

6. Communist Party Leadership

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INTRODUCTION

Any study of the Communist leadership in Korea must begin with some aspects of the leadership style fashioned by Kim Il-sŏng. It is easy to overemphasize his leadership because the people's adulation of their leader seems to have surpassed propriety, while their vociferous, and at times effusive, praise for his wise and benevolent leadership is mingled with hard facts of economic progress and political stability. It is not an easy task to analyze his leadership techniques and list the characteristics of his leadership style. Nor is it possible to give a sophisticated analysis of his personal leadership. The paucity of essential materials prohibits a comprehensive study of either Kim's leadership or the North Korean leadership style.

This study is an effort to analyze the Korean Communist leadership style by examining the members of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. Nothing in this study is designed to refute Kim's role as the absolute and unchallengeable Communist leader of Korea today. As head of both the party and the government for more than two decades, Kim Il-sŏng may or may not be what the Communists claim him to be: a "peerless patriot, national hero, ever-victorious and iron-willed brilliant commander, one of the genius leaders of the international Communist movement and workers' movement, and the great leader of forty million Korean people."¹

The basic assumption of this paper is that the system Kim Il-sŏng has built in the North is important and, notwithstanding his charisma, there is every indication that his system may survive him. Furthermore, the effectiveness of his leadership is partly the result of his control of the elite groups, which play an important if subordinate role in his control mechanism. The analysis of these groups is thus basic to the understanding of his leadership.

Given the dominant role that the party plays in every endeavor in the North, this study will examine the elite group consisting of the

members of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. There are other elite groups, such as the members of the Council of Ministers, members of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, generals of the People's Army of Korea, justices in the judiciary branch of the government, members of the diplomatic corps, local and provincial level leaders, and others. A study of the North Korean leadership must incorporate analyses of as many segments of the leadership groups as possible; the relationship of the elite groups to the leader, an analysis of Korean Communist ideology as applied to leadership techniques, the interrelationship of the elite groups to the masses, an analysis of intergroup relationships, the organization and training of the cadres, and the like. But these are beyond the scope of this paper.

This study examines one aspect of the Central Committee, the pattern of change in its membership. Because of the Korean Communist revolutionary tradition, the leaders who emerged in the North shortly after the liberation of Korea was largely revolutionaries returned from various revolutionary bases abroad. These leaders had their own followers and these groups were often antagonistic toward each other. Although factional lines based on their revolutionary past were not as clearly drawn as is commonly alleged, much of the earlier struggle for the control of power in the North emanated from these groups' antagonisms. The struggle culminated in the dominance of one group, the partisan group headed by Kim Il-sŏng.

Except for a few important party officials, most members of the Central Committee hold positions in addition to their membership on the Central Committee, such as a diplomatic position, a cabinet ministerial position, etc. The composition of the Central Committee will be analyzed on the basis of the functional role each member plays in other power organizations in the North. A brief descriptive analysis of the Central Committee will also be made as an introductory preface to the study. An effort will be made to identify and analyze general characteristics of the leaders of the Central Committee of the party for a clearer understanding of the Communist leadership in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

According to the official interpretation of the bylaws of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), the Central Committee consists not only

of the most able leaders of the political, economic, cultural, military, and other fields, but includes members who are held in the highest esteem by the people. The members are elected by the delegates at the time of each party congress, and the membership is limited to a number authorized by the congress.²

The members are to hold plenary meetings at least three times a year and, as members of the highest party organ, they are to perform the supreme tasks of the party, among which are: (1) to set the policy of the party; (2) to organize and administer party organizations, to direct party activities, and to represent the party; (3) to select, educate, and assign members to the party cadres; (4) to organize a party political bureau in various government, industrial, social, and cultural organizations, and to control and direct the activities of these bureaus to conform with general party policy; (5) to publish party organs and manage special enterprises such as publication and printing; and (6) to manage party finances.³

The Central Committee consists of the following: a Secretariat; Political, Inspection, Auditing, and Military Affairs Committees; and fifteen functional departments.⁴ In addition, there are a South Korea Liaison Bureau and nine Provincial and thirteen Municipal Committees.⁵ There have been a few structural changes in the party organs, and the bylaws of the party have been amended three times at the Second, Third, and Fourth Party Congresses. However, except for two reorganizations, the party structure remains intact. The two changes were an exchange between the Political Committee and what was termed a Standing Committee, and the creation of a Secretariat and abolition of the vice-chairmanship of the Central Committee. There are extensive structural differentiations at the Central Committee departmental level, but these are to accommodate the growth of the party.

The party held five congresses from 1945 to 1970, and five sets of Central Committee members were announced. The First and Second Party Congresses were held less than two years apart (August 28-30, 1946, and March 27-30, 1948); a 43-man committee for the first congress and a 67-man committee for the second were announced. There was an interval of eight years between the Second and Third Congresses, and then the Third and Fourth Party Congresses were held in close proximity (the third was held April 23-29, 1956, and the fourth September 11-18, 1961). There continued to be a steady increase in the membership of the Central Committee; a 71-man committee was named by the third congress

and an 85-man committee by the fourth. The Fifth Party Congress was held November 2-12, 1970, nine years after the fourth congress and a 117-man committee was announced.

In addition, two party conferences⁶ were held; one in 1958 between the Third and the Fourth Party Congresses and another in 1966 between the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses. The second party conference announced the formation of an Executive Section consisting of sixty-one men for the conference, somewhat similar to a new Central Committee of the party; but no such section was announced for the first conference in 1958. The party conference can replace members of the Central Committee with new members, but Article 41 of the bylaws stipulates that members newly elected by the party conference must not exceed one-fifth of the total membership of the Central Committee. There is no such restriction for a regularly scheduled party congress.

Although a regular party congress is to be held once every four years, it has never been held on schedule. Irregularities in scheduling congresses are not uncommon in Communist parties of other countries; at the time of the second party conference in 1966, Ch'oe Yong-gŏn remarked that the Fifth Party Congress had been planned for 1965. Furthermore, even the plenary session of the Central Committee, regularly scheduled to meet at least once every four months, seldom meets more than twice a year.⁷

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

Several characteristic features of the party leadership can be readily observed without a detailed analysis of the Central Committee; for example, the emergence of one group—the partisans—as the elite group of the North, the rapidity with which the members of the Central Committee are recruited and demoted, and the high rate of political purges necessary to maintain Kim Il-sŏng's control of the party. These features have become evident through a gradual, and at times violent, process of elimination of leaders of groups that have competed with the partisans. A closer examination of the competing groups within the Central Committee would reveal many characteristics unique to the Korean Communist leadership. It is important to remember that these leaders were scattered in various centers within and outside of Korea. When they returned to the North after the liberation of Korea, there emerged not one or two but many competing groups.

For the purposes of this study, each member of the Central

Committee is identified as a member of one of four known groups of the Korean Communist revolutionary movement: the domestic group, which operated within both Korea and Japan; the Yanan group, which returned from China; the Soviet-Koreans from the Soviet Union; and the partisan group, which participated in guerilla activities with Kim Il-sŏng in Manchuria. There are a few members of the Central Committee whose revolutionary past is not known, and these men are grouped as unknown revolutionaries. There is also a large number of newly emerging leaders who do not have a revolutionary past prior to the liberation of Korea, but who were recruited into the Central Committee because of their activities in the North after the revolution. These men are grouped as a newly emerging group. In general, the members of this group do not appear at all until the Fourth Party Congress in 1961.

A. Members of the Central Committee

A pattern of change in the membership of the Central Committee can be observed in table 1. Except for the members of the Central Committee of the First Party Congress, less than one-half of the members of each Central Committee were re-elected to the succeeding Central Committee. In each succeeding congress, proportionately fewer members have been elected to the succeeding Central Committee: in the Third and Fourth Party Congresses, only 28 out of 71 members and 31 out of 85 members were re-elected. The Second Party Congress was held less than two years after the first and although some 30 out of 43 members were re-elected, they failed to constitute a majority as the membership of the Central Committee was increased from 43 in the First to 67 in the Second Party Congress. In the history of the Workers' Party of Korea, newly elected members have always constituted a majority in the Central Committee.

