KIM JONG IL

ON THE JUCHE IDEA

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM JONG IL

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Treatise Sent to the National Seminar
on the Juche Idea Held to Mark the 70th Birthday
of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung
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We will soon welcome the 70th birthday of the leader.

It is very significant that to mark his 70th anniversary, we are holding a National Seminar on the Juche Idea.

This seminar has assessed with pride the ideological and theoretical achievements made by the leader in leading our revolution and construction for more than half a century, and has powerfully demonstrated again the greatness and correctness of the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is the precious fruit of the leader's profound, widespread ideological and theoretical activities, and its creation is the most brilliant of his revolutionary achievements.

By creating the great Juche idea, the leader opened up a new road leading to victory in the revolution before the working class and the masses of the people, and brought about a historic turn in the fulfilment of the revolutionary cause of the people.

The history of the Korean revolution pioneered and led by the leader is a glorious history which records the splendid application and overall victory of the great Juche idea.

The Juche idea represents an invariable guiding idea of the Korean revolution and a great revolutionary banner of our time.

At present, we are confronted with the honourable task of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

The objective of this historic cause is to complete our revolution which has developed and triumphed under the banner of the Juche idea.

In order to realize this cause, all Party members and working people should clearly understand the truth of the Juche idea, and think and act strictly in accordance with its requirements.

Only when one is firmly armed with the Juche idea and

advances under its banner, would it be possible to emerge victorious in the revolution and construction, surmounting all difficulties and trials. This is the conviction which our people have acquired through the history of revolutionary struggle spanning over half a century.

Availing myself of the opportunity provided by this meeting of social scientists and theoretical propagandists from all over the country who gathered here to debate on the Juche idea and its great victory on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the leader's birthday, I would like to refer to the questions related to the principles of the Juche idea.

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE JUCHE IDEA

A progressive idea plays an important role in socio-historical progress.

When the popular masses are guided by a progressive idea, they can be a powerful creator of history. Of course, it does not mean that all progressive ideas play the same role in socio-historical development. Their role is different according to how they represent the aspirations and interests of the popular masses and how correctly they show the path which must be followed in struggle. There were ideas which reflected the aspirations of progressive classes of society even before the emergence of the working class. But due to their historical and class limitations the trends of thought in the past age could not but be hampered in the role they played in social development. The revolutionary ideas of the working class alone can correctly reflect the demands of the time and the aspirations of

the popular masses and give a powerful stimulus to socio-historical development by inspiring the people to wage the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary ideas of the working class are originated by distinguished leaders.

It can be said that the history of the communist movement spanning a hundred and scores of years is a history of working-class leaders creating and developing revolutionary ideas, a history in which these ideas have been applied to transform the world. In the mid-19th century Marx and Engels propounded Marxism. Thus they highlighted the historical mission and a path of liberation that had to be followed by the working class that appeared on the arena of struggle and stimulated the fight against capital, ushering in the rise of the international communist movement. Lenin developed Marxism and advanced Leninism in accordance with the new historical conditions whereby capitalism had entered the phase of imperialism, with the result that he inspired the working class and the rest of the people to the struggle to destroy imperialist strongholds and to achieve freedom and liberation. This marked the beginning of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our leader created the great Juche idea after acquiring a deep insight into the requirements of a new era when the oppressed and humiliated masses of the people became masters of their own destiny. Thus he developed their struggle for independence onto a higher plane and opened up the age of Juche, a new era in the development of human history.

The revolutionary idea of the working class emerges as the reflection of the mature demand of history and the revolution in their development.

When the leader embarked on the road of revolution, a new development was taking place in the struggle of the working

class and the popular masses against exploitation and oppression. On the world arena, the influence of socialism, which had won its first victory, grew strong, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the liberation struggle of the peoples in colonies and semi-colonies were intensified sharply. In an attempt to stop the revolutionary advance of the masses and weather the serious political and economic crises they were passing through, the imperialists further increased their plunder and oppression of the people. In many countries contradictions and antagonism between revolution and counterrevolution were intensified, and the masses of the people whose sovereign rights had been trampled down for a long time rose up in a struggle for their class and national liberation. A new age was approaching, in which the revolutionary movement made progress in a broad and diversified way on a worldwide scale.

In order to advance the revolution under the new historical conditions, the working class and the people of every country, conscious of being the masters, had to solve all problems in accordance with their actual situation. In our country, this was a particularly important matter because of the peculiarities of historical development and the complexity and arduousness of the revolution. The Korean revolution demanded more urgently that the popular masses hew out the path of revolution in an independent and creative manner.

The Juche idea was created on the basis of such a practical requirement of the Korean revolution.

The revolution is a struggle to meet the masses' desire for independence by enlisting their strength. It is a struggle of the masses to free themselves. When they are armed with the revolutionary idea and united into an organized political force, the masses can emerge victorious in the revolution. The duty of

revolutionaries is to go among the popular masses, masters of the revolution, to educate, organize, and inspire them to a struggle. The revolutionary forces, too, should be trained from among the masses, and all problems arising in the revolutionary struggle should likewise be resolved in reliance on their wisdom and strength.

However, the communists and nationalists who were allegedly engaged in the national-liberation movement in our country in the 1920s gave no thought to the need to go among the masses to educate, organize, and arouse them into waging a revolutionary struggle. But divorced from the masses they were only engrossed in the scramble for hegemony and empty talks. They did not unite the masses but divided them by factional strife.

In the first years of his revolutionary struggle, the leader saw through their mistakes and took a road different from theirs, the genuinely revolutionary road which led him to be among the masses and to rely on them in the struggle. He elucidated the truth that the masters of the revolution are the masses of the people and that when one goes among them to educate and mobilize them one will be able to register victory in the revolution. This is one of the starting points of the Juche idea.

The revolution in each country should be carried out responsibly by its own people, the masters, in an independent manner, and in a creative way suitable to its specific conditions. Independence and creativeness are the inherent requirements of a revolutionary movement, the communist movement.

The Korean revolution which opened the age of Juche could not advance even a step forward unless it was conducted in an independent and creative way from the start. It was a difficult and complex revolution which had to deal with the tasks of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution, with formidable

Japanese imperialism as the target, and those of the anti-feudal, democratic revolution simultaneously. It was an arduous revolution which had to hew out an untrodden path.

What is worse, a strong tendency towards flunkeyism appeared in those days within our anti-Japanese national-liberation movement and communist movement to hamper the advance of the revolution. The nationalists and self-styled Marxists followed the evil practices of flunkeyism and factional strife which had resulted in the country's ruin in the past. They did not try to carry out the revolution by their own initiative but dreamed of achieving independence by depending on foreign forces. At that time, those who were allegedly engaged in the communist movement formed their own party groups and called frequently at the Comintern to gain their recognition. And they endeavoured to imitate mechanically established theories and experience of others, without taking into consideration the historical conditions and specific realities in our country where a colonial and semi-feudal society was in existence. In this way, flunkeyism and dogmatism were very serious obstacles in the way of revolution.

Drawing on serious lessons derived from such flunkeyism and dogmatism, the leader clarified the truth that a revolution should be carried out not by anyone's approval or instruction but by one's own conviction and on one's own responsibility and that all problems arising in the revolution should be solved in an independent and creative way. This is another starting point of the Juche idea.

As stated previously, the leader advanced the Juche idea, a new revolutionary idea, on the basis of practical experience and lessons gained in the revolutionary struggle.

The leader has conducted ideological and theoretical activities invariably based on the revolutionary practice, and developed and

enriched the revolutionary idea and theories in the course of giving answers to problems arising in the revolutionary practice. Only on the basis of revolutionary practice can one apply existing theories in accordance with the interests of the revolution and actual conditions in one's own country and search for new truths and create new ideas and theories.

In his early years of revolutionary activities, the leader was well versed in Marxism-Leninism. But he did not confine himself to applying Marxism-Leninism to the Korean revolution but pioneered a new phase of revolutionary theory from a steadfast Juche-based standpoint and resolved the problems arising in the revolutionary practice from a unique angle.

The leader discovered the truth of the Juche idea in the course of the struggle against bigoted nationalists and bogus Marxists, flunkeyists and dogmatists, while hewing out a new path for the revolution. Finally, he explained the principles of the Juche idea at the Meeting of Leading Personnel of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League held at Kalun in June 1930 and put forward a Juche-oriented line for the Korean revolution. This was a historical event which heralded the creation of the Juche idea and the birth of the Juche-oriented revolutionary line.

At the time of disorder when national reformism, "Left" and Right opportunism and all other unsound ideas were prevailing, the leader still in his teens gained an insight into the trend of the times, the desire of the people and the law of historical development, expounded the truth of Juche and thus opened the road of independent development for our revolution.

The Juche idea has been perfected as the guiding idea of revolution in our age in the practice of the Korean revolution.

The guiding idea of revolution cannot be made perfect by one effort at a moment. It emerges through the generalization of

experience in the revolutionary struggle, on the basis of the conditions of the times and history; it becomes perfect as an integrated ideological and theoretical system when its truthfulness is verified and its content is enriched during the protracted struggle.

The leader led to victory the revolutionary struggles at different stages and the work in all fields of politics, the economy, culture and military affairs. In this course, he himself gained a wealth of precious experience and generalized it to steadily develop the Juche idea in a profound manner. The history of the leader who has led the arduous Korean revolution for more than 50 years, is a history in which he created the Juche idea and perfected it as a unique ideological and theoretical system in the great revolutionary practice.

As stated previously, the Juche idea emerged on the basis of the requirements of a new age when the masses of the people appeared as the masters of history and of a rich experience gained in the revolutionary struggle. So it has become the great guiding idea of revolution in our age.

2. THE PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLE OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The Juche idea is a new philosophical thought which centres on man.

As the leader said, the Juche idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. The Juche idea raised the fundamental question of philosophy by regarding man as the main factor,

and elucidated the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything.

That man is the master of everything means that he is the master of the world and of his own destiny; that man decides everything means that he plays the decisive role in transforming the world and in shaping his destiny.

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea is the principle of man-centred philosophy which explains man's position and role in the world.

The leader made it clear that man is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness.

Man, though material existence, is not a simple material being. He is the most developed material being, a special product of the evolution of the material world. Man was already outstanding as he emerged from the world of nature. He exists and develops by cognizing and changing the world to make it serve him, whereas all other material lives maintain their existence through their subordination and adaptation to the objective world.

Man holds a special position and plays a special role as master of the world because he is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness.

The leader gave a new philosophical conception of man by defining independence, creativity and consciousness as the essential features of man, the social being.

Independence, creativity and consciousness are man's social qualities which take shape and develop socially and historically. Man alone in the world lives and conducts activity in social relationship. He maintains his existence and achieves his aim only socially. Independence, creativity and consciousness are peculiar to man, the social being.

Man is a being with independence, that is, an independent social being.

Independence is an attribute of social man who is desirous of living and developing in an independent way as master of the world and his own destiny. On the strength of this quality, man throws off the fetters of nature, opposes social subjugation of all forms and puts everything at his own service.

Independence is the life and soul of man, the social being. When independence is referred to as man's life and soul, it means social and political integrity. Man has a physical life and also social and political integrity. The physical life is what keeps a man alive as biological organism; social and political integrity is what keeps him alive as social being.

Man is a being with creativity, that is, a creative social being.

Creativity is an attribute of social man who transforms the world and shapes his destiny purposefully and consciously. By virtue of his creativity, man transforms nature and society to be more useful and beneficial to him by changing the old and creating the new.

Creativity, like independence, constitutes an essential quality of man, the social being. Independence finds expression mainly in man's position as master of the world; creativity is expressed mainly in man's role as transformer of the world.

Man is a being with consciousness, that is, a conscious social being.

Consciousness is an attribute of social man, which determines all his endeavours to understand and reshape the world and himself. Because he has consciousness man understands the world and the laws of its motion and development, reshapes and advances nature and society as he desires. Consciousness guarantees the independence and creativity of man, the social being, and ensures his purposeful cognition and practice.

Independence, creativity and consciousness, after all, are

what enables man to be superior to any other being and to be the most powerful being in the world, to approach the world not fatalistically but revolutionarily, not passively but actively, and to reshape the world not blindly but purposefully and consciously. Man, the social being, who has independence, creativity and consciousness, is precisely the only dominator and remaker of the world.

