

***ON THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARTY'S MONOLITHIC
IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM AMONG WRITERS AND ARTISTS***

A Talk to Senior Officials from the Fields of Party Ideological Work
and Art and Literature
July 3, 1967

Immediately following the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party, the Party emphasized that the art and literature sector should establish the Party's monolithic ideological system, but this work has not been carried out at the level required by the Party. Today I intend to stress once again the importance of firmly establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system among writers and artists.

As the great leader said at the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system is a fundamental prerequisite for the building of a working-class party and an essential requirement for the unity and cohesion of the Party's ranks. If the working-class party fails to establish a monolithic ideological system in the party, it can neither secure the unity and cohesion of the party and its revolutionary ranks, nor lead the revolution and work of construction to victory. Only when the working-class party has established a monolithic ideological system in the party will it become a guiding force possessing genuine organizing ability and powerful combat capacity, and be able to forge ahead with the building of socialism and communism.

Since its very first days, our Party has conducted a persistent struggle in order to establish the Party's ideological system and has endeavoured uncompromisingly to combat anti-Party, counter-revolutionary ideological trends of all hues and the tactics of alien elements.

The work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system is not limited to a certain stage of the revolutionary struggle, it does not end at a particular point in time. It is a matter of life and death for the existence of the working-class party, it is, in essence, the work of laying and consolidating the organizational and ideological basis of the party, a constant and ongoing task to be addressed consistently throughout the whole course of the building of socialism and communism. If a party even slightly neglects the establishment of its monolithic ideological system, in its euphoria at what has already been achieved, alien ideological trends will spring up and develop in the party and its revolutionary ranks and factions and sects will be formed, inflicting serious damage on the process of consolidation and development of the party. This is clearly shown by the practical experience of our revolution and the international communist movement. Therefore we must take the work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system firmly in hand as a question

of fundamental importance for the destiny of the Party and endeavour to strengthen it unceasingly.

Art and literature play a very important role in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system. Art and literature are important aspects of ideological work, their power of attraction is very great and their influence is significant in extending revolutionary education to Party members and other working people and inspiring them to engage actively in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Our art and literature must define their basic mission as stimulating Party members and the working people to the brilliant application of the great leader's revolutionary ideas and direction. To this end, the field of art and literature must be the first to establish a firm base for the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Today the field of art and literature is faced with the honourable task of creating a larger number of artistic and literary works which contribute actively to imbuing the entire Party and the whole of society with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader. The field of art and literature must encourage writers and artists to represent the glorious and brilliant revolutionary history and exalted qualities of the leader in depth and to create the typical images of fine communist revolutionaries unfailingly faithful to the leader. This honourable task can only be fulfilled successfully when writers and artists have securely equipped themselves with our Party's revolutionary ideas and Juche-based theories of art and literature.

Establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system on a firm basis among writers and artists becomes an even more urgent problem in relation to the current situation and the present state of our art and literature.

The manoeuvres of the US and other imperialists now consist, on the one hand, of threatening the peoples of the revolutionary countries by nuclear blackmail and, on the other, of undermining the socialist states from within by infiltrating bourgeois ideas and culture into them. The bourgeois art and literature spread by imperialists inflict serious harmful damage by reducing people to spiritual cripples or moral degenerates and instigating them to counter-revolution by sending the wind of 'freedom'. They instil all kinds of immorality and depravity, sexual passion, murder, plunder, sorrow and despair. In the face of the serious historical lesson, the modern revisionists, enslaved by the illusions of imperialism, praise bourgeois art and literature and the bourgeois way of life, and reject the spirit of the Party, the working class and the people in socialist art and literature, attempting to obliterate the traditions of revolutionary art and literature and opposing the Party's leadership in this area.

The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements concealed their presence in our Party by taking advantage of revisionist counter-revolutionary moves, scheming viciously to betray our revolutionary principles and adulterate our art and literature with feudal and capitalist elements. It was revealed at the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party that the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements rejected the Party's leadership over art and

literature both overtly and covertly, proclaimed '°artistic freedom'± under the pretext of expressing the '°creative personality'± and attempted to disseminate feudal-Confucian ideas, insisting that they were the heirs and continuators of the literature of the Silhak school and other national legacies of art and literature. In addition, they proposed that the revolutionary traditions of our Party should be expanded in all directions, and attempted to include the art and literature of the '°KAPF'± and the '°new-tendency-school'± in the revolutionary traditions of our art and literature, rejecting efforts to recover and restate the artistic and literary works of the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, our people's precious revolutionary heritage.

Quite a few of our writers and artists seemed to become half-blind and followed the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements implicitly, creating artistic and literary works which conflicted with the Party's ideas.