The increase in the size of the Central Committee is modest compared with the increase in party membership. Although the size of the committee has almost tripled from the first Central Committee of 43 members to the fifth Central Committee of 117 members, the membership of the party has increased approximately sixfold from 366,000 to more than two million. One might speculate that the chance of becoming a member of the Central Committee today is decreased by a factor of two from what it was at the time of the First Party Congress and by a factor of three from what it was at the time of the Second Party Congress. If a member

TABLE I

CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
BY GROUPS

Party Congresses	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y
1 WPK CCM	43	13	—	4	6	8	12
Re-elected to 2 WPK CCM	30	11	—	3	6	2	8
Dropped	12	2	—	—	—	6	4
Died	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
2 WPK CCM	67	21	—	7	14	12	13
From 1 WPK CCM	30	11	—	3	6	2	8
New Members	37	10	—	4	8	10	5
Re-elected to 3 WPK CCM	29	8	—	5	7	2	7
Dropped	35	13	—	—	6	10	6
Died	3	—	—	2	1	—	—
3 WPK CCM	71	23	—	11	11	12	14
From 2 WPK CCM	29	8	—	5	7	2	7
New Members	42	15	—	6	4	10	7
Re-elected to 4 WPK CCM	28	11	—	10	2	3	2
Dropped	42	12	—	—	9	9	12
Died	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
4 WPK CCM	85	19	21	35	3	5	2
From WPK CCM	28	11	—	10	2	3	2
New Members	57	8	21	25	1	2	—
Re-elected to 5 WPK CCM	31	7	2	19	1	2	—
Dropped	52	11	19	15	2	3	2
Died	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
5 WPK CCM	117	9	68	32	2	6	—
From 4 WPK CCM	31	7	2	19	1	2	—
New Members	86	2	66	13	1	4	—

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; CCM = Central Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yenan Group.

of the Central Committee represents the party membership at all, one member of the Central Committee represents approximately twenty thousand members of the party today.

It is significant that, except for the Fifth Party Congress, no one group had approached a majority of any Central Committee. The fifth Central Committee has 68 newly emerging members who constitute the majority, and if we assume that this group consists primarily of new leaders trained and recruited into the Central

Committee by the partisans, the combination of these two groups gives an absolute majority of 100 out of 117 members. The emergence of a majority can be observed in the Central Committee of the Fourth Party Congress; but the consolidation and control of the committee seems far greater in the Fifth Party Congress than it was in 1961.

Also important is the pattern of change in each group. Unlike the others, the members of the partisan group have consistently been re-elected to the Central Committee. Not counting those among the partisan group who died before the subsequent party congress, no partisan was ever dropped from the Central Committee until the present committee. By comparison, a majority of the members of other groups, including the newly emerging elite, is dropped from the Central Committee at each congress. For example, 12 out of 14 members of the Yenan group were dropped between the third and fourth Central Committees. These figures testify to the severity of the purges of 1956 on the Yenan group.⁸ The domestic group was more represented than any other group until the Central Committee of the Fourth Party Congress, but this can be explained by the relative abundance of Communists who fought within Korea and Japan. The rate of their demotion is as acute as it is for the Soviet-Korean group, which had relatively few members.

During the 1960s, between the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses (more specifically, after the second party conference held in October 1966), when signs of an internal struggle within the partisan group were manifest,⁹ the partisan group quickly added 13 new members to the Central Committee of the fifth congress to replace the 15 partisans who had been dropped from the Central Committee of the Fourth Party Congress. Such leading partisans as Pak Küm-ch'öl, Kim Kwang-hyöp, Sök San, Ch'oe Kwang, Kim Ch'ang-bong, and Hõ Pong-hak were eliminated.

Because of the rapid turnover in membership, it is useful to analyze the durability of the members of the Central Committee. Out of 259 leaders who have served on the Central Committee, only two, Kim Il-sõng and Kim Il—both partisans—were elected to all five Central Committees. In contrast, 171 members—two-thirds of all men who ever served on the Central Committee—served only once. Very few served twice; as can be seen in table 2, 61 members served twice but 30 of these were those who served in the first and second Central Committees when there were few changes in the party. Because of the short interval between the two Central Committees, virtually all (30 out of 41) were re-elected.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF TIMES ELECTED TO THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE BY GROUPS

	GROUPS						Total
	Domes- tic	New	Parti- san	Soviet- Korean	Un- known	Yenan	
Once	20	84	26	5	28	8	171
Twice	18	2	19	8	5	9	61
Thrice (Party Con- gresses)							
1.2.3.	(1) ^l			(2) ^m		(4) ⁿ	
1.3.4.						(1) ^o	
2.3.4.	(1) ^h		(3) ⁱ	(1) ^j			
2.3.5.				(1) ^k			
3.4.5.	(2) ^d		(2) ^e	(1) ^f	(2) ^g		
Total	4	—	5	5	2	5	21
Four Times							
1.2.3.4.	(3) ^a	—					
2.3.4.5.	(1) ^b						
Total	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
Five Times	—	—	2 ^c	—	—	—	2
TOTAL	46	86	52	35	18	22	259

a	Pak Chông-ae	f	Nam Il	l	O Ki-söp
	Kang Chin-gôn	g	Kim Hoe-il	m	Han Il-mu
	Han Söl-ya		Kim Man-güm		Yim Hae
b	Chông Chun-t'aek	h	Chông Il-yong	n	Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik
c	Kim Il-sông	i	Kim Kwang-hyöp		Hö Chông-suk
	Kim Il		Kim Kyông-sök		Kim Tu-bong
d	Ch'oe Wôn-t'aek		Pak Küm-ch'öl		Pak Hun-il
	Pak Mun-gyu	j	Yi Song-un	o	Kim Ch'ang-man
e	Ch'oe Hyön	k	Pang Hak-se		
	Ch'oe Yong-gôn				

Only 4 members served four times and 21 served three. Out of the 4 who were elected four times, only 1, Chông Chun-t'aek, is a member of the fifth Central Committee. Pak Chông-ae, once the most powerful woman leader of the North, now age sixty-five, seems to have retired. The famous peasant leader Kang Chin-gôn died in 1963 at the age of seventy-eight, and one of the illustrious literary writers of the North, Han Söl-ya, was purged in 1962.

Of the 21 members who were elected three times, only 8 are

currently on the Central Committee. In general, no one is reinstated in the Central Committee after failure to be re-elected to the succeeding Central Committee. There have been only three exceptions: Kim Ch'ang-man and Yun Kong-hüm, both Yenan Communists now purged, and Pang Hak-se, a Soviet-Korean who reappeared in the Central Committee of the Fifth Party Congress. Pang was once a powerful man as a minister of public security, and he seems to be the only Soviet-Korean in power, now that Nam Il, former vice-premier and foreign minister, is reported to have been purged.¹⁰

Some preliminary and general observations of the Central Committee and its members can be made. First, it is unmistakably the partisans, who consolidated their strength by eliminating virtually all other groups by 1961, who have unchallenged control of the party. Second, in order to augment the relatively small numbers of partisan leaders, they have trained and recruited a large number of new leaders into the Central Committee. Third, there is rapid change in the membership of the Central Committee. Only 11 members who were elected to the Central Committee at least three times or more are serving on the fifth Central Committee. Fourth, since the majority of the Central Committee are newly elected members serving only a single term, the control of the Central Committee seems to rest with a select few of the partisan group. Fifth, as the partisan members have consolidated their strength with the assistance of the newly emerging group, the opportunity for a factional struggle based upon the past revolutionary groupings seems to have disappeared. For instance, there is not a single member of the Yenan group in the fifth Central Committee, and there are only 2 Soviet-Koreans and 9 domestic Communists enjoying membership at the pleasure of the partisan group. Sixth, since the second party conference of October 1966, there have been definite signs of an intragroup struggle within the partisan group. Such a struggle may have a debilitating effect, but more importantly, it can also be interpreted as a sign of maturity in the North Korean leadership, which may now be eliminating parts of its membership on the basis of policy differences. Seventh, with the appearance of a large number of newly emerging leaders, there exists today, for the first time, a single group that has the majority in the Central Committee. Because of the relative obscurity of these men, it has become increasingly difficult to determine the direction and orientation of the Central Committee. The primary task of the partisan group seems to have

shifted from the struggle to eliminate other competing groups to an effort to train correctly and control the leaders of the newly emerging groups. Eighth, and perhaps most important, is that the appearance of a large number of these new leaders has resulted in a fundamental change in the composition of the Central Committee, from the old revolutionaries who participated in the Communist revolutionary activities abroad to newly trained and, more importantly, Korean-trained leaders under the direction of the Workers' Party of Korea.