Man cannot, of course, live outside the world; he lives and conducts his activity in the world.

Nature is the object of man's labour and also is the material source of his life. Society is a community where people live and conduct activities. Natural environments and social conditions have a great effect on human activity. Whether natural environments are good or bad and, in particular, whether the political and economic systems of a society are progressive or reactionary–these factors may favourably affect human endeavour to remake nature and develop society or limit and restrict that activity.

But man does not merely adapt himself to environments and conditions. By his independent, creative and conscious activity, man continuously transforms nature and society, changing as he desires what does not meet his needs, and replacing what is outdated and reactionary with what is new and progressive. This is man's endeavour and struggle to change and transform the world into one that serves man better.

The Juche idea established a man-centred outlook on the world by throwing a fresh light on the essential characteristics of man and his position and role in the world.

It had already been known that the world consists of material and changes and develops as a result of the motion of material. The Juche idea gives a new world outlook by answering the question of who is the master that dominates

nature and society and where is the force that transforms them. That the world is dominated and reshaped by man is a new viewpoint on the world in relation to man.

The Juche idea shows a new viewpoint and attitude to the world, on the basis of man's position and role as master of the world.

The viewpoint and attitude to the world shown by the Juche idea are those with which the world is approached by focussing on man, the master of the world.

Taking a man-centred attitude towards the world means approaching the world from the viewpoint of interests of man, the master of the world.

The world should naturally be approached from this angle because man is the master of the world. Man understands and transforms the world in order to bring everything in the world to serve him. Man is the most precious being in the world, and his interests are more valuable than any others in the world. Everything in the world has its value only when it serves man. Therefore, approaching the world from the viewpoint of making it serve man better is an absolutely correct viewpoint and attitude to the world.

Approaching the world by focussing on man means dealing with the change and development of the world mainly on the basis of the activity of man who transforms it.

Man is the most powerful being in the world, and man alone is capable of transforming the world. It is man and none other that requires its transformation and performs this work. Man acts upon and transforms the world as he desires, drawing on the objective laws. The world is changed for the benefit of man only by his energetic activity. For this reason, it is an absolutely correct viewpoint and attitude to the world to approach its change and development from the standpoint of man's positive

activity to transform nature and society purposefully and consciously to meet his own desire.

The Juche viewpoint and attitude to the world are truly revolutionary in that they enable men to transform the world and shape their destiny independently, creatively and consciously, with a high degree of awareness that they are masters of the world and their own destiny.

The Juche world outlook which is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, is an absolutely correct outlook on the world in our time.

As history advances, man's position and role as master of the world is strengthened, and the extent of people's domination over the world increases daily through their independent, creative and conscious struggle. In our time the masses of the people have emerged as true masters of the world, and through their struggle the world is being changed more and more to serve the masses. Today the position and role of the masses of the people as masters of the world are becoming stronger than ever before. This reality proves more patently the validity and vitality of the principle of Juche philosophy that man is the master of everything and decides everything.

3. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The Juche idea clarifies the laws of historical development and social revolution. This idea has thrown a fresh light on the fundamental principles of the social movement, the

revolutionary movement, of the working masses who create and develop history.

The socio-historical principles elucidated by the Juche idea constitute a new socio-historical outlook, the Juche outlook on history.

1) THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE ARE THE SUBJECT OF SOCIAL HISTORY

The question of the subject of history is a basic question in understanding the development of society, the development of revolution, from the attitude and point of view of Juche.

As the leader instructed, the working masses are the subject of history and the motive force of social progress.

History develops through the struggle of the masses to transform nature and society. That history develops precisely means that the position and role of the masses as the subject of history are enhanced.

The socio-historical movement has its own peculiar laws which are different from those of natural motion. Of course, the social movement has something in common with the natural movement in that it is also a motion of material. The social movement, too, is governed by the universal laws of the material world. But the social movement has its subject, whereas there is no such thing in the motion of nature. In nature the motion takes place spontaneously through the interaction of material elements which exist objectively. In contrast, the social movement is caused and developed by the volitional action and role of the subject.

The subject of the social movement consists in the masses of the people. Without the masses there would be no social

movement itself, nor would it be conceivable to talk about historical progress.

The masses of the people are the masters of revolution and construction and the decisive factor in transforming nature and developing society. The revolutionary struggle and construction work are undertakings for the very masses and of the masses themselves. The masses of the people undertake the revolution and construction for themselves in order to shape their destiny. It is the masses that want the revolution and construction, and it is also the masses that carry them out. They produce all social wealth by their hands, and transform the world and advance history by their struggle. But for the creative activity of the masses, the social change and progress would be inconceivable. Human history shows that the masses' wisdom and ability to understand and transform the world are unlimited, though the scope of the world created and changed by each of the generations is relatively limited.

The position of the masses grows stronger and their power increases through the transformation of nature and society. With the consolidation of their position and growth in their strength, their positive action on socio-historical progress increases.

The subject of history is the working masses, not the reactionary exploiting classes. The working masses carve out and develop history, but the exploiting classes try to arrest and turn back the historical advance. All exploiting classes, after all, constitute a reaction against history; they are the target of revolution. The whole course of the existence of class societies has been a history of sharp struggles between the creators of history and reactionaries of history, between the masters of revolution and the targets of revolution, that is, between the working masses and the reactionary exploiting classes. Society

has advanced and developed through these struggles.

Although they are the subject of history, the masses of the people do not hold the same position and play the same role in all ages and in all societies. In the class society, unaware of their social status and class relationship and their strength for a long time in the past, the working masses could not unite into a political force. Therefore, they were deprived of all rights, subjected to exploitation and oppression, by a handful of ruling classes and denied their legitimate position as masters of society. Even in the exploiting society they created all material and cultural wealth by their own efforts, but they were unable to shape history in an independent manner, because they could not occupy the position of masters of society. Only by seizing state power and the means of production in their own hands and by establishing a socialist system can the working masses free themselves from exploitation and oppression and create history consciously as true masters of society and their own destiny.

In the socialist society the working masses undergo a radical change in their status and destiny, and their position and role are enhanced. This is due to the revolutionary leadership and struggle of the working class.

The process of development of a socialist society under the leadership of the working class is the process of working-classizing the whole society. When the whole society is reshaped completely on the pattern of the advanced working class under its leadership, the position of the popular masses, the subject of history, would be remarkably stronger, and their role in pushing forward the historical progress and revolutionary development incomparably higher.

If they are to hold their position and fulfil their role as subject of history, the popular masses must be brought into contact with leadership. Only under correct leadership, would

the masses, though creators of history, be able to occupy the position and perform their role as subject of socio-historical development.

The link between leadership and masses is a very important question especially in the revolutionary movement, the communist movement, which is carried out by the working class and the broad masses of other people. Without correct leadership the communist movement would not advance victoriously because this movement itself is a highly conscious and organized one involving a serious class struggle.

The question of leadership in this movement is precisely the question of leadership given by the party and the leader to the masses of the people.

The working-class party is the general staff of the revolution, and the leader of the working class is the foremost leader of the revolution. How the masses are awakened to consciousness and organized in a revolutionary way, and how they perform their revolutionary duties and historical mission, depend on whether or not they are given correct leadership by the party and the leader.

Only when they receive correct guidance from the party and the leader, would the working class and the masses of other people be able to vigorously develop the deep-going and complicated revolutionary struggle to transform nature and society, achieve national and class liberation, build a socialist, communist society successfully, and run it properly.

As the leader said, the masses of the people have now emerged as masters of history, masters of revolution and construction, and are transforming the world more and more as they desire.

The working people including the working class are standing firmly in the central place of the historical

development of our time. Hundreds of millions of people who have long suffered class and national oppression and exploitation are vigorously advancing on the road of sovereignty and independence and social progress and playing a greater role in shaping the destiny of humanity and the future of the world. Because of this grand forward movement of our time capitalism and imperialism, which has grown fat on the blood and sweat of the working masses and lorded it over their destiny for centuries, is precipitating irreversibly into bankruptcy and towards its downfall, deep into the grave of history.

The masses of the people who have become legitimate masters of their own destiny are transforming the world and creating a new history of mankind in accordance with their aspirations. This is the basic trend of modern history which no force can ever stop.

2) HUMAN HISTORY IS THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The history of human society is the history of the struggle of the popular masses to defend and realize independence.

The leader said that all revolutionary struggles are struggles of the popular masses to defend their independence.

Throughout the long history of human society people have ceaselessly struggled to free themselves from the fetters of society and nature. All the struggles to transform society, nature and man are struggles to defend and realize independence for the masses of the people.

The struggle for social reform is an undertaking of the

masses to provide themselves with social and political conditions for their independent life, free from class and national subjugation. If they are to live and act independently, people must destroy the outdated social system which tramples upon independence. Only when they wipe out the old social institutions and set up a social system which provides people with independence, will the masses of the people be able to become true masters of society and their destiny and lead an independent life.

The struggle to transform nature is an effort of the masses to create material conditions for an independent life, free from the fetters of nature. If people are to live and make progress, they must work to harness nature and produce material wealth. Only through the transformation and conquest of nature can they free themselves from its fetters and prepare material conditions for an independent life.

The struggle to transform man is the struggle of the masses to create ideological and cultural conditions for an independent life, free from the shackles of outdated ideas and culture. Only when they are completely free from the shackles of outdated ideas and culture and acquire the consciousness of independence and sound culture, will people be able to hold their destiny firmly in their hands, reshape it, and live and act genuinely as independent beings.

The transformation of society, nature, and people is the main element of the masses' struggle for independence. Man can realize independence completely only when he is free from social bondage, natural fetters, and the shackles of outdated ideas and culture. The struggle for independence should be carried out on a full scale in all spheres of social reform, natural transformation and human remoulding.

The primary question arising in the struggle of the popular

masses for independence is to realize independence socially and politically.

Since man is a social being, independence must first be guaranteed socially and politically. This is the key to man's freedom from natural fetters and also to his ideological and cultural development. As long as they are subjugated socially and politically, the masses of the people cannot adequately benefit from the productive forces, even if these are developed, nor can they be free from the bondage of reactionary ideas and culture.

The history of human society ever since its division into hostile classes has, above all, been a history of social revolutions to realize social and political independence for the popular masses. Through social revolutions the masses have carved out their destiny and developed society.

Owing to slave revolts which were, so to speak, the first struggle in history of the exploited working masses for independence, and to peasant struggles against feudalism in the Middle Ages, the slavery and the feudal system collapsed. That meant progress in the struggle of the working masses for independence. But that was only a replacement of the chains of slavery with feudal fetters, which in turn were replaced with the yoke of capital, not the abolition of class domination and oppression itself. In the history of human society, capitalism is the last exploiting system which tramples upon the masses' aspirations and demand for independence. It is a violently oppressive system which combines class domination with national oppression.

The liquidation of the capitalist system and establishment of a new socialist system mark a historic turning point in the development of the revolutionary struggle for independence. With the establishment of the socialist system, all exploiting

classes and institutions which trample upon the aspirations and demands of the masses for independence, are abolished, and the masses are provided with the necessary conditions which enable them to hold state power and production means in their hands and lead a fully independent life.

The transformation of nature and man, along with social reform, is an important historic task in the struggle of the popular masses for independence.

In the whole course of development of human society, the masses of the people have continuously struggled to free themselves from the fetters of nature and enhance themselves ideologically and culturally.

At the dawn of human society, people's creative power was weak, and their ideological and cultural levels were very low. By their age-long hard-fought struggles the masses have increased their ability to conquer nature, enriched their knowledge, developed the productive forces, and steadily raised the levels of their ideological consciousness and culture. Modern science and technology, progressive ideas and culture which have been developed by human society, are without exception the result of the historical struggles of the popular masses.

The transformation of nature and man, that is, the historic cause of freeing the popular masses from the fetters of nature and outdated ideas and culture and developing them to be powerful beings capable of dominating nature and real possessors of revolutionary ideas and culture, can be fully undertaken and achieved with success only under socialism where the working masses are masters of society. Under socialism where the question of revolutionary change in the social system has already been resolved in the struggle for independence, the major tasks are to reshape nature and re-

educate people to emancipate the masses, who have eliminated social oppression, from the shackles of nature and outdated ideas and culture. When the work of transforming nature and re-educating people is pushed forward in a complete way on the basis of steadily consolidating the socialist system, the independence of the masses will be more completely realized in all spheres.

