

**December 2, 1955**  
**Decision of the KWP CC December Plenum, 2-3**  
**December 1955, 'Concerning the Anti-Party,**  
**Factional Activity of Pak Il-u'**

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**Summary:**

The resolution lists the accusations raised against Pak Il-u and his collaborators Jang Si-u, Pak Heon-yeong, and Ri Seung-yeop, and moves to remove Pak from the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee.

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DECISION OF THE KWP CC DECEMBER PLENUM  
2-3 December 1955

concerning the anti-Party, factional activity of Pak Il-u

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Having discussed the issue of the anti-Party, factional activity of Party CC member Pak Il-u the December KWP CC plenum declares that the report of the commission of Party control on this issue is correct. While a member of the CC Political Council and Minister of Internal Affairs, Pak Il-u grossly violated Party discipline, underhandedly slandered the Party leadership, and created a breach between the Party and the masses. Having associated himself with the clique of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Sym Yeb], he sank into anti-Party, anti-revolutionary activity in order to undermine Party unity and its solidarity at a difficult period of the patriotic war of liberation and to satisfy his dirty careerist's designs.

Pak Il-u committed the following anti-Party and factional acts.

1. Pak Il-u disclosed Party and state secrets, and for a long time committed anti-Party acts like covert slander of Party policy and its leadership.

He engaged in such activity especially openly during the period of the patriotic war of liberation.

When our People's Army went over to the offensive from a temporary retreat, in order to establish iron discipline in Party and government bodies and the army, quickly overcome the difficulties of the retreat, and ensure victory at the front the 3rd Party CC plenum employed appropriate disciplinary measures against individual senior officials who treated the performance of their Party responsibilities irresponsibly.

During the temporary retreat in a situation when the people were overwhelmed by the savage evil deeds of the enemy, when reactionary elements were unrestrained, our Party carried out a number of revolutionary measures to suppress the malicious reactionary elements in order to raise the people's spirit and strengthen their faith in victory. This was the most correct measure appropriate to the difficult situation of that period. If the Party had not taken revolutionary measures it would have been impossible ensure victory at the front.

In spite of this, Pak Il-u, at the time a member of the CC Political Council and Minister of Internal Affairs, did not expression his opinion about these measures, but after the decision was adopted he began to secretly denounce it: "I am against the punishment of old officials", "a political attack on reactionaries is left deviationism", etc. He thus openly began to oppose the correct line of the Party.

Such a position by Pak Il-u is an expression of a right-opportunist, defeatist ideology striving to weaken the fighting strength of our Party and disarm the Party and people before the enemy, using the difficult situation created during the period of the temporary retreat and the poor morale of the people.

During the patriotic war of liberation Pak Il-u, taking individual shortcomings identified in the course of carrying out the policy concerning the tax in kind in some regions, distorted and denounced the Party and government policy on this issue as incorrect.

The Central Committee of the Party has repeatedly criticized Pak Il-u for disclosing and distorting very important issues of Party policy, for disruptive actions expressed in covert slander, and suggested that he express his opinion to the Party in an organized manner. Pak Il-u did not strive to express his own opinion, and indeed was not capable of this.

The main goal of such disruptive actions by Pak Il-u was to make it difficult to carry out the correct policy of the Party, disparage the authority of the Party and government among the people, and alienate the Party from the masses, thereby satisfying his careerist's, factionalist aspirations.

2. Pak Il-u slandered senior officials of the Party and government, he strived to weaken the unity and solidarity of Party ranks by sowing dissension and mistrust, and tried to expand his influence, joining sycophants and dissatisfied elements around himself. Although the Party Central Committee well knew that Pak Il-u was hypocritical toward the Party they continued to entrust him with important work, expecting that he would correctly reconsider his views. However, he did not justify these expectations. In spite of the fact that there are no categories among ministers he openly expressed dissatisfaction with the post he occupied, saying that "he is a third- or fourth-class minister". In addition, in order to occupy a higher post he did not stop at dirty deeds: he exaggerated minor shortcomings of comrades, and slandered them, undermining their authority".

Thus Pak Il-u, posing as a person supporting the Party CC and fighting for the Party, in fact underhandedly opposed the Party, and cursed and insulted senior officials.

Only the clique of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Syn Yeb] were not subjected to his abuse. In addition, instead of the honest performance of his important responsibilities of Minister of Internal Affairs, and then as Minister of Communications, he schemed to expand his personal authority in these bodies and wanted to subordinate those organizations which were in his charge to his influence.

In addition, he posed as the "representative" of those people who had come from China. In order to turn individual ideologically unhealthy people who had come from China into his loyal friends he maneuvered in every way in order to get their sympathy and liking.

Such anti-Party acts of Pak Il-u were done especially openly when he was in important work in the Korean National Army.

In the most difficult period when our Peoples' Army and all the people were fighting a decisive mortal struggle with the enemy Pak Il-u, misusing his official position, tried to expand his factional influence in the People's Army and demoralize and split the People's Army ideologically.

