

**KIM JONG IL**

**ON THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY**

**Foreign Languages Publishing House  
DPR Korea  
Juche 111 (2022)**

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY IS AN  
ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY  
PHILOSOPHY

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# **ON SOME QUESTIONS IN UNDERSTANDING THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY**

**Talk to Theoretical Information**

**Workers of the Party**

*April 2, 1974*

A social scientist recently sent me a letter in which he expressed his view on the Juche philosophy. A perusal of the letter led me to believe that our academic circles still lack a correct understanding of the Juche philosophy.

The Juche philosophy is a new philosophy created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

It is a philosophy which has been elaborated and systematized, focussing on man. That the Juche philosophy is man-centred does not imply that it treats and explains the human question only. This means that the Juche philosophy raises the fundamental question of philosophy by regarding man as the main factor, and elucidates an outlook on the world, a viewpoint and attitude towards the world, by focussing on man.

But the social scientist who sent the letter considers the Juche philosophy to be something of a human philosophy. Such a view has also been expressed by some other social scientists.

Human philosophy is long standing and has had many schools from the outset, but they all deal purely with the human question. Human philosophy is a philosophy of life which denies the inherent mission of philosophy as a science that gives an outlook on the world and mainly interprets what man and life are.

The Juche philosophy is different. It raises man's position and role in the world as the fundamental question of philosophy and elucidates the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. The fundamental question of Juche philosophy does not purely concern the human question, but the relations between man and the world; the principle of Juche philosophy does not merely represent an outlook on human life, but an outlook on the world. The Juche philosophy expounds a man-centred, Juche-oriented outlook on the world.

The Juche philosophy also considers man from a new angle.

Historically, a great deal has been said about the human question as an object of philosophical study, but no perfect philosophical answer was given. The Marxist classics established the materialistic dialectical view on the human question and thus made long strides in giving a philosophical elucidation of man. They defined the essence of man as the sum total of social relations, and attached decisive significance to material production and socio-economic relations in human activities. Although they established the materialistic dialectical view on the human question, they did not give a full account of the

essential features of man as dominator and transformer of nature and society.

The Juche philosophy made it clear for the first time that independence, creativity and consciousness are the essential features of man, the social being. Thus it gave a perfect conception of man and a correct philosophical answer to his position and role as master who dominates and transforms nature and society.

The Juche philosophy and human philosophy have fundamentally different viewpoints of man. The former regards man as an independent, creative and conscious social being, whereas advocates of the latter deny man's social character and consider him to be a being dominated by his instinct, a powerless being isolated from the world. The bourgeois human philosophy which negates a scientific understanding of the world and revolutionary changes, inspires sorrow, pessimism and ultra-egoism.

We must clearly be conscious of the reactionary nature of the bourgeois human philosophy and correctly understand the originality of the Juche philosophy which raised and resolved the human question from a new angle.

In understanding the Juche philosophy, it is also necessary to grasp correctly the new man-centred outlook on the world.

The Juche philosophy established the outlook on the world by regarding man as the main factor and clarified the viewpoint and attitude towards the world by focussing on man. This is the major characteristic of the Juche philosophy as the revolutionary world outlook of our time. By casting a new light on the outlook of the world, on the



viewpoint and attitude towards the world, with man as the main consideration, the Juche philosophy provided the working class and other working masses with a powerful weapon to transform the world and shape their own destiny.

But some people say that the world is centred on man or that all changes and development in the material world are caused by man; and they think that this is the new outlook of the Juche philosophy which distinguishes it from preceding philosophies.

It has already been established by materialistic dialectic that the world consists of material, not consciousness or ideas, and that it moves, changes and develops in accordance with its own laws, not by any supernatural force. It is an undeniable fact that the world is, in essence, a material entity, a material integrity, and that it moves, changes and develops in accordance with its inherent laws. The Juche philosophy answered a new question—who is the master of the world and what is the motive force for its transformation. It elucidated a new idea of the world that nature and society are dominated and transformed by man, and thus fulfilled brilliantly the philosophical task of our time when the masses are masters of their own destiny and history.

As you see, the Juche philosophy made it clear that man is the master and dominator of the world; it does not assert that the material world itself is centred on man. What the Juche philosophy also expounds is that man is the transformer of the world and that the world is reshaped by man, not that all changes in the world are brought about by

man. The understanding that the material world is centred on man, or that all changes in the world are caused by him, is due to lack of understanding of the Juche philosophy. Man's position and role must not be misinterpreted in explaining the outlook on the world elucidated by the Juche philosophy.

It is also important to have a correct understanding of independence in grasping the Juche philosophy.

The Juche philosophy made it clear first that man is a social being whose life and soul is independence. This represents a historic change in elucidating the essence of man and his position and role.

But there is a misunderstanding of the question of independence elucidated by the Juche philosophy. This is the case with the author of the letter and some other people. They understand that man's independence is the development to perfection of a natural attribute of living matter in general, the desire for existence.

Independence is an attribute of man, the social being; it should not be viewed as the development to perfection of a natural, biological attribute of living matter. This is, in essence, an evolutionary viewpoint.

Of course, we do not deny evolutionism itself. Science has long established the fact that man is a product of ages of evolution. Man is a product of evolution, but not his independence.

Independence is a social product. Independence is an attribute given to man by society, not nature; it is not a natural gift, but has been formed and developed socially and historically. Nature gives man natural and biological

attributes, whereas society provides him with social attributes. It can be said that man's independence is the requirement and reflection of social life, social practice.

Of course, the question of independence could be studied in comparison with other living matter from the viewpoint of evolutionism, that is, how man alone has acquired independence.

Man's independence is inconceivable without his unique physical organ which has taken shape and developed in the long course of evolution. Thanks to his sophisticated organism, man has peculiar functions, mental and physical, which no other living matter can acquire, and accordingly he has independence. But it is unreasonable to think that man's independence took shape concurrently with the evolution of his organism. Before the existence of society, independence as man's attribute did not and could not exist even in any embryonic form.

Man's independence is different in quality from the simple instinct of other living matter to maintain their physical existence. It is an attribute to live and develop as a social being. It is illogical to try to explain the independence of man, the social being, on the basis of a biological instinct to protect his existence. Such an approach would only obviate the fundamental differences between a social being and a natural being, between social attributes and biological attributes.

The independence of man as the social being comes indisputably into a social and historical category. Therefore, it should be viewed and understood from the social and historical point of view.

Denying that man's independence is a natural attribute of living matter, must not be understood as negating the material being of man himself.

Man is indisputably a material being. But he is not a simple material being. Unlike all other living matter which is subordinate to, and made to conform with, the objective world, man dominates and transforms the world in accordance with his will and desire. If independence, an attribute of man, were to be considered as a natural attribute, it would amount to obliterating the fundamental distinction between man, the social being, and other living matter in general, and to lowering his position and role as dominator and transformer of the world to the level of living matter in general.

Independence is the main attribute of man, the social being, but it is not his only social attribute. Along with independence, creativity and consciousness constitute his social attributes. Of course, independence, creativity and consciousness belong to the category of social attributes of man, but they represent different aspects. Independence is an attribute of man who is desirous of living independently as master of the world and his own destiny; creativity is an attribute of man who transforms the world and shapes his own destiny purposefully; and consciousness is an attribute of man who determines all his activities designed to understand and reshape the world and himself. Independence, creativity and consciousness, though distinguishable from one another, are closely integrated. Creativity cannot find full expression separately from independence; and the latter cannot be realized properly

without the former. Consciousness is a prerequisite of independence and creativity and guarantees their materialization. A correct understanding of independence, creativity and consciousness in their intertwined relationship, therefore, is important in grasping man's social attributes.

The Juche philosophy newly elucidated the essential features of man and his position and role as dominator and transformer of the world, and thus raised his dignity and value to the highest level possible. This is the great achievement of the Juche philosophy that no other philosophical thoughts have accomplished.

Today the Juche philosophy is winning more active support and strong sympathy amongst the people worldwide with every passing day.

We must see to it that scientists and theoreticians study profoundly the Juche philosophy and correctly explain and disseminate it so as to add glory to the great Juche idea.

I intend to go into further details of independence, and other problems in understanding the Juche idea at some other time in the future. So, it would be advisable not to publish my talk for the present but make sure that profound studies and researches are made among scientists and theoreticians so that they can have a correct understanding of the Juche idea.

# **ON THE JUCHE IDEA**

## **Treatise Sent to the National Seminar on the Juche Idea Held to Mark the 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung**

*March 31, 1982*

We will soon welcome the 70<sup>th</sup> birthday of the leader.

It is very significant that to mark his 70<sup>th</sup> 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 information workers from all over the country who gathered here to debate on the Juche idea and its great victory on the eve of the 70<sup>th</sup> 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 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 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 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-19<sup>th</sup> 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 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 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 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 its 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, worshippers of great powers 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 transforming the whole society on the working-class patterns. When the whole society is reshaped completely on the pattern of the advanced working class under its leadership, the position of the 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 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 masses to defend and realize independence.

The leader said that all revolutionary struggles are struggles of the 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 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 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 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 masses.

The transformation of nature and man, that is, the historic cause of freeing the 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 been freed from 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 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 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 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 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 MASSES**

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

To establish the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation in ideology has been firmly established.

If one is to establish the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation and become true Korean patriots, the Korean communists.

In order to establish the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 orientation 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 the Juche orientation.

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

Establishing the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 the Juche orientation 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 standards 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 standards. 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 technological 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 technological 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

putting the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis.