Today, the struggle to defend the masses' independence assumes an international character. Since the forces of imperialism which oppress independence are allied on an international scale, the struggle to oppose imperialist domination and oppression and defend independence, too, cannot but be an international undertaking. Because of the community of their historical backgrounds and interests, the formerly oppressed nations and peoples who have been subjected to colonial slavery, with their independence and sovereignty downtrodden by imperialism, are united together on the same front of struggle to oppose imperialism and defend independence. All countries, all nations, and peoples the world over that advocate independence must struggle jointly, in close unity under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and independence. This is the only way to abolish the imperialist world order which is based on inequality and full of contradictions, and to set up a new international relationship based on independence and equality amongst countries and nations.

The age-long, ceaseless struggle of the masses for independence can win its ultimate aim by building socialism and communism. The struggle for socialism and communism is the highest stage of the struggle for independence. It is a struggle to end once and for all the exploitation of man by man, the oppression of class by class, and the domination of state by

state in human society, to wipe out all remnants of old societies handed down through history, and to finally free the people from their shackles. In a communist society the masses of the people will lead a completely independent life as masters of nature and society and as true masters of their own destiny.

Defending independence is an absolute requirement of man as a social being and his inalienable fundamental right. It is natural that man who regards independence as his life and soul, combats any encroachment on his independence. The popular masses rise in the revolutionary struggle for independence against the oppressors. And for the sake of independence they devote all their creative talents and energies to building socialism and communism.

If independence is to be defended, an independent stand must firmly be maintained in the revolution and construction.

As the leader instructed, the independent stand is the fundamental stand that must be adhered to in the revolution and construction. Sticking to this stand is the requirement of the revolutionary struggle, the struggle for independence.

The independent stand is a thoroughly revolutionary stand, the working-class stand. The working class is the most independent class which struggles to emancipate itself by its own initiative and to become the master of its own destiny. The cause of socialism and communism is the historic cause of the working class, aimed at completely realizing the independence of the masses of the people. Any stands which are contrary to the independent stand are alien to the working-class stand, the stand of the popular masses, and they are all harmful to the cause of socialism and communism.

The independent stand finds expression in the exercise of the rights as masters of the revolution and construction. This means that the masses of the people handle all problems of the

revolution and construction in their interests, according to their own independent judgement and decision. The right to deal with all these problems belongs solely to the people, the masters, of the country concerned. All questions related to the revolution and construction in a country must naturally be disposed of by the judgement and decision of the people of that country. This is the only way the people of each country can defend their interests and carry through their will and desire. The people of each country must not tolerate any foreign pressure or interference. Failing to resolve one's own problems by one's own decision under pressure or in bondage to others means losing one's rights as master; following will of others and acting against one's own interests means giving up one's rights as master.

The independent stand is expressed in fulfilling the responsibility as masters. This signifies that the popular masses resolve all questions in the revolutionary struggle and construction work on their own responsibility and initiative as befit masters. As the revolution and construction are their own undertakings, they ought to resolve all problems arising in these undertakings by their own initiative on the principle of self-reliance. One might receive aid from others in the revolution and construction, but in any case the main thing is one's own initiative. Trying to get one's own work done by others or to get one's own problem solved by others is tantamount to shirking one's responsibility as master and relinquishing one's position as such.

Only when one upholds the independent stand can one always resolve the question of revolution in one's country, the question of one's nation, in accordance with one's own views and conviction and in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and carry out the revolution and construction successfully, whatever the circumstances.

The people of each country must not only oppose aggression and subjugation in firm defence of their independence, but should also fight against imperialism and dominationism which trample upon the independence of other peoples. Only when one opposes such encroachment on one's own independence and the act of trampling upon that of others, can one be said to be standing truly in defence of independence.

The revolutionary struggle of the popular masses against imperialism and dominationism which trample upon independence, and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism is steadily being strengthened and developed. Nothing can stem the current of historical development which demands independence and advances on the road of independence. Not only today but also the future belongs entirely to the people who are struggling for independence.

3) THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL MOVEMENT IS A CREATIVE MOVEMENT OF THE POPULAR MASSES

The socio-historical movement is a creative movement of the popular masses to transform and change nature and society.

The masses' activity for an independent life is characterized by creativity. Man realizes his desire in life through his creative activity.

The objects of man's creative activity are nature and society. By means of his activity to transform nature which surrounds him and to reform the society in which he lives, man creates new material and cultural wealth and builds a new system and a new life.

The masses of the people are creators who remake and

change nature and society. They are desirous of abolishing the old and creating the new and have creative ability to transform nature and society.

Human history is the popular masses' history of creation.

Since the beginning of human history, the masses of the people have been conquering nature and making what is necessary for their existence and development by their creative labour, and effecting social progress by their creative activity to change the old. Their continuous creative activity has advanced society.

Their creative activity to conquer nature and bring about social progress accompanies struggle. The process of creation is precisely the process of struggle. Without struggle the creation of new things would be inconceivable. The process of replacement of an old social system with a new one and the social emancipation of the masses in particular is a process of fierce class struggle. A revolution begins with struggle and ends with struggle. The forces which go in for the preservation of an old system and life never give up their place of their own accord. A new system and life can be created only through the struggle to wipe out the old forces. All progress and changes made by humanity throughout history, after all, are the fruit of the popular masses' creative struggle.

The process of their creative struggle is the process of developing themselves to be more powerful beings.

The masses of the people have increased their creative ability while at the same time transforming nature and developing society. The history of social productive forces is the history of the growth of men's creative capability to conquer nature. The history of social revolutions is the history of the process to strengthen the revolutionary power of the masses to reshape society.

With growth in the creative ability of the masses, the socio-historical movement advances further.

The communist movement organized and developed by the working class is the highest form of creative movement in human history. This is a movement to build a society where the independence and creativity of the masses of the people are fully realized, the highest ideal of mankind which is fundamentally different from all class societies that have existed in history. The creative power of the masses, too, is exploited fully in the revolutionary movement of the working class. It is not until their involvement in the revolutionary movement of the working class, the communist movement, that the working masses whose creative activity has been restrained by the ruling classes during the whole period of antagonistic class societies, become genuine creators of history who transform the world to meet their own will and desire and shape their destiny in an independent manner.

The revolutionary movement, the creative activity of the masses, requires that the creative stand be always maintained firmly in the struggles to reshape nature and society.

Adhering to the creative stand is indispensable to leading the revolutionary movement to victory. Only when they adhere to the creative stand, can the popular masses keep properly their position as masters of the revolution and construction, and fulfil their role as such.

The creative stand is one that the masses of the people ought to maintain as transformers of nature and society, as shapers of their own destiny. Without maintaining this stand it would be impossible for them to reshape nature and society to meet their will and desire or hold their own destiny in their hands and shape it for themselves. Adherence to the creative stand is a sure guarantee for solving all problems by the efforts

of the masses themselves to meet the requirement of the revolution and in accordance with their interests.

As the leader instructed, the creative stand constitutes the fundamental method that must be relied on in the revolution and construction.

The revolutionary movement requires that one should depend firmly on the creative wisdom and strength of the masses and utilize them to the full. The masses are masters and the motive force of the revolution and possessors of inexhaustible creative talents and strength. Only when one depends on their creative talents and strength, will one be able to understand the objective world correctly, solve all problems to suit the reality, and transform nature and society successfully. The creative stand provides the method by which to give an active stimulus to the creative power of the masses, push forward the revolution and construction on one's own initiative, overcome the difficulties in the path of progress by the struggle of the masses, and ensure continued innovations and ceaseless advance.

The revolutionary movement takes place in a specific reality which is always diverse and undergoes ceaseless changes. It rejects all sorts of schemata and dogmas and opposes the outdated attitude of imitating others mechanically. A schematic viewpoint and a dogmatic way of thinking restrain creativity and prevent correct understanding of the ever-changing diverse realities and block the possibility of working out a scientific method of revolution and construction. Only when one bases oneself firmly on the specific reality and maintains a creative attitude towards everything, will one be able to identify the correct method of transforming nature and society and apply it skilfully. The creative stand represents the method whereby one rejects a dogmatic attitude and grasps the reality in its true

perspective and concretely by one's own thinking and solves all questions accordingly.

The creative stand constitutes the revolutionary method which enables one to meet most effectively the requirements of our time when the masses of the people have emerged as masters of history and when the revolutionary movement is highly developed. Our time requires that the role of the masses in the revolution and construction be enhanced to the highest degree and that all questions be solved creatively. The creative stand offers a sure guarantee for the victory of the revolution by enabling one to formulate a scientific revolutionary strategy and struggle policies in keeping with the development of our time and the new requirements of the revolution and ceaselessly increase the creative power of the popular masses.

4) THE PEOPLE'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF INDEPENDENCE PLAYS THE DECISIVE ROLE IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The revolution is propelled forward to victory by the conscious struggle of the masses of the people.

The leader put in a new light the principle that the masses' consciousness of independence plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle.

Ideological consciousness determines and regulates all actions of man.

Consciousness, essentially, is the highest quality that makes man superior to all beings and the most powerful in the world. It is the sophisticated function of man's brain, the most developed of his physical organs. The brain plays the central role in the activity of human life, and consciousness which is

the function of the brain, commands all actions of man.

Ideological consciousness reflects man's desire and interests, and for this reason, it has the most active effect on his conduct. Without the determination and regulation of ideological consciousness, man's independent and creative activities would be inconceivable.

If a man is to be an independent creative being, he must have the consciousness of independence. This consciousness means the awareness of one's being the master of one's own destiny and signifies the will to shape one's destiny by one's own initiative. Only when a man has the consciousness of independence can he conduct conscious activity to conquer nature and actively struggle against the oppressors who encroach and trample upon his independence. Man's endeavour to acquire a scientific understanding of the world and transform it actively is none other than the manifestation of his consciousness; man's role in transforming nature and society, after all, is the role of his ideological consciousness.

The consciousness of independence plays the decisive role in the masses' revolutionary movement for independence.

All revolutionary movements are conscious movements. A revolutionary movement begins with awakening people to an advanced idea and emerges victorious on the strength of the masses of the people who are armed with the advanced idea.

Ideological consciousness is the decisive factor that determines man's role in the revolution and construction.

Ideological consciousness determines the class character of the actions of people who participate in the revolutionary movement. There can be no supraclass ideology in a class society, and what is basic to man's ideological consciousness is his class awareness. People's attitude towards the class struggle is determined by their class consciousness. Of course, people's

activities are based on their social and class positions and limited by them. But their social and class positions have effect on their actions always through their ideological consciousness. Which class interests people struggle for in a class society depends on which class ideology they have. Only when they have the ideology of an advanced class, the consciousness of independence, can they have a correct class standpoint and struggle for the victory of the revolution.

The will and fighting power of people demonstrated in the revolutionary movement are also determined by their ideological consciousness. The level of the willpower and strength demonstrated by the people is determined by their ideology. Only those who have a firm consciousness of independence will be able to take an indomitable attitude towards the revolution, actively participate in it with a strong will, and struggle to the end, overcoming all difficulties and trials.

The masses' revolutionary ability is unfathomable, but it cannot find full expression if they are not ideologically awakened. Ideologically unawakened masses are unable to rise in the revolutionary struggle in spite of exploitation and oppression imposed upon them, nor can they successfully transform nature and society to meet their needs. Only those masses who are conscious of their class interests can demonstrate their revolutionary force to the full and guarantee victory in the revolution.

The role of ideological consciousness steadily increases with the development of the revolutionary movement.

