughter of our people or worked consciously and actively to carry out their colonial policies.

We must not suspect or leave people out in the cold without any reason; we must work hard to win over as many of them as possible.

At present there is a certain difference in the social and economic position and class interests of various sections of the masses who can take part in our anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, and, accordingly, in the work of nation-building, quite a few of them have a

different attitude and approach from those of the working class and other working masses. Non-comprador capitalists particularly and some other circles, because of their class limitations, are wavering, instead of working enthusiastically for nation-building. If we shun them because of this and keep them at a distance, they will go over to the enemy. We must include in the united front all those who are not the targets of our revolution, despite their irresolute attitude and vacillation in nation-building; we must work in unity with them, overcoming through struggle the negative practices that may be apparent among them. Thus, our united front will be a nationwide organization which will knit all patriotic and democratic forces closely together.

Next, it is important to clearly understand the mission of our united front.

First of all, our united front should become a front that opposes imperialism, the country's colonization and the policy of aggression and war.

The imperialists are engrossed in aggression and war and in every possible manoeuvre in order to turn weak and small nations into colonial slaves. Without fighting against imperialism, colonialism, and the policy of aggression and war, it is impossible to achieve the country's complete independence or enable the people to enjoy a free and happy life. Our people understand this very clearly from their own experience.

We must smash the imperialists' conspiratorial activities to hamper our people's cause of nation-building and their ambition to colonize our country again, so that we could set up a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

If we are to fight imperialists' acts effectively, we must first intensify our struggle against their lackeys. We must make no allowances to those who support and defend imperialism, colonialism, the policy of aggression and war and to those agents of Japanese imperialism who have implanted and are going to implant the Japanese imperialist forces in Korea; we must resolutely fight against them.

Our united front must step up the struggle against the conspiratorial activities of the imperialists and their lackeys, in order to contribute actively to the complete independence of the country.

At the same time, ours should be a united front which is thoroughly opposed to feudal relations of production and feudal methods of exploitation.

Feudal relations of production are maintained by the landlords in our countryside today. The feudal system, under which the handful of people harshly oppress and exploit the overwhelming majority of our people, is intolerable both from the point of view of social development and the nation. Unless the feudal relations of production and the feudal methods of exploitation are eliminated, we cannot effect a happy life for the peasants and other working masses, achieve the progress of our society and the prosperity of our nation or establish a democratic, independent and sovereign state.

Therefore, our united front should wage a mighty struggle against the forces of feudalism and to stamp out the survivals of the feudal system.

However, the aim of our united front should not be to set up a capitalist system in Korea, under the pretext of opposing the feudal system. The capitalist system is a system for a mere handful of privileged classes; it is an anti-popular system that brings lack of rights and poverty to the toiling masses. At present certain people are manoeuvring to set up a bourgeois government and establish a capitalist system in our country. If a capitalist system is set up in Korea, our country cannot prosper and develop; further, it would turn into an imperialist colony again and our people would be destined to become a people without a country of their own as once before.

Today our people demand a true people's government, and want to build a prosperous democratic Korea. The new Korea must not take the road to capitalism; it must take the road to progressive democracy. We must build a democratic society where the broad masses of the people enjoy true political rights and democratic freedoms and lead a happy life. Our united front must strive to build a

democratic state which conforms with our country's specific conditions and the will of all the people.

This is precisely what our united front should be.

At this moment the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and renegades of the revolution are trying to deceive the masses so as to bring them into their fold, and are working hard to form a "united front" entirely different from the united front we are advocating. They are doing this in an endeavour to realize their anti-popular aims and satisfy their foul political ambitions.

There are the right and wrong united fronts. The former is progressive, designed to ensure the people's interests and the country's prosperity and progress while the latter is moribund and reactionary, aimed at selling out the people and obstructing the country's progress. It is self-evident which united front our masses want. The broad masses will demand the progressive united front of justice and, in the long run, will be united around it.

We should form a solid democratic national united front, the progressive united front of justice, and firmly rally all patriotic democratic forces, thus expediting the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Our young people should have a correct understanding of the united front and make active efforts to form a solid democratic national united front.

ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE

**Speech Delivered at the First Conference of South
Phyongan Provincial Organizations
of the Communist Party of North Korea**

December 27, 1945

Comrades,

Four months have already passed since our country was liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialist rule. Many successes have been scored in this period by the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province in consolidating the Party and in their struggle to build a new country.

