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WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea July 15, 1986

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Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea July 15, 1986 Equipping the Party members and other working people fully with the Juche idea is now vital to our Party. I would like to speak about some problems arising in educating them in the Juche idea.

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Education in the Juche idea means education in the monolithic ideology of our Party. It is an undertaking to instil in the Party members and other working people the Juche idea, the guiding ideology of our Party, and train them to be genuinely communist revolutionaries of the Juche type. The Korean communist revolutionaries are true revolutionaries who have accepted the Juche idea as their true faith and are devoted to the struggle to accomplish the cause of Juche. It is only when we intensify their education in the Juche idea that the Party members and other working people can acquire the ideological and spiritual traits and qualities of the communist revolutionary of the Juche type and fight devotedly for the sacred cause of realizing independence for the popular masses. The Juche idea is the Party's unshakable ideology that guides our revolution to victory. Only when we adhere to the Juche idea can we accomplish our Party's revolutionary cause of realizing independence for the masses.

The revolution aims to bring independence to the popular masses. The revolutionary character of an ideology is determined by the degree of firmness with which it champions man's independence and by the degree of scientific accuracy with which it elucidates the way that man's independence can be realized. The Juche idea is a complete revolutionary ideology in that

it considers the fundamental aim of the revolution to be the advocation and realization of independence, which is the life and soul of a man as a social being, and asserts that the revolution should be pursued through to the end until independence is fully realized. The Juche idea is a perfect revolutionary doctrine: it shows the way for people to become absolute masters of the world and of their own destiny by completely transforming nature, society and human beings themselves in accordance with the essential social quality of men who want to live and develop independently, as well as the way for the lasting happiness and prosperity of mankind to be achieved.

The Juche idea is a fully scientific revolutionary doctrine for man's emancipation, primarily because it is based on an outlook on the world that is centred on man. The great leader Comrade Kim II Sung has established a man-centred philosophical outlook on the world for the first time in history, an outlook which places man in the position of master of the world and clarifies the essence of the world and the laws governing its change and development.

When we say that the Juche idea is a man-centred outlook on the world, some people think that it stresses only man's subjective desires, ignoring the objective world. This is a serious misunderstanding. We said that the world should be viewed with man at the centre. We have never said that we should view man alone.

Why, then, should we view the world with man at the centre? It is because man is the most developed material being, holds the position of master in the world, and plays the decisive role in the development of the world and in shaping his own destiny.

Man has a common basis with other living organisms in that he, too, is a living material being which came into existence in the long course of the evolution of nature. Nevertheless, there are qualitative differences in the levels of the development of man and other organisms. For this reason, there are fundamental differences between man's position and role in the world

and those of other material beings.

Man, not nature, holds the position of master in the material world. Man is the only independent being in the material world. Animals can survive only by adapting themselves to nature. Therefore, they cannot be called masters of their own destiny. Animals are part of nature and their destiny is determined by the natural laws of change and development, whereas man is the powerful master of the world who, on the basis of a scientific understanding of these natural laws, transforms nature to meet his own needs and harnesses it in his service. Man is not a being which obeys the natural laws of change and development and casts in his lot with nature; he is a social being who shapes his own destiny independently and creatively in accordance with the laws of social movement, the laws peculiar to human society. The greater man's creative role grows in transforming nature, the higher his position as the master of the world rises, and the better the material world surrounding him is changed to serve him.

Since man is the only creative being that changes the world purposefully to meet his needs, he not only holds the position of master in the world, but plays the decisive role in transforming and developing the world.

That man holds the position of master in the world and plays the decisive role in the development of the world is the Juche-orientated view on today's world. Without considering man's position as master in the world and his creative role in transforming the world, it would be impossible to understand how far the world has developed and how and in which direction it will develop in the future. Inasmuch as man's destiny is determined by his relationship with the world, the fact that he holds the position of master in the world and plays the decisive role in its development means that he is the master of his own destiny and as such plays the decisive role in shaping his destiny. Therefore, the principle of the Juche philosophy which clarifies man's position and role in the world is the principle that shows the way man can shape his own destiny.