B. Candidate Members of the Central Committee

Article 33 of the bylaws states that whenever a vacancy exists in the Central Committee, it should be filled by a candidate member of the Central Committee, and Article 34 provides that candidate members have the privilege of participating in the plenary meetings of the Central Committee without a vote; there is no provision stating the functions of the candidate members of the Central Committee. The Central Committee, however, has seldom made public any replacement of the members of the Central Committee with a candidate member. Some of the important replacements were made not with a candidate member but rather with someone who had held no previous position in the party.¹¹

The role of candidate members in the Central Committee is not clear. Contrary to the practices of Communist parties in other countries, only a few candidate members are elected to become regular members of the Central Committee of the WPK and fewer still are re-elected as candidate members of the Central Committee. Out of some 160 candidate members (see table 3), only 32 have been elected to regular membership in the Central Committee; almost all others have been dropped. For example, of 20 candidate members in the second Central Committee only 2 remained as candidate members, and only 1 out of 45 candidate members of the third Central Committee was retained in the fourth Central Committee. In the fourth Central Committee, 7 candidate members retained their status, but this is hardly an improvement as they were joined by 48 new candidate members of the fifth Central Committee. Therefore, almost all candidate members in each Central Committee are newly elected members.

The tenure of candidate members is not long; only one member, Yi Chi-ch'an,¹² has served three terms, and only eight members have served twice; prior to the Fifth Party Congress only one other person, Yi Kyu-hwan, had served twice. The seven men

TABLE 3
CHANGES IN THE CANDIDATE MEMBERSHIP OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE BY GROUPS

Party Congresses	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y
1 WPK CMCC	NONE						
2 WPK CMCC	20	2	—	1	1	14	2
Elected to 3 WPK CCM	5	1	—	1	1	—	2
Re-elected to 3 WPK CMCC	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
Dropped	13	1	—	—	—	12	—
3 WPK CMCC	45	11	3	6	5	12	8
From 2 WPK CCM	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
From 2 WPK CMCC	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
New Members	42	10	3	6	5	10	8
Elected to 4 WPK CCM	12	3	3	6	—	—	—
Re-elected to 4 WPK CMCC	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Dropped	32	8	—	—	5	11	8
4 WPK CMCC	50	3	33	8	—	5	1
From 3 WPK CMCC	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
New Members	49	3	33	8	—	4	1
Elected to 5 WPK CCM	15	2	6	3	—	4	—
Re-elected to 5 WPK CMCC	7	—	7	—	—	—	—
Dropped	28	1	20	5	—	1	1
5 WPK CMCC	55	—	49	5	—	1	—
From 4 WPK CCM	2	—	1	—	—	1	—
From 4 WPK CMCC	7	—	7	—	—	—	—
New Members	46	—	41	5	—	—	—

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; CCM = Central Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen'an Group; CMCC = Candidate Members of the Central Committee.

who were successful in remaining as candidate members of the fifth Central Committee are all newly emerging leaders whose identities are relatively obscure.¹³ There are other peculiarities of the Central Committee; for example, three regular members of the fifth Central Committee were demoted to candidate members.¹⁴

Some general characteristics of the changing patterns in the candidate membership are similar to those of the regular members of the Central Committee. There is a definite decrease and phasing

out of all groups except the partisan. Important, too, is that during the tenure of the second and third Central Committees all candidate members of the partisan group were promoted to regular membership in the Central Committee. As with regular members of the fourth Central Committee, five partisan candidate members were dropped from the Central Committee, but five new partisans were quickly added by the fifth congress.

There are other similarities between regular and candidate members—the rise of the newly emerging group and a low rate of re-election to the succeeding party congresses. Most important, however, seems to be that in the Workers' Party of Korea election to candidate membership of the Central Committee is not a step toward election to regular membership of the Central Committee. Except for partisans, election to candidate membership appears to be a sure way of not getting re-elected to the membership on the Central Committee either as a regular or as a candidate member.

C. Members of the Political and Standing Committees

The highest ranking leaders of the party were those who held positions as chairman, vice-chairman, secretary-general, secretary, and member and candidate member of the Political, Organizational and Standing Committees. Generally speaking, the chairman, vice-chairmen, and secretaries were also members of the Political and Standing Committees, and the number of these leaders has not exceeded seventeen in any one Central Committee.

A detailed description of structural changes is not necessary for the purpose of this study. Only a few relevant changes will be discussed. The offices of chairman and vice-chairman were abolished in the fourteenth plenum of the fourth congress on October 12, 1966, and were replaced with the offices of secretary-general and secretary. The Political Committee was abolished in the third congress, but was reinstated in the fourth, while the Standing Committee was abolished by the time of the fourth congress. According to the party bylaws (of whichever version), the members of the Political or Standing Committees are the highest functionaries of the party who administer general policies of the Central Committee and implement specific policies in between the Central Committee plenums. The members of these committees are elected by the Central Committee, though the method of election has never been revealed.

Details from two plenums were added in table 4 to examine the changes in the vice-chairmanship of the Central Committee more

closely. The sixth plenum of the Second Party Congress was held in August 1953 shortly after the conclusion of the Korean War and it reflects a drastic change within the Central Committee. The fourteenth plenum of the Fourth Party Congress, which was held at the time of the second party conference in October 1966, abolished the vice-chairmanship and created the office of a secretary. New secretaries were elected, with a significant proportion coming from the partisan group.

TABLE 4
CHANGES IN CHAIRMAN, VICE-CHAIRMEN, SECRETARY-GENERAL,
SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BY GROUPS

A. Chairman and Secretary-General						
1 WPK—June 1949	Chairman					Y - Kim Tu-bong
June 1949—October 1966	Chairman					P - Kim Il-sŏng
October 1966—present	Secretary-General					P - Kim Il-sŏng
B. Vice-chairmen and Secretaries (Vice-chairmen)						
Party Congresses	Total	D	N	P	S	Y
1 WPK	2	1	—	1	—	—
						P - Kim Il-sŏng D - Chu Yŏng-ha
Re-elected to 2 WPK	1	—	—	1	—	—
Dropped	1	1	—	—	—	—
						D - Chu Yŏng-ha
2 WPK	2	—	—	1	1	—
						P - Kim Il-sŏng S - Hŏ Ka-i
From 1 WPK	1	—	—	1	—	—
New member	1	—	—	—	1	—
Re-elected to 2 WPK-6CC	NONE					
Promoted to chairman	1	—	—	1	—	—
Dropped	1	—	—	—	1	—
						S - Hŏ Ka-i
2 WPK-6CC (August 1953)	3	1	—	1	1	—
						D - Pak Chŏng-ae P - Kim Il S - Pak Ch'ang-ok
From 2 WPK	NONE					
New members	3	1	—	1	1	—
Re-elected to 3 WPK	1	1	—	—	—	—
Dropped	2	—	—	1	1	—
						P - Kim Il S - Pak Ch'ang-ok

TABLE 4—Continued

Party Congresses	Total	D	N	P	S	Y		
3 WPK	5	2	—	2	—	1	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn D - Pak Chõng-ae P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl D - Chõng Il-yong Y - Kim Ch'ang-man	
From 2 WPK-6CC	1	1	—	—	—	—	D - Pak Chõng-ae	
New members	4	1	—	2	—	1		
Re-elected to 4 WPK	3	—	—	2	—	1		
Dropped	2	2	—	—	—	—	D - Pak Chõng-ae D - Chõng Il-yong	
4 WPK	5	—	—	4	—	1	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Kim Il P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl Y - Kim Ch'ang-man P - Yi Hyo-sun	
From 3 WPK	3	—	—	2	—	1	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl Y - Kim Ch'ang-man P - Kim Il	
From 2 WPK-6CC	1	—	—	1	—	—		
New member	1	—	—	1	—	—		
Re-elected to 4 WPK-14 CC	4	—	—	4	—	—		
Dropped	1	—	—	—	—	1	Y - Kim Ch'ang-man	
4 WPK-14CC	10	(Secretaries)						
		—	2	8	—	—	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Kim Il P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl P - Yi Hyo-sun P - Kim Kwang-hyõp P - Sõk San P - Hõ Pong-hak P - Kim Yõng-ju N - Pak Yong-guk N - Kim To-man	
From 4 WPK	4	—	—	4	—	—	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Kim Il P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl P - Yi Hyo-sun	
New members	6	—	2	4	—	—		
Re-elected to 5 WPK	3	—	—	3	—	—		
Dropped	7	—	2	5	—	—	P - Pak Kũm-ch'õl P - Yi Hyo-sun P - Kim Kwang-hyõp P - Sõk San P - Hõ Pong-hak N - Pak Yong-guk N - Kim To-man	