As the leader said explicitly, putting the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis constitutes the strategic line that must be consistently followed in economic construction for socialism and communism. By pushing forward putting the national economy on a Juche-oriented, modern and scientific basis, holding 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 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 Masses**

The success of the revolution and construction depends, after all, on how the creative efforts of the 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 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, paralyse 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 in the revolution and construction, 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 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 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 making all the members of society revolutionary, working-class and intellectual 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 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 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 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 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 and spiritual 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 of our era 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 evolution 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 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 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 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 specialities 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 other 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 other 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 information workers of the Juche idea and make an excellent contribution to the struggle for the ultimate attainment of the revolutionary cause of Juche.

# **ON SOME PROBLEMS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF SOCIALISM**

**Speech to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*May 30, 1990*

Recently the imperialists are getting more and more frantic in their attempt to frustrate socialism. In step with their unprecedented intensification of anti-socialist machinations, various trends of thought, which distort and deny the ideal of socialism, are appearing. These anti-socialist trends have worn out the socialist system in some countries and made their societies capitalistic, giving rise to grave consequences in these countries. Such developments have been witnessed mainly in the countries which failed to maintain the revolutionary principles of the working class and which failed to formulate lines and policies creatively in conformity with changing situations, even though some have asserted that they were guided by Marxism-Leninism.

The countries that maintain independence are adhering to the revolutionary principles of the working class and advancing as ever along the road of socialism. They have applied Marxism-Leninism creatively in accordance with

their actual situation and have not followed others blindly no matter what other people did.

Socialism is a society, which is based on the revolutionary ideology of the working class, and its development is guaranteed by scientific accuracy, revolutionary character and a realistic expression of the ideology and theory on which it is based. In order to defend and develop socialism in its fierce struggle against enemies of all hues, we must further develop the revolutionary ideology and theory of the working class and make them perfect as required by the times and the developing revolution.

As we have the Juche idea, we have solved with credit the problem of consolidating the ideological foundation of socialism. If we had not the Juche idea or had we blindly followed others, we would not have been able to build our unique form of socialism which is the most advantageous in the world.

Our socialism which applies the Juche idea is the most politically stable in the world and all aspects of life in it are full of vigour. As it is based on the Juche idea, it is confidently marching along the road of victory without vacillation in the face of every kind of pressure and slander from imperialists and reactionaries. The people's support for and trust in our socialism are unshakeable. Now people in many countries of the world are envious of our form of socialism, calling it a model of socialism and a unique socialism. Reality graphically proves that the Juche idea on which our socialism is based is the greatest ideology.

We must feel it the greatest honour and happiness to

have the great Juche idea as the ideological foundation of socialism, and fully equip ourselves with this idea, defending and implementing it to the letter.

In this regard it is important to understand the originality and superiority of the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Long ago I said that we must put the main emphasis on originality while viewing it in context with derivations in the understanding of the correlation between the Juche idea and Marxism-Leninism. This means that we should put the main stress on its originality when we view the Juche idea, the revolutionary ideology of the great leader. The Juche idea must not be viewed as a simple inheritance and development of Marxism-Leninism; it must be viewed as a new and original idea. That we should see originality in context with derivations in understanding means that the Juche idea is not an ideology, which contrasts with Marxism-Leninism, and that the historical achievements of Marxism-Leninism must be acknowledged.

We acknowledge the historical achievements of the dialectical materialism of Marxism, as it smashed the reactionary idealistic and metaphysical outlook on the world, but do not view it as a perfect philosophy of the working class. We appraise the historical achievements of Marxism-Leninism as it proved the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and clarified the idea and theory on building a classless ideal society free of exploitation and oppression, but we do not see it as a perfect communist revolutionary theory of the working

class. As a matter of course we have so far not spoken much about the limitations of Marxism-Leninism. But today when its limitations are more and more evident, it is necessary to bring them home to our officials. Only then can they fully understand the originality and superiority of the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of the leader, and make firmer their conviction on our style of socialism based on the Juche idea.

The revolutionary idea created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is an integrated system of idea, theory and method of Juche. It is a completely original idea that can be called only in association with the august name of the leader.

The Juche idea created by the great leader is an original philosophical ideology.

The first philosophy of the working class was created by Marx. His philosophy is a critical inheritance and development of preceding philosophies. By discarding what was unscientific and reactionary in the preceding materialism and dialectics and by inheriting and developing a reasonable core, Marx created dialectical materialism. By applying it to social history, he clarified historical materialism. He directed his main efforts to critically examining the existing philosophical theories so as to free the working class, which was making a fresh appearance on the historical stage, from the outdated and reactionary outlook on the world. He gave scientific answers to the questions of correlation between matter and consciousness and between being and thinking, which until then had yet to be resolved despite repeated debates; on this basis he

developed his philosophical theory.

Entering the era of independence, history required that the outlook on the world of the working class be made perfect in an original way. The essential feature of this era of independence was that the masses of the people appeared as the masters of their own destiny. The era required that the position and role of man as the master of his own destiny be correctly defined in the field of philosophy. The Juche philosophy, reflecting this requirement, newly presented the position and role of man in the world as the fundamental question of philosophy. Needless to say, the Juche philosophy includes the necessary principles of the dialectical materialism of Marxism. However, it is an original philosophy in that it presented, to start with, a new fundamental question of philosophy and systematized its structural system and content.

The Juche philosophy, by elucidating the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, gave the most correct answer to the question of man's position and role in the world.

The philosophical principle of Juche has brought about a fresh change in the view of social history. The creators of Marxism set as their main task overcoming the idealistic and metaphysical view of social history which served to justify the reactionary exploiting system and applying the materialistic and dialectical principles to the field of social history; they clarified that society, like nature, exists objectively and it changes and develops according to the general law governing the development of the material



world. They, however, failed to elucidate the essential differences between the movement of nature and social movement and the law inherent in the socio-historical movement. The new era implies that the most important requirement for making the view of social history of the working class perfect, is to clarify the law peculiar to the socio-historical movement whose motive force is the working masses. This historic task was fulfilled with credit by the Juche philosophy.

The Juche philosophy, by applying to social history the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything, gave a fresh light to the principle that the masses are the motive force of history and the socio-historical movement is an independent, creative and conscious movement of the masses.

The philosophical principle of Juche that man is the master of everything and decides everything and the socio-historical principle of Juche, its embodiment, are based on the scientific elucidation of the essential features of man. For the first time in history the Juche idea clarified that man is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness and on this basis it indicated the most correct road to carving out man's destiny.

The great leader created the Juche idea, not simply for the sake of elucidation of a new philosophical theory but in order to show our people the most correct road to carving out their destiny. The whole course of the Korean revolution was to apply the Juche idea. The basic key to how our socialism has been consolidated and developed to be the most superior one lies in the fact that we have

applied this idea. The originality and superiority of the Juche idea is clearly demonstrated in the advantage of our style of socialism.

The basic advantage of our form of socialism is that it is a man-centred society, a society which considers everything with man at the centre and makes everything serve him. This advantage is defined by the Juche idea, a man-centred idea.

Our socialism has splendidly applied the intrinsic requirements of man, as an independent social being.

Man, an independent social being, is by nature desirous of living and developing independently free from all manner of subjugation. The social movement aims to achieve the independence of the masses of the people and the development of society means that the struggle of the masses of the people to achieve independence is intensified. This is an essential characteristic of the social movement.

Since it viewed social history with the main stress on the objective material and economic conditions, Marxism considered the development of society to be the history of replacement of the mode of production taking place by the law of adaptation of the relations of production to the character of the productive forces. According to this opinion, one can understand that revolution is carried out in the main when a socialist mode of production has been established and therefore it is concluded that there remains only work to consolidate and develop the socialist mode of production. This can be said to be one of the reasons why the Marxist-Leninist classicists failed to provide details for

the continuous revolution for the building of communism after the triumph of the socialist revolution, even though they gave much emphasis to the continuous revolution from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The principle of the Marxist materialistic view on history cannot give a correct answer to the question of revolution after the establishment of the socialist system. Socialist construction shows in practice that the advantages of socialism cannot be given full play and the masses' cause for independence cannot be accomplished unless revolution is carried on in the field of ideology and culture after the establishment of the socialist system.

The Juche idea clarified anew that all forms of revolutionary struggle are those of the masses to win their independence and that revolution must be carried on until the independence of the working masses is fully achieved; by doing so, it gave a scientific solution to the question of continuous revolution in the socialist society. The independence of the masses is fully achieved when outdated relations of production are abolished and when the masses are completely freed not only from socio-political subjugation but also from the fetters of nature and outdated ideology and culture. With the establishment of the socialist system, the masses are freed from the socio-political subjugation but they are still bound by the shackles of nature and outdated ideology and culture. This is ascribable mainly to the remnants of the old society. Even after the establishment of the socialist system there remains backwardness in the fields of ideology, technology and culture, the vestiges of the old society, for a certain

period; this constitutes the main obstacle in fully meeting the demand of the masses for independence. In order to eliminate the remnants of the old society after the establishment of the socialist system, revolution must be carried on in the fields of ideology, technology and culture. Holding high the banner of continuous revolution, our Party and people are carrying out to the letter the line of three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural. They are thus strengthening without letup the independent position they have taken up and are accomplishing with credit the cause of the masses for independence.

Our socialism is splendidly applying the intrinsic requirements of man, a creative social being.

Man, a social being whose intrinsic nature is independence and creativeness, is desirous of living and developing not only in an independent way but also in a creative way. Man performs creative activities to transform nature and society and constantly fosters his creative ability.

