

The fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea (Chosŏn-Rodong-Dang): A critical report

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The Fifth Congress of the North Korean Communist Party opened solemnly at the "Mansudae"-Assembly Hall in Pyongyang on November 2, 1970, and closed with Kim Il-Song's concluding address at the November 13th session of the Congress. This Party Congress attended by 1,734 voting and 137 non-voting delegates, who had been elected at the Party Conference of each province or exempted city in accordance with the rules for the election of delegates to the Party Congress. Two important matters were discussed by the North Korean Party Congress: Kim Il-Song's realization of the absolute centralization of political powers, and the "Great Results" of North Korea's Seven-Year Plan.

1. "Kim Il-Song's Company" and the CC of the WPK

The first significant fact of the North Korean Fifth Party Congress is Kim Il-Song's achievement of a new political structure. Kim Il-Song has been the North Korean Communist Party head and chief of State since 1948, and he could never have seized political power in North Korea, if Stalin had not supported him through the so-called "Romanenk Political Command". In 1945 Korea was divided into two parts¹ and Stalin had to find an "agent in North Korea", who "had some claims to directorship under Russian hegemony". This was because Kim "had fought and been trained under Soviet control in Siberia from 1941 to 1945. Unlike other leaders of the Korean communist movement before and during the Second World War, Kim had remained outside Korea itself, and had been careful not to become embroiled in the factional infighting which had characterized the Korean Communist Party. Therefore in 1945, all other potential puppet candidates were eliminated — because of factional taint or suspected excessive nationalistic tendencies. Only Kim, through his residence in Siberia, combined with his guerrilla reputation, was considered by the Russians safe enough to take his place as their agent in North Korea"². Kim became the most reliable pro-Soviet party- and government head of all of Moscow's satellites.

But Khrushchev's policies against the personality cult and for the peaceful co-existence called forth Kim Il-Song's anti-Revisionist policy, that is a pro-Peking

¹ Cf. author's article: Die Teilung Koreas am 38. Breitengrad. In: Politische Studien (München), March-April 1970, pp. 164-171.

² Simmons, R.: Where have all puppets gone? In: Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), June 25, 1970, p. 22.

foreign policy, because the international conflicts between Moscow, Peking and Washington had forced all minor military and economic powers to seek a guarantee of national security from a world power. Before long, the Chinese foreign policy during the Cultural Revolution became very militant and a Sino-North Korean military discord arose at the Yalu-Tuman Border in April 1966 and again in September 1967. Kim Il-Song thereupon made it clear that North Korea was determined to remain an independent state with principles of its own — i.e. independent of both China and the USSR³. At the same time Kim Il-Song fought to attain power in the Politburo of the Central Committee of North Korean Workers' Party, the actual government in a communist state, in order to achieve his policy and repress the opposition. Kim Il-Song's aim was to insure that all members of the Politburo of the Central Committee must be members of the so-called "Kim Il-Song's Company" (Kim Il-Song-Budae), meaning comrades in Kim Il-Song's partisan units in Siberia in 1940–45. The following chart shows the members of Kim's Company in the North Korean Politburo from 1946 to 1961:

Party Congress	Members in the Politburo	Kim's Company
1st (1946)	5	1
2nd (1948)	7	2
3rd (1956)	11	3
4th (1961)	17	6

4

The new members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the North Korean Workers' Party was chosen at the November 13th meeting of the Fifth Party Congress. These members are:

Kim Il-Song (General Secretary of the Party and Premier)
 Ch'oe Yong-Kon (President of the Supreme People's Assembly)
 Kim Il (1. Vice-Premier)
 Bak Song-Ch'ol (Vice-Premier)
 Ch'oe Hyon (Minister of National Defense)
 Kim Yong-Chu
 Oh Chin-Uh (Chief of the General Staff of the People's Army)
 Kim Dong-Kyu (International affairs in the Politburo)
 So Ch'ol (Propaganda-Chief)
 Kim Chung-Rin and
 Han Ik-Su (Director of the Army General Political Bureau)⁵

All Members, except Kim Yong-Chu, who is Kim Il-Song's 48 year old brother, were war comrades in Kim Il-Song's partisan company. The North Korean political structure has thus changed its form and become an organ of a former partisan company under Kim Il-Song.