By nature, the communist movement, the highest stage of the revolutionary movement, requires a high degree of consciousness from people. The socialist and communist societies are built by the purposeful and conscious efforts of the popular masses. The role of ideological consciousness is incomparably enhanced when

building socialism and communism after the seizure of political power and the establishment of the socialist system by the working class. Capitalism depends on the discipline of hunger and the rod, but socialism and communism rely on the high level of people's consciousness. True, control is necessary in the socialist society which is transitional. But the more the remnants of old society are eliminated as progress is made in building socialism and communism, the greater becomes the significance of people's consciousness. Socialism and communism provide all conditions for increasing the role of people's ideological consciousness to the full. In the socialist society, the advanced ideology of the working class prevails all over the community. Capitalism subordinates even man's thinking and action to money considerations, but socialism and communism make the masses of the people true masters of society, and therefore give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative zeal of the masses.

The tremendous role of ideological consciousness in the revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism is also connected with the characteristics of the revolutionary thought of the working class.

The role of ideological consciousness in social progress depends on its class character and content. The reactionary ideology of the exploiting class hampers social progress, whereas the advanced ideology of the progressive class gives impetus to the development of society. The revolutionary ideology of the working class, the most independent class, has an incomparably greater revolutionary influence than any other advanced ideas in history. The revolutionary thought of the working class mirrors the laws of social development and the aspirations of the masses in a scientific manner, so that it becomes a great material force in social progress. It is a weapon with which to understand and change the reality and create the

future. Unlike the reactionary thinking of the exploiting class which hinders the forward movement of history and advocates the old moribund system, the revolutionary thought of the working class performs the mission to push forward and lead historical progress.

The revolutionary movement is a conscious movement, and for this reason one must always hold fast to people's thinking as the main thing in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Doing this is an important principle that must be maintained in the revolution and construction.

Grasping man's thinking as the main thing in the revolution and construction means solving all problems by attaching decisive importance to the ideological factor and enhancing the role of ideological consciousness.

Attaching decisive importance to the ideological factor is a law of revolutionary movement. Material factors, too, play a great part in the revolutionary movement. But the existence of material conditions does not give rise to the revolution automatically. How to make use of these material conditions depends on people's conscious activity. Whether these material conditions are prepared quickly or not depends on man's activity. The revolution can be pushed forward only by the active struggle of the revolutionaries and the popular masses. Fundamentally speaking, a revolution does not always break out when all the necessary conditions exist, nor is it carried out always in favourable circumstances.

Waiting with folded arms for all conditions to ripen is tantamount to refusing to make a revolution. Primary importance, therefore, should be given to the ideological factor in the revolutionary struggle and construction work, and on this basis strenuous efforts should be made to create all the necessary conditions.

Solving all problems by raising the level of people's consciousness is the method inherent to the communists. The communists who struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people, lead the revolution to victory and fulfil their noble mission by awakening people ideologically and making them conscious and encouraging them to undertake the struggle of their own accord. The communists have a powerful ideological weapon capable of awakening all the people to activity. Although the capitalist class, too, strives to spread its ideology, capitalist thinking cannot be accepted by the masses as their own because it fundamentally conflicts with their interests. Only the working-class ideology which champions the interests of the working masses can be accepted by all the people, and it alone can dominate the whole society.

Doing everything by awakening people politically and ideologically is a solid guarantee for the triumph of the revolution and construction. Reliance on the high degree of the masses' revolutionary consciousness will give a strong impetus to the revolutionary struggle and construction work, overcome unfavourable conditions and speed up the victory of the revolution.

4. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The guiding principles of the Juche idea are the guide to establishing Juche in Party and state activities, and in all spheres of revolution and construction. They are explicit fundamental principles which must be observed in successfully

carrying out the revolution and construction by adhering to the independent and creative stands and enhancing the role of ideological consciousness.

In order to apply the Juche idea to the revolution and construction it is essential to observe thoroughly the guiding principles of the Juche idea.

1) THE INDEPENDENT STAND MUST BE MAINTAINED

If the revolution and construction are to be carried out as required by the Juche idea, independence must be maintained and realized in Party and state activities.

The leader laid down the principles of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy, and self-reliance in defence as the principles of realizing independence. The principles of Juche, independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence are the guiding principles of realizing independence in the spheres of ideology, politics, the economy and defence.

(1) Juche in Ideology

Establishing Juche in ideology is the primary requirement of the masses' revolutionary struggle for independence. The revolution and construction are man's conscious activities. Establishing Juche in thinking, therefore, is the only way to establish Juche in politics, the economy, defence, and all other domains.

To establish Juche in ideology means having the consciousness that one is the master of the revolution and

construction, thinking and doing everything, centring on the revolution in one's own country, and acquiring the viewpoint and attitude of solving all questions by one's own talents and initiative.

The party and people of a country are masters of the revolution in that country, and to carry out the revolution in one's country successfully is the basic mission of the party and people of one's country. The world revolution, too, will only be successful when the revolution in every country is successful and when, on this basis, mutual support and cooperation is given. For this reason, the party and people of every country must firmly establish Juche in ideology, and carry out the revolution and construction in their country in a responsible manner, with the attitude of masters.

In order to establish Juche in ideology, it is necessary to equip oneself with the revolutionary idea of the working class and with the policy of one's party.

The working class is an independent class, and their revolutionary thinking is an independent thinking. Only when one is equipped with the revolutionary thought of the working class, will one be able to carry out successfully the revolution and construction, however difficult and complex the situation is, with the awareness that one is the master of the revolution.

The policy of the revolutionary party of a country, the embodiment of the revolutionary thinking of the working class, is the guide to the revolution and construction in that country. One must equip oneself with one's party policy and regard it as the guideline of thinking and practice. This is the only way to carry out the revolution and construction in accordance with the desire of one's own people and the specific reality of one's own country and fulfil one's responsibility as master of the revolution.

When we say that we establish Juche in ideology, we precisely mean that we equip ourselves with the Juche idea and Party policy, the embodiment of the Juche idea, and establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party. Only when the whole Party and the whole society are imbued with the monolithic ideological system, will we be in a position to say that Juche in ideology has been firmly established.

If one is to establish Juche in thinking, one must be well versed in one's own things.

Only when one knows the things of one's country well, will one be able to solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction in an independent manner and to suit one's specific situation and carry out the revolution and construction in conformity with the aspirations and requirements of one's people. Only then will one be able also to love one's country and people ardently and demonstrate a high degree of patriotic devotion and revolutionary enthusiasm.

Koreans must know well Korean history, geography, economics, culture and the custom of the Korean nation, and in particular our Party's policy, its revolutionary history and revolutionary traditions. Only then will they be able to establish Juche and become true Korean patriots, the Korean communists.

In order to establish Juche in thinking, it is necessary to possess a high sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride.

Without the sense of national pride that one's nation is inferior to none, without the pride and honour of the revolutionary people, it would be impossible to live up to one's conviction in an independent manner, uphold national independence and dignity and emerge victorious in the difficult revolutionary struggle. A nation with a strong sense of national

dignity and revolutionary pride is unconquerable, but a nation without this attribute is powerless. The peoples of small countries who have long suffered oppression by foreign forces need so much the more the sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride. In the small countries where nihilism and flunkeyism towards big powers are nationally deep-rooted as a result of the imperialist policy of assimilating colonies and obliterating their national culture, they must give special attention to the struggle to increase the sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride.

We must ensure that all the people cherish the dignity of the resourceful and courageous Korean nation, the sense of pride and honour of a people who is making a revolution under the guidance of the great leader in particular.

The task of establishing Juche in ideology requires that national culture should be developed and that the cultural and technical levels of the masses raised.

We must build culture which is national in form and revolutionary and socialistic in content, Juche-oriented culture which agrees with our people's sentiments and is based on the working-class line. This will make people's ideological and spiritual life healthy and facilitate the establishment of Juche in ideology. In order to develop socialist national culture on a sound basis, we must thoroughly prevent imperialist cultural penetration and, at the same time, reject the tendency to return to the past and nihilist inclination with regard to the heritage of national culture, inherit and develop its fine traditions, and critically adopt progressive elements of foreign culture, which are congenial to our people's sentiments.

It is also necessary to make strenuous efforts to develop science and technology and raise the cultural and technical standards of the masses. This will enable the working people to

become true masters of nature and society and get rid of the idea of worshipping and depending on others in the matter related to science and technology, and thoroughly establish Juche.

If Juche is to be established in ideology, servility to big powers and all other outdated ideas should be opposed.

Establishing Juche in thinking itself means an ideological emancipation of people from the fetters of outdated ideas, and an ideological revolution to establish a new Juche outlook on the world. In order to establish Juche in ideology we must reject all sorts of outdated ideas which are contrary to the Juche idea, and thoroughly eliminate servitude to big powers in particular.

Flunkeyism is an attitude peculiar to slaves serving and worshipping big powers and developed countries, and an attitude of nihilism which means looking down upon one's own country and nation and despising them. If one is inclined to be servile, one would be in the habit of grovelling before others and following them: if others take to revisionism, one would follow suit; and if others adopt dogmatism, one would act likewise.

As the leader said, if a person falls into flunkeyism, he would become a fool; if a nation is servile to big power, the country would go to ruin; and if a party is subservient to big powers, it would make a mess of the revolution and construction.

What is most harmful and dangerous at present is flunkeyism towards US imperialism in particular. This servility, which is expressed in the fear and worship of the United States, is doing a great harm to the revolutionary struggle of the people. The harmfulness of this servility is most notable in south Korea today. Servility to US imperialism, which has been

spread by the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, is the most harmful ideological poison which is paralyzing people's national and class consciousness in south Korea and trampling upon the precious cultural heritage and beautiful customs of our nation. Unless the struggle is intensified to oppose the fear and worship of the United States among the south Korean people and to heighten their spirit of national independence, neither the victory of the south Korean revolution nor the independent reunification of the country would be possible.

The struggle to establish Juche and oppose flunkeyism towards big powers is a serious question on which the destiny of the revolution depends. We will continue to intensify the struggle to eliminate flunkeyism and establish Juche in ideology and thus guarantee the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution.

(2) Independence in Politics

Politics is of decisive significance in social life. Without independence in politics it would be impossible to talk about independence at all. Juche in ideology is expressed, above all, by independence in politics, and self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in defence, too, are guaranteed by independence in politics.

Maintaining independence in politics means upholding national independence and sovereignty of one's people, defending their interests and conducting politics by relying on them.

As the leader instructed, political independence is the first criterion and the life and soul of an independent sovereign state. Only when a nation maintains political independence, will it be able to ensure independence and freedom and be happy and

prosperous. The revolution is a struggle to win political independence before anything else. Since all questions related to revolution and construction depend directly on politics, it can be said that the destiny of the revolutionary cause is determined, after all, by political independence.

In order to ensure political independence, it is imperative to set up a people's government.

Man's right to independence finds typical expression in state power. So the working class and the masses of the people, to realize independence completely, must first of all become masters of state power. Only when they hold state power in their hands and become true masters of state and society, will they be able to attain political independence and lead an independent and creative life.

In order to guarantee political independence it is necessary to build internal political forces.

Political forces are the main component of the revolutionary forces. Only when one builds strong internal political forces and relies on them, will one be able to win and preserve sovereignty and ensure independent politics. If powerful internal political forces are to be developed, it is imperative to strengthen the party, the leading revolutionary force, and achieve the unity and solidarity of the entire population based on the worker-peasant alliance with the working class at its core. What is most important here is to rally all the people closely around the party and the leader. When the party and the people are solidly united into a single political force, they will be able to display boundless strength and emerge victorious in the revolution and construction.

If one is to ensure political independence, one must have one's own guiding thought, work out one's policy by oneself in accordance with one's decision, and carry it through.

The main thing in politics is to formulate policies and implement them. It can be said that independent politics consists in formulating and implementing all policies independently. Yielding to foreign pressure and tolerating foreign intervention in politics or acting at the instigation of others would make it impossible to maintain principle and consistency, and would lead the revolution and construction to failure.

Our Party has laid down and implemented all its policies independently in accordance with the interests of our people and the specific conditions of our country, with the Juche idea as the only guiding ideology, under the wise guidance of the leader. That is why it has always won shining victories in the revolution and construction.

In order to ensure independence in politics, it is imperative to exercise complete sovereignty and equality in foreign relations.

Independence of a party and a state is expressed, after all, in foreign relations. To exercise complete sovereignty and equality in foreign relations is fundamental in ensuring political independence. Sovereignty is an inviolable right of all parties, all countries, and all peoples. There are big and small parties, big and small countries, and economically developed and underdeveloped peoples in the world, but all parties, all countries and peoples are equal and independent. No one should encroach upon the sovereignty of others and no one should tolerate encroachment on one's sovereignty.