TABLE 4—Continued

Party Congresses	Total	D	N	P	S	Y	
5 WPK	9	1	2	6	—	—	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Kim Il P - Kim Yõng-ju P - O Chin-u P - Kim Tong-gyu D - Kim Chung-nin P - Han Ik-su N - Hyõn Mu-gwang N - Yang Hyõng-sõp
From 4 WPK-14CC	3	—	—	3	—	—	P - Ch'oe Yong-gõn P - Kim Il P - Kim Yõng-ju
New members	6	1	2	3	—	—	

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970. CCM = Central Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yenian Group; 2 WPK-6CC = sixth plenum of the Central Committee of the second congress; 4 WPK-14CC = fourteenth plenum of the Central Committee of the fourth congress.

Kim Il-sõng replace Kim Tu-bong as chairman of the Central Committee on June 11, 1949, when the North and South Korean Workers' parties were officially merged as the Workers' Party of Korea. The chairman has not changed since then, except that the title of the post has changed from chairman to secretary-general of the Central Committee.

Many of the changes in the vice-chairmanship and secretary are more clearly reflected in the changes in the Political and Standing Committees. A special note should be made to point out the gravity of the intragroup struggle of the partisan group that can be seen in the change from the Fourteenth Plenum of the fourth Central Committee in October 1968 to the Fifth Party Congress in November 1970. All partisans from the third to seventh ranking secretaries of the Central Committee were dropped. For some twenty-two years, from the first congress of August 1946 to the fourteenth plenum of the fourth Central Committee in October 1968, no partisan was ever dropped from the vice-chairmanship. Kim Il was dropped from the Third Party Congress but was quickly reinstated in the Fourth. Leaders of other groups who were dropped from the vice-chairmanship, such as Chu Yõng-ha of the domestic group, Hõ Ka-i of the Soviet group, Kim Ch'ang-man of the Yenian

group, and Pak Yŏng-guk of the newly emerging group, were never reinstated.

The pattern of change in the top leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea can be studied more closely by examining the changes in membership of the Political and Standing Committees. As is obvious from table 5, there was no change in the Political Committee from the First to the Second Party Congress; there is a sharp change, however, in the sixth plenum of the Central Committee, which was held in August 1953, shortly after the Korean War.

TABLE 5

CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEES

Party Congresses	Total	D	P	S	Y	
1 WPK PCM	5	1	1	1	2	Y - Kim Tu-bong P - Kim Il-sŏng D - Chu Yŏng-ha S - Hŏ Ka-i Y - Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik
Re-elected to 2 WPK PCM	5	1	1	1	2	
Dropped	NONE					
2 WPK PCM	7	1	2	1	3	Y - Kim Tu-bong P - Kim Il-sŏng S - Hŏ Ka-i P - Kim Ch'aek Y - Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik Y - Pak Il-u D - Chu Yŏng-ha
From 1 WPK PCM	5	1	1	1	2	
New members	2	—	1	—	1	P - Kim Ch'aek Y - Pak Il-u
Re-elected to 2 WPK-6CC	2	—	1	—	1	
Dropped	4	1	—	1	2	D - Chu Yŏng-ha S - Hŏ Ka-i Y - Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik Y - Pak Il-u P - Kim Ch'aek
Died	1	—	1	—	—	
2 WPK-6CC PCM (August 1953)	7	1	3	2	1	P - Kim Il-sŏng Y - Kim Tu-bong D - Pak Chŏng-ae S - Pak Ch'ang-ok P - Kim Il P - Pak Kŭm-ch'ŏl S - Pak Yŏng-bin
From 2 WPK PCM	2	—	1	—	1	P - Kim Il-sŏng Y - Kim Tu-bong
New members	5	1	2	2	—	

TABLE 5 — Continued

Party Congresses	Total	D	P	S	Y	
2 WPK-6CC PCM (Cont'd.)						
Re-elected to 3 WPK OCM	3	1	2	—	—	
Dropped	4	—	1	2	1	Y - Kim Tu-bong S - Pak Ch'ang-ok P - Kim Il S - Pak Yŏng-bin

NOTE: Third Party Congress had no Political Committee. This is for an Organizational Committee that performed functions of the Political Committee.

3 WPK OCM	7	3	3	—	1	P - Kim Il-sŏng P - Ch'oe Yong-gŏn D - Pak Chŏng-ae P - Pak Kŭm-ch'ŏl D - Chŏng Il-yong Y - Kim Ch'ang-man D - Han Sang-du
From 2 WPK-6CC	3	1	2	—	—	P - Kim Il-sŏng D - Pak Chŏng-ae P - Pak Kŭm-ch'ŏl
New members	4	2	1	—	1	
Re-elected to 4 WPK PCM	6	2	3	—	1	
Re-elected to 4 WPK CMPC	1	1	—	—	—	D - Han Sang-du

NOTE: The Political Committee was abolished in the Third Party Congress but was reactivated by the Fourth Party Congress. However, the reactivated Political Committee was more of a continuation of a Standing Committee than the Political Committees of previous party congress. The Fourth Party Congress had no Standing Committee and the changes in the Political Committee of the Fourth and Fifth party congresses will be repeated in Table 6. The newly created candidate membership to the Political Committee is omitted in this table but they are fully recorded in Table 6.

4 WPK PCM	11	3	6	1	1	P - Kim Il-sŏng P - Ch'oe Yong-gŏn P - Kim Il P - Pak Kŭm-ch'ŏl Y - Kim Ch'ang-man P - Yi Hyo-sun D - Pak Chŏng-ae P - Kim Kwang-hyŏp D - Chŏng Il-yong S - Nam Il D - Yi Chong-ok
From 3 WPK OCM	6	2	3	—	1	
New members	5	1	3	1	—	P - Kim Il P - Yi Hyo-sun P - Kim Kwang-hyŏp S - Nam Il D - Yi Chong-ok

TABLE 5 — Continued

Party Congresses	Total	D	P	S	Y	
4 WPK PCM (Cont'd.)						
Re-elected to 4 WPK-14CC PCM	6	—	6	—	—	
Dropped	5	3	—	1	1	Y - Kim Ch'ang-man D - Pak Ch'ong-ae D - Ch'ong Il-yong S - Nam Il D - Yi Chong-ok
4 WPK-14CC PCM	11	1	10	—	—	P - Kim Il-s'ong P - Ch'oe Yong-g'on P - Kim Il P - Pak K'um-ch'ol P - Yi Hyo-sun P - Kim Kwang-hy'op D - Kim Ik-s'on P - Kim Ch'ang-bong P - Pak Song-ch'ol P - Ch'oe Hy'on P - Yi Y'ong-ho
From 4 WPK PCM	6	—	6	—	—	
New members	5	1	4	—	—	D - Kim Ik-s'on P - Kim Ch'ang-bong P - Pak Song-ch'ol P - Ch'oe Hy'on P - Yi Y'ong-ho
Re-elected to 5 WPK PCM	5	—	5	—	—	
Dropped	6	1	5	—	—	P - Pak K'um-ch'ol P - Yi Hyo-sun P - Kim Kwang-hy'op D - Kim Ik-s'on P - Kim Ch'ang-bong P - Yi Y'ong-ho
5 WPK PCM	11	1	10	—	—	P - Kim Il-s'ong P - Ch'oe Yong-g'on P - Kim Il P - Pak Song-ch'ol P - Ch'oe Hy'on P - Kim Y'ong-ju P - O Chin-u P - Kim Tong-gyu P - S'ŏ Ch'ol D - Kim Chung-nin P - Han Ik-su
From 4 WPK-14CC PCM	5	—	5	—	—	
New members	6	1	5	—	—	P - Kim Y'ong-ju P - O Chin-u P - Kim Tong-gyu P - S'ŏ Ch'ol D - Kim Chung-nin P - Han Ik-su

TABLE 5 — Continued

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; CCM = Central Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen'an Group; PCM = Political Committee Members; CMPC = Candidate Members of the Political Committee; OCM = Organizational Committee Members.