Communist Party organizations have already emerged in every city and county of South Phyongan Province, many sub-county Party organizations and Party cells have been formed, and the Party ranks expanded quickly. Besides, Party organizations at all levels have been establishing the Party's revolutionary organizational discipline and increasing their role.

The Provincial People's Political Committee has been set up in South Phyongan Province, and people's committees in all its counties. Energetic work is going on to promote nation-building.

I express my thanks to all the officials of the Party organizations and other Party members in this province for their devoted efforts during this period to consolidate and develop our Party and

accelerate nation-building.

In spite of the successes, the Party organizations in the province have revealed quite a few shortcomings in their work which should be corrected as fast as possible. The most serious defect is that they have been preoccupied with matters of secondary importance, losing sight of the central task. The main aspect of Party work is to build up the Party ranks, educate them to enhance their vanguard role, and unite the broad masses solidly behind the Party. The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province, however, have paid little attention to this work and directed most of their efforts to such activities as organizing the Red Guards to confiscate enemy property and munitions. They have concentrated on these activities, not on their main duties, with the result that the work of strengthening the Party ranks has been unsatisfactory, and Party organizations have not taken roots deep among the masses.

The main reasons for these shortcomings are that Party officials are not yet fully aware of their tasks and the method of Party work. In the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province, as is the case elsewhere, almost all the officials are inexperienced in Party life and work. Lacking education and experience in this sphere, the workers in the Party organizations at different levels in the province do not know what to do, or how to do things; they just do whatever tasks come along, indiscriminately. After all, shortcomings are the result of ignorance. So no one is to blame. If all of you study hard and learn Party work diligently, you will be able to rectify these shortcomings and become efficient.

Now I shall dwell on several tasks confronting the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province.

The most important task for the Party organizations in this province is to increase and strengthen their ranks.

The Communist Party is the most revolutionary of parties representing and championing the interests of the working class and other broad sections of the working masses. Today our Party is faced with the serious task of building a new, democratic Korea by

mobilizing the broad masses of the people to frustrate the acts of the enemies at home and abroad. It must steadily expand and consolidate its ranks if it is to organize and lead the struggle to build a new country correctly.

Our Party today has a membership of over 4,500. As it has been in existence for such a short time this is a great success, but on no account can we rest content with it.

We must devote a great deal of effort to increasing Party membership. The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should steadily increase their ranks by actively recruiting fine progressive people into the Party from among the workers, the poor peasants and farmhands who are sound politically and ideologically, and work devotedly to build a new country.

In increasing the Party's membership you should not be too particular about the people's past record of struggle and theoretical level. Otherwise, people eligible for Party membership will be denied admission. True, it is good to recruit numerous people experienced in struggle and highly qualified theoretically. But it is wrong to regard people without experience in struggle or with little theoretical knowledge as unsuited for Party membership. How is it possible for every single one of our workers and peasants to have a record of revolutionary struggle? And where could they have learned revolutionary theory? People's qualifications for membership are their high degree of class awareness and enthusiasm for nation-building. Even if one did not participate in the revolutionary struggle in the past and does not know Marxism-Leninism, one can become a communist as long as one has a high degree of class consciousness and shows great enthusiasm in building up the country.

That, however, does not mean that people can be admitted to the Party indiscriminately, without careful examination. If the work of Party growth is handled carelessly in violation of the procedures for admission, quite unqualified persons or undesirable and alien elements may slip into the Party. This is illustrated by the fact that in Yangdok County those who had collaborated with the Japanese

imperialists wormed their way into the Party and even held leadership posts. The Party organizations should strictly observe the established principles and heighten their revolutionary vigilance in recruiting members.

While preventing evil people from joining the Party ranks, you should also expose and purge all the undesirable and dissident elements that have already wormed their way in. Lurking in the Party, they work ceaselessly to destroy the Party from within. Our Party would be unable to consolidate itself or increase its militant power if they were not eliminated from its ranks. The Party organizations in this province should draw a serious lesson from the case of Yangdok County and intensify the struggle to purge themselves of undesirable and dissident elements, thus fully guaranteeing the purity of Party ranks.

They must organize Party cells in factories and other enterprises and in farm villages. In this way they will make sure that Communist Party organizations are deeply rooted among the working masses wherever they are.