The drama *Single-hearted Devotion* does not discriminate between the heart of a woman devoted to the revolution or the heart of a wife leading a chaste life for her husband like a '°virtuous woman'± in feudal society. This kind of non-Party drama was performed in Pyongyang without arousing doubts in anyone's mind.

We can recognize instances in which writers and artists have created artistic and literary works opposed to the Party's ideas in the long stories *The New Spring in Sokkaeul* and *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*, and the film *Through Darkness*. In *The New Spring in Sokkaeul* a poor peasant who in the past was maltreated and variously exploited by a landlord, but became prosperous when he received land after liberation is depicted as resisting to the last the call to join an agricultural cooperative; this was a vilification of the poor peasants who are hard-core activists in rural communities and a distortion of our Party's class line and policy on agricultural cooperativization. The writer of this novel also made serious mistakes in the long story *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* which he submitted last year. The great leader analysed these mistakes in detail and I have spoken about them on several occasions in the process of directing the work of revising the *Fierce Wind*, the film version of the story, so I do not intend to talk about this matter at length. I speak of it in order to stress once again that in describing a hero of pure revolutionary working-class origins as a scoundrel and a fighting-cock or depicting Sun Yong, the daughter of a nationalist who joined the March 1 Movement¹⁵, as becoming the wife of the head of a '°punitive force'± as a result of her self-betrayal after taking part in the revolutionary struggle, or having Mun Kyong Thae, who was imagined to be the leader of the communist movement in the first half of the 1920s stand forth like a '°revolutionary teacher'±, the work is in contradiction with the ideas of our Party and does not correspond to the logic of the life of revolutionary people and the historical facts of the communist movement. In the film *Through Darkness* the scriptwriter and film-makers represented a hired peasant, the basic class of the south Korean rural communities, as a fool and

reactionary element and depicted a young intellectual who came to a farming village to carry out enlightenment work in opposition to the class line of the Party. The long stories *The New Spring in Sokkaeul* and *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*, and the film *Through Darkness* are revisionist works which lack Party spirit and have failed to assimilate the correct working-class line.

Works marked by revisionist tendencies are also to be found in the fields of music and the fine arts.

Mistakes of recent years which are fundamentally contrary to the Party's ideas in the creative work of art and literature have resulted, above all, from the failure of writers and artists to put their faith in the great leader's revolutionary ideas. If they had imbued themselves thoroughly with his revolutionary ideas and possessed unshakable confidence that they had no guide but him, they could have promptly discriminated the efforts of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements to give prominence to individuals, emasculate the revolutionary traditions of our art and literature, and inculcate feudal-Confucian, capitalist, revisionist and flunkeyist ideas in the field of art and literature, and they would not have accepted a slovenly drama such as *Single-hearted Devotion* when they were forced to make it. Because their revolutionary faith was not steadfast, they became so blind that they regarded the malicious words and deeds of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements as the only good ones and even when they regarded them as wrong, they did not oppose them, they shut their eyes to them for fear of being exposed to pressure.

The mistakes that have come to light in the creation of artistic and literary works are also related to the fact that the writers and artists did not follow a straight working-class line. The working-class line is the revolutionary point of view, the stand which safeguards the aspirations and requirements of the working class, its will and interests. It is only when this point of view is adopted and this stand firmly taken can writers comprehend scientifically the principles of the revolutionary struggle, the lawfulness of its development, and the essential nature of human beings and their lives, in order to depict man's struggle and his life correctly in accordance with the requirements of the progress of the Party and revolution. Because writers and artists have not drawn a distinct working-class line, they have made hard-core activists of rural communities such as a poor peasant of the former days into a person opposed to our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization at the stage of the socialist revolution, they have depicted a hired peasant as a fool or a person who opposes the class struggle, they have described the most revolutionary working class as a hooligan and a fighting-cock, and depicted a daughter of a middle-class family as becoming the wife of the head of a punitive force, betraying the revolutionary struggle. This does not accord to the ideals and aspirations of the patriotic middle classes of our country.

Officials in charge of Party ideological work also failed to establish sound working-class principles.

If they had upheld sound working-class principles, they would have

quickly discovered that it was an anti-Party act in conflict with our Party's idea for anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements to impose on them a book such as Mokmin Simso, written by a scholar of the Silhak school in the feudal epoch as an essential text.