Two important events during this period need to be mentioned: one is the merger of the South Korean Workers' Party and the North Korean Workers' Party on June 11, 1949, and the second is the outbreak of the Korean War. The South Korean Workers' Party with its own 31-man Central Committee was merged with the 67-man Central Committee of the North Korean Workers' Party, but there was no official announcement of a new Central Committee of the merged Workers' Party of Korea prior to the Third Party Congress in 1956. An 8-man Political Committee and a 14-man Standing Committee of the South Korean Workers' Party were reported.¹⁵ A new 9-man Political Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea was also announced, consisting of five members from the North and four members from the South, who were all members of their respective Political Committees.¹⁶

A significant change occurred in the leadership of the North during and after the Korean War, and a new line-up shortly after the Korean War reflected almost total elimination of the leaders of the domestic group from the South. No one from the Political Committee of the South Korean Workers' Party was elected to a new Political Committee of the sixth plenum of August 1953. Only one of fourteen members of the Standing Committee of the South Korean Workers' Party was elected to the Standing Committee of the sixth plenum (see table 6). He was soon purged.¹⁷

The rise of the partisan group can be seen as early as August 1953 by the election of such partisans as Kim Il¹⁸ and Pak K'um-ch'ol, and in the failure on the part of such important leaders as Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik and Pak Il-u of the Yen'an group to be re-elected. Contrary to popular belief, leaders, such as Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik who was not purged until after the Third Party Congress in 1956, were never re-elected to the Political Committee after August 1953. The fall of the Yen'an group became obvious when Kim Tu-bong was dropped from the Political Committee. Another member of the Yen'an group, Kim Ch'ang-man, was recruited, but his open denunciation of his fellow revolutionaries from Yen'an seems to have been the main

reason for his prominence. Similarly, the lack of close ties with the mainstay of the domestic group seems to have contributed in no small way to the election of such leaders as Pak Chŏng-ae, Chŏng Il-yong, and Han Sang-du to the Organization Committee of the third Central Committee.

TABLE 6
CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

Party Congresses	Members							Candidate Members							
	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y	
1 WPK SCM		Data not available													
2 WPK SCM	17	5	—	3	5	1	3								
Re-elected to 2 WPK-6CC	7	2	—	2	1	—	2								
Dropped	9	3	—	—	4	1	1								
Died	1	—	—	1	—	—	—								
2 WPK-6CC SCM	15	5	—	4	4	—	2								
From 2 WPK	7	2	—	2	1	—	2								
New members	8	3	—	2	3	—	—								
Re-elected to 3 WPK	9	2	—	4	1	—	2								
Dropped	6	3	—	—	3	—	—								
3 WPK SCM	11	2	—	5	2	—	2	4	1	—	1	1	—	1	
Re-elected from 2 WPK-6CC	9	2	—	4	1	—	2								
New members	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	1	—	1	1	—	1	
Re-elected to 4 WPK PCM	8	2	—	5	1	—	—								
Promoted to 4 WPK PCM								3	1	—	1	—	—	1	
Dropped	3	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	

NOTE: A standing committee was abolished in the Fourth Party Congress and a political committee was reinstated in place of the standing committee.

4 WPK PCM	11	3	—	6	1	—	1	4	3	—	—	—	—	1
From 3 WPK SCM	8	2	—	5	1	—	—							
From 3 WPK CMSC	3	1	—	1	—	—	1							
New members								4	3	—	—	—	—	1
Re-elected to 4 WPK-14CC PCM	6	—	—	6	—	—	—							
Promoted to 4 WPK-14CC PCM								1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Dropped	5	3	—	—	1	—	1	3	2	—	—	—	—	1

TABLE 6 — Continued

Party Congresses	Members							Candidate Members						
	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y	Total	D	N	P	S	U	Y
4 WPK-14CC PCM	11	1	—	10	—	—	—	9	—	2	7	—	—	—
From 4 WPK PCM	6	—	—	6	—	—	—							
From 4 WPK CMPC	1	1	—	—	—	—	—							
New members	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	9	—	2	7	—	—	—
Re-elected to 5 WPK PCM	5	—	—	5	—	—	—							
Promoted to 5 WPK PCM								3	—	—	3	—	—	—
Dropped	6	1	—	5	—	—	—	6	—	2	4	—	—	—
5 WPK PCM	11	1	—	10	—	—	—	4	1	2	—	—	1	—
From 4 WPK-14CC PCM	5	—	—	5	—	—	—							
From 4 WPK-14CC CMPC	3	—	—	3	—	—	—							
New members	3	1	—	2	—	—	—	4	1	2	—	—	1	—

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; CCM = Central Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen-an Group; SCM = Standing Committee Members; CMSC = Candidate Members of the Standing Committee.

The partisans outnumbered all other groups by the Third Party Congress, and it seems that the now famous coup of the Yen-an and Soviet-Koreans in 1956 in the name of a collective leadership was a futile effort in view of the composition of the Political Committee of the third Central Committee. The partisans attained a majority in the Political Committee of the fourth Central Committee, which became absolute by the second party conference in October 1966, ten out of eleven members being partisans. No partisan was ever denied re-election to the membership or candidate membership of the Political or Standing Committees until the Fifth Party Congress. These five who failed were quickly replaced by five new partisans, so that the Political Committee of the Fifth Party Congress also consists of ten partisans and one member of the domestic group.

The dominance of the partisan group is most obvious in table 7. Out of fifty-four men who served on the Political and Standing Committees, by far the largest number (twenty) were members of the partisan group and five out of nine members who were elected

more than four times to the committees were partisans. From this table it can also be seen that the Yen-an group was never a serious contender for power in the party; nor were the Soviet-Koreans a threat to the partisans. The members of the domestic group were the second most numerous, but they were ineffective after the Korean War, when most of their leaders were purged.

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY OF RE-ELECTION TO THE POLITICAL AND STANDING COMMITTEES BY GROUPS: FIVE CONGRESSES AND TWO PLENUMS OF AUGUST 1953 AND OCTOBER 1966

	D	N	P	S	U	Y	Total
Once	6	4	9	7	2	2	30
Twice	5 ^a	—	5 ^b	2 ^c	—	1 ^d	13
Thrice	—	—	1 ^e	1 ^f	—	—	2
Four times	2 ^g	—	3 ^h	—	—	2 ⁱ	7
Five times	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Six times	—	—	1 ^j	—	—	—	1
Seven times	—	—	1 ^k	—	—	—	1
Total	13	4	20	10	2	5	54

a Chu Yöng-ha
Chöng Chun-t'aek
Han Sang-du
Yi Chong-ok
Kim Ik-sön

c Hõ Ka-i
Pak Ch'ang-ok

d Kim Ch'ang-man

e Yi Hyo-sun

f Nam Il

g Pak Chöng-ae
Chöng Il-yong

h Kim Kwaung-hyöp
Pak Küm-ch'öl
Ch'oe Yong-gön

i Kim Tu-bong
Ch'oe Ch'ang-ik

j Kim Il

k Kim Il-söng

D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen-an Group.

Three generalizations can be drawn from the study of the Political and Standing Committees. First, except for two occasions, the top leadership in the party has been relatively stable. For example, contrary to the common understanding that there was a spectacular coup and attending purges of a joint force of the Soviet-Koreans and the members of the Yen-an group shortly after the Third Party Congress in 1956, almost all members of the Standing Committee of the

third Central Committee were re-elected to the Political Committee of the fourth Central Committee. It seems that there were only two occasions when the top leadership of the party was in disarray; once after the Korean War and then shortly before and after the second party conference in October 1966. In general, most of the highly publicized purges were relatively minor changes in the top leadership of the party.