The basic mission of the philosophical outlook on the world is to show the way for man to shape his own destiny. The basic aim of all his cognitive and practical activities is to forge his destiny. So, the aim and mission of philosophy must reflect this. Man endeavours to understand what the essence of the world is, not for the sake of mere knowledge, but, ultimately, to discover the way to shape his destiny. In other words, man is vitally interested in understanding what the world is, because he cannot know about his own destiny unless he knows something about the world. It can be argued, therefore, that the progressive nature and vitality of a world outlook are determined, in the final analysis, by how effectively it shows the way for man to shape his destiny. The basic characteristics and the unchallenged superiority of the world outlook of the Juche philosophy lie in the fact that, on the basis of the philosophical principle elucidating man's position and role in the world, it shows the most scientific, fundamental methods of shaping man's destiny.

In order to clarify man's position and role in the world, it is necessary to clarify the general characteristics of the material world and also the essential qualities of man. Mere knowledge of either of these two factors is not enough to make man's position and role in the material world clear.

The philosophical outlook on the world in the past clarified the principle of materialism that the world is made of material, and the dialectical principle that the world is undergoing constant change and development. These philosophical principles revealed the general characteristics of the material world, but they are not enough to clarify man's position and role in the world.

The basic mission of a world outlook is, in essence, to elucidate man's position and role in the world. Therefore, if materialism and dialectics are to fulfil their mission as a world outlook, they must not only show that the world is made of material and undergoes constant change and development, but also clarify that man, the most developed material being, holds the

position of master in the world and plays the decisive role in its development. The general principles of dialectical materialism alone are not enough to solve the question of man's essential qualities and his position and role in the world, but they must not be ignored when giving a full answer to this question.

However, as matters now stand, some officials misunderstand the Juche philosophy and believe that it has nothing to do with the general principles of dialectical materialism because it is a man-centred philosophy. The Juche philosophy considers man in relation to the other material beings which are not as highly developed, instead of separating him from the material world and regarding him in isolation. Thus it clarifies the essential features of man and his position and role. Clearly, it conforms to the basic principles of materialism and dialectics that man, the most developed material being, holds the position of master over the less developed material beings and that the movement of man, the movement of the most developed material being, plays a greater role than the movement of the lower-grade material beings in the advancement of the world. The Juche philosophy has not discarded the principles of materialism and dialectics. On the contrary, it can be argued that it has perfected dialectical materialism by scientifically elucidating the prominent position and role of man in the material world, based on the principles of materialism and dialectics.

The position and role of man in the world can only be clarified on the basis of the philosophical elucidation of the general characteristics of the material world and the essential features of man. Therefore, the man-centred philosophical world outlook comprises all the principles which elucidate the general characteristics of the material world, the essential features of man and his position and role in the world. For this reason, it can be said that the Juche outlook on the world is a philosophical world outlook which has overcome the one-sidedness of the philosophical world outlook of the past and given the most profound and comprehensive answers to the questions of

the essence of the world and of man's destiny.

Proceeding from the philosophical principle that man occupies the position of master in the world and plays the decisive role in advancing the world and in shaping his own destiny, the Juche idea demands that man should always be regarded as the central factor, that everything should be approached from an independent point of view and that all activities should be creative so as to contribute to enhancing the position and role of man. This is the reason why independence and creativity should be the fundamental stand and method which must be adhered to in all cognitive and practical activities.

The essence of society and the laws governing its change and development can be understood fully only by focussing on man. Society consists of people, the social wealth they have created and the social relations which link them. Here man is always the master. Both social wealth and social relations are created by man. Therefore, social wealth is created and social relations are improved in line with the development of man's independent thinking and creative ability.

Social movement is the movement of man which is caused and promoted by man. Man is the factor which brings about social movement and the motive force behind this movement. In conformity with the level of the development of his independence, creativity and consciousness, man proceeds with the creative movement to transform nature and society and advances social movement to shape his own destiny. Of course, man cannot create history in disregard of the objective conditions. But the objective conditions are not immutable; they can be changed in favour of man through his creative activities. It is not the objective conditions but man that plays the decisive role in the development of history.

The great leader Comrade Kim II Sung has always instructed us that we should discover the cause of success or failure in our work within ourselves and should identify objectively what is to be done. The basic cause of success or failure in the revolution and construction lies in man who carries them out, not in the objective conditions. However, the revolution and construction are man's creative activities to transform the objective world to meet his needs. Therefore, these undertakings can be successful only when man uses the proper methods which have been worked out on the basis of a scientific calculation of the characteristics of the objective world and the laws of its movement. If we are to expand the creative role of the popular masses in the revolution and construction, it is necessary to bring their revolutionary zeal and creativity into full play. At the same time, it is essential to combine this work with a proper strategy and tactics that suit the objective world and conditions.