Of course, the ideas of the Silhak school and books such as Mokmin Simso are part of the national cultural heritage and have a certain significance in the history of our country, but they cannot provide the guiding principles for our officials in their work today. Mokmin Simso contains the words 'patriotism' and 'love of the people' but they have nothing in common with the patriotism and popularly-based spirit of which we communists speak. There are lots of beautiful words full of falsehood, deception and hypocrisy in the other books, too. We must not be fascinated by gorgeous phrases, but grasp their essence firmly from the standpoint of the working class. The poems of Kim So Wol have nothing particular to contribute to the revolutionary education of our people. Although his poems express a pitiful sorrow at the usurpation of our country and the trampling of our national dignity by the Japanese imperialists, they are interwoven with sentimental and religious notes.

When we deal with the national cultural heritage or historic individuals, we must clearly distinguish the positive things from the negative ones. To make one side of the positive and negative opposition an absolute one and have it stand in exaggerated isolation without attempting to assess the positive and negative aspects of matters and phenomena fairly is a metaphysical viewpoint. We must fairly assess the positive and negative roles played in social progress by specific historical facts or persons of former times, always firmly relying on the principles of the Party and the working class.

The exposure of shortcomings in artistic and literary works conflicting with the Party's ideas results from the fact that obsolete bourgeois and flunkeyist aesthetic views are at work in the minds of writers and artists. In art and literary works created recently the love of young men and women is often described in terms of triangular love affairs. In the long story entitled *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*, the love affair of heroes and heroines has been set in a triangular mode. Triangular love is a dissolute and philistine form of love and a mode of depiction habitually used by morally-degenerate bourgeois writers.

The bourgeois and flunkeyist aesthetic views which remain in the minds of writers and artists are revealed in full when they deal with conflicts in works of art and literature. Conflicts in these works should by all means be formulated in accordance with the character of social relations. However, some writers strive excessively for artistic conflict or describe splits in an exaggerated fashion without giving due consideration to the character of social relations in the creation of works of art and literature.

The shortcomings revealed in the creative work of art and literature in recent years have corrupted the ideological purity of our art and literature and seriously retarded their sound development.

We must thoroughly extirpate the evil ideological influence of anti-

Party, counter-revolutionary elements in the field of art and literature, and bring about a revolutionary change in creating works of art and literature.

In order to expunge the evil anti-Party, counter-revolutionary ideological influence in the field of art and literature and create truly revolutionary art and literature, it is imperative to apply our primary efforts to establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system on a firm basis. Establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system in this field means encouraging all writers and artists to assimilate thoroughly the revolutionary ideas of the leader, rallying them firmly around him, and seeking solutions to all problems which arise in the work of creating art and literature on the basis of his ideas and theories on art and literature, and strictly under the unitary leadership of the Party. Only when the Party's monolithic ideological system is firmly established among writers and artists can they fully meet the requirements of Party's policies, meticulously observe the working-class principles, and acquire an accurate, communist aesthetic point of view in their work of creating artistic and literary works. The establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system among writers and artists is the essential guarantee for their honourable fulfilment of the creative mission set for them by the times and the people.

The fundamental requirement for establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system among writers and artists is to imbue them thoroughly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader and our Party's theories on art and literature.

The unerring application of the revolutionary ideas of our Party in works of art and literature depends entirely on the state of political and ideological preparedness and artistic and practical readiness of the writers and artists who are directly entrusted with the creation of works of art and literature. We must ensure that writers and artists study and acquire deep insight into the revolutionary ideas of the leader and their embodiment in our Party's ideas and theories on art and literature, and make them an integral part of their own thought. The revolutionary ideas of the great leader are creative revolutionary theories which are the most accurate reflection of the requirements of the ongoing revolution of our times and the aspirations and desires of the people, and art and literature as humanics can only depict people's struggle and life correctly when they are based unflinchingly on his revolutionary ideas. Writers and artists must regard his revolutionary ideas as their own firm revolutionary outlook on the world and apply them in creating works of art and literature.

The ideas and theories of art and literature defined by the great leader are the guiding principles which indicate the right path to be followed by the revolutionary art and literature of our times, they are an encyclopedia which provides comprehensive answers to all the theoretical and practical problems arising in the creation of socialist and communist art and literature. His ideas and theories on art and literature define all the principles and methods required for the creation of all kinds of art and literature, including revolutionary

novels and films. The one and only yardstick by which we can measure the work of creating revolutionary art and literature is his ideas and theories on art and literature. Writers and artists should thoroughly assimilate his ideas and theories on art and literature and make them the guidelines for their creative work.

Writers and artists must not only thoroughly equip themselves with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader and our Party's ideas and theories on art and literature, they must also embody them accurately in the creation of artistic and literary works.

