

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

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

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

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

Solving all problems by raising the level of people's consciousness is the method inherent to the communists. The communists who struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people, lead the revolution to victory and fulfil their noble mission by awakening people ideologically and making them conscious and encouraging them to undertake

the struggle of their own accord. The communists have a powerful ideological weapon capable of awakening all the people to activity. Although the capitalist class, too, strives to spread its ideology, capitalist thinking cannot be accepted by the masses as their own because it fundamentally conflicts with their interests. Only the working-class ideology which champions the interests of the working masses can be accepted by all the people, and it alone can dominate the whole society.

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

4. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The guiding principles of the Juche idea are the guide to establishing Juche in Party and state activities, and in all spheres of revolution and construction. They are explicit fundamental principles which must be observed in successfully carrying out the revolution and construction by adhering to the independent and creative stands and enhancing the role of ideological consciousness.

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

1) THE INDEPENDENT STAND MUST BE MAINTAINED

If the revolution and construction are to be carried out as required by the Juche idea, Chajusong 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 Chajusong. The principles of Juche, independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence are the guiding principles of realizing Chajusong in the spheres of ideology, politics, the economy and defence.

(1) Juche in Ideology

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

To establish Juche in ideology means having the consciousness that one is the master of the revolution and construction, thinking and doing everything, centring on the revolution in one's own country, and acquiring the viewpoint and attitude of solving all questions by one's own talents and initiative.

The party and people of a country are masters of the revolution in that country, and to carry out the revolution in one's country successfully is the basic mission of the party and people of one's country. The world revolution, too, will

only be successful when the revolution in every country is successful and when, on this basis, mutual support and cooperation is given. For this reason, the party and people of every country must firmly establish Juche in ideology, and carry out the revolution and construction in their country in a responsible manner, with the attitude of masters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Without the sense of national pride that one's nation is inferior to none, without the pride and honour of the revolutionary people, it would be impossible to live up to one's conviction in an independent manner, uphold national independence and dignity and emerge victorious in the difficult revolutionary struggle. A nation with a strong sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride is unconquerable, but a nation without this attribute is powerless. The peoples of small countries who have long suffered oppression by foreign forces need so much the more the sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride. In the small countries where nihilism and flunkeyism towards big powers are nationally deep-rooted as a result of the imperialist policy of assimilating colonies and obliterating

their national culture, they must give special attention to the struggle to increase the sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride.

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

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

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

It is also necessary to make strenuous efforts to develop science and technology and raise the cultural and technical standards of the masses. This will enable the working people to become true masters of nature and society and get rid of the idea of worshipping and depending on others in the matter related to science and technology, and thoroughly establish Juche.

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

Establishing Juche in thinking itself means an ideological emancipation of people from the fetters of outdated ideas,

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

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

As the leader said, if a person falls into flunkeyism, he would become a fool; if a nation is servile to big powers, 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 paralysing people's national and class consciousness in south Korea and trampling upon the precious cultural heritage and beautiful customs of our nation. Unless the struggle is intensified to oppose the fear and worship of the United States among the south Korean people and to heighten their spirit of national independence, neither the victory of the south Korean revolution nor the independent reunification of the country would be possible.

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

(2) Independence in Politics

Politics is of decisive significance in social life. Without independence in politics it would be impossible to talk about Chajusong 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 Chajusong 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 Chajusong is the first criterion and the life and soul of an independent sovereign state. Only when a nation maintains political Chajusong, will it be able to ensure independence and freedom and be happy and prosperous. The revolution is a struggle to win political Chajusong 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 Chajusong.

In order to ensure political Chajusong, 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 Chajusong 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 Chajusong and lead an independent and creative life.

In order to guarantee political Chajusong 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 round 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 Chajusong, 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 Chajusong in politics, it is imperative to exercise complete sovereignty and equality in foreign relations.

Chajusong 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 Chajusong. 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.

Chajusong 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 Chajusong cannot exist. As a matter of principle, internationalist solidarity must be based on freedom of choice and equality. Only when it is founded on Chajusong, 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 Chajusong with internationalism.

(3) Self-Sufficiency in the Economy

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

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

Building an independent national economy means building an economy which is free from dependence on others and which stands on its own feet, an economy which serves one's own people and develops on the strength of the resources of one's own country and by the efforts of one's own people. Such an economy makes it possible to develop the productive forces quickly by utilizing the nation's natural resources in a rational and integrated way, improve the people's living standard continuously, strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism, and increase the nation's political, economic and military power. It also ensures the exercise of complete sovereignty and equality in political and economic affairs in international relations and contributes to strengthening the world's anti-imperialist, independent forces and socialist forces. It is vital

to build an independent national economy particularly in those countries which were backward economically and technically because of imperialist domination and plunder in the past. Only when they build an independent national economy in these countries, will they be able to repel the new colonial policy of the imperialists, free themselves completely from their domination and exploitation, wipe out national inequality, and vigorously advance on the road of socialism.