Second, Kim Il-söng and his partisans were seriously challenged twice; once by the domestic group during the Korean War and another time by the members of his own partisan group. The more important of these two challenges seems to have been the crisis that occurred quite recently, two or three years prior to the Fifth Party Congress—the intraparty struggle of the partisans. Partisans eliminated in this struggle included such important party and military leaders as Pak Küm-ch'öl, Yi Hyo-sun, Kim Kwang-hyöp, Sök San, Kim Ch'ang-böng, Hõ Pong-hak, Ch'oe Kwang, Yi Yöng-ho, and Yim Ch'un-ch'u. This crisis was important as it signaled a change in the style of competition for leadership from one of factional intergroup struggle to one of intragroup struggle within the dominant group, based, perhaps, on policy differences. One may easily speculate that this struggle was related to the shift, in recent years, of North Korean policy toward the South and to the change from the militant policy pursued by the North during the *Pueblo* incident to a new, more friendly phase by the North toward the South, and the West, today. The demoted partisans were almost all military leaders of some repute.

Third, it seems obvious that neither the Chinese nor the Russians had any significant influence on the top leadership of the party. For example, there was no sharp decrease in the number of Soviet-Koreans when the Russians left the North, nor was there a sharp increase in the membership of the Yen-an group when the Chinese were stationed in the North. On the contrary, the Yen-an group was almost completely uprooted during the Chinese military presence in the North.

The claim that neither the Russians nor the Chinese exerted any influence on party leadership is strengthened by considering earlier revolutionary activities of the two Korean groups in China and the Soviet Union. Neither the Yen-an group nor the Soviet-Koreans had close enough ties with the ruling Chinese and Russian elites to merit their support in the intergroup struggle within the Workers' Party of Korea. There is no convincing evidence that either the Chinese or the Russian Communists made efforts to exert influence

in the North through the members of the Yen-an or the Soviet group. Had the Russians or the Chinese wanted to exert pressure to control and manipulate North Korea, they had far more effective means, such as economic and military aid, than the Yen-an or the Soviet-Koreans did on the WPK Central Committee. The Yen-an and Soviet-Koreans, as groups, were never a threat to the partisan group, nor did the fate of these men fluctuate in accordance with the friendly or hostile relations of the Workers' Party of Korea with China or the Soviet Union.

D. Members of the Inspection, Auditing, and Other Committees

The members of the Inspection and Auditing Committees are elected by the Central Committee. While a chairman and vice-chairmen of the Inspection Committee are elected by the Central Committee at large, a chairman and vice-chairmen of the Auditing Committee are elected by the members of the Auditing Committee. The bylaws stipulate that the Inspection Committee has a duty to investigate the observance of the bylaws by the members and candidate members of the party; it must also conduct investigations of members who violate the bylaws, neglect party platforms, or weaken the unity of the party. The Inspection Committee also investigates and renders decisions on punishment of members, which are appealed from the provincial committees. The Auditing Committee's function is to inspect the works of various departments and the finances of the Central Committee.¹⁹

It is obvious from table 8 that almost all members of Inspection Committees are dropped from succeeding Inspection Committees. Out of thirty-six men who served on the committee, only Kim Ik-sŏn, O Yŏng-bong, and Kim Yŏ-jung were re-elected. The chairmen of the committees were not prominent members of the party; although they were all members of the Central Committee except the first chairman, none was a regular member of the Political Committee. It is also significant that except in the case of the present Inspection Committee, all chairmen were from the domestic group. Unlike other Communist parties where the Inspection Committee plays a significant role (for example, the Control Commission of the Chinese Communist Party), the Inspection Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea plays a relatively insignificant role. The large turnover in the membership of the Central Committee and the significant number of high-ranking party officials either demoted or purged suggest that the Inspection Committee might be important, but it seems to be engaged in the investigation of

leaders of the provincial and local party organizations, not of high-ranking party officials. All past chairmen themselves were either demoted or purged. None, including the present chairman, has been of the caliber necessary to investigate any member of the Political or Standing Committees.

The rate of re-election to the Auditing Committee is just as low as is the rate of election to the Inspection Committee. Out of forty-nine persons who have served on the committee, only six have been re-elected. The members of the Auditing Committee seem to have been recruited more on a functional than political basis, for the current chairman of the Auditing Committee, Kim Se-hwal, is not even a member of the Central Committee. There are no partisans on the current Auditing Committee, and perhaps the most insignificant group politically, the unknown group, has persistently maintained the highest level of representation.

There are two unofficial but important organizations in the Central Committee; one is the Military Affairs Committee and the other, known as a Liaison Bureau, is said to direct the party's operations in South Korea. The Military Affairs Committee was reported to have been established in December 1962 at the time of the fifth plenum of the fourth Central Committee, when various measures were passed to fortify and strengthen the military forces of the North.

Not enough information exists on these two organizations to document their function and details of their operations, but no one other than the partisans ever headed the two organizations until the current chairman of the Liaison Bureau, Kim Chung-nin,²⁰ who shares no guerrilla revolutionary past with the partisans. It is also important to note that all those partisans who have headed the Liaison Bureau in the past, Yi Hyo-sun and Hŏ Pong-hak, for example, were purged when they were relieved of their responsibilities. One can speculate that North Korean efforts to direct a revolutionary struggle in the South may not have produced the expected results.

Not enough information is available to analyze the leaders of the Central Committee departments and secretaries of the provincial and municipal committees of the party.

E. Changes in the Membership by Occupation

Except for those who work for the party, every member of the Central Committee, in addition to his membership, holds an outside position. It is useful to analyze the members of the Central

TABLE 8
CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE INSPECTION AND
AUDITING COMMITTEES

<i>A. Inspection Committee</i>							
<i>Party Congresses</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Y</i>
1 WPK ICM	11	5	—	—	1	5	—
Re-elected to 2 WPK ICM	NONE						
Dropped all but one who died							
Elected to 2 WPK CCM	3	2	—	—	1	—	—
2 WPK ICM	6	3	—	—	1	2	—
New members	ALL						
Re-elected to 3 WPK ICM	NONE						
Dropped all but one who died							
3 WPK ICM	7	2	—	2	—	2	1
New members	ALL						
Re-elected to 4 WPK ICM	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Dropped	6	1	—	2	—	2	1
4 WPK ICM	7	1	1	1	—	4	—
From 3 WPK ICM	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
New members	6	—	1	1	—	4	—
Re-elected to 5 WPK ICM	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Dropped	6	1	1	1	—	3	—
5 WPK ICM	7	—	5	1	—	1	—
From 4 WPK ICM	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
New members	6	—	5	1	—	—	—

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; ICM = Inspection Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen-an Group; Inspection Committee Chairmen: 1 WPK ICM D = Kim Yong-böm; 2 WPK ICM D = Chang Sun-myöng; 3 WPK ICM D = Kim Ik-sön; 4 WPK ICM D = Kim Ik-sön; 5 WPK ICM P = Kim Yö-jung.

B. Auditing Committee

<i>Party Congresses</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Y</i>
1 WPK ACM	NONE	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 WPK ACM	7	2	—	—	1	3	1
Re-elected to 3 WPK ACM	3	2	—	—	—	—	1
Dropped	4	—	—	—	1	3	—

TABLE 8 — Continued

<i>Party Congresses</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Y</i>
3 WPK ACM	17	6	—	—	2	4	5
From 2 WPK ACM	3	2	—	—	—	—	1
New members	14	4	—	—	2	4	4
Re-elected to 4 WPK ACM	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Dropped	16	5	—	—	2	4	5
4 WPK ACM	17	4	4	5	—	4	—
From 3 WPK ACM	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
New members	16	3	4	5	—	4	—
Re-elected to 5 WPK ACM	3	—	—	—	—	3	—
Dropped	14	4	4	5	—	1	—
5 WPK ACM	15	—	11	—	—	4	—
From 4 WPK ACM	3	—	—	—	—	3	—
New members	12	—	11	—	—	1	—

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970; ACM = Auditing Committee Member; D = Domestic Group; N = New Group; P = Partisan Group; S = Soviet-Korean Group; U = Unknown Group; Y = Yen-an Group; Auditing Committee Chairmen: 1 WPK ACM none; 2 WPK ACM D = Yi Chu-yön; 3 WPK ACM D = Yi Chu-yön; 4 WPK ACM P = Kim Yö-jung; 5 WPK ACM N = Kim Se-hwal.