Based on the philosophical principle which clarifies the position and role of man in the world, the Juche idea not only provides a correct outlook and viewpoint on nature, society and man, but also demonstrates a perfect revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics, and leadership theory and methods. For this very reason, the Juche idea serves as the sole guide to all the activities of our Party. In our Party there cannot and need not be any other idea but the Juche idea. Therefore, we say that the Juche idea is the monolithic ideology of our Party.

Some of our officials, however, still do not understand clearly that the Juche idea is the monolithic ideology of our Party. That is why they regard our Party's Juche idea as something that is contrary to Marxism-Leninism or they believe that class education or education in revolutionary traditions is one thing, and that education in the Juche idea is another.

As I have emphasized more than once, the Juche idea inherits all the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is valuable revolutionary riches which the working masses gained in their hard-fought revolutionary struggle. Why should the Juche idea, which advocates a complete realization of man's independence and the successful conclusion of the revolution, abandon the revolutionary principles of

Marxism-Leninism? It does not abandon the ideological and theoretical achievements of Marxism-Leninism, but further develops and enriches them as required by historical progress.

Naturally, development involves two aspects—continuity and renovation. It is a metaphysical view to consider only one aspect. The development of a revolutionary idea also involves the two aspects of continuity and renovation.

The basic mission of a revolutionary idea is to explain the aim of revolutionary movement and the way it should be conducted. Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary idea of the working class, considers it the ultimate aim of the revolutionary struggle to build a communist society in which everyone, free from exploitation and oppression of man by man, is equally prosperous. It also explains that, in order to attain this aim, it is necessary to struggle using a proper strategy and tactics based on the objective laws of social development. From the point of view of the mission of revolutionary ideas, the Juche idea and Marxism-Leninism are one and the same scientific, communist idea, and as such they share common ground. The Juche idea inherits the revolutionary stance of the working class, materialistic and dialectical principles and scientific theories which run through Marxism-Leninism.

But today, in comparison to the period when the founders of Marxism-Leninism were active, the independence, creativity and consciousness of the masses who undertake the revolution have increased greatly, and their position and role in social development have also developed greatly. So there is a need to develop the theory and methods of revolution creatively to meet the needs of the new historical situation. This is an important matter.

The great leader Comrade Kim II Sung said that in today's new historical conditions we should construe Lenin's proposition—Soviet power

plus electrification equals communism—as meaning that the people's government plus the three revolutions is communism. We understand that by electrification Lenin was stressing the need for highly developed material and technical foundations of communism. Comrade Kim Il Sung instructed us that in order to build a communist society we must capture the ideological fortress, as well as the material fortress, and give precedence to ideology.

Capturing the material fortress of communism is an undertaking that harnesses nature, to meet the demands of communism. The endeavours to capture the ideological fortress are the work of reforming human beings, the masters of society, so as to meet the requirements of communism. Socialism and communism are built by men, for men. In order to build communism, it is necessary, first of all, to reform the people, the masters of society, along communist lines. If we are to capture the material fortress of communism, we must press ahead with the technological revolution; in order to conquer the ideological fortress, we must accelerate the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The course of building socialism and communism is the course of steadily improving social relations so that man's independence and creativity can be made more effective at the same time as strengthening the material and technical foundations of society, whilst the people's ideological and cultural levels are rising. The people's government, managing the social life in a unified manner, plays the decisive role in ensuring that the masses hold the position of masters of society and play their role as such. Only by enhancing the function and role of the people's government shall we be able to rationalize social relations, constantly enhance the position and role of the masses in society and ensure that socialism and communism are built successfully.

In socialist society, where the exploiting classes have been eliminated and state power is in the hands of the masses, the question of reorganizing social relations along communist lines whilst capturing the material and ideological fortresses of communism can be solved smoothly by the people's government.

The great leader Comrade Kim II Sung defined the general line of building socialism and communism after the establishment of the socialist system as the implementation of the ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions while strengthening the people's government. This is a living example which shows us how we should creatively develop the revolutionary theory of the working class in conformity with the new historical circumstances.