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

Self-reliance is the revolutionary spirit and a principle of struggle of the communists in carrying out the revolution by their own initiative. One must believe in one's own strength and depend on it in economic construction, just as in all other activities for the revolution and construction. A people who energetically struggle, with confidence in their own capability, will be able to do any difficult work. But a people who have no faith in their own power but only look up to others, will not do anything successfully. Only when one mobilizes the efforts of one's people and the resources of one's country and relies on one's own financial resources and technology on the principle of self-reliance, will one be able to develop the economy quickly at one's own desire, overcome all difficulties and bring prosperity to the country.

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

Unlike the capitalist economy which is geared to make money, the socialist independent economy is always aimed at meeting the demands of the country and the people. So an independent economy should naturally be developed in such a multifarious and integral way as to produce in-

dependently heavy and light industry goods and agricultural products to make the country rich and powerful and improve the people's living standard. Such an economy can also develop safely and quickly on a solid basis.

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

Heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its backbone is the pillar of an independent national economy. Heavy industry developed in such a way can guarantee economic and technical independence and accelerate the development of light industry and agriculture and the national economy as a whole on the basis of modern technology. Moreover, simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture, along with heavy industry, can ensure a systematic improvement of the people's living standard and the faster development of heavy industry itself. Solving the problem of food on one's own through successful farming, in particular, is of tremendous significance in providing the people with stabilized living conditions and an independent life.

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

Technical independence is absolutely necessary for economic independence. When one has one's own developed techniques, one will be able to develop and use the natural resources of the country effectively and develop the national economy in a diversified manner. Developed technology also provides the possibility to free the working masses from

backbreaking labour, narrow down the differences between physical and mental labour and resolve independently the difficult and complex problems arising in economic and defence construction. Eliminating technical backwardness from the national economy and equipping it with modern techniques is a revolution. Only when the technical revolution is accelerated continuously through the mobilization of all possibilities in every sector, will technology develop quickly and the country attain economic and technical independence in a short time.

Solving the question of the nation's technical personnel is a major factor in the struggle for economic and technical independence. This is essential to guaranteeing economic and technological progress by one's own initiative. This is a particularly important task in building a new society for those countries which were under the yoke of imperialism in the past and which consequently were far removed from modern science and technical development. Therefore, in order to undertake the technical revolution and attain economic and technical independence, one must put a lot of effort into the cultural revolution and thus raise the cultural and technical levels of the working masses and train an army of national technical cadres. We must resolutely implement the leader's policy of intellectualizing the whole society, further raise the cultural and technical levels of the working masses, improve the qualities of technical cadres, and train more technicians better.

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

Depending on others for raw materials and fuel is as good as leaving one's economic lifeline in the hands of others. If one is to be economically self-sufficient and develop the economy on a safe basis and with a long-term perspective,

one must depend on one's own raw-material and fuel sources and mainly meet one's own demand for them. To this end, one must exploit the natural resources of one's country to the maximum and utilize them rationally and, at the same time, develop the industry to be a Juche-oriented one which relies on domestic raw materials and fuel from the outset.

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

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

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

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

(4) Self-Reliance in Defence

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

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

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

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

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

Implementing the principle of self-reliant defence means defending one's country by one's own efforts. Of course, one may receive aid in national defence from fraternal countries and friends. But it is impossible to depend on others for the defence of one's own country. In any case, the main thing is one's own strength. Only when one is strong, will foreign aid prove effective. In national defence, therefore, one should rely on the efforts of one's own people and one's own defence capability before anything else. Defence work, too, is an undertaking for the people and of the people themselves. If all the people participate in unison in the national-liberation struggle and in the defence of the country, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, they will be able to repel all imperialist aggressors and safeguard national independence and revolutionary achievements.

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

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

which safeguards national independence and revolutionary achievements and serves the people.

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

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

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

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

The decisive factor for victory in war does not consist in weapons or techniques, but in the high political enthusiasm and revolutionary devotion of the army and popular masses who are conscious of the justice of their cause. A noble revolutionary spirit to fight for the freedom and liberation of the people, boundless loyalty to the party and the leader, a peerless self-sacrificing spirit and mass heroism which are expressed in willingly giving up one's youth and life for the sake of the country and revolution, revolutionary comradeship between men and officers, their inseparable links with the people, and voluntary military discipline—these are

politico-ideological superiority peculiar to a people's army, a revolutionary army. As the history of revolutionary wars shows, a revolutionary army which is in firm politico-ideological readiness, though armed with inferior weapons, can fight and defeat an enemy equipped with the latest arms. Indeed, politico-ideological superiority is the essential merit of revolutionary armed forces and the source of their invincibility.