Correct selection and assignment of cadres is of great significance in building up the Party organizations and increasing their role. Whether Party organizations have well-qualified cadres or not is one of the major factors in determining their militant power. As the real state of affairs in the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province shows, work is done efficiently where there are well-prepared workers even if conditions are unfavourable, and vice versa.

The Party organizations, therefore, should pay close attention to building up the ranks of cadres. The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should reinforce the ranks of their cadres with fine people who have been tempered and tried in the work of nation-building. They should test the cadres regularly and educate them tirelessly in practical work.

The next task confronting the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province is to firmly guarantee the Party's unity of ideology and will, and establish its iron organizational discipline.

Quite a few survivals of factionalism, which greatly harmed the

Korean communist movement in the past, still persist in our Party. As you all know, the Korean Communist Party which was organized in 1925 was dissolved after three years because of Japanese imperialist repression and factional strife. The factionalists did not learn a serious lesson from this but continued their factional strife even in the ensuing period, greatly hampering the development of the revolution. The survivals of this factionalism are working in one way or another even now when our Party has been founded.

At present, the ideological tendency towards liberalism and individual heroism is manifest to a great extent among some Party members. In our Party ranks there are those who struggled underground at home in the past, who suffered for a long time behind bars under Japanese imperialism, and who engaged in different kinds of struggle abroad and returned home after liberation. In many cases, they worked separately from one another, and did not undergo systematic training through organizational life. As a result, some gradually acquired the habit of behaving arbitrarily.

Affected by such ideological poison and bad habits, the Party has not been able to cement its unity of ideology and will and do away with the undisciplined practices of neglecting its decisions and instructions.

Unless the wrong ideological tendency and the undisciplined phenomena that hinder the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks are corrected, our Party will not be able to consolidate itself and fulfil its historic mission as the General Staff of the Korean revolution. The might of a revolutionary party lies in its unity of ideology and will, and iron discipline.

The Party organizations must ruthlessly combat liberalism and individual heroism manifested among Party members and, in particular, step up the struggle against factionalist elements.

Shutting their eyes to each other's faults, flocking together to gossip, and criticizing the decisions of organizations behind the scenes while keeping silent in public just because they struggled together in the past or came from the same native place—all these are expressions of factionalism. If they are left to grow, these tendencies

will, in the end, develop into factions and actions against the Party.

The Party organizations must promptly expose and criticize even the slightest factional element collectively and strike hard to prevent its recurrence.

The education of its members should be conducted properly in order to ensure the Party's unity of ideology and purpose and strengthen its discipline.

Our Party members have not yet been armed with Marxism-Leninism, and have little experience of Party life. It is impossible, therefore, to consolidate and develop the Party, unless they are sufficiently educated. Proper education of Party members will enable them to analyze everything correctly and distinguish between right and wrong, actively participate in the struggle to achieve the Party's unity and solidarity and strengthen its discipline.

The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should improve education to imbue all their members thoroughly with Marxism-Leninism and our Party's policies. In addition, they should clearly inform their members of the harmfulness of liberalism, individual heroism and factionalism in particular, and improve their education to maintain good discipline.

By striving to ensure the Party's unity of ideology and purpose and strengthen its discipline, you will turn your provincial Party organizations into powerful and disciplined ones which faithfully follow the guidance of the Party Centre, and promptly inform the lowest units of its decisions and instructions for implementation.

Another aspect that must be stressed to consolidate the Party is that the issuing of uniform Party membership cards should be carried out correctly.

The recent Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Party decided to issue uniform membership cards to Party members. Cards should be issued not merely to identify the membership; it is important political work designed to test and educate members of the Party, and guarantee the purity of its ranks. The Party organizations should clearly explain the

significance of this work to their members and take thoroughgoing measures to ensure its success. Thus, the issuance of uniform Party membership cards will be made an occasion to elevate the political awareness and revolutionary pride of the members and further consolidate our Party.

One of the important tasks for the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province is to strengthen ties with the masses.

If they did not have close ties with the masses, it would be impossible to win them over and properly mobilize them for nation-building.

If they are to increase their close contacts with the masses, all the Party officials and members should go among the masses. They should persistently go to the factories, enterprises and farm villages, adequately explain our Party's line of nation-building to the working masses and educate them regularly.

It is important for the Party members to have a correct style of work in strengthening their ties with the masses. They should go among the masses, teaching them while humbly learning from them, listening to what they say and helping them to solve difficult problems, and sharing joys and sorrows, life and death with them. Only then will the masses follow our Party with confidence and strive for the building of a new country in active response to its call.