The Juche idea categorically rejects narrow-minded chauvinism in ideology. It fairly evaluates and assimilates those ideas capable of making even the smallest contribution to enhancing man's position and role in the world, with no regard to which nation or people have evolved them.

Our Party does not need any ideological system other than the system of the Juche idea, and in our Party there can be no ideological education which is not concerned with education in the Juche idea. Nevertheless, some propaganda workers are planning Party ideological education by defining the percentage of education in the Juche idea, of class education and of education in revolutionary traditions. This shows that they still think as if there were some ideological education other than education in the Juche idea.

Of course, class education, education in the Party's policies, education in revolutionary traditions, education in socialist patriotism and many other forms of ideological education do not have just the same content as education in the principles of the Juche idea. But all of them are a link in the whole chain of ideological education to instil in the people the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party. In short, the basic aim of education in the Juche idea is to equip the popular masses, the subject of the revolution,

with the revolutionary idea of independence, ensure the unity of the idea and purpose in the revolutionary ranks, and encourage the masses to maintain their position as masters and play their role as such in the revolution and construction. All the work of ideological education that our Party conducts should contribute to strengthening the revolutionary ranks from an organizational and ideological point of view and to raising the independent and creative role of the masses.

To this end, we should conduct all forms of ideological education, including education in loyalty, in combination with the basic principles of the Juche idea. We must solve even the question of class consciousness and of socialist patriotism on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Juche idea. Only then can all ideological education be consistent with the Juche idea of our Party and be carried out to meet the basic requirements of the Juche idea, that is, to strengthen the subject of the revolution and enhance its role. For this reason, I call all forms of our Party's ideological education the ideological education in Juche. By the same logic we call the revolutionary idea of our Party the Juche idea because its fundamental principles underlie the ideas, theories and methods of our Party.

Some propagandists seem to take education in the Juche idea as meaning only the teaching of the principles of the Juche idea. Of course, they may use the term in such a narrow meaning in order to distinguish it from other forms of ideological education. But, since the Juche idea is the monolithic ideology of our Party we must include all types of our Party's ideological education in education in the Juche idea.

Class education is an important form of education in the Juche idea to strengthen the subject of the revolution. The working class is the core of the subjective force of the revolution. Without the leadership of the working class, it would be impossible for the popular masses to become united as the subject of the revolution and carry out the revolution to win their independence. The process of building socialism and communism is that of

transforming the whole of society on the working-class pattern by reforming nature, society and man to meet the needs of the working class, and this process is accompanied by a serious class struggle. It is only when class education is intensified amongst Party members and other working people that they can distinguish friends clearly from enemies and resolutely uphold the revolutionary stand of the working class in the revolution and construction. Moreover, we should concentrate great efforts on class education because we are carrying out our revolution in direct confrontation with the class enemies including the US imperialists who are occupying south Korea, and their stooges.

Education in socialist patriotism, to which our Party attaches importance at the moment, must also contribute to strengthening the subject of the revolution. Since the revolution takes place within a country individually, the subject of the revolution and construction in each country is always the people of that country. The main duty of our Party and people in relation to the world revolution is to carry out successfully the Korean revolution, the revolutionary duty of our nation. In order to be faithful to the revolution in one's own country, one must first love one's nation and hold it dear. In this sense I advocate the idea of putting our nation first. This idea does not mean that we should look down on other nations, and emphasize the good points of our nation alone. We communists must on no account be nationalists. Communists are true patriots and true internationalists. When I put forward the our-nation-first idea, I mean that we should carry out revolution and construction independently, in the spirit of loving our nation first and with a high sense of national pride. Those who despise their own nation and make a fetish of others cannot be faithful to their party and their people, nor can they have the attitude towards the revolution that befits masters.

We must not harbour any illusions about large countries or developed nations. Illusion is not reality. We must always base ourselves on the specific realities of our country. Large countries or developed nations are not always right, nor do all their experiences suit the specific situation in our country. We should appreciate the role of large countries and develop friendly relations with them, but we must not abandon independence and follow them blindly. Friendship is necessary for the sake of independence, and genuine friendship can be ensured only when we maintain an independent stand.

The greatness of a nation is by no means attributable to the size of its territory and population. Just as a man's worth is defined by his ideology, so the greatness of a nation is determined by the greatness of its guiding ideology.