Committee on the basis of their occupation; but relatively little information permits but a cursory survey.

Each member of the Central Committee is identified by his occupation at the time of his election to the committee according to the following nine categories: (1) cabinet ministers and workers in the ministries; (2) diplomats and trade representatives; (3) justices, procurator-generals, and members of the judiciary; (4) military officers; (5) party functionaries whose primary occupation is work within the party; (6) members of the presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly; (7) provincial and local organization leaders; (8) leaders of other organizations, such as cultural and educational institutions; and (9) members whose occupation is not known, grouped as unknown group. As is clear from table 9, there are too many unknowns in both the first and fifth congresses to make any meaningful analysis. Furthermore, the First and Second Party Congresses were held prior to the official establishment of the government in the North. It is only the Central Committees of the Third and Fourth Party Congresses that can be meaningfully evaluated.

TABLE 9
CHANGE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
BY OCCUPATION

	1 WPK	2 WPK	3 WPK	4 WPK	*	5 WPK	Total
Cabinet Ministers	10	6	24	20	44	25	85
Diplomats	0	1	3	6	9	2	12
Justices	0	1	1	1	2	0	3
Military Officers	3	10	10	18	28	13	54
Party Functionaries	7	19	9	9	18	15	59
Presidium Members	0	4	6	9	15	5	24
Provincial Leaders	6	5	11	17	28	5	44
Others	5	14	6	4	10	8	37
Unknowns	12	7	1	1	2	44	65
Total	43	67	71	85		117	383

NOTE: WPK = Workers' Party of Korea; 1 WPK = first congress, August 1946; 2 WPK = second congress, March 1948; 3 WPK = third congress, April 1956; 4 WPK = fourth congress, September 1961; 5 WPK = fifth congress, November 1970.

*Total of 3 WPK and 4 WPK

Several observations can be made. If any profession dominates, it is administrative workers in the ministries; the bureaucracy contributes the most to the membership of the Central Committee. Military officers and leaders of local organizations are the second largest groups. Since only generals and very high-ranking field officers are included in the military officers' category, the military is quite an important contributor to the membership of the Central Committee, particularly when one considers the large number of provincial and municipal organizations throughout the North. The low rate of representation of the judiciary and diplomatic corps is understandable, but it is important to note the small number of party workers and legislative leaders represented in the Central Committee. The members of the diplomatic corps are a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the combined number of cabinet ministers and diplomats gives by far the largest representation of the bureaucracy in the party.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IN KOREA

Out of many characteristics that have emerged from this study, several are important and need to be analyzed in more detail. One is the appearance of a large number of newly recruited young leaders who were trained by the Korean Communist system. There is a

definite pattern of induced change in the membership of the highest party leadership organ, which replaces the old revolutionaries who were trained abroad with a new group of "revolutionaries" who were trained by Kim Il-sŏng and his partisans. In an effort to encourage the new leaders, Kim has taken pains to explain that a "Korean revolutionary" is not only a Korean who fought against the Japanese in the struggle for Korean independence but, more importantly, he is a worker who contributed to the building of communism in Korea. A revolutionary is also a young soldier who fought the Americans in the Korean War, and a hero of the socialist construction of the North.²¹

In his speech to the party organizers and leaders of provincial and municipal party committees, Kim Il-sŏng stressed the importance of party leaders in Korea. In a metaphor, he explained that a leader of the party, compared to an administrator or a leader of government organizations, is similar to a helmsman compared to an oarsman of a boat. The administrative worker rows in front, while the party chairman directs the boat by taking the rudder in the stern.²²

A new leader must undergo a thorough training process of criticism and self-criticism. He must also study the past revolutionary records of Kim and his partisans. And he must be determined to fight against revisionism, dogmatism, formalism, factionalism, nepotism, and other forms of decadence.²³ However, the most important element required of a new leader is *tangsŏng*, party spirit. Kim has defined party spirit as nothing but an absolute and unflinching loyalty to the party.²⁴ An efficient leader is not one who carries a "bag full of criticism" and is effective in pointing out the mistakes of others, but is a person who is thoroughly armed with the party spirit and who is able to give directions to solve the problems of the workers.

Another characteristic that has become obvious from this study is the disappearance of factional groupings in the North. Although Kim has accomplished this by a process of elimination rather than persuasion, the emergence of the partisans and the new leaders in the North has strengthened the party leadership. The process took some two decades, but it is not merely a case of ruthless purges of the old and a reckless recruitment of the new only to consolidate Kim's power; the changes within the partisan group and the failure of many members of the newly emerging group to be re-elected to the Central Committee seem to suggest the disappearance of factional groups in the leadership of the North.

As early as October 13, 1945, Kim Il-sŏng stated his uncompromising principle of noncooperation with those revolutionaries who had once submitted to the Japanese.²⁵ Many elements of the domestic group were thereby eliminated, but it was not until after the Korean War that Kim was able to push forward his role as helmsman. A direct but unsuccessful challenge by the domestic group, together with the lack of cooperation among the leaders of the Yen-an group and the Soviet-Koreans, was fatal to the old revolutionaries. In the name of party unity, Kim has repeatedly stressed the unconditional struggle against antiparty reactionary elements.²⁶

A few old revolutionaries of the Yen-an group and the Soviet-Koreans (e.g., Kim Ch'ang-man and Nam Il) remained even after the mainstays of their groups were eliminated, but these men stayed on a little longer only at the pleasure of the partisans and by professing a carping criticism of their former comrades.²⁷ Contrary to common understanding, the rise and fall of these men had little to do with the Chinese or Russian influence in the North; neither the Yen-an group nor the Soviet-Koreans were ever serious contenders for power in the North. They were often criticized by other groups for allowing their revolutionary past to influence them, but neither the Chinese nor the Russians seem to have shown any sign of support of them.

Still another characteristic of the Communist leadership is the rapidity with which leaders are replaced. As a general rule, most of those who were not re-elected to the Central Committee were seldom reinstated later, and those eliminated from Political Committees were purged. On the other hand, many newly elected leaders, particularly candidate members of the Central Committee, seem to have returned to work with the people. Rapid change in the leadership minimizes the danger that reactionary elements will inflict serious harm on the party, and the recruitment of large numbers of new leaders affords a greater number of cadre members an opportunity to participate in party leadership.

The general dearth of leaders in the North has necessitated an intensive recruitment of new leaders and retraining of the old, though Kim has recruited neither those who have ever professed loyalty to the Japanese nor those leaders who fled the South. Kim once said, lamenting the reactionary leaders in the party, that had there been enough partisans to man each cell, we would not have had to resort to such a bureaucrat as Hŏ Ka-i to work for the party.²⁸ There were 12,000 cells in 1946 alone, and to date there are less than 150 partisans in the North. The party has made efforts to train

cadres and new intellectuals from the workers and peasants, and has demanded their unflinching loyalty to the party. The party has also made efforts to instill in new leaders a rigid party life and to arm them with socialistic patriotism.²⁹ To augment the general dearth of leaders in local organizations, Kim has employed what is known as a direct leadership method. He has himself been a much publicized leader on the local level, and has also dispatched to the local level many able leaders from the top leadership of the party to direct the party work for several months at a time.³⁰

It is not difficult to be critical of the current leadership in the North. Kim has repeatedly condemned the bureaucratic practices in the party, but it is the bureaucracy that has contributed most to the membership of the Central Committee. He has also condemned the nepotism practiced by other groups in the past, but both his wife and his brother are on the Central Committee. Perhaps more important is the gradual but complete change in the character of the leadership with the vigorous recruitment of new leaders, who replace the leaders of various factional groups of the old Communist movement. The allegation that the North is a garrison state because its leaders are not intellectuals and technocrats but rather militarily oriented guerrillas is made with no knowledge of the changes in the leadership of the North. There may be a shortage of leaders in the North, but those that they have are highly trained and, perhaps, most significant, they have been trained by the Korean Communists themselves and are therefore fully integrated into the Korean Communist system.