³ Cf. author's article: Nordkorea — Kim Il-Songs politisches Dilemma. In: *Moderne Welt* (Düsseldorf), No. 3/1970, pp. 280–286.

⁴ Cf. Kim Nam-Shik: Bukkoe-5ch'a-Dangdauhoe-ui-Höku (A Fabrication of the North Korean Fifth Party Congress). In: *Sin-Dong-A* (Seoul), January 1971, pp. 190–197.

⁵ *Rodong-Shinmun* (Pyongyang), November 14, 1970, p. 2.

2. The "Great Results" of the Seven-Year Plan

The second matter of utmost concern to the North Korean Fifth Party Congress was Kim Il-Song's report on the "Great Results" of the North Korean Seven-Year Plan (1960–67), which was extended by Kim Il-Song for a "further three years (1970), because of the danger of war". At the first plenum of the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party on November 2nd, Kim Il-Song himself read the "Report on the Work of the CC to the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea"⁶ and was proud of the "Great Results" (Widaehan-Ch'onghwa) of the North Korean Seven-Year Plan. Kim Il-Song pointed out the five following items as the great results of Seven-Year Plan:

- a) Conversion into a Socialist industrial state,
- b) Acievements in the Cultural Revolution,
- c) Consolidation of the political and ideological unity of the entire people,
- d) Establishment of an all-people, all-nation defense system, and
- e) Overall establishment of the socialist system of economic management.

Kim Il-Song reported that North Korea had "strenuously endeavored to educate and remold the masses of the people and them closely around the party and further strengthen the revolutionary ranks . . . in order to consolidate the political and ideological unity of the people"; To strengthen the nation's defense capacity in frontal confrontation with the aggressors, North Korea, according to Kim's report, "did tremendous work to strengthen the People's Army, arm the entire people and fortify the whole country and thus came to possess self-defense power strong enough to defend the security of the fatherland reliably from enemy invasion".

In order to bring the "Superiority of the socialist economic system of economic management into full play and build socialism and communism successfully after the completion of the socialist reorganization of production relations", North Korea elucidated the "original directions and specific methods scientifically": The so-called "guidance at Ch'ongsan-Ri" and the "Tae'an-Work System". North Korea had achieved "great results" in the work of public education: compulsory universal nine-year technical education in 1967, which has the purpose of "developing the younger generation into able builders of socialism and communism and to train large numbers of technicians and specialists in keeping with the swift tempo of the technical revolution". The number of pupils receiving compulsory nine-year technical education reached 3.2 million in 1970. In North Korea over 200,000 students are now studying in 129 universities and colleges and nearly 500 higher technical schools, and nearly 400,000 technicians and specialists have been newly trained⁷.

As stated above, North Korea successfully carried out the Seven-Year Plan. Kim Il-Song stated that the means of production had increased 13.3 fold, consumer goods 9.3 fold and gross industrial output 11.6 fold since 1956 and industrial output had risen by 19.1% annually since 1957 and these results had been able to be achieved through the so-called "Struggle for fulfilling the national economic plan prior to the Fifth Congress of the Party". For example, North Korea overfulfilled,

⁶ Full Text of Kim's report, See. Rodong-Shinmun. November 3, 1970. pp. 2–7 (Korean) and the Pyongyang Times (Pyongyang). November 3, 1970, pp. 3–27 (English).

⁷ Rodong-Shinmun. November 10, 1970

according to a communique of the "Central Statistical Board", the 1970 Plan at 2,396 enterprises before the Fifth Congress in November 1970 and as of October 31, 1970, in comparison with the same period in the previous year Coal had reached a production level of 140%; iron ore, 166%; machine tools, 144%; generators, 327%; tracks, 150%; cement, 120%; textiles, 118%; underwear, 134%; and fish, 174%⁸. The 1970 Gross Industrial Output Value "will be 3.3 times as great as in 1960, with a 3.7 fold increase in the means of production and a 2.8 fold growth in the production of consumer goods". This means, that North Korea's industrial production has grown at a high rate of 12.8% annually in the period of the Seven-Year Plan. The total generating capacity increased 1.8 times in the years 1961–69. The North Korean power industry will produce 16,500 million kWh of electricity in 1970. In Particular, the thermal power-generating capacity "rose swiftly to grow 11 times from 1961 to 1969 so that the on-sidedness of the power industry which relied exclusively on hydraulic power has been eliminated and the power base has been strengthened qualitatively". With the development of the mining industry, the output of coal and various minerals grew rapidly and the coal quota of the Seven-Year Plan "was attained as early as 1968". During the period of the Seven-Year Plan, the North Korean engineering industry produced for the first time large-size machinery and equipment and heavy machines such as "6,000 Ton Presses, 25 Ton heavyduty trucks, 75 H. P. tractors, large-size vessels of up to 5,000 Tons, 100,000 KVA transformers, and Diesellocomotives". In 1969, compared with 1960, the production of chemical fibers was 2.4 times and the output of synthetic resins 40 times higher and the output of chemical fertilizers had grown sharply. The production of various medicaments grew more than 4 times and the output of medical appliances 7.4 times between 1961–1969". North Korea "will produce 1970 400 million meters of various high quality fabrics".