They should represent in true depth the glorious and brilliant revolutionary history, immortal feats and great qualities of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. The creation of images of the leader is the most urgent task facing our art and literature today, and the unanimous desire of our people. The reflection of his revolutionary history, immortal feats and great qualities in art and literature is the most important and honourable work our writers and artists have to do, a historic task they must carry out in perpetuity. We have already created the conditions for the systematic and extensive reflection of the leader's glorious and brilliant revolutionary history in artistic and literary works by establishing a powerful specialized creative centre and necessary productive forces for creating these images.

We must assimilate and develop the fine revolutionary traditions of art and literature built up by the great leader in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. The traditions of revolutionary art and literature are our art and literature's firm historical roots and precious revolutionary heritage. The assimilation and development of the traditions of revolutionary art and literature is essential for the continuous and unending development of our art and literature on the basis of the Party's monolithic ideology. The anti-Japanese, revolutionary art and literature which embodied the leader's revolutionary ideas is a comprehensive model of the revolutionary contents and forms of our art and literature, and also of the systems and methods of its creation. Assimilating and developing the revolutionary traditions of art and literature in the work of creating art and literature is most important for the correct and firm establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system.

The key to the assimilation and development of the revolutionary traditions of art and literature lies in finding out the immortal classics personally created by the great leader and transposing them into various artistic and literary forms. These immortal classics are models of revolutionary art and literature in which ideological content and artistic values are perfectly combined through the complete application of the leader's ideas on art and literature. Transposing these immortal classics into a variety of artistic and literary forms is in effect the sacred work of defending, maintaining and enriching through the generations the eternally glorious achievements of the leader in the development of human culture, it is the honourable work of bringing to its full blossoming and developing revolutionary and people-oriented art and literature to its maximum potential. Writers

and artists must strive hard to find out the immortal classics created and performed during the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and to transpose them into various artistic and literary forms. Our country has now entered the historical period of developing the revolutionary cause initiated by the great leader at a new, more advanced stage. Great changes and innovations are ceaselessly taking place in all sectors of politics, the economy and culture, and the beautiful and noble traits which a communist man must acquire are now in full evidence among our people. Writers and artists must actively encourage and promote our people's struggle for socialist construction by reflecting in depth the great realities of our times in their artistic and literary works.

In order to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among writers and artists, it is very important to guarantee the unitary leadership of the Party in the work of creating art and literature by enforcing the work system and revolutionary discipline. Art and literature are highly important means of Party ideological work, and writers and artists are prone to infection by various current ideas because of the peculiar nature of their jobs as writers and artists in charge of the creation of art and literature. A situation in which imperialist ideological and cultural infiltration is being stepped up, and which is constantly developing, poses a new aesthetic task. Serious and irremediable damage may be done unless the proper order and the revolutionary discipline by which the Party takes the work of art and literature in hand and guides it are enforced. Only when the work system and revolutionary discipline which guarantee the unitary leadership of the Party over the work of art and literature are strictly enforced can the infiltration of all manner of alien ideological trends be forestalled and the Party's monolithic ideological system be firmly established among writers and artists, so that the leader's ideas and theories of art and literature can be accurately reflected in the work of creating art and literature. The work system and revolutionary discipline must be enforced in the field of art and literature so that all problems arising in the creation of art and literature will be considered at the Party Central Committee, which can transmit the guidance and instructions of the leader for resolving them.

Writers and artists must fight uncompromisingly against all kinds of alien ideological trends, including feudal-Confucian, capitalist, revisionist and flunkeyist ideas, which are contrary to the ideas of our Party, and they must strive constantly to oppose factionalism, parochialism and nepotism, which damage the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks. In order to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system on a firm basis, it is essential to establish the Juche principle in ideology and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party and its revolutionary ranks.

The evil ideological influence disseminated by anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements in the field of art and literature cannot be eradicated by holding one or two meetings to wage an ideological struggle. The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary ideological influences

that have deeply infiltrated this field can only be expunged by a persistent ideological struggle and ideological education which relies on a high degree of political enthusiasm and political consciousness among writers and artists, the concerted strength of the collective, and comradely assistance.

Party organizations in the field of art and literature should never commit the errors of Left and Right deviations in the effort to eradicate the evil ideological influence of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements. Those who assisted these elements in doing harm and curried favour with them ought to be punished severely, but those who followed them blindly or have passively allowed themselves to be dragged along in fear of their pressure, because they have lacked a firm revolutionary outlook on the world, must be sharply criticized for their ideological errors and granted generous forgiveness. All writers and artists are obliged to learn bitter lessons in the course of ideological struggles and to remedy their shortcomings through revolutionary artistic practice, in order to repay the implicit political trust of the leader and the Party in their loyalty.

Writers and artists must firmly establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among themselves and thus bring about a revolutionary upturn in the development of our art and literature.

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