Having lost touch with Party principles he created an atmosphere of nepotism, gathering sycophants, careerists, and dissatisfied elements around himself, and tried to strengthen his influence in the People's Army by such dirty methods as stating to his accomplices, "I have raised the question of your promotion", etc.

3. The anti-Party acts of Pak Il-u directed at weakening the unity and solidarity of the Party by instigating intrigues and a split between senior officials and Party members were also seriously manifested in his attempts to set comrades who had come the USSR and China against one another.

He reached the point that he began to advocate very dangerous views, to openly argue that it was necessary to join with Pak Heonyeong in order to oppose the people who had come from the USSR.

4. In order to accomplish his dirty political ambition Pak Il-u recently embarked on an anti-Party and anti-revolutionary path, getting in touch with the clique of Pak Heonyeong, Ri [Syn Yeb], and [Tyan Si U], who were hired spies of American imperialism.

Meeting often with Pak Heonyeong, [Tyan Si U], and others, Pak Il-u praised and calmed them, and they in turn [did the same to] him. He slandered Party policy and the Party leadership together with them.

When the KWP CC Political Council correctly criticized the shortcomings of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Syn Yeb] in work (before their exposure) Pak Il-u spoke up in their defense and took an anti-revolutionary position, arguing that the anti-Party actions of Pak Heonyeong, Ri [Syn Yeb], and the others were permissible until the achievement of reunification and independence of the motherland and not subject to discussion.

Thus, Pak Il-u, who had become completely connected with the clique of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Syn Yeb], created a common front against the Party in his anti-Party factional activity.

Therefore Pak Il-u, although he was not a spy, but he was in no way different from the clique of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Syn Yeb] in the source of his ideology, in his political goals, and harmful influence.

5. Pak Il-u lost the moral character of a Party member, was depraved in personal life, and ignored the work of Marxism-Leninism. Taking advantage of [his] official position, Pak Il-u laid his hands on enormous state resources and squandered them as he saw fit: he spend money on drinking and indulged in depravity. He always put his personal satisfaction and welfare above the interests of the Party and revolution and did not display energy and passion in work. Such anti-Party, factional behavior by Pak Il-u could not fail to exert a negative influence on the work of our Party.

He caused much harm during the realization of Party and government policy and in its explanation to the masses during the period of the difficult patriotic war of liberation of our people. Pak Il-u ideologically demoralized individual Party members, and sought for them not to exhibit energy in their work. He sank to the point that he forced individual comrades Pak [Ho San], Ri [Do Bon], and others to embark on an anti-Party path.

The anti-Party factional behavior of Pak Il-u is the result of a liberalism, conceit, and careerism deeply rooted in him.

During the period of peaceful construction, being a senior official of the Party and government Pak Il-u, regarded the implementation of Party policy indifferently and concealed his opportunistic side through deception. However, he embarked upon the path of open anti-Party actions and showed himself to be an opportunist even when the patriotic war of liberation began, making use of a suitable occasion, the serious, critical situation of our country.

Even up to the present plenum the Party treated Pak Il-u leniently in order to give him an opportunity to get on the right track and correct his serious mistakes.

However, in spite of the warnings of the Party Central Committee, Pak Il-u not only

did not deeply realize his crimes but, on the contrary, scornfully regarded the comradely aid of the Party, concealed and denied his crimes to the end, and refused to criticize his own mistakes to the Party.

Relying on these facts, the December KWP CC plenum decrees:

1. For pursuing anti-Party factional activity which manifested itself in that Pak Il-u, ignoring the interests of the Party and the revolution and losing touch with the Party ranks, violated Party discipline and unity, drawing the Party away from the masses, and strived to put himself over the Party by expanding his influence in the Party, Pak Il-u is expelled from the Party and the KWP Central Committee as an incorrigible anti-Party element whose presence in the ranks of the Party can no longer be permitted.

2. The anti-Party acts of Pak Il-u are a direct expression of the remnants of factionalism and the influence of petit bourgeois ideology which exists in our Party.

This shows once again that such acts objectively coincide with the interests and designs of the enemies which are striving to weaken and divide the ranks of our Party. This shows once again that factional elements are finally descending to the path of anti-Party, anti-popular activity directed against the revolution.

Therefore, all Party organizations and all Party members should increase Party discipline even further, broadly develop criticism and self-criticism, develop intra-Party democracy in every possible way, intensify the ideological struggle against various harmful tendencies (the remnants of factionalism, conceit, careerism, nepotism, separatism, sowing discord among comrades, deception of the Party, etc.), and increase revolutionary vigilance. We will thereby preserve the ideology purity and organizational unity of the Party like [our] dearest possession.

CHAIRMAN OF THE KWP CC KIM IL SUNG

Translated by Rozanov, Kim Du-bong, and Suvorov

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