The great leader Comrade Kim II Sung established the Juche idea and built the revolutionary Party of the Juche type, and has thus created a new period of prosperity for our people, and shown mankind the direct road to independence. That is why progressive people around the world hold our leader in high esteem as a great teacher of mankind and praise our country highly as the "homeland of the Juche idea". We, as a nation, must be proud of this. We must be fully determined to carry out the revolution and construction in our own way to meet the needs of our people and to suit the situation in our country, with fervent loyalty to the great leader Comrade Kim II Sung and under the guidance of the Party.

Education in revolutionary traditions should also be conducted on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Juche idea. The subject of the revolution strengthens and develops throughout a long historical process. In this regard, we can say that the subject of the revolution has historical roots. Revolutionary traditions are priceless revolutionary riches gained in the process of the subject of the revolution springing up from these historical roots and strengthening and developing. Without preserving, continuing and developing these revolutionary riches, it would be impossible to maintain consistency and continuity in the efforts to strengthen the subject of the

revolution.

Our Party has achieved the absolute and unconditional unity of the revolutionary ranks behind the great leader Comrade Kim II Sung. Our people are very proud of this revolutionary tradition. The leader's warm love and concern for the revolutionary fighters and the example set by the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners who entrusted their destiny entirely to the leader and followed his leadership faithfully, touch the heart of everyone today.

Many obstacles lie in the way of our revolution. In order to complete through the succeeding generations the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by respected Comrade Kim Il Sung, we must learn and follow the noble revolutionary spirit of the young communists who, with respected Comrade Kim Il Sung as the centre of unity and leadership, fought at the risk of their lives to implement his ideas and policies at the dawn of our revolution. This is the way to maintain the purity of the shining tradition of the unbreakable unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, the unity which our revolutionary forerunners achieved at the cost of their lives, and to strengthen and develop our Party which has grown from deep and strong roots into an eternal revolutionary party, a party which never ceases to struggle.

Our Party's policies are the strategy and tactics of our revolution to implement the Juche idea. It is only when the education of the Party members and working people in Party policy is intensified that they can carry out the revolutionary struggle and construction programme as required by the Juche idea. In the final analysis, the aim of strengthening the subject of the revolution is to encourage the popular masses to thoroughly implement the Party's policies under the guidance of the Party and the leader. The process of implementing the Party's policies is none other than the process of revolutionary struggle. We must conduct education in our Party's policies more fully so that all Party members and working people will

clearly understand the validity and vitality of these policies and work with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity in order to put them into effect.

Bearing in mind that all forms of ideological education conducted by our Party are geared towards education in the Juche idea, our propaganda workers must improve the standard of this education, in close harmony with the principles of the Juche idea, so that the Party members and working people will have a deep understanding of its essence and firmly maintain the attitude that befits the masters in the revolution and construction.

2

The most important aspect of education in the Juche idea is that the Party members and working people should have a full understanding of the subject of the revolution and firmly establish a revolutionary attitude regarding the leader

In order to remain faithful to the revolutionary cause the Party members and working people must, first of all, have a proper view of the subject of the revolution.

The popular masses are the subject of history, but they are not always an independent subject, able to shape their destiny independently and creatively. In a society ruled by the exploiting classes, the masses were exploited and oppressed by the minority ruling classes and they did not hold the position of the masters of history. Of course, it was the popular masses who advanced history in that society, too, but they had to bear a heavy burden of creating history, not according to their own will but, in most cases, according to the will of the ruling classes. The masses who have such a status cannot claim to have become the independent subject of history.

It was not until an advanced industrial working class emerged and the working masses were awakened and organized under the influence of its revolutionary ideas of independence that the independent subject of history was able to make its full appearance on the stage of history. It was a turning point in the development of human history. Since then, the working masses, with the revolutionary ideas of independence, have been able to shape their own destiny.

For the popular masses to be an independent subject of the revolution, they must be united into one organization with one ideology under the guidance of the party and the leader. Only the masses, who are united in this way, can shape their destiny independently and creatively. The subject of the revolution means the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses.

By uniting around the leader into one organization with a single ideology, under the guidance of the party, the masses form a socio-political organism which is immortal as an independent being. The physical life of an individual person is finite, but the integrity of the masses rallied as an independent socio-political organism is immortal. The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified for the first time in history that there is socio-political integrity distinct from the physical life of individuals. An immortal socio-political integrity is inconceivable without the existence of the socio-political community which is the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses. Only when an individual becomes a member of this community can he acquire immortal socio-political integrity.