Marxism did not pay due attention to the question of improving the creative ability and role of the masses, because it considered the development of society to be a natural historical process which follows the objective laws, mainly the law of development of the material and economic conditions, attaching decisive importance to material production and the social and economic relations in the activities of the social man. Needless to say, man draws on the objective laws in transforming nature and society. But he does not merely adapt himself to the laws. He recognizes and makes use of them on his own initiative.

He has inexhaustible creative ability to transform nature and society to meet his demand for independence by drawing on the objective laws. Man's ability to transform the world is limited in a particular period of history. However, this creative ability and role of man is being continuously enhanced. The development of society is attained, in the long run, with the improvement of the masses' creative ability and role. The working-class party must pay deep attention to understanding the objective laws and making good use of them by improving man's creative ability and his role. Socialist construction shows in practice that revolution and construction cannot be successful if the work of improving the creative ability and role of man is not performed efficiently. We have channelled great efforts to this work and found a correct solution to it and, as a result, all the working people are forcefully pushing ahead with revolution and construction with the awareness of being masters of the revolution and with high creative ability.

Our socialism gives the fullest play to the consciousness of man, a conscious social being.

Consciousness is an important attribute of man and it guarantees his independence and creativity.

Throughout history, there have been sharp arguments between the progressive and the reactionary on the issue of man's consciousness. Idealists made the spirit absolute and mystic as if it was an entity that exists independently of the material being. Materialists, in opposition to idealism, insisted that the spirit is a reflection of the material world. The theory of reflection was an advance in opposing the

mystification of spirit, but it could not be a scientific clarification of the role of consciousness. Marx made it clear that social consciousness is determined by social beings and the former actively reacts to the latter, but he failed to clarify the decisive role of ideological consciousness in man's activities.

The Juche idea clarified for the first time that ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in the activities of man. Man's activities are conducted under certain material conditions and consciousness reflects the material world, but the role of consciousness is not confined to reflecting the material world and reacting to it. Consciousness determines all activities of man. Ideological consciousness is the basis of all thinking and activities of man. It plays the decisive role in man's cognitive activities and practice. Man has the consciousness of independence and for this reason he volitionally understands the objective world and performs creative activities.

The role of ideological consciousness is determined by its character and content. Determined by the character and content of ideological consciousness are all the activities of man—standpoint and attitude, method and style of work, way of life, etc. The ideological consciousness of independence, the revolutionary ideological consciousness, defends independence and propels the revolutionary struggle to transform nature and society on revolutionary lines whereas the reactionary ideological consciousness infringes upon the independence of the masses and holds back social progress.

The decisive factor of victory and success in the

revolutionary struggle is the organized efforts of the masses who are equipped with revolutionary ideological consciousness. The historical fact that revolution emerged victorious in those countries in which the objective material and economic conditions were less mature proves that the decisive force that propels the revolution is the revolutionary ideological consciousness of the masses. The role of man's ideological consciousness is further improved in socialist society where the masses have become the masters of society.

As ideological consciousness determines all actions of man, priority should be given to the work of remoulding his ideology in order to dynamically accelerate the revolution and construction. The most positive method of remoulding man's ideology is the ideological revolution. To carry out the ideological revolution is the law-governed requirement of socialist and communist construction and it is the most important revolutionary task of the party and state of the working class after the establishment of a socialist system. The driving force of the revolution can be incomparably strengthened and the cause of socialism and communism will be achieved with success when all members of society are freed from subjugation of all hues of outdated ideology and fully ready to become communist revolutionaries through the ideological revolution.

Since ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in man's action, conflict in the field of ideology always constitutes the basis of conflict between the progressive and the reactionary, between revolution and counterrevolution. The vicious attempt of the imperialists

to infiltrate corrupt bourgeois ideology into the socialist countries is aimed at bringing about disintegration of socialism from the interior by impairing the ideological foundation of socialism. The most powerful weapon with which to smash this anti-socialist machination of the imperialists is the revolutionary ideological consciousness of the masses. Nevertheless, several countries neglected the ideological work and overlooked the infiltration of the bourgeois ideology in the past. This resulted in jeopardizing the cause of socialism. Historical experience shows that the more the imperialists scheme to infiltrate reactionary bourgeois ideology into the socialist countries, the harder these countries must struggle to prevent its infiltration and to equip all members of the society with the revolutionary ideology. We have conducted ideological revolution dynamically under the leadership of the Party so that the whole of society is brimming over with the revolutionary spirit of Juche. As a result, all manner of machinations by the imperialists and reactionaries to introduce bourgeois ideology into our ranks have been completely crushed and our socialism is able to give full play to its vitality.

Our socialism brilliantly embodies the collectivist demand of man, a social being.

Man is a social being who lives and acts in social relationships. Man, as a social being, can successfully shape his destiny only within the social collective, so collectivism becomes his intrinsic demand. Independence, creativity and consciousness of man can only be brought into full play on the basis of collectivism.



Defining man's essential quality as the ensemble of social relations, Marx clarified that man is a being who lives in social relations, but he failed to define that man, as a member of the social collective, regards collectivism as his intrinsic demand. The Juche idea elucidated for the first time that man can lead a worthwhile life and play his creative role only in the social collective; by doing so, it puts in a new light man's collectivist demand.

A worthwhile life for man is to live for the social collective. Man, a member of the social collective, feels his worth in life and is able to enjoy the love and trust of the collective by performing his responsibility and the role assigned by the collective. To infringe upon the interests of the collective and to display greed in seeking one's own happiness in disregard of the social collective is, in fact, not different from the actions of animals.

Collectivism is man's need to lead a worthwhile life as a member of the social collective. It is also a fundamental requirement to strengthen the might of the social collective. The might of the masses, the driving force of the social movement, depends on how they display collectivism. Unless they are united, they cannot display their might as the motive force of the revolution. An individual can become a member of the collective, but he cannot become the driving force of the revolution which takes charge of the social movement and pushes it forward. Man can transform nature and society with success and achieve independence to the full not on an individual basis but through the effort of the collective. The powerful motive force of the social movement is the

masses who are united on the basis of collectivism.

In the past people displayed the spirit of collective resistance in their struggle against foreign aggressors and the exploiting classes. They also showed the fine traits of improving their difficult living conditions by united efforts. Nevertheless, collectivism could not be popularized as a social ideology in an exploiting society which is based on private ownership. In particular, the reactionary ruling class, fearing the unity of the people, restrained collectivism from being displayed among the masses and instead inculcated individualism.

Collectivism, which is in accord with the intrinsic demand of man, a social being, became an ideology of the working class in tandem with the appearance of the working class on the stage of history and it became a dominant ideology in socialist society. That socialism is a society based on collectivism is a fundamental advantage of socialism over capitalism. By nature socialism must be developed in the direction of enhancing collectivism. Only then can the creative ability of the masses be brought into full play and their independence be completely achieved. Practical experience shows that if collectivism is not enhanced to suit the intrinsic demand of socialist society and if instead, individualism is fostered, it would entail the grave consequences of jeopardizing the development of socialism.

That socialist society is based on collectivism does not mean that it ignores the interests of individuals. Not only the interests of the collective but also those of the individuals are valued in socialist society: they are

consistent with each other. The interests of the collective incorporate the interests of the individuals. Collectivism is opposed not to the interests of individuals, but to the violation of the interests of the collective for the sake of individual interests. Collectivism requires that precedence be given to the interests of the collective. Our socialist society which regards man as the most precious being by applying the Juche idea, respects the interests of both the collective and individuals and grants the utmost benefits to everyone.

Collectivism reaches its noblest high in a socio-political organism, that is, the unity of the leader, the Party and the masses. In the socio-political organism, collectivism is displayed on the basis of single-hearted unity, a solid unity in ideology, purpose, morality and duty of the Party and the masses with the leader, who represents the will of the social collective, at the centre. All the working people in our country are firmly equipped with the Juche idea and devote themselves to the Party and the leader, to the country and the people, united single-heartedly around the Party and the leader. A great advantage of our socialism finds its expression in the fact that all members of society are firmly equipped with the Juche idea and lead independent and creative lives to their heart's content, helping and leading one another forward as they are united single-heartedly around the Party and the leader.

All facts clearly demonstrate that the most advantageous socialism that suits the intrinsic demands of man can be developed only when socialism is built on the basis of the Juche idea.

The revolutionary theory created by the great leader is a perfect revolutionary theory of communism.

Marxism-Leninism has limitations not only in the outlook on the world but also in the theory of socialism and communism. It is not easy to clarify what a communist society, an ideal society of humanity, is. Moreover, it was difficult to go beyond the limits of prediction and supposition in clarifying the aspects of communism in a capitalist society since no country had raised the building of socialism and communism as a practical problem. Living in a capitalist society, Marx analysed its contradictions and on this basis proved the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the transition to socialism and put forward the revolutionary theory on the overthrow of capitalism. Lenin analysed the crises and contradictions of imperialism, when capitalism reached the stage of monopoly. On this basis he elucidated the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country and put forward the revolutionary theory on the establishment of a socialist system. The founders of Marxism-Leninism, however, failed to expound a complete theory on socialism and communism owing to the limitations of their days. For them making the theory on socialism and communism perfect was not raised as an immediate practical issue and they had no practical experience to do so. For the first time in the world, Lenin organized and led to victory the proletarian revolution and, by generalizing the experiences, developed Marxism. However, his experience was too limited for him to put forward a perfect theory on socialism and communism.