Independence is not in conflict with internationalism but is the basis of its strengthening. Just as the world revolution is inconceivable without the revolution in one's own country, internationalism divorced from independence cannot exist. As a matter of principle, internationalist solidarity must be based on

freedom of choice and equality. Only when it is founded on independence, will internationalist solidarity become based on free choice and equality and become genuine and durable.

Our Party is adhering to the policy of strengthening the solidarity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement on the basis of opposing imperialism and giving support to national-liberation movements in colonies and the international working-class movement, continuing advance to socialism and communism, and observing the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. Our country is also adhering to the policy of joining forces with non-aligned countries, the newly-emerging nations, on the principles of respect for territorial integrity and state power, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and of cooperating with all countries which are friendly towards us.

In the future, too, we will uphold sovereignty and equality in foreign relations and maintain the principle of combining independence with internationalism.

(3) Self-Sufficiency in the Economy

The economy is the material basis of social life. Economic self-sufficiency enables one to consolidate the independence of one's country and live independently, provides a sure guarantee for Juche in ideology, independence in politics, and self-reliance in defence and ensures rich material and cultural lives for the people.

In order to implement the principle of economic self-sufficiency, one must build an independent national economy.

Building an independent national economy means building an economy which is free from dependence on others and

which stands on its own feet, an economy which serves one's own people and develops on the strength of the resources of one's own country and by the efforts of one's own people. Such an economy makes it possible to develop the productive forces quickly by utilizing the nation's natural resources in a rational and integrated way, improve the people's living standard continuously, strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism, and increase the nation's political, economic and military power. It also ensures the exercise of complete sovereignty and equality in political and economic affairs in international relations and contributes to strengthening the world's anti-imperialist, independent forces and socialist forces. It is vital to build an independent national economy particularly in those countries which were backward economically and technically because of imperialist domination and plunder in the past. Only when they build an independent national economy in these countries, will they be able to repel the new colonial policy of the imperialists, free themselves completely from their domination and exploitation, wipe out national inequality, and vigorously advance on the road of socialism.

In order to build an independent national economy, it is essential to adhere to the principle of self-reliance in economic construction.

Self-reliance is the revolutionary spirit and a principle of struggle of the communists in carrying out the revolution by their own initiative. One must believe in one's own strength and depend on it in economic construction, just as in all other activities for the revolution and construction. A people who energetically struggle, with confidence in their own capability, will be able to do any difficult work. But a people who have no faith in their own power but only look up to others, will not do

anything successfully. Only when one mobilizes the efforts of one's people and the resources of one's country and relies on one's own financial resources and technology on the principle of self-reliance, will one be able to develop the economy quickly at one's own desire, overcome all difficulties and bring prosperity to the country.

If an independent national economy is to be built, the economy must be developed in a diversified and integral manner.

Unlike the capitalist economy which is geared to make money, the socialist independent economy is always aimed at meeting the demands of the country and the people. So an independent economy should naturally be developed in such a multifarious and integral way as to produce independently heavy and light industry goods and agricultural products to make the country rich and powerful and improve the people's living standard. Such an economy can also develop safely and quickly on a solid basis.

In order to build an independent economy which is developed in a multifarious and comprehensive way, it is necessary, as our practical experience shows, to follow the line of giving preference to the development of heavy industry and developing light industry and agriculture simultaneously.

Heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its backbone is the pillar of an independent national economy. Heavy industry developed in such a way can guarantee economic and technical independence and accelerate the development of light industry and agriculture and the national economy as a whole on the basis of modern technology. Moreover, simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture, along with heavy industry, can ensure a systematic improvement of the people's living standard and boost the

development of heavy industry itself. Solving the problem of food on one's own through successful farming, in particular, is of tremendous significance in providing the people with stabilized living conditions and an independent life.

Equipping the economy with modern techniques and training the nation's technical cadres on an extensive scale are indispensable for the construction of an independent national economy.

Technical independence is absolutely necessary for economic independence. When one has one's own developed techniques, one will be able to develop and use the natural resources of the country effectively and develop the national economy in a diversified manner. Developed technology also provides the possibility to free the working masses from backbreaking labour, narrow down the differences between physical and mental labour and resolve independently the difficult and complex problems arising in economic and defence construction. Eliminating technical backwardness from the national economy and equipping it with modern techniques is a revolution. Only when the technical revolution is accelerated continuously through the mobilization of all possibilities in every sector, will technology develop quickly and the country attain economic and technical independence in a short time.

Solving the question of the nation's technical personnel is a major factor in the struggle for economic and technical independence. This is essential to guaranteeing economic and technological progress by one's own initiative. This is a particularly important task in building a new society for those countries which were under the yoke of imperialism in the past and which consequently were far removed from modern science and technical development. Therefore, in order to

undertake the technical revolution and attain economic and technical independence, one must put a lot of effort into the cultural revolution and thus raise the cultural and technical levels of the working masses and train an army of national technical cadres. We must resolutely implement the leader's policy of intellectualizing the whole society, further raise the cultural and technical levels of the working masses, improve the qualities of technical cadres, and train more technicians better.

In order to build an independent national economy, it is necessary to establish reliable and independent sources of raw materials and fuel.

Depending on others for raw materials and fuel is as good as leaving one's economic lifeline in the hands of others. If one is to be economically self-sufficient and develop the economy on a safe basis and with a long-term perspective, one must depend on one's own raw-material and fuel sources and mainly meet one's own demand for them. To this end, one must exploit the natural resources of one's country to the maximum and utilize them rationally and, at the same time, develop the industry to be a Juche-oriented one which relies on domestic raw materials and fuel from the outset.

Building an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance does not mean building an economy in isolation. An independent economy is opposed to foreign economic domination and subjugation; but it does not rule out international economic cooperation. Close economic and technical cooperation between socialist countries and newly-emerging nations, in particular, plays an important part in ensuring economic self-sufficiency in these countries and in increasing their economic power.

Today, the peoples of newly-emerging countries are

struggling against the US and other imperialists' policy of aggression and plunder, in defence of their national sovereignty and natural resources, and in order to put an end to the old economic order by which a few capitalist powers have exploited and plundered at will the majority of the countries and peoples throughout the world, and to establish a new fair world economic order. The newly-emerging countries have inexhaustible manpower resources and natural wealth and huge economic potentialities. They also have a good deal of valuable experience and techniques which can be shared and exchanged. If they strengthen economic and technical cooperation and vigorously struggle with their forces united, the newly-emerging countries and peoples will be able to thwart the imperialist policy of aggression and plunder, uphold their national dignity and right to survival, and achieve economic self-sufficiency and prosperity in a short period without depending on great powers.

The important task confronting us today in building the socialist independent national economy is to accelerate the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientization of the national economy.

As the leader said explicitly, the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientization of the national economy constitute the strategic line that must be consistently followed in economic construction for socialism and communism. By pushing forward the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientization of the national economy, holding on fast to the line of building the independent national economy, we must further strengthen the independence and Juche character of the national economy, continue to modernize technical equipment and put all productive and management activities completely on a scientific basis.

(4) Self-Reliance in Defence

Self-reliance in defence is a fundamental principle of an independent sovereign state. A state without self-reliant armed forces capable of defending the country from the enemies at home and abroad when imperialism exists cannot, in fact, be called a completely independent sovereign state.

Imperialism is a constant cause of war, and the main force of aggression and war today is US imperialism.

As the leader said, we do not want war, nor are we afraid of it, nor do we beg peace from the imperialists. The best way to preserve national independence and peace and win the revolutionary cause is to counter the imperialist war of aggression with the war of liberation, answer the counterrevolutionary violence of reaction with revolutionary violence, and always meet the imperialist moves of aggression and war in full preparedness.

For this purpose, we must implement the principle of self-reliance in defence.

Self-reliant defence is a military guarantee for a nation's political independence and economic self-sufficiency. Only when one implements the principle of self-reliant defence, will one be able to repel imperialist aggression and intervention, defend the nation's political independence and economic self-sufficiency and safeguard the revolutionary achievements and the security of the people.

Implementing the principle of self-reliant defence means defending one's country by one's own efforts. Of course, one may receive aid in national defence from fraternal countries and friends. But it is impossible to depend on others for the defence of one's own country. In any case, the main thing is one's own

strength. Only when one is strong, will foreign aid prove effective. In national defence, therefore, one should rely on the efforts of one's own people and one's own defence capability before anything else. Defence work, too, is an undertaking for the people and of the people themselves. If all the people participate in unison in the national-liberation struggle and in the defence of the country, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, they will be able to repel all imperialist aggressors and safeguard national independence and revolutionary achievements.

In order to implement the principle of self-reliant defence, one must have armed forces capable of defending one's country.

Such armed forces must embrace the sons and daughters of the working people. An army whose men and commanding officers come from among the workers, peasants and other working people, can guarantee unity between the army and the people, and between superiors and subordinates, and become a truly self-reliant people's army which safeguards national independence and revolutionary achievements and serves the people.

If the principle of self-reliant defence is to be implemented, a defence system involving all the people and the whole country must be established.

The establishment of such a defence system requires that the whole of the army must be turned into a cadre army and modernized. Only when the whole army is a cadre army, will it become strong and provide the necessary force of commanders and multiply its strength in case of need. And a modernized army which blends its politico-ideological superiority with modern technology will become a really unconquerable revolutionary army.

In order to set up an all-people, all-nation defence system, it is also necessary to arm all the people and fortify the whole country. When all the people are under arms and the whole country becomes a fortress, all the people can be mobilized to crush the enemy as soon as it comes in to attack from any quarter, and defend the country from imperialist aggression with credit.

If the principle of self-reliant defence is to be implemented, the politico-ideological superiority of the people's armed forces should be utilized to the maximum.

The decisive factor for victory in war does not consist in weapons or techniques, but in the high political enthusiasm and revolutionary devotion of the army and popular masses who are conscious of the justice of their cause. A noble revolutionary spirit to fight for the freedom and liberation of the people, boundless loyalty to the party and the leader, a peerless self-sacrificing spirit and mass heroism which are expressed in willingly giving up one's youth and life for the sake of the country and revolution, revolutionary comradeship between men and officers, their inseparable links with the people, and voluntary military discipline–these are politico-ideological superiority peculiar to a people's army, a revolutionary army. As the history of revolutionary wars shows, a revolutionary army which is in firm politico-ideological readiness, though armed with inferior weapons, can fight and defeat an enemy equipped with the latest arms. Indeed, politico-ideological superiority is the essential merit of revolutionary armed forces and the source of their invincibility.

It is imperative, therefore, to knit the army closely from a politico-ideological point of view and steadily raise its politico-ideological level and ensure that imperialist armies of aggression are defeated by the strength of the politico-

ideological superiority of the revolutionary people's armed forces.

The principle of self-reliant defence, to be implemented, requires that one must build one's own defence industry.

A national defence industry is a material guarantee for self-reliant armed forces. Particularly at this time when the US and other imperialists are viciously manoeuvring to subjugate other countries by offering arms as a bait, and plundering other peoples' resources and making huge profits through arms deal, the newly-independent countries should build their own defence industries. This is of tremendous significance. True, it would be difficult for small countries to produce all the arms they need. But it would be inadvisable to depend totally on others for the arms. They should build and develop their own defence industries so that they can produce whatever is within their power.

In order to implement the principle of self-reliant defence, it is essential to consolidate the home front.

As the leader instructed, victory or defeat in modern war depends largely on whether or not manpower and material resources necessary for the war effort are ensured for a long period. If a nation is to be ready to cope with war, they must build up major strategic zones, store up necessary material reserves, and make full preparations from the peacetime so as to continue with production even in the case of a contingency.

Upholding the policy of building the economy and defence simultaneously, our Party has made good preparations both militarily and materially and built up both the front-line areas and home front to cope with war.

We will continue to fully implement the policy of self-reliant defence, and thus further strengthen our self-reliant armed forces to be invincible, fight back any enemy aggression

and defend the country and revolutionary achievements faithfully.