Since the socio-political organism consists of many people it needs a focal point which has unified command of the activities of the social organism. Just as a man's brain is the centre of his life, so the leader, the top brain in a socio-political community, is the centre of the life of this community. The leader is called the top brain of the socio-political organism because he is the focal point which directs the life of this organism in a

unified manner. The leader is the centre which analyses, synthesizes and integrates the interests of the masses and their desire for independence; at the same time, he is the centre which has unified command of their creative activities to put them into effect.

The party is the core of the masses, and it is rallied closely around the leader organizationally and ideologically; it is the pivot of the independent socio-political organism. When individuals are united organizationally and ideologically with the leader, the centre of the socio-political organism, through party organizations and share the same destiny with the party, they will acquire an immortal socio-political integrity. It is only when people take an active part in organizational and ideological activities as members of a party organization or a socio-political organization led by the party that they can become more closely tied in kinship with the leader, the centre of the socio-political organism, and exalt their socio-political integrity.

Since the leader, the party and the masses are welded into one socio-political organism and share the same destiny, they form a relationship based on revolutionary duty and comradeship, the relationship of helping and loving each other. Revolutionary duty and comradeship help towards uniting individual persons into a socio-political organism.

So far many people have talked about the value of freedom and equality. The Juche idea also considers them valuable. This is because everybody, as the master of the world, the master of his own destiny and as an independent being, does not want to be subordinated to anyone else. However, the principle of revolutionary duty and comradeship is not on the same level as that of freedom and equality. The relationship of revolutionary duty and comradeship presupposes the relationship of freedom and equality. However, the former does not become established spontaneously simply because the latter exists. We can say that a buyer and seller are on equal terms, but we cannot say that they always love each other as comrades. It is wrong to set the relationship of freedom and equality against that of revolutionary duty

and comradeship. It is also a mistake to try to dissolve one into the other.

From the point of view of the social community as a unit, the principle of equality contributes to the fight against subjugation and inequality in personal relationships and to the defence of the independence of individuals, whereas revolutionary duty and comradeship exert a strong influence on uniting people into a socio-political organism sharing one and the same destiny and on defending the independence of the social community. The principle of equality is based on the individualistic outlook on life; it sets the greatest value on the life of individuals. On the other hand, the principle of revolutionary duty and comradeship is based on the collectivist viewpoint on life; it holds the integrity of a socio-political community incomparably dearer than the life of individuals.

Certainly, the socio-political organism, too, is subject to the working of the principle of equality as well as the principle of revolutionary duty and comradeship. Here, equality between individuals does not contradict revolutionary duty and comradeship. Genuine revolutionary duty and comradeship can exist only when exploitation and oppression of man by man are eliminated and equality between people is ensured. Revolutionary duty and comradeship do not restrict the independence and creativity of man. On the contrary, they ensure them.

If man's independence and creativity are suppressed because the unity of the social community has to be maintained, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity within the community. On the other hand, if the unity of the community is destroyed in the cause of providing people with independence and creativity, the integrity of the social community, the parent body of the integrity of individuals, will be impaired and thus the individuals themselves cannot be provided with independence and creativity. The unity of the social community should contribute to giving full play to man's independence and creativity. And man's independence and creativity must always refrain from going beyond the bounds of the unity of the community. This means that

only through a harmonious combination of the principles of equality and comradeship can the problems be solved of giving full play to the independence and creativity of individuals and of cementing the unity of the community. Certainly, this is not an easy task, and certainly the problems do not resolve themselves of their own accord. That is why I have stressed more than once the need for leadership in a social community.

Since the leader is the centre of the life of a socio-political community, revolutionary duty and comradeship must also be centred on the leader. Revolutionary duty and comradeship find their most noble expression in the relationship between the leader and his men. Within the socio-political organism in which a common destiny is shared by all, the principle of revolutionary duty and comradeship governs the relationship between individuals, too. But in this case the principle is not absolute because none of the individuals is the centre of the life of the socio-political community. However, loyalty to the leader and comradeship towards him are absolute and unconditional because the leader, as the top brain of the socio-political organism, represents the integrity of the community.