The present historical condition is fundamentally different from what it was when the founders of Marxism-Leninism were active. Not a few countries have carried out the socialist revolution, conducted socialist construction and gained various experiences. The experiences acquired through building socialism in several countries incorporate not only successes but also lessons in failure; they include excellent achievements as well as mistakes. All these experiences and lessons, when analysed, summed up and generalized, are the basis for completing the revolutionary theory of communism.

Socialism and communism differ from each other in their degree of development and maturity, but they are the same type of society that rests upon common politico-economic and ideological foundations. Socialism, a low stage of communism, has communist characters as its essential features; so the course of further developing and perfecting socialism is immediately the course of building communism. We can say that today conditions have become mature enough to complete the revolutionary theory of communism by generalizing the practical experiences gained in building socialism.

The historical task of completing the revolutionary theory of communism was fulfilled with credit in our era by the great leader as he elucidated the Juche-oriented revolutionary theory and method of leadership.

The revolutionary theory of communism he created by applying the Juche idea is a revolutionary theory developed with the working masses at the centre and revolutionary strategy and tactics based on their role. It is a perfect

revolutionary theory of communism which comprehensively expounds the theories on national liberation, class emancipation and man's freedom and the theories on the transformation of society, nature and man.

Thanks to the revolutionary theory of Juche created by the great leader, the theories on the anti-imperialist national-liberation revolution, the anti-feudal democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were systematized in an original way and new theories on building socialism and communism were expounded in a comprehensive way. Marxist-Leninist theory on building socialism and communism was put into a state of serious confusion by opportunists. Consequently confusion arose in socialist construction and socialism experienced severe pains and setbacks in several countries. This theoretical and practical problem which the times presented as an acute requirement could be solved with credit by the great leader. His revolutionary theory on building socialism and communism clarifies comprehensively the views of communist society, the law-governed course to society and the strategic goal and line of building socialism and communism. It includes the policies for struggle and specific methods for all spheres of revolution and construction.

Thanks to the Juche-oriented theory on the leadership method created by the great leader, all problems arising in leading revolution and construction, ranging from the principle of leadership to the method and style of work were expounded with perfection. Of particularly great significance is the fact that the method of leadership in the building of socialism and communism was put in a new

light and comprehensively systematized. The great leader created the theory on the leadership and the revolutionary work method, his own method of work, in the course of blazing the trail of the Korean revolution and leading it to victory; they serve as a powerful weapon for victory in the cause of socialism and communism. Our Party could thus achieve the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses and dynamically accelerate the cause of socialism and communism.

The ideology, theory and method of Juche created by the great leader represent the most correct guiding ideology, guiding theory and guiding method for building socialism and communism in our era.

The Juche ideology, theory and method are the brilliant fruition of his gifted intelligence and the sum total of the extremely rich and profound experiences he has accumulated. A new revolutionary idea and theory are not things that can be created by anybody because the changed time and reality demand them. They are created only by a leader of the working class who is possessed with outstanding wisdom. Only such a person can put forward a new ideology, theory and method by generalizing the experiences gained in the revolutionary movement. He does this with deep insight into the requirements of the times and aspirations of the people and can continuously enrich them in the course of applying them to reality and bring them to perfection. The great leader in his early years created the immortal Juche idea by embracing the demands of the era of independence and the aspirations of the masses for independence and, by applying this idea,

accumulated rich practical experiences and priceless achievements in all fields of revolution and construction. In the course of wisely leading all forms of social revolution and construction work over 60 years, the great leader scored the most profound and richest practical experiences and achievements and, by generalizing them, perfected the Juche ideology, theory and method in a comprehensive way.

The actual situation of our times testifies to the fact that the cause of socialism can be led to brilliant victory only on this basis. For their truthfulness and viability the Juche ideology, theory and method are recognized as the most correct guiding ideology, guiding theory and guiding method of the revolution and construction of our times and studying the Juche idea has become an irresistible trend.

Marxism-Leninism is an ideological theory at the preceding stage of the development of the revolutionary ideology of the working class. One cannot therefore be successful in the revolution and construction if he clings to it, overlooking its historical limitations. It is now clear to everybody that one cannot build socialism properly by drawing on a theory that was put forward based on prediction and supposition a century ago.

We must not deny even the working-class principle of Marxism-Leninism on the grounds that it has limitations. Its limitations are due, in the long run, to the conditions prevailing in that period and to its historical task. We must overcome its historical limitations but not give up the working-class principle that runs through it. To adhere to the revolutionary principle of the working class is a



fundamental requirement of the revolutionary cause to realize independence of the masses. Although Marxism-Leninism has limitations and failed to clarify the specific ways for building socialism, those parties that are building socialism can prevent the degeneration of their class character if they correctly maintain the revolutionary principle of Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialists and reactionaries are now fussing about the “crisis of socialism,” claiming that this means the “collapse” of Marxism-Leninism. Their slander on the creators of Marxism-Leninism is aimed at justifying their reactionary sophistry that the ideal of socialism itself was incorrect from the outset and that it was a mistake to have conducted socialist revolution to begin with.

Modern revisionists, too, are making a fuss about “mistakes” revealed in socialist construction in the past and slandering the founders of Marxism-Leninism, relating the “mistakes” to their idea. Originally, slandering the authority and dignity of the leaders of the working class constitutes the essence of the reactionary nature of revisionism. Modern revisionists are abusing Marxism-Leninism and its founders in an attempt to remove from the people’s minds their faith in the socialist cause pioneered by the leaders of the working class and to justify their counterrevolutionary scheme to regress to capitalism from socialism.

As for the mistakes revealed in socialist construction in some countries, their parties which allowed dogmatism and revisionism, not Marxism-Leninism and its founders, are to blame for them.

The people who were said to have been building socialism guided by Marxism-Leninism in the past failed to put forward new revolutionary theories in step with the changed historical conditions, as they have applied Marxism-Leninism dogmatically. Dogmatic application of the revolutionary theory of the working class means its derogation. The dogmatic attitude towards Marxism-Leninism further exposed the limitations of Marxism-Leninism and rendered it impossible to display the advantages of socialism to the full. In particular, modern revisionism abandoned the revolutionary principle of the working class and seriously affected socialist construction. Owing to the revisionist policy in several countries, their parties were not built up soundly and their leadership role was paralysed; society lacked discipline and order, class enemies cut a wide swath and society degenerated ideologically from the influence of bourgeois liberalization.

The aftereffect of dogmatism and revisionism in several countries was that socialism could not display its viability to the full; it gradually degenerated and obstacles were created in socialist construction. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the imperialists and reactionaries resorted to unscrupulous schemes against socialism and, at their instigation and with their support, modern revisionists, asserting “social democracy,” openly adopted the policy of returning to capitalism.

Social democracy, as an ideological trend of rightist opportunism, appeared long ago. Opportunist ideologies of all hues including social democracy are reactionary trends

of thought which the imperialists and reactionaries made use of in earlier times to destroy the communist movement and the working-class movement from within.

The imperialists and reactionaries openly abused and slandered Marxism and ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary working-class movement. At the same time, they bribed and pulled strings with those in the high echelon of the working-class movement, the degenerates and renegades of the revolution in order to emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism. As a result, there appeared revisionism that tried to comprehensively revise Marxism and emasculate its essence to the liking of the imperialists and capitalists. Revisionism has several trends of thought but its main ideological standpoint is to deny the contradiction and struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, advocate class cooperation and to negate the socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, giving prominence to election campaigns and parliamentary activities. It also tries to emasculate the class character of the working-class party, turn it into a reformist party, a powerless club for debate, embellish imperialism and to oppose the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people. Revisionism, an ideological trend of rightist opportunism, was frustrated by the struggle of the communists, but the trend has reappeared under various names, one being social democracy. It advocates the so-called “third road.” According to it, it aims, under the signboard of “statism” and “welfarism,” to achieve a “high rate of growth and welfare” by combining the “effectiveness of the capitalist economy” with “socialist

public policy.” This is a changed mask of the former opportunist social democracy that appeared in the early revolutionary movement of the working class against capital, an ideological trend which the renegades to the revolution espoused, in their attempt to oppose the revolutionary social democracy.

The reactionary nature and absurdity of social democracy that asserts the “third road” has already been laid bare by history. Scores of years have passed since its appearance, but no country in the world has realized a “welfare society” along the “third road.” There are people who claim that the so-called “social democracy” has been realized, but such countries are none other than capitalist societies in which the rich get ever richer and the poor get ever poorer and bourgeois democracy holds dominant sway. In this contemporary world there exist only two roads, socialism and capitalism. There cannot be anything like a “third road.” The “third road,” the road of social democracy, is the road to capitalism.

Even though the reactionary nature of social democracy has been revealed thoroughly, modern revisionists have embellished it and are advocating it today. In order to realize their strategy against socialism, the imperialists are openly forcing the socialist countries to introduce bourgeois liberalization involving a multi-party system, capitalist private ownership and the market economy. Rightist opportunism that serves their anti-socialist strategy is none other than modern social democracy. Social democracy that pursues socialist ideals in the revolutionary struggle of the working class against the oppression of

capital was abused by opportunists in its early days and today it is used as an anti-socialist means of the imperialists. As a result, it has become a synonym for the most despicable treachery to revolution and socialism.

The reactionary nature of modern social democracy is that it attempts to destroy socialism and turn it back to capitalism. There is no difference between opportunistic social democracy of the past and modern social democracy in that they both pursue capitalism. The former plays the role of a brake, checking the revolutionary transition to socialism, whereas the latter plays the role of a guide, opening the road to a “peaceful transition of socialism to capitalism.” In a word, the former is a trend of bourgeois reformism while the latter is a trend of bourgeois restorationism.