2) THE CREATIVE METHOD SHOULD BE APPLIED

If we are to carry out the revolution and construction as required by the Juche idea, we should apply the creative method both in mapping out the policy, strategy and tactics of the revolution and in implementing them.

To apply the creative method to solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions by relying on the creativity of the people–this is the principle one should always strictly adhere to in the revolutionary movement.

(1) The Method of Depending on the Popular Masses

The success of the revolution and construction depends, after all, on how the creative efforts of the popular masses are utilized.

Since the masses are the decisive force that propels the revolution and construction, one can successfully solve any difficult problem and energetically speed up the revolution and construction only when one relies on them.

If we are to successfully carry out the revolution and construction by depending on the masses, we should map out a correct policy reflecting their demands and aspirations and make it their own.

The masses of the people know the reality better than

anybody else and have a wealth of experience. Only when the will and demands of the broad masses are integrated in a policy one is working out, can the policy be correct, conform with their aspirations and interests, win their hearty support and inspire them to the struggle. Should one fail to reflect the will of the masses correctly, one would commit a subjective error in guiding the revolution and construction. Then, one would be unable to enlist their creativity.

One must not only formulate a policy mirroring the will and aspirations of the masses but should also bring it home to the masses so as to make it their own.

All the policies of the party are implemented and realized by the popular masses in the long run. When they are acquainted with the correctness of party policy and the proper method to implement it, they will accept it as vital to them and demonstrate a high degree of enthusiasm and initiative for its fulfilment. If the policy is not grasped by the masses, it will not produce great effect in life.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction by drawing on the creative power of the people, it is necessary to unite them into a single political force.

The strength of the masses lies in unity. When they are firmly united, they will demonstrate really amazing power in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

If the masses are to be united firmly, it is necessary to properly combine the class line and mass line.

Only when the mass line is correctly carried out while firmly adhering to the class principle, will it be possible to isolate completely the hostile elements and build up the class position, and educate and transform all sections of the masses to unite them and give full scope to their creativity in the revolution and construction. If under socialism the class

struggle and the work of strengthening the people's unity and solidarity are not combined properly and Rightist and "Leftist" deviations are allowed to develop, it will weaken the unity of the masses, paralyze their revolutionary zeal and creative power and inflict a great loss to the revolution and construction.

If the creative power of the masses is to be brought into play, a struggle must be waged against all outdated things that hamper innovations. In particular, it is important to wage an active struggle against passivism and conservatism. This is the only way to give full play to the creative power of the masses and bring about continuous innovations and upsurge in the revolution and construction.

Widespread mass movements should be launched in the revolution and construction.

Mass movements are a creative way to strengthen the unity and cooperation of the working masses and give rein to their inexhaustible strength. They are a revolutionary method to expedite the building of socialism and communism through mass struggle and collective innovations. One can successfully solve any difficult problem if one fights off all elements standing in the way of mass movements, brings the consciousness and initiative of the masses into full play and organizes and steadily develops mass struggle.

What is important in carrying out the revolution and construction by enlisting the creativity of broad masses is to establish a revolutionary method of work. Even if one has a correct policy, one would neither be able to properly mobilize the masses in its implementation nor carry out the revolution and construction successfully, without a revolutionary method of work.

The leader created the revolutionary work method of communists, the Juche method of work, as far back as in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

The Juche work method enables the masses of the people to maintain the stand of master of the revolution and construction and fully play their role as such. This work method is a revolutionary and communist work method. It enables one always to go among the masses to acquire a profound understanding of the actual situation and to find correct solutions to the problems; it makes it possible for the higher ranks to substantially help the lower units, give precedence to political work in all work to get the masses to fulfil the revolutionary tasks of their own accord, and solve without formality all problems creatively in a way which is suitable to the specific features and circumstances. This method of work always enables one to share life and death and ups and downs with the masses, stand at their head, set an example and be modest, simple and generous and lead the masses into fully demonstrating their creative initiative.

This Juche work method is fundamentally opposed to the method of moving people by offering money or using force, or the administrative work method, the method of command.

The working-class party should always hold fast to the revolutionary work method both before and after the takeover of power and in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. In particular, following the takeover of power, it must steadily improve and perfect the work method in conformity with the developing reality. Only then would it be possible to exploit fully the revolutionary zeal and creative activity of the masses and vigorously push ahead with socialist and communist construction. Then it would also be possible to eliminate bureaucratic and administrative tendencies which are liable to appear in a government party. That the working-class party adheres to the revolutionary work method of relying on the masses and enlisting their

creativity, is an important question of principle in the revolution and construction.

We must thoroughly apply the revolutionary work method created by the leader, the great leader's work method, and thus give full play to the creativity of the masses to accelerate the revolution and construction.

(2) Methods Suitable to the Actual Situation

The revolutionary movement demands solving all problems in conformity with the changes and development in the reality and the specific conditions of the country.

The revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism is waged in different conditions of the time and the concrete circumstances of each country. There is no formula for the revolution and construction that is suitable to all eras and all countries. Therefore, one must always proceed from the actual situation and creatively solve all problems in conformity with it.

If one is to wage the revolutionary struggle in the way which is suitable to one's own actual situation, one must correctly assess the subjective and objective conditions of the revolution in one's own country and define the line, strategy and tactics in accordance with them. Should one fail to take into good account these conditions, one would fall into subjectivism in mapping out the policy and would inflict a great loss to the revolution and construction.

In the revolutionary struggle greater importance should be attached to the internal factor and the political and ideological factor. One can promote the revolution as one desires when the internal forces are prepared and the masses' level of ideology is high, although other conditions

are unfavourable. In defining the policy and methods of the revolution, one must regard the internal factor and the political and ideological factor as the main factors and strengthen them to energetically develop the revolution.

If one is to carry out the revolutionary struggle and construction work in accordance with one's actual conditions, one must take a correct attitude towards the established theories.

As the leader instructed, with regard to the propositions or formulas of the established theories one must apply them to conform to one's specific conditions and peculiarities after taking into consideration the demands of the time they reflect and the premises they are based on. A theory that does not conform with the specific revolutionary practice is useless. In the guidance of the revolutionary struggle and construction work, the starting point is not the propositions or formulas of the established theories but the actual realities. The point is not whether something conforms with the established theories but whether it conforms with the demands and interests of the masses and the subjective and objective conditions of a given period. If something should meet the demands and interests of the popular masses and the subjective and objective conditions, one would not need to stick to the existing propositions or formulas.

In order to correctly carry out the revolutionary struggle, one must actively inquire into new principles and methods of the revolution and construction which are suitable to the historical conditions of the time and one's concrete situation.

Inquiring into new revolutionary principles and ways to meet the demands of the actual conditions is very urgent in our time. In our era, the revolution and construction are

being intensified and developed as never before and many new theoretical and practical problems are arising. This demands that the guiding theory, strategy and tactics of the revolution be mapped out in a way which is suitable to the present conditions and that the revolutionary theory of the working class be further developed in a creative way.

The theoretical activities of our Party that has originally clarified revolutionary principles and ways to meet the demands raised by the revolutionary practice of our time, constitute a brilliant example in adhering to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and developing the revolutionary theory of the working class onto a new, higher plane.

A critical and creative approach to foreign experiences is important in the revolution and construction.

Such experiences always reflect the socio-historical conditions and the national peculiarities of a particular country. Some of them are necessary and beneficial to one's country and suitable to one's actual conditions but others are not. One must accept what is beneficial to one and reject what is not. In accepting the good experiences of others, one must not swallow them raw but adhere to the stand of changing and modifying them to suit one's actual conditions.

Though one had better refer to the experiences of others, one must make effective use of one's own experiences as far as possible.

It is wrong both to try to copy others blindly and to refuse to learn with an open mind from the good experiences of others. The question is what should be one's attitude towards the experiences of others. We are opposed to the dogmatic attitude of unconditionally worshipping the

experiences of others without demonstrating a creative spirit and mechanically imitating even that which is not suitable to one's actual conditions. This attitude renders it impossible to map out a correct policy conforming to the revolutionary requirements of one's own country and the aspirations of one's own people. In the long run, it would make it impossible to carry out the revolution and construction satisfactorily.

To apply the creative spirit in solving all problems in conformity with one's own situation is a scientific and revolutionary method that makes it possible to reject flunkeyism and dogmatism and successfully carry out the revolution and construction.

3) THE MAIN STRESS SHOULD BE PLACED ON IDEOLOGY

The popular masses' consciousness of independence plays a decisive role in the revolutionary movement. Therefore, in the revolution and construction one must place the main stress on ideology and give priority over all work to the remoulding of ideology, the political work, which is aimed at raising the consciousness and activeness of the masses.

(1) Giving Priority to Ideological Remoulding

Ideological remoulding is an important task to transform people into genuine men of a communist type.

The leader put forward the task of revolutionizing, working-classizing and intellectualizing all members of

society and thus transforming them into communist men of a Juche type, as a major revolutionary task in modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

In order to build socialism and communism we must not only develop the productive forces and change the social relations but also transform people themselves into comprehensively developed communist men. No matter how highly the productive forces have been developed and how great the material wealth is, one could not claim to have built a communist society unless people, the masters of society, are transformed into men of a communist type.

If we are to train people to be harmoniously developed communists, independent and creative men, we must equip them with communist ideology and advanced scientific and technical knowledge and help them to acquire a high cultural level.

In particular, primary attention should be directed to the task of arming people with communist ideology.

The transforming of man in essence means ideological remoulding. Thoughts define men's worth and quality and, accordingly, ideological remodelling is of the utmost importance in the transformation of man.

Ideological remoulding is more difficult than the change of people's conditions of material life or the enhancement of their cultural and technical standards. Man's ideology depends on his socio-economic position and the conditions of material life. However, it does not change of its own accord with the change of his socio-economic position and the material conditions of social life. The remnants of outdated ideology are very conservative and tenacious. Ideological remoulding is a complex and protracted task. It can be successful only through a vigorous struggle.

The remoulding of man's ideology is a far-reaching revolution. It is a struggle to eliminate the remnants of the old society in the sphere of man's ideology for good and arm all the working people with the progressive idea of the working class, the communist idea. It constitutes the basic form of class struggle in socialist society where the exploiting classes have been liquidated. In order to remodel people in a communist way, even after the establishment of a socialist system we must fight against the penetration of reactionary ideology and culture by the imperialists and, at the same time, continue to carry out the ideological revolution to eliminate the remnants of obsolete ideology persisting in the minds of the people and equip them with a new, communist ideology.

The main thing in ideological remoulding is the establishment of a revolutionary world outlook, the outlook on the revolution.

If people are to be transformed into ardent communist revolutionaries who fight devotedly for the cause of socialism and communism, they should acquire a correct outlook on the revolution. What an attitude one takes towards the revolution and how active one is in the revolution depends, after all, on one's outlook on the revolution.

The outlook on the revolution our Party members and working people should possess is the Juche outlook on the revolution. The Juche outlook on the revolution is the viewpoint and attitude to the revolution which place the popular masses in the centre; it is a revolutionary spirit to fight vigorously for the masses.

The core in the Juche outlook on the revolution is loyalty to the party and the leader. The cause of socialism and

communism is started by the leader and is carried out under the guidance of the party and the leader. The revolutionary movement will be victorious only when it follows the guidance of the party and the leader. Therefore, to establish a correct outlook on the revolution, one must always put the main emphasis on increasing loyalty to the party and the leader.

To acquire a correct revolutionary outlook one must firmly equip oneself with revolutionary ideology and theory. This alone would enable one to correctly understand the laws of revolutionary development, have confidence in the prospect of the revolution and struggle to the end in any adverse condition without vacillation and hesitation.

To establish a correct outlook on the revolution, one must have communist revolutionary spirit. This spirit is an infinite devotion to give one's all for the party and the leader, the working class and the people, burning hatred for the enemy of the revolution and an indomitable revolutionary spirit to resolutely fight to the end without the slightest vacillation in any adverse condition, true to one's revolutionary principles. It is a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance to solve all problems by one's own initiative, braving the difficulties standing in the way of advance, and a strong sense of organization and discipline to hold most dearly the revolutionary organization and voluntarily observe the rules of the organization. One can be a genuine revolutionary only when one has such a spirit.