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

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

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

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

As the leader instructed, victory or defeat in modern war depends largely on whether or not manpower and material resources necessary for the war effort are ensured for a long

period. If a nation is to be ready to cope with war, they must build up major strategic zones, store up necessary material reserves, and make full preparations from the peacetime so as to continue with production even in the case of a contingency.

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

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

2) THE CREATIVE METHOD SHOULD BE APPLIED

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

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

(1) The Method of Depending on the Popular Masses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If the masses are to be united firmly, it is necessary to

properly combine the class line and mass line.

Only when the mass line is correctly carried out while firmly adhering to the class principle, will it be possible to isolate completely the hostile elements and build up the class position, and educate and transform all sections of the masses to unite them and give full scope to their creativity in the revolution and construction. If under socialism the class struggle and the work of strengthening the people's unity and solidarity are not combined properly and Rightist and "Leftist" deviations are allowed to develop, it will weaken the unity of the masses, 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, 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 suit one's specific conditions and peculiarities after taking into consideration the demands of the time they reflect and the premises they are based on. A theory that does not conform with the specific revolutionary practice is useless. In the guidance of the revolutionary struggle and construction work, the starting point is not the propositions or formulas of the established theories but the actual realities. The point is not whether something conforms with the established theories but whether it conforms with the demands and interests of the masses and the subjective and objective conditions of a given period. If something should meet the demands and interests of the popular masses and the subjective and objective conditions, one would not need to stick to the existing propositions or formulas.

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

Inquiring into new revolutionary principles and ways to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3) THE MAIN STRESS SHOULD BE PLACED ON IDEOLOGY

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

(1) Giving Priority to Ideological Remoulding

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

The leader put forward the task of revolutionizing, working-classing and intellectualizing all members of society and thus transforming them into communist men of a Juche type, as a major revolutionary task in modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

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

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

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

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

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

The remoulding of man's ideology is a far-reaching revolution. It is a struggle to eliminate the remnants of the old society in the sphere of man's ideology for good and arm all the working people with the progressive idea of the working class, the communist idea. It constitutes the basic

form of class struggle in socialist society where the exploiting classes have been liquidated. In order to remodel people in a communist way, even after the establishment of a socialist system we must fight against the penetration of reactionary ideology and culture by the imperialists and, at the same time, continue to carry out the ideological revolution to eliminate the remnants of obsolete ideology persisting in the minds of the people and equip them with a new, communist ideology.

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

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

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

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

To acquire a correct revolutionary outlook one must

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

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

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

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

genuine communist revolutionary with a correct outlook on the revolution.

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

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

Studying is the basic means to equip oneself with revolutionary ideas, theories, strategy and tactics. Without studying one would not be able to comprehend the truth of revolutionary struggle nor have a high level of class view point 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 con-

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

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

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

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

(2) Giving Precedence to Political Work

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

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

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

be possible to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and vigorously promote socialist construction.

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

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

In order to mobilize the masses to socialist construction successfully, we should place our main emphasis on political and moral incentive and correctly combine this with material incentive.

The essential feature of socialist society lies in its communist character. The political and moral incentive is derived from the communist character of socialist society and is aimed at strengthening it. As a matter of fact, socialist society is of a transitional character. Therefore, the socialist principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of work done should be enforced in this society, and the material incentive should not be ignored. However, neglecting the political and moral incentive and placing the main emphasis on the material incentive runs counter to the

essential character of socialist society. This is a very dangerous and harmful tendency. It fosters selfishness among the working people and makes them mercenary and acquisitive. In the final analysis, it undermines the socialist system and the revolutionary achievements. Under socialism the political and moral incentive should be the first precedence in all circumstances. The essential superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that the popular masses, who have become the masters of everything, consciously work in firm unity for the country and the people, for the society and the collective. Only when the main stress is placed on the political and moral incentive, will it be possible to stimulate the masses into demonstrating conscious enthusiasm in work with a correct position and attitude as befitting 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 affair. Since it is work to educate and rouse broad sections of the masses into action, it cannot be done with the efforts of only a few people. As a matter of principle, all revolutionaries should be political workers and educators and organizers of the masses.

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

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

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

5. THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JUCHE IDEA

The Juche idea is exerting a great influence on the ideological life of humanity and on the revolutionary changes of the world. It is gaining strong sympathy from