Modern social democracy, denying the leadership of the working-class party and the unified guidance of the socialist state, advocates that it aims to build a “humanitarian and democratic socialism” in place of an “administrative-bureaucratic socialism.” Needless to say, socialism may have different specific features according to the guiding ideology it relies on and the methods of building and managing it. However, socialism is inconceivable separated from the political leadership of the working-class party and the unified guidance of the socialist state, which are the fundamental principles of socialism. That socialism is developing in different forms is one thing, and that socialism is returning to capitalism is another thing. The former means that it is built and managed to suit the specific situation and national

characteristics of each country, invariably maintaining the working-class character. The advantages of the different types of socialism may differ from one another according to their characteristics, but any type is superior to capitalism. Giving up the basic principles of socialism is nothing but degeneration in a capitalistic way, no matter whether it is called “democratic socialism” or “humanitarian and democratic socialism.” If a “humanitarian and democratic socialism” is to be built true to its word in place of an “administrative-bureaucratic socialism,” the capitalistic method must not be introduced and socialist principles must be applied more thoroughly. Originally, bureaucracy was a ruling method of the outdated exploiting society. It has nothing in common with the intrinsic nature of socialist society. It is revealed in socialist society because the remnants of the old society linger in the society. The introduction of a capitalist method does not eliminate bureaucracy. On the contrary, it revives bureaucracy. Some people are now advocating “democracy” in opposition to the “administrative-bureaucratic style.” But this is not new. It is merely a repetition of the reactionary sophistry of the revisionists in the Second International who abused democratic centralism as a “bureaucratic rule” and prattled about pure, supraclass “democracy” in opposition to proletarian dictatorship. This they did in an attempt to destroy the party, an organized unit.

Modern social democracy is based on a bourgeois viewpoint and attitude towards social phenomena. It advocates unlimited freedom in social life and unbridled

competition through the market, which means that such laws of the biological world as spontaneity and the struggle for existence should be applied in socialist society. It is in essence a reactionary viewpoint and attitude aimed at making the law of the jungle, the law of bourgeois society, function without restraint.

Modern social democracy reveals its reactionary nature in a concentrated way in its viewpoint and attitude towards man.

It regards man as an instrument necessary for material production. Material production is needed for man; man does not exist for the sake of material production. A developed machine, if it does not serve man, is nothing but a worthless scrap of iron. Nevertheless, some people do not hesitate to trample upon the basic rights of man for material production. It is explained by a simple fact that they advocate the use of unemployment as a means of pressure to increase labour intensity. The right to labour is a basic right of man. The “socialism” that deprives the working masses even of their labour right cannot become a humanitarian and democratic socialism. To violate without mercy the working masses’ right to labour is a phenomenon inherent in an exploiting society. Capitalists regard man as a commodity and an accessory of a machine. For them the working masses become meaningful only when they bring about profit. Modern social democracy and the bourgeois viewpoint both estimate man’s value by means of money and material.

Modern social democracy regards man as a being that pursues only the material desire of individuals, not as a

being with ideological consciousness of independence. Some people claim that all forms of human relationship should be turned into that of a commodity and currency, insisting that the material incentive on individuals is absolute. To view man as a being that pursues only his material desire is wrong in that it regards man as a mean being.

Modern social democracy regards man as a being dominated by material and economic conditions, not as a powerful being possessed with creative ability. Proceeding from this point of view, some people try to find the basis of social development in the objective conditions, not in the work of training people to be powerful beings and enhancing their creativity, and are thus restructuring the economic system.

The viewpoint and attitude of modern social democracy towards social history is bourgeois viewpoint and attitude. Accordingly, the road of modern social democracy is not a road to socialist democracy; it is a road to bourgeois democracy and none other.

Modern social democracy is an outcome of illusions about capitalism. Out of illusions about “material prosperity” of developed capitalist countries, some people have been seduced by it and are giving up the revolutionary principle. If anyone analyzes the conditions of history experienced in the developed capitalist countries and socialist countries and their characteristics, he would never harbour such foolish illusions. The developed capitalist countries entered the road of capitalist development in an earlier period whereas the socialist countries were either



those whose level of economic development was lower or those that were colonies or semi-colonies. The former achieves “material prosperity” through merciless exploitation of the working masses and neocolonial plunder of third-world countries; however, the latter cannot do so. The socialist countries have incomparable advantages in economic development, but they are still relatively backward in the field of material life, compared to the developed capitalist countries. One cannot correctly distinguish the basic difference between socialism and capitalism if he considers only the present level of economic development in disregard of the characteristics of the developed capitalist countries and the socialist countries. And yet, some people, under illusions about capitalist society, see only its luxurious appearance, overlooking its exploitative nature and corruptness; they see only luxurious goods that cater to the abnormal tastes of the rich, failing to see the unemployed, beggars and abandoned children wandering the streets.

Modern social democracy is an outcome of the surrender to imperialism. The imperialists are threatening the socialist countries by means of nuclear weapons on the one hand and on the other hand they are appeasing them with money. Unable to bear such pressures and appeasement, some people yielded one step after another and in the end they have accepted the demand to give up socialist principles and introduce the capitalist method. “A new way of thinking” which they claim is reactionary sophistry aimed at beautifying the imperialists, disarming themselves in front of them and restoring capitalism by

restructuring socialism to cater to the tastes of the imperialists.

Modern social democracy that opens up the road to a “peaceful transition of socialism to capitalism” will inevitably fail just like the former opportunism of all hues. Although it is spread over several countries, a dangerous trend, it is doomed to fail. Revisionism that appeared in the Second International as an international trend of thought was spread over almost all the parties affiliated to the Second International, causing great difficulties and setbacks in the international communist movement, but it went bankrupt in the end.

In the countries where modern social democracy holds sway, a great confusion is already taking place in all spheres of social life. “Democracy” and the “multi-party system” are making political life reactionary; they have not made social life democratic. The working-class party is being destroyed by political double-dealers who have made their way into it and various good-for-nothing political parties and organizations have raised their heads in opposition to socialism under the cloak of “political pluralism,” misleading public opinion and taking command of parliament and government. Modern social democracy is aggravating disputes and conflicts between nations and regions and splitting society. The capitalist market economy it introduced has caused decreased production, skyrocketing prices, mass unemployment and a gap between the poor and the rich, making life more and more difficult for most of the people. Bourgeois liberalization ushered in by “glasnost” and the “open-door” policy is

giving rise to various kinds of crimes, and a decadent bourgeois way of life. Immorality and depravity are rampant. This is the result of the “perestroika” and “reform” policies pursued by modern social democrats.

Reality is a strict judge. The crises created artificially by modern social democracy clearly show that any scheme to make a socialist society capitalistic under the cloak of social democracy cannot escape total bankruptcy. The counterrevolutionary nature of modern social democracy, which has negated in toto the socialist cause, the achievement gained at the cost of the sweat and blood of the people, and smeared its history, luring the people with honeyed words, is being disclosed thoroughly. The people who were enticed by modern social democracy are gradually becoming aware of its true colours; they are growing vocal in their curse of it. Modern social democracy is being denounced by genuine revolutionaries, by the people of the socialist countries and other progressive people of the world.

Although modern social democracy, instigated by the imperialists, is inflicting tremendous losses upon the people’s cause for independence, the socialist cause, socialism will endure the suffering and continue to open up the road to victory. No force can check the people’s aspiration for independence and advance to socialism. Socialism is not someone’s invention; it is the wish and aspiration of humanity. It is a law in the development of history that human society advances towards socialism. People have for ages wished for a new society of independence in which everyone leads an equally affluent

life free from exploitation and oppression, and their wish is getting more intense with the passage of time. Where there is exploitation and oppression, there is always resistance. Capitalism cannot realize the wish of the masses to lead an independent and equal life even though it can develop economically.

It is not that the resistance of the working masses against exploitation and oppression weakens with an increase in material wealth. The material wealth created by mankind has increased along with history, but the people's struggle against exploitation and oppression has been intensified. This is an inevitable outcome of the development of the exploiting society where the rich get ever richer and the poor get ever poorer. The "material prosperity" of capitalism will increase antagonism between the rich and the poor, precipitating bottomless political and economic crises for imperialism and capitalism. If the imperialists and their followers continue to attempt to enforce the "peaceful transition of socialism to capitalism," they will face a stronger resistance from the people. The people of today are not those of yesterday who wished for socialism and knew socialism only by theory; they have experienced through their practical lives the advantages of a socialist system which is free from exploitation and oppression. True revolutionaries and the people, who are being awakened to their consciousness as the days go by, will not connive at the machinations of the imperialists and their followers. They will raise their voices in denunciation and pursue an active struggle against them. They want those countries, which are maintaining the revolutionary

principle in their struggle against the machinations of the imperialists and their followers, to continue to advance along the road of socialism. In particular, they expect a great deal from us and trust us as we build socialism centred on the masses, ensuring the continuity of the revolutionary cause, under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea, and earnestly hope that we bring the advantages of socialism into fuller play.

Building our style of socialism more successfully is a lofty historic mission entrusted to us not only for the prosperity of our motherland and the happiness of our people but also for the ultimate victory of the cause of independent humanity, the socialist cause. Bearing this in mind, we must fully equip ourselves with the Juche idea, the ideological foundation of socialism of our own style, and apply it in a thoroughgoing fashion to accelerate the revolution and construction more dynamically.