When one has made the revolutionary ideas and theories one's conviction and acquired a strong communist revolutionary spirit, one can say that one has acquired a correct outlook on the revolution.

Whether one has a correct outlook on the revolution or

not is proved by revolutionary practice. The revolutionary practice is a powerful means of ideological remoulding and a criterion which can be used to prove man's ideology. Without practice and action it is impossible to appraise and prove man's ideology. The revolutionary practice of communists is nothing less than a struggle to implement the revolutionary idea of the leader and party policy. A man who upholds the revolutionary idea of the leader and dedicates his all to the struggle to carry out party policy is a genuine communist revolutionary with a correct outlook on the revolution.

Whether one has a correct outlook on the revolution or not is revealed particularly at a time of severe trials. People reveal their true nature in adverse circumstances. He who is determined to be infinitely faithful to the party and the leader even if he would have to give up his life and who remains loyal to his revolutionary principles on the scaffold, is a true revolutionary with a firm Juche outlook on the revolution.

If one is to be a communist revolutionary with a right outlook on the revolution, one must intensify revolutionary studying.

Studying is the basic means to equip oneself with revolutionary ideas, theories, strategy and tactics. Without studying one would not be able to comprehend the truth of revolutionary struggle nor have a high level of class viewpoint and revolutionary vision. A revolutionary must always regard studying as his first and foremost duty and continue to do it all his life. Studying is not merely aimed to acquire theory and knowledge. The revolutionary theory and knowledge one has learned through studying must be turned into one's conviction.

In order to become a communist revolutionary with a correct outlook on the revolution, one must lead a faithful revolutionary organizational life.

Organizational life is a revolutionary mode of life stemming from the essential nature of the communist movement and a school for revolutionary training. Without this life, people would be unable to become revolutionaries nor preserve political integrity. One's physical life is inherited from his parents, but one's political life is obtained and developed through organizational life.

Revolutionary organizational life must always be conducted amidst a strong ideological struggle. Only when an ideological struggle is conducted vigorously along with ideological education, can people be awakened and trained politically and develop their ideological and moral qualities as a revolutionary to perfection. The working-class party should always hold fast to the revolutionary organizational life and train people to be ardent communists in the crucible of ideological struggle.

In order to become a communist revolutionary with a proper revolutionary outlook, one must train oneself in the revolutionary practice.

The revolutionary is hardened ideologically and in will power and acquires the revolutionary qualities and traits in the course of the revolutionary practice. Class struggle is the most acute revolutionary struggle. In the course of class struggle people heighten their class consciousness, become able to correctly tell friend from foe and acquire an uncompromising fighting spirit against class enemies. The struggle for socialist economic construction is also an important revolutionary struggle. Active participation in the struggle for production and construction is the only way to

acquire confidence in the justice and victory of the cause of socialism and communism as well as genuinely revolutionary spirit and traits of the working class.

Through revolutionary study and organizational life and through revolutionary practice we should train the Party members and working people to become Juche-inspired communist revolutionaries with a firm Juche outlook on the revolution and genuine revolutionary fighters who will fight with devotion for the consummation of the Juche revolutionary cause started by the leader.

(2) Giving Precedence to Political Work

For a successful implementation of the revolutionary tasks, political work aimed at educating and rousing the people into action, should be given priority over all other work.

Since the revolution and construction are carried out by the people, success in the revolutionary struggle and in building socialism and communism depends, after all, on the work among the people. Work among the people is, in essence, a political work and work to enhance their ideology. Giving precedence to political work, the work among people, means equipping the popular masses with party policy and arousing their revolutionary zeal before all other work so that the masses themselves will demonstrate a high degree of consciousness and activity to carry out the revolutionary struggle and construction work successfully. By its nature, the revolution is a voluntary struggle. One stages a revolution neither on orders from others nor to obtain some remuneration; one is motivated to stage a revolution by one's own political belief and self-consciousness. Therefore, the principle that should be

consistently adhered to in the revolutionary struggle is to give priority to political work to heighten the consciousness and activity of the people.

Giving precedence to political work is a demand arising from the essential nature of the socialist system. Unlike in a capitalist society where the popular masses are exploited and oppressed, in a socialist society where the masses are masters of everything, it is essential to rely on their high political consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm. Only when political work is given priority to enhance the working people's conscious zeal as masters of the revolution, will it be possible to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and vigorously promote socialist construction.

Giving precedence to political work does not imply neglecting administrative and business affairs or technical and economic work.

As the leader instructed, administrative and business affairs and technical and economic work should be correctly combined with political work while giving precedence to the latter. The building of socialism and communism is a highly organized undertaking which involves the whole society and is conducted in a planned manner. This is complex work which is based on modern science and technology. Meticulous administrative and organizational work and scientific, technical and economic work are indispensable for the building of socialism and communism. And yet, these will be successful only when priority is given to political work. No revolutionary task could be successful if one should neglect political work and get himself involved only in technical and economic business.

In order to mobilize the masses to socialist construction successfully, we should place our main emphasis on political

and moral incentive and correctly combine this with material incentive.

The essential feature of socialist society lies in its communist character. The political and moral incentive is derived from the communist character of socialist society and is aimed at strengthening it. As a matter of fact, socialist society is of a transitional character. Therefore, the socialist principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of work done should be enforced in this society, and the material incentive should not be ignored. However, neglecting the political and moral incentive and placing the main emphasis on the material incentive runs counter to the essential character of socialist society. This is a very dangerous and harmful tendency. It fosters selfishness among the working people and makes them mercenary and acquisitive. In the final analysis, it undermines the socialist system and the revolutionary achievements. Under socialism the political and moral incentive should be the first precedence in all circumstances. The essential superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that the popular masses, who have become the masters of everything, consciously work in firm unity for the country and the people, for the society and the collective. Only when the main stress is placed on the political and moral incentive, will it be possible to stimulate the masses into demonstrating conscious enthusiasm in work with a correct position and attitude as befit the masters of the country and the revolution.

Political work should be done through persuasion and education. This is work among people, work to rouse their ideology. The bureaucratic method expressed in giving orders and shouting commands can never rouse the

conscious zeal of people. Only persuasion and education aimed at reasoning with and admonishing people will be able to equip them with revolutionary ideas, give full play to their revolutionary zeal and inexhaustible creative power and forge closer links between the party and the masses.

Political work should be done in an original way by applying various forms and methods. This is creative work which is conducted under different conditions and circumstances; it is work among the people at different levels and with different characteristics. Therefore, there cannot be a uniform formula or a set pattern in this work. It must be done in a way which is suitable to the actual situation with diverse forms and methods and in an effective and positive way.

Political work must be conducted in such a way that the masses regard it as their own affairs. Since it is work to educate and rouse broad sections of the masses into action, it cannot be done with the efforts of only a few people. As a matter of principle, all revolutionaries should be political workers and educators and organizers of the masses.

As the leader explained, the method of one person rousing ten persons into action, ten a hundred and a hundred a thousand through education, is a superior method in enlisting many people in political work and turning it into a struggle which concerns the masses themselves.

Political work must be closely combined with revolutionary practice. The major objective of this work is to implement the revolutionary tasks successfully. Success in this work must find expression in the actual result of the revolution and construction and must be appraised by it. Political work which is alien to the revolutionary tasks and which is not helpful to the revolution and construction is futile.

We should continue to adhere strictly to the principle of giving priority to political work, whose correctness and vitality have been proved by the revolutionary practice, and thus build socialism and communism faster and better.

5. THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The Juche idea is exerting a great influence on the ideological life of humanity and on the revolutionary changes of the world. It is gaining strong sympathy from people all over the world and giving a powerful impetus to the contemporary historic movement which is aspiring to independence.

The Juche idea has become an accepted contemporary thought, and its attraction and importance in affecting changes increase with the progress of history.

It gives us a genuinely revolutionary world outlook of our time, the Juche age. This constitutes a major historic contribution made by the Juche idea to the development of humanity's thinking and to the cause of liberation of mankind.

People's notions of the world and their views on and approach towards it have developed down through long history.

The history of the world outlook was a history of struggle between two conflicting philosophical currents, that is, between materialism and idealism, between dialectics and metaphysics. In this struggle Marxism signalled the victory

of materialism and dialectics. The emergence of the Marxist materialistic dialectical world outlook was a reflection of the contemporary requirements. The appearance of the working class on the arena of history ushered in a new era in human history. The new historical conditions under which the revolution against capital had started, urgently demanded a revolutionary idea which would bring home the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism to the working class who had risen up in struggle. The most important question in this was to vanquish the idealism and metaphysics which had sanctified the domination of reactionary capital and preached its eternity, and to elaborate a scientific world outlook of the working class. The materialistic dialectical world outlook came into being as a reflection of this requirement of the times.

The progress of the times is accompanied by the development of the world outlook. The steady expansion and development of the revolution which started with the emergence of the working class, gave birth to a new age when the working masses who had so far been the object of history appeared as its masters. The new age that witnessed the appearance of the working class and other working masses as a great force controlling the world, demanded the evolvement of a new world outlook which would enable them to become masters of their own destiny, shaping it in an independent and creative way, and to realize successfully the historic cause of national liberation, class emancipation and human freedom. This historic task was brilliantly accomplished with the evolution of the Juche idea.

The Juche idea which elucidates the world outlook of a new age is fresh and unique in its philosophical principle that forms its foundation.

In the past the relations between substance and consciousness, between being and thinking were regarded as the basic question of philosophy. The Marxist materialistic principle concerning the priority of substance and being gave a scientific solution to this question.

Since the question of the world's origin had been made clear by the materialistic viewpoint, the Juche idea raised a new problem concerning the position and role of man in the world as the basic question of philosophy and gave an answer to the question of who is the master of the world.

The philosophical principle of the Juche idea which clarifies the position and role of man as master of the world is based on a new elucidation of man.

The question on man had been also discussed a great deal by preceding philosophies, but it was confined mostly to abstract views on pure man, to the exclusion of social relations. The question of man's substance in social relations was raised and made clear by Marxism.

Considering man in social relations the Juche idea cast a new light on his essential features. It expounded that man is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness, and thus gave a perfect philosophical elucidation of man. The clarification by the Juche idea of the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, on the basis of the scientific explanation of man as a social being, was a philosophical discovery which brought about a new change in the world outlook.

The idea that man is the master of everything and decides everything, in other words, the idea that man is the master of the world and his own destiny and is the transformer of the world and the shaper of his destiny, is fundamentally

opposed to idealism and metaphysics. Idealism leads to mystical theory that the world and man's destiny are controlled by the supernatural "might," while metaphysics leads to the fatalistic belief that everything in the world is immutable and, accordingly, man must be obedient to his predetermined destiny. The idea that man is the master of the world and his own destiny and is able to transform the world and shape his destiny, is based on the premise of the materialistic and dialectical viewpoint which denies mysticism and fatalism.

The Juche idea uniquely defined the domination of the world by man who is the highest-developed product in the material world, as well as the principles of its transformation and progress, thus shedding a new light on the foundation of the world outlook. The world outlook based on the philosophical principle of Juche is a world outlook which is centred on man.

There have been various types of world outlook in history, but there was none that clearly indicated the viewpoint and stand on the world placing man at the centre. Even the materialists who in the past had regarded the world as a material object, to say nothing of the idealists who considered it as a world of ideas or spirit, could not put forward the viewpoint and approach towards the world with man at the centre.

The Juche idea defined man as the master who dominates the world, not merely as part of it, and thus established a new world outlook which, unlike preceding ones, regards the world and its changes and progress with man, its master, at the centre. The Juche viewpoint and stand on the world with man in the central place provide a sure guarantee for the independent and creative cognitional activities and practice

of man who transforms the world and shapes his destiny.

The Juche idea which clearly showed the man-centred viewpoint and stand towards the world provided a new view of social history. In the years prior to Marxism, even those who had advocated materialism or dialectics adhered to the idealistic stand towards social history. Marxism made it clear that, like nature, society belongs to the material world and changes and develops in accordance with the general laws that govern the development of this world. In this way it disproved the idealistic view on social history.

While admitting the general laws of the progress of the material world which affect social history, the Juche idea expounded the laws which are peculiar to social history. Therein lies a great service the Juche idea rendered in perfecting the working-class outlook on social history.