3. The Six-Year Plan for Development of National Economy

The North Korean "Six-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy" was presented by Kim Il, First Vice Premier, at the November 9th Session of the Fifth Congress and was approved by a general meeting of the Workers' Party of Korea on November 12, 1970⁹. The basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction is "to further cement the material and technical foundations of Socialism and free the working people from arduous labour in all fields of the national economy by consolidating and carrying forward the successes gained in industrialization and advancing the technical revolution onto a new and higher plane" and "All the industrial sections will be converted into ones thoroughly Chu-Ch'e"¹⁰.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Kim Il: On the 6-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea-Report on 3rd item of agenda at the WPK 5th Congress. In. Rodong-Shinmun. November 10, 1970, pp. 2–6 and cf. the report on the conclusion of the Fifth Congress of the WPK. In. Rodong Shinmun. November 13, 1970, pp. 1–5.

¹⁰ Chu-Ch'e is the North Korean aim, which means in short the political independence, economic self-reliance and national self-defense.

Cf. Author's article: Nordkorea auf dem Weg des Nationalismus?. In. Außenpolitik (Freiburg/Br.). June 1967, pp. 369–375.

oriented and at least more than 60 to 70% selfreliant with regard to raw materials. Between 1970—1976, Gross Industrial Output Value will grow 2.2 times, with a 2.3 fold increase in the production of the means of production and a 2 fold increase in consumer goods, and in the same period industrial output will grow at a high rate of 14% on the average every year”.

North Korea must “develop heavy industry first of all for the Chu-Ch’e”. Between 1971—76 the North Korean important industrial output value will grow as follows:

Cement (1.000 t)	7,500— 8,000
Chem. fertilizers (1.000 t)	2,800— 3,000
Coal (1.000 t)	50,000—53,000
Electricity (mill Kwh)	28,000—30,000
Fabres (mill meters)	500— 600
Fruit (1.000 t)	800— 1,000
Grain (1.000 t)	7,000— 7,500
Marine products (1.000 t)	1,600— 1,800
Pig Iron (1.000 t)	3,500— 3,800
Rolled Steel (1.000 t)	2,800— 3,000
Steel (1.000 t)	3,800— 4,000
Textiles (mill meters) ¹¹	500— 600

The output of electricity “will be brought to about 2,800 million Kwh in 1976. To this end, large hydraulic and thermal power plants will be extensively built and the construction of medium and small power plants, too, will be continued, so that the total generating capacity will exceed nearly 5 million Kw in the plan period”. The mineral output will also increase markedly, “for example, the production of iron ore will grow 1.8 times by 1976; copper, 1.7 times; lead, 1.8 times; tungsten, 1.8 times; and molybdenum, 4.4 times”.

The task confronting the metallurgical branch “is to strenghten the base for producing iron with domestic fuel, to greatly expand the range of assortments and standards of rolled steels and to further develop the production of secondary metal products, so that the demands of the national economy for iron and steel of various standards are fully satisfied”. North Korean First Vice Premier, Kim Il, said that “the most important task in the Six-Year Plan period is to develop the production of large-size machines on an extensive scale. Aggregate Plants for metallurgical, cement and chemical factories will be manufactured and various kinds of large machinery and equipment including 50,000 Kw turbines and generators and 300 H. P. bulldozers will be produced in large quantities”. The production of important machine-building-industry goods will grow as follows:

Automobiles	2.4 times
Freight cars	2.1
Generators	5.0
Machine tools	2.6
Motors	1.8
Refrigerators	1.8
Transformers ¹²	1.7

¹¹ Cf. Kim Il: On 6-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the DPRK. op. cit.