# **ON HAVING A CORRECT VIEWPOINT AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 25, 1990*

Recently I have read articles on the Juche idea, written by some social scientists, and found that they do not correctly explain the originality and superiority of the Juche philosophy in conformity with the Party's policy. This proves that they themselves still do not have a correct viewpoint and understanding of the Juche philosophy.

In connection with this, I would like to speak about some problems arising in correctly understanding, explaining and propagating the Juche philosophy.

First of all, we must correct the tendency to explain the superiority and originality of the Juche idea from the point of view of Marxist dialectical materialism.

I once referred to the need to correctly understand the originality of the Juche idea because in the past some social scientists tended to explain this idea in the framework of Marxist dialectical materialism, but it seems to me that they still do not have a correct understanding of this problem.

In order to prove the justice and superiority of the Juche

philosophy, we must clearly understand the limitations of the preceding philosophy and consider this philosophy in its correlation with the latter. Only when the Juche philosophy is studied in comparison with Marxist philosophy the limitations of which lie in the fact that it regards the development of all things as a process of the history of nature, can its superiority be clearly elucidated. Some people attempt to explain the fundamental principles of the Juche philosophy, including the essential characteristics of man, from the point of view of the general law of the development of the material world, instead of explaining them by clarifying the law of social movement. In the final analysis, this can be construed as being tantamount to trying to explain the Juche philosophy from the viewpoint of the development of Marxist dialectical materialism, not as a completely original philosophy. This makes it impossible to clarify the originality of the Juche philosophy correctly.

Overcoming the limitations of the preceding theory, which regards the development of things as an objective process of the history of nature, presents itself as a very urgent requirement in the present revolutionary practice. At present bourgeois thinkers, revisionists and reformists are infusing people with spontaneity and the matter-first doctrine, considering all things and phenomena from the biological and evolutionary point of view and the vulgar materialistic viewpoint. In explaining and propagating the Juche philosophy, we ought to direct the spearhead of criticism to such a biological and vulgar materialistic outlook on the world.

We must have a correct understanding of the law of the unity of opposites and of the struggle between them.

The fact that the Juche philosophy is considered largely in relation with Marxist dialectical materialism can also be seen in the explanation of this law.

The main content of Marxist dialectical materialism is the principle of the unity of opposites and of the struggle between them. However, this is not a problem which should be considered simply from a scientific point of view. Like other theoretical problems of Marxism-Leninism, the law of the unity of opposites and of the struggle between them must be historically considered from the point of view of revolutionary practice. Importance was attached to this law in Marxist dialectical materialism. This is due to the fact that it was an important and historic task to elucidate philosophically the socio-economic contradictions of the then capitalist society and the law of the class struggle. Therefore, I think that the principle of the unity and struggle between opposites elucidated by the Marxist philosophy has many unreasonable points in clarifying the law of the development of socialist society at present. That is why we did not mention this principle much when explaining the theory of the Juche philosophy.

Today our country is confronted with an important revolutionary task of building socialism and reunifying the country. Under these circumstances we must think of what theoretical significance emphasis on the principle of the unity of opposites and of the struggle between them as an important philosophical problem will have and how it will



affect the revolution and construction. If this problem is explained in a misguided way, this will give people the impression that we are engrossed in idle talk on a philosophical problem that does not suit real life and may exert an undesirable influence on those who are fighting for national reunification. We must never indulge in empty theories and talks which are not helpful to the revolution and construction nor must we try to follow the existing principles or the theories of others which do not suit us.

Next, it is important to have a correct understanding of the essential characteristics of man.

These characteristics are clarified in detail in the Party documents which have already been published. However, some articles which explain the Juche idea do not accord with these documents.

In interpreting the essential qualities of man, some people state that man has common features with other organisms, and that, at the same time, he has an attribute fundamentally different from that of the latter in the level of development, and explain the differences between the essential attributes of man and those of other organisms as the differences in the level of development.

We must not understand man's essential attributes as the development and perfection of the natural attributes which organisms in general have. Of course, it can be said that, when considered from the viewpoint of a biological being, man's body is superior to that of other organisms in the level of development. However, when he is considered from the viewpoint of a social being, man is fundamentally different from all other organisms, for the attributes

peculiar to him. Regarding man's essential characteristics as the differences in the level of development of organisms is an evolutionary method of consideration.

Although man is a product of evolution, the essential attributes of man, a social being, are not products of evolution; they have been formed and developed socially and historically. I mentioned it long ago. However, some people try to regard man's essential attributes as a matter of differences in the level of development of the attributes which organisms in general have. This proves that they are still attempting to consider man's essential characteristics with the evolutionary methodology.

It is also a wrong method of consideration to try to seek the essential characteristics of man, who is distinguished from an animal, in the diversity of biological and social components and in the complexity of the ways of their combination.

As a matter of fact, all things have definite components as well as combination and structure. Therefore, in clarifying the characteristics of things we can deliberate in comparison whether their components as well as their combination and structure are complex or simple. According to the degree of their complexity, we can explain the characteristics of different material elements. However, whether the components and the combination and structure are complex or simple is the question which can be raised only between those material elements that can be compared with each other. Man is the only social being in the world. Therefore, we cannot compare him with animal by considering their components and their

combination and structure. The fundamental differences between social being and natural being cannot be correctly clarified only by examining the diversity and complexity of the components and their combination and structure.

We must have a correct idea of the social being.

Some articles explaining the Juche idea write that social wealth also belongs to the social being. However, it is a wrong viewpoint to identify man with social wealth created by him.

Man is a social being. This implies that he is a being who lives in a social relationship. This term is used to distinguish man from a natural being. As man is a social being, he has independence, creativity and consciousness, attributes which are peculiar to him and which other material beings cannot have. However, if the wealth created by man is also considered to belong to the social being, there will be no fundamental differences between man and wealth and it will be impossible to give an answer to the question of on what the essential characteristics peculiar to man are based.

Next, it is necessary to have a correct understanding of the correlation between the transformation of nature, man and society.

These undertakings are the three areas of human activity for realizing human independence. It is necessary to understand correctly, from the viewpoint of revolutionary practice, what position each of these three transformations holds in man's social activity and how they are related to each other.

One cannot give people a correct understanding of the

three transformations if, apart from the specific revolutionary practice, one simply explains them in such a way that they are all conducted simultaneously, instead of one beginning after the completion of another. Of course, we cannot mechanically say that after one of the three transformations has been completed, another is conducted. However, we must take into consideration that one of them may be given more prominence depending on the stage of revolutionary development.

This can be clearly seen from the practical process of the developing revolution. In the period of the socialist revolution, the problem of liquidating exploitation and oppression and achieving the socio-political independence of the masses of the people, in other words, the problem of transforming society, presents itself as an important matter. Following the establishment of the socialist system, the problem of transforming nature and man for freeing people from the fetters of nature and outmoded ideas and culture, presents itself as a more important task. In this period nature and man are transformed through the ideological, technological and cultural revolutions and society is transformed through the consolidation and development of the socialist system, and not in a revolutionary way. Therefore, when discussing the three transformations, if they are explained merely from a logical point of view, disregarding their historical sequence and peculiarities, such a theory will, in the long run, be isolated from the revolutionary practice.

The problem of the three areas of social life must not be explained mechanically, either.

Some people assert that social life must not be considered by dividing it into two aspects—material and spiritual, but that it should be divided into three aspects—economic, ideological and cultural, and political. They must not suggest the problem like that. Of course, it is reasonable to view human life by dividing it into three aspects—economic, ideological and cultural, and political. Our Party’s documents have also expounded it in that way. Nevertheless, we cannot regard it as a mistake to divide human life into two aspects—material and spiritual. The problem does not lie in how many areas social life is divided into, but in that the view of dividing it into two aspects—material and spiritual—is counterpoised to that of dividing it into three aspects—economic, ideological and cultural, and political.

We always say that people’s ideological and spiritual life and their material life constitute the two aspects of social life. Moreover, we maintain at all times that the independence of the masses of the people must be realized in the fields of their ideological and spiritual life as well as of their material life. This conforms, in import, to the statement that the two fortresses, in other words, the ideological and material fortresses must all be occupied in the building of socialism and communism. When viewed on the basis of what has been mentioned above, it cannot be said to be wrong to divide social life into two areas—material and spiritual.

As a matter of fact, people’s political and cultural life is expressed in ideological and spiritual life. Therefore, it is by no means unreasonable to divide social life into two

areas—ideological and spiritual life and material life by including political and cultural life in the former. When we speak about two fortresses of communism, we also express them as the ideological fortress or the political and ideological fortress as well as the material fortress. Accordingly, in order to make social life correspond with the idea of the two fortresses of communism in content, we must, as a matter of course, divide it into two areas.

We cannot take issue with whether one divides social life into two areas in a wider sense or into three areas in greater detail. We cannot say which is right and which is wrong.

In explaining the correlation between economic life, ideological and cultural life and political life, it is not right to emphasize only the identity of each of these three kinds of life. To claim that one of these cannot determine another is not only an ambiguous expression from the standpoint of the working class but does not conform to the principle of the Juche idea, either.

We say that independence is the lifeblood of people and particularly stress that realizing socio-political independence is a matter of priority in the struggle to achieve independence for the masses of the people. When we say that independence is the lifeblood of people, we mean socio-political independence. However rich a man is in the material aspect, he can never claim to lead a life as befits a man if it is not worthwhile in the social and political spheres as well as in the ideological and cultural fields. Political life and ideological life play a leading and decisive role in social life. Therefore, underestimating the

principal significance of political life and ideological life, and only emphasizing that the three kinds of life have each their own importance is of no use in practice.