The principle of social history that the subject of history is the masses of the people, that socio-historical movements are their independent and creative movements and that their consciousness of independence plays the decisive role in the revolutionary struggle, forms the basic content of the Juche-based view of history. This provides a new elucidation on the essence, character and motive force of socio-historical movement, the movement of the subject.

The Juche idea established the new viewpoint and stand which see historical development and social revolution with the popular masses, the subject, at the centre.

The Juche idea which clearly indicated the man-centred world outlook and the view of social history brought about a great change in the development of world outlook. The revolutionary world outlook of the working class had been established by Marxism for the first time, and it was developed by the Juche idea onto a new, higher plane for its perfection.

The Juche idea, the revolutionary world outlook representing a new era in history, the Juche age, is rightly leading the onward movement of mankind aspiring to independence and sovereignty, socialism and communism, while sweeping away all the reactionary and counterrevolutionary currents of thoughts.

It marked a new, higher stage in the development of the working-class revolutionary theory. Therein lies another historic contribution of the Juche idea to the revolutionary cause of the working class and the cause of liberation of humanity.

An age had passed and the revolutionary movement had gone a long way since the birth of the revolutionary theory of the working class. Revolutionary practice in the new era demanded that the revolutionary theory be developed in a way which was suitable to new historic conditions. The Juche idea propounded the basic principle of revolution that the masses of the people are masters and the motive force of the revolution and construction and, on this basis, rendered it possible to evolve new revolutionary theories required by our time.

The Juche idea is the sound basis on which to develop the revolutionary theory of the Juche age. Developing revolutionary theory on the basis of this idea means expounding the principles and laws of revolutionary movements with the working masses, the masters of revolution and construction, at the centre.

Developing a revolutionary theory with the working people at the centre is a requirement of revolutionary movements in the Juche age. In our time when the working masses have established themselves as the masters of the world and when revolutionary struggles are being waged with a far-reaching

scope on the strength of their consciousness of independence and creativeness, the principles and laws of revolutionary movements can be elucidated correctly only by developing a revolutionary theory with the working people at the centre. By this method the Juche idea has made it possible to fully elaborate on the revolutionary theory aimed at realizing independence for the working masses; and it has consummated the revolutionary theories of the working class to include those on national liberation, class emancipation and human freedom, and to be a perfect communist theory of social and natural transformation and human remoulding.

Placing the working masses at the centre in the development of a revolutionary theory is a sure guarantee for evolving the revolutionary theory and strategy and tactics in accordance with the true characteristic of the revolutionary movement.

Every revolutionary movement is an undertaking for and by the working people. Therefore, a revolutionary theory and strategy and tactics should naturally champion their interests and enhance their role. It can be said that the value of a theory depends on how well it advocates the interests of the popular masses, and that the effectiveness of strategy and tactics depends on how well they enhance the role of the masses. By basing itself on the independence, creativity and consciousness of the masses, the Juche idea made it possible to evolve the theory, strategy and tactics which would champion their basic interests and provide the proper way to give rein to their high revolutionary zeal and inexhaustible creativeness. This is how the revolutionary theory of the working class has become most powerful and able to champion the interests of the working masses thoroughly and enhance their role to the utmost.

The Juche idea serves as a guideline which shows a correct approach to the preceding revolutionary theories. These working-class theories were advanced on the premise of the conditions and tasks of the past times which were different from today, but they have a community of class idea and mission with the revolutionary theory based on the Juche idea. By laying down the principle of creatively approaching the existing theories and experiences, the Juche idea makes it possible to apply and develop the preceding revolutionary theories to suit the requirements of revolutionary practice in our time. In particular, it maintains the position of firmly defending and realizing the independence of the working class and other working masses, and thus makes it possible to accurately identify and eliminate all kinds of opportunism, including revisionism which gives up the cause of revolution halfway or denies class struggle, and uphold the class principle and the spirit of uninterrupted revolution in the revolutionary theories of the working class.

The Juche revolutionary theory is the genuinely revolutionary theory of the working class in the Juche era and is the undying communist revolutionary theory which will be ever-victorious along with the struggle for the independence of the working masses.

A great idea gives rise to great practice. The great Juche idea which throws a new light on the philosophical principle and on the laws of socio-historical movement, the revolutionary movement, and gives scientific elucidation of the guiding principles of revolution and construction, has brought about a tremendous change in revolutionary practice.

The Juche idea has been brilliantly applied, above all, to

the Korean revolution and has won a great victory.

The Korean revolution is guided by the Juche idea, and all its victories would be inconceivable without this idea. Under the banner of the Juche idea, the Korean revolution could get rid of its birth-pains caused by flunkeyism and dogmatism and has been able to triumphantly advance on the arduous road of struggle, getting over various difficulties and trials.

The Juche idea has led the revolution and construction straight along the new road which had never been trodden by others before. The Korean revolution has paved an absolutely correct path for national liberation in a colony and opened a short cut to socialism. It has created a best socialist new life which the world's people call a "model of socialism," and is successfully pioneering the untrodden path to socialism and communism. Because the Juche idea illuminates the way, we have been able to advance along the shortest route and thus achieve in a brief period of time a great victory in the struggle for independence, sovereignty and socialism, a success which is amazing to the world.

The Juche idea has become a solemn reality in our country. The history-making changes and great creations worked out by our people are precious fruit of this idea. Very proud and honoured by the brilliant victory and results attained under the banner of the Juche idea, our people are now struggling for the historic cause of transforming the whole society in accordance with this idea.

Because it reflects the common aspiration of the world's people to independence, the Juche idea is exerting a great influence on the contemporary revolutionary movements to build a new world of independence.

It has opened up a new revolutionary road, a broad

avenue along which to advance the revolution in an independent and creative manner.

Our era, when the revolutionary movement is making progress through diverse forms with the national state as one unit, demands that the people of each country properly play the role of masters with a high degree of awareness that they are the masters of revolution. This is more urgent since there is the influence of wrong ideologies such as worship of great powers and dogmatism. By clearly showing how to stage a revolution in an independent and creative manner, the Juche idea has enabled the people of each country to have a strong sense of responsibility as the masters of the revolution, ridding themselves of the fetters of all outdated thoughts hampering independent progress; and it has also helped them to work out a policy which is suitable to the actual conditions in their country, according to their own views and belief, and to exploit their own creativeness to push ahead with the revolution. The opening up of the way to stage a revolution in an independent and creative manner has encouraged the people in different conditions of history and at different stages of development to carry on, confident of victory, the vigorous struggle to achieve national liberation and class emancipation and build socialism and communism.

The Juche idea has paved a new road of the international communist movement advancing on the basis of independence, and has brought about a new era of progress in international relations.

The communist movement is an independent movement of the party and people in every country aimed at doing away with all types of subjugation and inequality and becoming the true masters of their destiny. So there should be neither superior-subordinate relations nor master-servant

relations in this movement. Independence is the life and soul for every country and people, and no relations of domination and submission, order and obedience could be permitted between them. The Juche idea defined independence as the fundamental principle of the relations between parties and between countries, and thus helped towards a change in the international communist movement and the development of international relations. Today the principle of independence is displaying still greater vitality as a steadfast principle that guarantees the international communist movement and determines the relationship between the Communist and Workers' Parties. It also serves as a recognized principle of development of state relations among newly-independent countries and many countries of the world with different social systems and as a powerful weapon against the imperialists who subjugate other nations and impose inequality upon them.

Indeed, the Juche idea is an immortal banner of struggle, a banner of victory, for the popular masses in their endeavour to create a new world and shape their own destiny.

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Our Party and people who have traversed the glorious path of struggle and victory over half a century following the banner of the Juche idea under the guidance of the great leader, should hold high this banner in future, too, and fight on energetically.

Our revolution has not as yet ended. We are still confronted with complicated and difficult revolutionary

tasks. Only when we continue with our struggle upholding the banner of the Juche idea, will we be able to overcome all difficulties and trials, speed up national reunification and achieve final victory in the cause of socialism and communism.

We should equip ourselves more firmly with the Juche idea and thoroughly implement the Party's policies, its embodiment, and thus successfully realize our Party's programme to model the whole society on the Juche idea.

If we are to model the whole society on the Juche idea we should ensure that all Party members and working people are firmly equipped with the Juche idea and staunchly fight on anywhere, anytime along the road indicated by the Juche idea.

Scientific and theoretical activities are intended to perform an important role in equipping the Party members and working people with the Juche idea and materializing it.

Giving priority to the study and dissemination of the Juche idea is a precondition for equipping them firmly with the Juche-oriented revolutionary world outlook and for fully applying the Juche idea to the revolution and construction.

All scientists and theoreticians should keep in mind their heavy responsibility and bring about a new upsurge in studying and propagating the Juche idea.

In the social science sector they should make a profound study of the Juche idea and the ideas and theories clarified by it.

Social scientists should study the fundamentals and guiding principles of the Juche idea, as well as all the ideas and theories illuminated by it, in a comprehensive manner. They should also make a profound study of the achievements and experience our Party gained in the

revolution and construction by applying the Juche idea.

Our social science should give correct, scientific and theoretical solutions to the urgent problems arising in revolutionary practice. Workers in this sector should intensify the study of the Juche idea, with the main emphasis being laid on the solution of these practical problems, so that correct, scientific and theoretical solutions are provided for all problems arising in the revolution and construction.

The Juche idea has opened up a wide vista for the development of all spheres of social science on a new foundation.

We should steadily intensify and improve scientific research with the Juche idea as an ideological, theoretical and methodological basis and thus enrich all branches of social science with new results.

Education in the Juche idea should be intensified.

Our educational institutions are the seat for the education in the Juche idea, and our school education should be consistent with the Juche idea throughout.

All educational institutions should radically improve the quality of education in the Juche idea. The students should thus be trained to become personnel who have acquired a basic outline of the Juche-based revolutionary world outlook in their senior middle school days and who have been firmly equipped with the Juche-based revolutionary world outlook when they graduate from universities and colleges.

In particular, universities and colleges should intensify the education of the Juche thought and theory. They should properly combine the education to establish the world outlook with the education to give specialized knowledge. Social science faculties in universities and colleges should help the students to acquire fully the revolutionary world

outlook of Juche and, at the same time, training in their specialties should be improved so as to produce good experts firmly equipped with the Juche thought and theory.

We should intensify the studying of the Juche idea among the cadres, Party members and working people.

The dissemination of information about Party theories is work to acquaint them fully with the Juche thought and theory.

The Juche idea is priceless ideological pabulum for genuine Juche revolutionaries to maintain their political integrity. In order to become such a revolutionary everyone should profoundly study the Juche idea.

All leading officials, Party members and working people should always study hard to acquire the Juche thought and theory and thus make them an integral part of themselves.

Scientists and theoreticians and men of the press should write many excellent books and articles which give profound explanations of the Juche thought and theory. They should thus actively contribute to firmly equipping the leading officials, the Party members and the working people with the Juche idea.

In the sector of science and theory they should strengthen the struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideas and all kinds of opportunist ideological trends and staunchly defend the purity of the Juche idea.

Workers in this sector should sharply expose the reactionary nature and harmfulness of all hostile ideologies which run counter to the Juche idea and strictly prevent even the slightest non-class, non-revolutionary ideological elements from infiltrating into our ranks. All our scientists and theoreticians should uncompromisingly combat the reactionary, counterrevolutionary ideological trends

including bourgeois ideas, feudal-Confucian ideas, revisionism, flunkeyism and dogmatism. They should thwart the manoeuvres of all sorts of reactionaries and opportunists and staunchly defend the Juche idea.

Our scientists and theoreticians should make the great Juche idea their firm belief and should ensure that all scientific and theoretical activities are geared to studying and propagating, defending and materializing the Juche thought and theory; they should also explain and disseminate the greatness and validity of the Juche idea broadly and profoundly.

Social scientists and theoreticians, the possessors and propagators of progressive ideas, play a tremendous role in the revolution and construction.

I believe that our Party's scientists and theoreticians will keep in mind their mission and duty as the active advocates and propagandists of the Juche idea and make an excellent contribution to the struggle for the ultimate attainment of the revolutionary cause of Juche.