Strengthening ties with the masses calls for efficient work with mass organizations.

At present, some Party organizations in this province are not fully aware of the role of mass organizations and neglect to work with them.

The Party organizations should do proficient work with the existing mass organizations and quickly form new ones in the units where they do not as yet exist. Further, they should improve the Party's leadership of these organizations so that all of them become dependable links between the Party and the masses and our Party's active helpers striving to implement its policies.

We are now confronted with the serious but honourable task of

carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and building a democratic, independent and sovereign state. In order to effectively accomplish the historic cause of nation-building, we must unite all parties and groups that love their country and people and enlist the efforts of all the people. To this end, we must form a strong democratic national united front embracing all the patriotic, democratic forces.

The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should correctly understand our Party's united front policy and strive to draw all patriotic, democratic forces into the national united front.

For the correct implementation of the Party's united front policy, you must work efficiently with democrats from all walks of life. You must be careful to see that Party members do not reject the members of friendly parties and democrats from all walks of life or have friction with them. The Party organizations and members should solve the major problems of nation-building in close cooperation with friendly parties and work hard to unite with democratic parties, groups, and personages from different sections, helping them in time to correct wrong tendencies expressed among them.

The Party organizations in this province must successfully carry out their tasks for nation-building by closely rallying every section of the masses in the province under the banner of democracy through efficient united front work.

Comrades,

In order to strengthen our Party and ensure success in building a new country, the officials and activists of Party organizations at all levels must enhance their role in every way. They are the pioneers of our revolution leading the Party members and the working masses. All the Party officials and activists in South Phyongan Province must do their best to carry out their important tasks.

I firmly believe that the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province will wage an energetic struggle to carry out the Party's line and policies and thus greatly contribute to strengthening our Party and accomplishing the cause of nation-building.

ON MERGING THE STUDENTS' UNION INTO THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE

Answer to a Question Put by Students

December 28, 1945

Recently I have received a question from students asking whether they should join the Democratic Youth League or not, and whether the Students' Union should merge with the DYL.

I answer without hesitation that the students should join the DYL and the Students' Union should merge with the DYL.

The workers, peasants and working intellectuals represent the progressive class and strata in our society. Students belong to various classes and strata of society, and do not by any means form a class or a stratum by themselves.

Only when the students join with a progressive class, can they make a contribution to the development of society. Students have knowledge. Therefore, they should associate with the working youth including young workers and peasants and impart their knowledge to them. This is precisely the way for students to contribute to the work of nation-building.

Their organizing of the Students' Union separately just because they possess knowledge is a mistake. This is tantamount to splitting our youths in the struggle for the building of a democratic, independent state.

In joining with the working youth, the students should not only pass on their knowledge to them but should learn the revolutionary

class's world outlook and attitude towards life from them and acquaint themselves with social realities. This is very important for students who love the truth.

A working knowledge has to be acquired in practice. Book knowledge should be applied to and confirmed in actual life in order to become a working knowledge. Only then can one claim to have real knowledge. Those who possess such knowledge can play a progressive role in society.

The students cannot participate in the progressive movement without an organization. Therefore, those students who really want to take part in the building of a prosperous, independent and democratic state should, as a matter of course, join the DYL.

This is the primary task stemming from the demand for uniting the youth movement.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY *SEOUL SINMUN* REPORTERS

December 29, 1945

I heard yesterday that you had arrived. You must have had quite a bit of trouble travelling such a long way across the 38th Parallel in such cold weather.

I am grateful to you for your compassion on my having experienced such hardships in the long-drawn-out struggle against the Japanese imperialists for the independence of Korea. As for the hardships, they were nothing. We were duty-bound, as sons of Korea, to fight against Japanese imperialism, arms in hand. The suffering of our fellow countrymen languishing under the diabolical tyranny of the Japanese imperialists was far greater than mine. While fighting the Japanese imperialists, the suffering and misery of our compatriots were constantly in my thoughts.

You address me as General, but I would like you to simply call me comrade.

Question: The south Korean people are overjoyed at the news that you, General, have returned in triumph, and are eagerly waiting for you to come to Seoul soon. When will you come to Seoul, General?