The present international situation is very complex. In the international arena a fierce class struggle and theoretical controversies are being conducted between revolution and counterrevolution, between socialism and capitalism, and under this situation, revolutionary people and communists are seeking the right path they should follow.

Under the present grave situation when the question of who conquers whom arises between socialism and capitalism, we must thoroughly defend socialism under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea.

The Juche idea, our Party's outlook on the world, is the guiding idea of our times which illuminates the absolutely correct way of achieving independence for the masses of the people. It is the banner of the revolutionary people's cause of independence and the banner of socialism.

We must ensure that all Party members and the working people have a firm conviction of the superiority and greatness of the Juche idea. Moreover, now that we confront the serious question of whether we defend the cause of socialism or not in the face of the imperialists' strategy of "peaceful transition," we must encourage all social scientists and information workers to write and speak thoroughly in the interests of the revolution and in accordance with the Party's policies.

# **THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY IS AN ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY**

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An opinion has recently been raised that some of our social scientists had expressed a wrong view contrary to our Party's idea in explaining the Juche philosophy, and that this view had been disseminated abroad as well.

These social scientists still attempt to explain the basic principles of the Juche philosophy from the point of view of the general law of the development of the material world, instead of explaining them in the direction of clarifying the law of social movement. The proponents of this view say that their argument is aimed at proving that the Juche philosophy is a new development also of Marxist materialistic dialectics. In explaining and propagating the Juche philosophy we do not need to convince people that the Juche philosophy is a new development of Marxist materialistic dialectics. It is true that our Party has not taken a dogmatic approach to Marxist materialistic dialectics but analysed it from the point of view of Juche



and has given new explanations to a number of problems. However, some development of materialism and dialectics does not constitute the basic content of the Juche philosophy.

The Juche philosophy is an original philosophy which has been evolved and systematized with its own principles. The historic contribution made by the Juche philosophy to the development of philosophical thoughts lies not in its advancement of Marxist materialistic dialectics, but in its clarification of new philosophical principles centred on man.

The Marxist philosophy raised the relationship between material and consciousness, between being and thinking, as the fundamental question of philosophy and proved the primacy of material, the primacy of being and, on this basis, elucidated that the world is made of material and changed and developed by the motion of material. The Juche philosophy has raised the relationship between the world and man, and man's position and role in the world, as the fundamental question of philosophy, clarified the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and that he decides everything and, on this basis, illuminated the absolutely correct way of shaping man's destiny. The Marxist philosophy raised as its major task the clarification of the essence of the material world and the general law of its motion, whereas the Juche philosophy has raised as its important task the elucidation of man's essential characteristics and the law of social movement, man's movement. Therefore, the Juche philosophy is an original philosophy which is fundamentally different from

the preceding philosophy in its task and principles. That is why we should not understand the Juche philosophy as a philosophy that has developed materialistic dialectics, nor should we attempt to prove the originality and advantages of the Juche philosophy by arguing one way or the other about the essence of the material world and the general law of its motion which were clarified by the Marxist philosophy. You cannot explain the Juche philosophy in the framework of the preceding philosophy because it is a philosophy that has clarified new philosophical principles. If you attempt to do so, you will not only fail to prove the originality of the Juche philosophy, but instead make it obscure and fail to understand the essence of Juche philosophy correctly.

Having defined the essential qualities of man for the first time in history, the Juche philosophy has held up man as the best qualified and most powerful being in the world and advanced a new idea on the world that the world is dominated and transformed by man.

The new outlook on the world established by the Juche philosophy does not deny the world outlook of dialectical materialism. The Juche philosophy regards the world outlook of dialectical materialism as its premise. The Juche view of the world that the world is dominated and transformed by man is inconceivable separately from the materialistic dialectical understanding of the essence of the objective material world and the general law of its motion. From the idealistic view that the world is something mysterious you cannot draw the conclusion that man dominates the world, and from the metaphysical view that

the world is immutable you cannot infer that man can transform the world. The Juche view of the world that the world is dominated and transformed by man can only be established when the materialistic dialectical understanding of the world that the world is made of material and ceaselessly changes and develops is recognized. In spite of a number of limitations and immaturities of the Marxist materialistic dialectics, its basic principles are scientific and valid. That is why we say that the Juche philosophy regards materialistic dialectics as its premise.

That the world outlook of the materialistic dialectics is the premise for the Juche philosophy does not mean that the Juche philosophy has merely inherited and developed the materialistic dialectics. Although it would be impossible to acquire a scientific understanding of the world and transform it without the materialistic dialectical understanding of the objective material world, you cannot draw the conclusion that man is the master of the world and plays a decisive role in transforming the world simply from the proposition of materialism that the world is made of material and from the dialectical principle that the world ceaselessly changes and develops. Only on the basis of the clarification of man's essential qualities which distinguish man radically from all the other material beings can man's outstanding position and role as the master of the world capable of transforming the world be clarified. Only on the basis of man's essential qualities as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness as scientifically clarified by the Juche philosophy has the basic principle that man is the master of the world and plays the decisive

role in transforming the world been clarified.

By establishing the Juche outlook on social history, the Juche view of history, on the basis of the man-centred philosophical principle, the Juche philosophy has overcome the limitations of the preceding socio-historical view and effected a radical change in the socio-historical view and standpoint.

Marxist philosophy established socio-historical view of dialectical materialism, historical materialism, through the application of the general law of the development of the material world to social history. Of course, we do not deny the historic merit of historical materialism. Historical materialism made an important contribution to defeating the reactionary and unscientific socio-historical view which was based on idealism and metaphysics. In addition, since man lives in the objective material world and society is inseparably linked with nature, the general law of the development of the material world acts on social phenomena. However, if you overlook the social movement being governed by its own law and apply the general law of the development of the material world mechanically to social phenomena, you cannot avoid acquiring one-sided understanding of social history.

The social movement changes and develops according to its own law.

The social movement is the movement of man who dominates and transforms the world. Man transforms nature to dominate and transform the objective material world. By transforming nature man creates material wealth and material conditions for his life. Transforming nature

and creating material wealth is the endeavour to satisfy people's social demands and this work can only be done through people's social cooperation. People transform society to improve and perfect the relations of social cooperation. It is man who transforms both nature and society. While transforming nature and society, man transforms and develops himself continuously. The domination and transformation of the world by man are realized after all through the transformation of nature, society and himself, and the masses of the people are the motive force of this undertaking. The masses of the people create all the material and cultural wealth of society and develop social relations.

The social movement, the driving force of which is the masses of the people, has characteristics which are different from those of the motion of nature. In nature motion takes place spontaneously through the interaction of material elements which exist objectively, whereas the social movement is caused and developed by the volitional action and role of the driving force. Therefore, if you apply the principles of materialistic dialectics which explain the general law of the development of the material world mechanically to social history, you cannot clarify correctly the essence of society and the law of social movement. The major limitation of the materialistic conception of history is that it failed to correctly expound the peculiar law of the social movement and explained the principles of the social movement mainly on the basis of the common character of the motion of nature and the social movement in that both of them are the motion of material.

Marxist materialistic conception of history broke down society into social being and social consciousness and attached determining significance to the social being; it also broke down the social structure into productive force and production relations, foundation and superstructure, and attached decisive significance to material production and economic relations. This means an unaltered application of the principle of materialistic dialectics to society, the principle that the world is of material and changes and develops in accordance with the general law of the motion of material. The world, viewed by the founders of Marxism when applying the general law governing the material world to social history, is an integrity of not only nature but also man and society in that they are material beings. If you consider man as a part of the world, a material integrity, not as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness, and apply the general law of the movement of the material world to social history, you cannot avoid seeing the socio-historical movement as a process of the history of nature.

Of course, society, too, changes and develops in accordance with a certain law, not by man's own will. But the action of law in society is fundamentally different from that of the law of nature. In nature the law works spontaneously regardless of man's activity, but in society the law works through man's independent, creative and conscious activities. Some of the laws of society govern every society in general irrespective of social systems, and some of them govern a particular society. Because all the social laws work through man's activity, they may work

smoothly or their actions may be restrained or limited depending on man's activity.

When I say that social laws function through man's activity, I do not deny the objective character of social laws and possible spontaneity in the social movement. If a certain socio-economic condition is created, a social law corresponding to it functions inevitably and therefore it assumes an objective character as a natural law does. Spontaneity in the social movement is due to a relatively low level of man's independence, creativity and consciousness and to the absence of the social system under which people can display them to the full. With the growth in man's independence, creativity and consciousness and with the establishment of the social system which ensures a full display of these qualities, man will work better in keeping with the objective laws and the range of spontaneity will narrow. Social development is the process of the development of the masses' independence, creativity and consciousness. With the growth in these qualities and with the consummation of the social system capable of meeting their requirements, the society will develop more and more through the purposeful and conscious activities of the masses of the people. This means that the law peculiar to the social movement, which changes and develops by the volitional action and role of the driving force, will work on a full scale.

Although the founders of Marxism established the materialistic dialectical concept of social history by applying the general law of the development of the material world to social history, they themselves came across many

problems in the practical social movement, problems which could not be resolved only by the general law of the development of the material world. So they attempted to overcome the one-sidedness of the materialistic dialectical concept of social history by advancing some theories, for example, that although social consciousness emerges as the reflection of the material and economic conditions, it reacts on these conditions and that although politics is defined by the economy, it reacts on the economy. However, the Marxist materialistic concept of history is, in essence, a view on social history which considers the common character of the motion of nature and the social movement as the main factor. This theory was unable to avoid the limitation of identifying the process of social development with that of natural history.