¹² Rodong-Shinmun. January 15, 1971.

The number of ships to be built during the Six-Year Plan will increase 3.6 times, and factory mother-ships and transports of over 10,000 ton capacity will be built and engines for large vessels including 3,000 H. P. engines produced in the Plan period.

Pointing to the need of steadily increasing the production of various chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals for the realization of the overall chemical basis of agriculture, Kim stated that the output of chemical fertilizers would be brought to 2.8—3.0 million tons in 1976. The scope of light industry, for example, the output of fabrics in 1976 will grow to 500 million meters, of which more than 50 million meters will be wool, anilon and tetoron and other fine-quality fabrics. The annual output of various shoes would reach more than 70 million pairs by the end of the Six-Year Plan and the paper industry would increase its output 1.8 times in the same period. During the Six-Year Plan the production of processed foodstuffs will grow 2.6 times, of which processed meat and fish will be 5.9 times larger and raw vegetables 14.7 times. The output of marine products will reach 1.6—1.8 million tons in 1976.

North Korea plans that the national income during this Plan period will increase by 1.8 times, the average monthly wage scale of factory and office workers will rise to 90 Won¹³. The average per household money income of the cooperative farmers will reach more than 1,800 Won by 1976. Prices of consumer goods in general will be cut by more than 30%, and a large amount of funds will be appropriated continuously for popular measures, among them the expenditures for social and cultural services will increase by 1.5 times.

This is a short summary of the North Korean "Six-Year (1971—76) Plan for Development of the National Economy" and Kim Il-Song himself makes clear in his closing address at the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, that the Chu-Ch'e is the goal of this economic plan¹⁴. As stated above, the Chu-Ch'e means in short "political independence, economic self-reliance and national self-defense"¹⁵ and the prime route to Chu-Ch'e is economic independence, because "economic independence is the foundation of political independence. Economic dependence on foreign forces will inevitably entail political dependence on those forces. Economic subordination will inevitably result in political subordination"¹⁶. Above all, Kim Il-Song cannot forget a bitter fact that North Korea had to extend its Seven-Year Plan for a further three years because of Soviet economic Pressure after 1961 and the Chinese military threat after 1966¹⁷. Therefore North Korea firmly "determines to attain the goal of the Six-Year Plan for development of the national economy at any cost".

Kim Il-Song said: "Well begun is half done, as is said, and whether to successfully carry out the Six-Year Plan as a whole or not depends largely upon how the first

¹³ One Won is 100chon and 32chon is not quite one DM.

¹⁴ Full text of Kim's closing address, See. Rodong Shinmun. November 14, 1970, p. 1.

¹⁵ Rodong Shinmun. December 17, 1967.

¹⁶ Cf. Economic Independence, Foundation of political independence (Editorial). In. Rodong Shinmun. April 23, 1963.

¹⁷ For example, North Korean „new Plan had to be extended from a Five to a Six-Year Plan, because of insufficient Sino-Soviet aid“.

Ross, T.: Nordkoreas Schaukelspiel zwischen Rußland und China. In. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. March 11, 1971.

battle of this year is fought . . . the entire people should turn out as one in the struggle for victoriously fulfilling the national economic plan for this year, the first year of the Six-Year Plan, and effect another great revolutionary upsurge on all fronts of socialist construction"¹⁸ and North Korea conducted a so-called "100-Day-Battle"-Campaign with a goal of "fulfilling the Grand Six-Year Plan 2 Years ahead of the set time and honor their yearly plans before the 23rd Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic which falls on September 9 and their first half yearly quotas before April 15, 1971"¹⁹. Of course, it is not so difficult for Kim Il-Song to mobilize the people, but it is a very important question, whether North Korea can accomplish its Six-Year Plan for Development of the National economy, without the financial aid and technical assistance from its freindly socialistic nations. But Kim Il-Song can lead North Korea into a Chu-Ch'e state, if North Korea achieves the goal of the Six-Year Plan.

¹⁸ Korean Central News Agency (Pyongyang). January 25, 1971.

¹⁹ Cf. Rodong Shinmun. January 26, and 27, 1971.