NOTES

1. *Minjok ūi t'aeyang Kim Il-sŏng changgun* [The Sun of the Nation, General Kim Il-sŏng] (P'yŏngyang: Inmun kwahak-sa, 1968), p. 1.
2. Article 32 of the bylaws of the Workers' Party of Korea.
3. For other administrative tasks of the Central Committee, see Articles 31-42 of the bylaws. See the interpretation of the bylaws in *Chosŏn nodong-dang kyuyak haesŏl* [Commentary of the Bylaws of the Workers' Party of Korea] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1969), pp. 204-15.
4. The fifteen Central Committee departments are: Administrative, Agriculture, Communications, Construction and Transportation, Culture and Arts, Fiscal Planning, Fisheries, Foreign Liaison, Heavy Industry, International, Light Industry and Commerce, Military, Organization and Guidance, Propaganda and Agitation, and Science Education.
5. The nine provincial committees are: Chagang, Hambuk, Hamnam, Hwangbuk, Hwangnam, Kangwŏn, P'yŏngbuk, P'yŏngnam, and Yanggang. The thirteen municipal committees are located in the cities of Ch'ŏngjŏn, Haeju, Hamhŭng,

Hesan, Kaesŏng, Kimch'aek, Namp'o, P'yŏngyang, Sariwŏn, Sinp'o, Sinŭiju, Songnim, and Wŏnsan.

6. Article 41 of the bylaws of the party stipulates that the Central Committee can call a party conference when necessary to discuss urgent policy and tactical problems of the party.

7. For more information on the Workers' Party of Korea in general, see a few standard works on the party: *Chosŏn nodong-dang yŏksa kyojae* [Text of the History of the Workers' Party of Korea] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang, ch'ulp'an-sa, 1964); *Chosŏn nodong-dang i kŏrŏ-on yŏngkwang sŭroin kil* [Glorious Path trodden by the Workers' Party of Korea] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn ch'ŏngnyŏn-sa, 1965); *Chosŏn nodong-dang ūn chosŏn inmin ūi chido-jŏk mit hyangdo-jŏk yŏngyang ida* [The Workers' Party of Korea is a Leading and Guiding Force of the Korean People] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1960). See a South Korean account of the party by Pang In-hu, *Puk-han Chosŏn nodong-dang ūi hyŏngsong kwa paljŏn* [The Formation and Development of the Workers' Party of Korea in North Korea] (Seoul: Asea munje yŏn'gu-so, 1967).

8. This phenomenon is most acute in the unknown revolutionary group throughout the five Central Committees, giving some idea as to the relative insignificance of the group and thus perhaps giving more credence to the analyses of other groups.

9. Most of the fifteen who failed to get re-elected to the fifth party Central Committee were active as members of the 61-man Executive Section of the second party conference prior to October 1966.

10. Pang reappeared first at the time of the second party conference as a member of the Executive Section of the conference. It was reported in Japan that Nam Il was demoted and was sent to an obscure place in Southeast Asia.

11. For example, Pak Yŏng-bin, a Soviet-Korean who held no official party position, was recruited as a member of the Standing Committee of the Second Party Congress at its sixth plenum in August 1953 shortly after the Korean War.

12. Yi Chi-ch'an was also a candidate member of the Executive Section of the second party conference in October 1966, but he was finally elected to the membership of the Central Committee in the fifth congress. Yi was a manager of the Sup'ung power plant and has long been a vice-minister of the Ministry of Power and Coal Industries.

13. These men are Ch'oe Chong-gŏn, Kim Hong-gwan, Kim Kwan-sŏp, Kim Pyŏng-sam, Paek Sŏn-il, Yang Ch'ung-gyŏm, and Yi Hong-gyun.

14. They are Yi Puk-myŏng, Chang Ch'ŏl, and Yi Chang-su. As a member of the domestic group, Yi was purged soon after his demotion. Chang Ch'ŏl was a member of the Central Committee and the Inspection Committee of the Second Party Congress. Yi Chang-su was a member of the Central Committee of the Fourth Party Congress. It is not clear as to why Yi was demoted and Chang reactivated.

15. The members of the Political Committee of the South Korean Workers' Party were Hŏ Hŏn, Pak Hŏn-yŏng, Yi Ki-sŏk, Kim Sam-yong, Yi Chu-ha, Yi Sŏng-yŏp, Ku Chae-su, and Kim Yong-am. The Standing Committee consisted of all members of the Political Committee and the following: Yi Hyŏn-sang, Kang Mun-sŏk, Ko Ch'an-bo, Yu Yŏng-jun, Kim O-sŏng, and Song Ūl-su.

16. They were Kim Il-sŏng, Pak Hŏn-yŏng, Kim Ch'aek, Pak Il-u, Hŏ Ka-i, Yi Sŏng-yŏp, Kim Sam-yong, Kim Tu-bong, and Hŏ Hŏn. The Committee consisted of two members each from the partisan and Yen-an groups, four members from the domestic group, and a member from the Soviet group.

17. This is Kang Mun-sŏk. For a denunciation of Kang by Kim Il-sŏng, see *Kim*

Il-sŏng sŏnjip [Selected Works of Kim Il-sŏng], 1960 ed. (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1960), 4:268.

18. Kim Il was considered to have been purged or reprimanded during the Korean War by Kim Il-sŏng. This view seems erroneous. The person Kim Il-sŏng referred to in his speech at the third plenum of the Second Party Congress on December 21, 1950, is a certain major-general of the same name from the Soviet Union. Other prominent partisans were reprimanded such as Yim Ch'un-ch'u and Ch'oe Kwang, but not Kim Il, and perhaps his election to the Political Committee at this time will attest to this. See *Kim Il-sŏng sŏnjip* [Selected Works of Kim Il-sŏng] (1960 ed.), 3:138-42.

19. See Article 36 for the Inspection Committee and Article 40 for the Auditing Committee.

20. The appointment of Kim Chung-nin represents a significant change from the militant posture of the North under General Hŏ Pong-hak. Kim had participated in Communist activities prior to the liberation of Korea in Hamgyŏng Pukto, and was a member of the *Minjok haebang tongmaeng*. He was also a chairman of the Hambuk Provincial Committee of the party, and has long been a member of the Executive Committee of the North Korean Red Cross. He was also a member of the Central Committee of the *Choguk p'yŏnghwa t'ongil wiwŏnhoe*, an organization consisting primarily of the leaders of South Korean origin, which promotes a peaceful unification of Korea. He was a North Korean representative to the Geneva Conference for the discussion of the repatriation of Koreans in Japan to North Korea.

21. *Kim Il-sŏng chŏjak sŏnjip* [Selected Works of Kim Il-sŏng] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1968), 2:378-79.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39; speech on February 26, 1959.

23. Chang Chong-yŏp, *Uri tang ūi kanghwa paljŏn e issŏsŏ reninjŏk tang-kŏnsŏl wŏnch; ūk ch'angjokŏk kuhyŏn* [The Creative Realization of the Leninist Party Construction Principles in Strengthening and Development of Our Party] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1963).

24. *Kim Il-sŏng chŏjak sŏnjip*, 3:158-60.

25. *Ibid.*, 1:1-9.

26. *Tang ūi konggohwa rŭl wihan t'ujaeng* [The Struggle to Strengthen the Party] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1956).

27. Kim Ch'ang-man, "Chosŏn nodong-dang yŏksa yŏn-gu esŏ chegi doenŭn myŏtkkaji munje," *Kŭlloja*, no. 1 (January 1960), pp. 10-21.

28. *Kim Il-sŏng chŏjak sŏnjip*, 2:340.

29. Hŏ In-hyŏk, *Urinara esŏŭi sahoechuŭi int'eri ūi hyŏngsŏng kwa changsŏng* [Formation and Growth of Socialist Intelligentsia in Our County] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1960). Ch'oe Song-uk, *Uri tang ūi chuch'e sasang kwa sahoechuŭijŏk aeguk chuŭi* [The Thought of Chuch'e and Socialistic Patriotism in Our Party] (P'yŏngyang: Chosŏn nodong-dang ch'ulp'an-sa, 1966).

30. *Kim Il-sŏng chŏjak sŏnjip*, 3:160-61.