The fundamental difference between the Juche philosophy and the preceding philosophy results, in the final analysis, from a different understanding of man.

The Marxist philosophy defined the essence of man as the ensemble of social relations, but it failed to correctly expound the characteristics of man as a social being. The preceding theory explained the principle of the social movement mainly on the basis of the general law of the development of the material world, because it failed to clarify the essential qualities of social man. For the first time, the Juche philosophy gave a perfect elucidation of the unique qualities of man as a social being.

As clarified in the documents of our Party, man is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness and nobody has expressed doubt about it.



However, some social scientists maintain a wrong view in understanding how man became a social being with these qualities. Regarding the question of man's essential characteristics as the issue of the level of his development as a material being, they still assert that the origin of man's independence, creativity and consciousness should be sought in the diversity of the material components and the complexity of their combination and structure. This is, in fact, a view regarding man's essential qualities as the extension of natural and biological attributes, as their development and consummation. When talking about man as an organism, one can consider him in comparison with other organisms, or discuss the characteristics of his biological components and their combination and structure. However, the man who is deliberated by the Juche philosophy is not only a highly developed organism but also lives and works with independence, creativity and consciousness which no other creatures have acquired. The origin of man's essential qualities must be sought not in the development of his features common with those of other material beings but in the characteristics unique to him. Man has acquired independence, creativity and consciousness, because he is a social being who forms a social collective and lives and works in a social relationship. These qualities of man are social attributes which are formed and developed through the socio-historical process of his working in the social relationship. Of course, these qualities of his would be inconceivable without his highly developed organic body. In the sense of his highly developed organic body, man can

be said to be the highest product of evolution and the most developed material being. However, if man had not formed a social collective and had not lived and worked in the social relationship, he could not have developed as an independent, creative and conscious being no matter how developed his organic body may be. Without physical life man cannot have social and political integrity. However, it is not man's physical life itself that gives birth to his social and political integrity. Likewise, without his developed organic body his independence, creativity and consciousness would be inconceivable, but his biological characteristics themselves do not produce his social attributes. Man's social attributes can take shape and develop only through the process of his emergence and development as a social being, in other words, through the process of the historical development of his social activity and his social relationship. The history of social development is the history of development of man's independence, creativity and consciousness. This means that man's independence, creativity and consciousness are social attributes which are formed and developed socially and historically. Therefore, the philosophical consideration of man must start from the fact that man is a social being.

Nevertheless, some of our social scientists argue about the material components and their combination and structure, and relate them to man's essential qualities, preaching that the biological factors constitute the major content of the Juche philosophy. Their argument is a deviation that explains the Juche philosophy within the framework of Marxist dialectical materialism. It is only an

attempt to justify the wrong evolutionary view which regards man's essential qualities as the development and consummation of biological attributes.

Regarding man's essential qualities, it is important to have a correct understanding of the social being. The founders of Marxism, while raising the question of man's essence in social relationship, used the phrase social being as a concept meaning the material conditions and economic relations of social life which exist objectively and are reflected on social consciousness. Since they regarded man as a component of productive forces, as the ensemble of social relations, the phrase social being they used implied man as well. However, they did not use it as one having the particular meaning that defines man's essential qualities.

Systematizing the Juche philosophy, we used the term social being as one having the particular meaning that defines man's essential qualities. In the theory of the Juche philosophy man is the only social being in the world. Some social scientists, however, still insist that social wealth and social relations should also be included in the social being, obscuring the difference between man and social wealth and social relations. Social wealth and social relations are created and developed by man. Therefore, they cannot be included together in the concept that defines man's essential qualities. When referring to the Marxist philosophy, the phrase social being can, of course, be used as the founders of Marxism meant. But, if we understand the term social being in its conventional meaning when referring to the Juche philosophy, it will result in obscuring the understanding of man's essential qualities. The Juche

philosophy is a new philosophy which has its own system and content, so its categories must not be understood in the conventional meaning.

One of the main reasons why these social scientists have committed a deviation in explaining and propagating the Juche philosophy is that they have not studied philosophical problems from the point of view of the requirement of revolutionary practice.

Theory must be based on practice and serve practice. A theory divorced from practice cannot correctly elucidate truth and is of no use.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung always studied philosophical problems proceeding from the demand of revolutionary practice and evolved the Juche philosophy in the course of giving scientific answers to urgent ideological and theoretical problems arising in revolutionary practice. Our Party has generalized the rich and profound experiences of revolutionary practice, systematized the Juche philosophy in a comprehensive way and developed it in depth.

Revolutionary practice is a struggle to realize independence for the masses of the people and it is the masses who carry out the struggle. Therefore, it is important in the study of philosophy to reflect the demands and aspirations of the masses correctly, evolve the theory by generalizing their experiences of struggle and make it the theory of the masses themselves. In the exploitative society the reactionary ruling class makes use of philosophy for defending and rationalizing their reactionary ruling system, trying to make it the monopoly of the

philosophers who act as spokesmen in their interests. They consider the masses of the people to be ignorant people who have nothing to do with philosophy.

With a viewpoint and attitude that the masses of the people are the masters of everything and the wisest people, our Party has evolved the Juche philosophy by reflecting their demand and aspirations and generalizing their struggle experiences, further developed it in depth and made it their weapon of struggle. This is the reason why the Juche philosophy is an absolute truth which meets the people's desire for and aspirations to independence and a people-oriented philosophy which the masses easily understand and regard as their own weapon of struggle.

However, some of the social scientists are arguing about the questions which are of little practical significance in illuminating the road of shaping the destiny of the masses. We study philosophy essentially for the purpose of clarifying the principles and methodology by which to develop the society and shape the destiny of the masses. The development of society is guided by politics and it is none other than the Juche philosophy which clarifies the basic principles of politics which lead social development in the straightest way. In this sense, the Juche philosophy can be called a political philosophy.

Some social scientists say that they have explained the Juche philosophy as a philosophy which developed the dialectical materialism of Marxism in order to present the Juche idea to suit the characteristic of the external world. We must give a clear understanding of the Juche philosophy as a new revolutionary philosophy, not as a

mere development of the preceding philosophy. It is a mistake to explain the Juche philosophy within the framework of the preceding philosophy on the grounds that it is presented to suit the characteristic of the external world or to disseminate the Juche philosophy with ideas which do not accord with the fundamental principle of the Juche philosophy. Moreover, why should we argue about questions which are of no political importance and hardly of any theoretical and practical significance, shutting eyes to the demand of reality in the international arena, when internationally we have many theoretical and practical questions which urgently await correct answers to be given on the basis of the principles of the Juche philosophy? In presenting the Juche idea to the external world, we must explain correctly in relation to actual problems that the Juche philosophy is thoroughly an original philosophy and a new revolutionary philosophy. We must get rid of such a deviation not only in external dissemination but also in the research, study and education on the Juche philosophy.

The Juche philosophy is a revolutionary philosophy and political philosophy of our Party which illuminates the philosophical basis of the Juche idea, our Party's guiding ideology, and fundamental principles of the revolution. How to approach the Juche philosophy does not merely concern philosophical theories, but is related to the viewpoint and attitude towards the Party's ideology. We must accept the Party's ideology as the absolute truth, defend it resolutely and keep it as a revolutionary conviction, and thus understand, interpret and propagate the Juche philosophy correctly.

We must feel a great pride and confidence in having such a great political philosophy as the Juche philosophy, deeply understand its principles and apply them fully to the practical activities of the revolution and construction. We must analyse and judge all the social phenomena thoroughly on the basis of the principles of the Juche philosophy and dynamically accelerate the revolution and construction by uniting the masses of the people solidly around the Party and enhancing the role of the motive force as the Juche philosophy requires.

Our scientists and people must study and follow the Juche philosophy, but they must also know the philosophical ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The social scientists in particular must be well acquainted with the preceding philosophy. In studying the preceding philosophy, it is important to distinguish limitations and immaturity, along with progressive and positive aspects. Only when we know correctly not only its historical achievements but also limitations of the period and ideo-theoretical immaturity can we prevent deviations of dogmatic attitude towards preceding theories and acquire a deep understanding of the originality and superiority of the Juche philosophy. Social scientists must study and master the Juche philosophy and on this basis and in the light of its principles, pay deep attention to seeing clearly the limitations and immaturity of the preceding philosophy along with its merits.

In addition, we must strictly guard against all heterogeneous trends of philosophy which are contrary to the Juche philosophy and ensure the purity of the Juche

philosophy. The Juche philosophy is the most advantageous and viable philosophy which reflects the demand of the revolutionary practice and the truthfulness and validity of which have been proved by revolutionary practice. The fact that the Juche philosophy is attracting more attention on the international arena and the followers of the Juche idea are increasing in number clearly demonstrates that the Juche philosophy gives absolutely correct answers to the questions of revolutionary practice. Our social scientists must have an unshakeable conviction of the scientific accuracy, truthfulness, originality and superiority of the Juche philosophy and analyse and judge all the philosophical theories with the Juche philosophy as a guideline, thus preventing infiltration of any heterogeneous trend of philosophy into the Juche philosophy.

All the social scientists must study the Juche philosophy in depth and breadth and propagate it in line with the Party's intention and, by doing so, exalt its greatness and further increase its attraction.



**KIM JONG IL**  
**ON THE JUCHE PHILOSOPHY**

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