Answer: I am immensely happy to see our longed-for fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters, in the liberated homeland. I feel like going to Seoul right now to see our south Korean compatriots. But the

situation in the country does not permit me to do so. This land of ours is divided into the north and the south, and quite different situations have been created in the two parts of Korea. In north Korea a struggle is being launched to liquidate pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation and democratize political, economic and cultural life, but in south Korea under the patronage of the US military government pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation have raised their heads and are trying in every way to halt the advance of the patriotic, democratic forces. We must smash the machinations of the reactionaries and establish a unified democratic, independent and sovereign state in which all our 30 million compatriots can prosper. We have much work to do to achieve this.

It is a great pity that even though the country is liberated, we cannot meet our dear south Korean fellow countrymen. We cannot meet them now, but the day will surely come when the people of the north and the south meet each other.

Question: The south Korean people move this way and that, because they are not clear which road liberated Korea should take. They believe that only you, General, can advance the correct line of the Korean revolution. When leaving Seoul this time, we were requested by the people that we should call on you, General, to learn in detail which road Korea must follow. Which road should Korea choose in the future and how should we fight, General?

Answer: Which road should our country take, now that it has been liberated from the yoke of the Japanese imperialist colonial rule? This is a very important matter, indeed.

Syngman Rhee, that traitor to the nation, is seeking to set up a bourgeois republic in our liberated land. This reveals the United States' sinister design to protect pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries and, with them as the core, to establish an anti-popular government. The "policy of building a bourgeois republic" signifies a road of darkness which will enmesh our people

again in the yoke of colonial slavery and bring them nothing but poverty and a complete lack of rights. We, therefore, cannot allow ourselves to take this road.

However, we are not in a position to raise the slogan of socialist revolution at the moment and head for this revolution, as some claim. The road of socialist revolution they advocate is a “Leftist” way of bypassing the stage of revolution without taking into consideration our actual conditions.

Which road, then, should we take? For long years our country was under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the present society of Korea is strongly impregnated with Japanese imperialist and feudal remnants. That is why our liberated people must carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and advance along the road of building a democratic people’s republic.

To this end, a democratic national united front representing all patriotic, democratic forces of various strata must, first of all, be formed on a firm basis. Anyone who loves the country and nation must strive to organize it. When all the people, rallied closely, rise to build a new Korea, all the reactionaries including pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation can be eliminated and a new, democratic Korea built successfully.

What is of special importance in our nation-building is to reject the idea of depending on outside forces. In south Korea there are people today who try to create an independent state by relying on foreign forces. Theirs is an extremely dangerous idea inviting national ruin. Only when we have an undeviating point of view that everything has to be tackled by ourselves, can we achieve the complete independence of the country and carry out the revolution in a fitting way.

All the people must work devotedly in order to build the country well counting every minute and second. We must not try to show off, but work in a modest manner as faithful servants of the people.

Question: The south Korean people are anxious to know in detail about

the armed struggle during which you, General, fought against the Japanese imperialist aggressors, using the art of shortening distance. Would you kindly tell us about this struggle you led, General?

Answer: There is nothing in particular to be proud of. In the course of the prolonged anti-Japanese armed struggle, however, we did have experiences, waging numerous battles and conducting underground political work. If you wish to listen to the story, nevertheless, I will let you meet some of my comrades-in-arms. You had better hear it from them.

Question: Would you please let us have your photograph, General?

Answer: What is the use of my picture? I have done nothing to speak of. Why, then, need my photograph be sent to the press? If you really want it, I will try to see if any exist.

Question: Have you anything to convey to the south Korean people, General?

Answer: It is my wish that, once back in south Korea, you will convey my warmest greetings to the people. Although I am here, my thoughts are always with them.

The north Korean people are endeavouring to establish people's power and create a new life; they would like to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state through concerted efforts, in close unity with their south Korean compatriots. I hope you will tell our fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in the south, that they must wage a strenuous fight for the early establishment of a unified democratic government.

Since all sorts of false propaganda against north Korea and communism is being carried on in south Korea, I would like you, on your return to Seoul, to give the south Korean people an unbiased account of what you have seen and heard here.

The journalists of a new, liberated Korea must have the interests of the masses at heart, being always on their side, and fight staunchly against reactionaries of all kinds at home and abroad. They must not write as onlookers, but from the point of view of the country's and nation's interests. By rejecting falsehood and exaggeration and seeking to inform people of the truth, they must awaken them politically and inspire them to revolutionary struggle.

It is cold these days. Do take care of yourselves on your way home. I hope to see you again later.