It is only when the leader, the party and the masses are integrated that they can become an immortal socio-political organism. Therefore, they must not be separated from each other or set against each other. Just as the masses who are not guided by the party and the leader cannot be the independent subject of history, so the party and the leader that are divorced from the masses cannot maintain their identity as the political leader who guides historical progress. Such a leader is not a leader but simply an individual, and such a party is not a party, but a mere group. That is why I have always emphasized that we should not consider the leader, the party and the masses separately from each other.

We must also fully understand that the leader plays the decisive role in the revolution and construction. Being at the centre of unity and leadership, he plays the decisive role in shaping the destiny of the popular masses. This is similar to the brain of a man playing the decisive role in his activities. However, the leader is always the leader of the party and the popular masses, so his role must not be separated from that of the party and the masses. The parts played by the leader, the party and the masses are always integrated.

Likewise, loyalty to the leader, to the party and to the people is an integrated whole. Loyalty to the leader is inconceivable without loyalty to the party and the people; such selective loyalty cannot be genuine. We must not regard loyalty to the leader as one thing and the party spirit, working-class spirit, and the spirit to serve the people as something different. Because the leader is the centre of the integrity of the party and the popular masses, loyalty to the party and the people must be most clearly expressed in loyalty to the leader. This is why we say that loyalty to the leader is the highest expression of the party, working-class and people-orientated spirit.

This is the very reason why we consider that the basic quality of a communist revolutionary of the Juche type consists of a sound, revolutionary attitude to the leader and of the appreciation that loyalty to him is the lifeblood of a communist.

Loyalty to the leader is based on the collectivist outlook on life that the integrity of a socio-political community is the source of an individual's integrity. It is life that is most valuable to a man. In this regard, his socio-political integrity is more valuable than his physical life, and the integrity of a social community is more precious than an individual's integrity. The integrity of a social community is the basis of an individual's integrity. An individual's loyalty to the leader, to the party and to the masses, which form the parent body of his integrity, is not made on demand, but emanates from the basic needs of his own socio-political integrity. This loyalty is for the individual's own sake rather than for somebody else. The Juche idea considers that if a man's life is aimed at satisfying only his physical needs, then it is no different from that of an animal and that if a man's life is isolated from the leader, the party and the masses, it is

worthless and contrary to the man's social nature. Communist revolutionaries of the Juche type find that life is worthwhile and happy in fighting devotedly for the common cause of the independence of the masses, firmly united on the basis of revolutionary duty and comradeship, under the guidance of the party and the leader. Therefore, it can be claimed that a revolutionary attitude to the leader is the nucleus of a revolutionary outlook on life.

An analysis of the shortcomings revealed recently in Party activities shows that our officials still lack a full understanding of the subject of the revolution. In particular, their view of the leader as the centre of the socio-political organism is not firm. Because they lack the firm revolutionary determination to share life and death, weal and woe, with the Party with the leader at its centre, they fail in their adherence to the principles of absoluteness and unconditionality in the implementation of the great leader's instructions and the Party's policies, and falter in their work, affected by defeatism and acting from expediency, when they are confronted by difficulties.

When receiving the instructions of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party's policies, we must experience great joy and honour before accepting them as our orders and duties, bearing in mind that they are the noblest requirements of life. We must implement them with all our devotion, clearly recognizing that they are the expression of the great affection and high trust placed in us by the maternal Party and paternal leader. Only those who think and act in this way can be called communist revolutionaries of the Juche type who have the proper revolutionary attitude towards the leader.

Defeatism results from the failure to make the ideas of the Party and the leader one's own and to believe in the unquenchable power of the popular masses. Defeatists pin their hopes on their individual intelligence or on chance rather than believing in the Party, the leader and the masses. Those who have the proper revolutionary attitude towards the leader and a correct

understanding of the subject of the revolution, will have the rock-solid belief that nothing is impossible when the leader, the Party and the masses are united; therefore, under no circumstances can they lapse into defeatism.

The practices of working perfunctorily and acting from expediency are due, in the final analysis, to the fact that a person has not acquired the proper revolutionary attitude towards the leader. These practices are the expression of a servile spirit and they fundamentally contradict the attitude of masters of the revolution. We are not wage earners but masters of the revolution who are closely related to the Party with the leader at its centre and share its fate. Anyone who is convinced of this can never work perfunctorily nor act from expediency.

The worship of the major powers and a dogmatic approach to things foreign are a further expression of a lack of the proper revolutionary attitude towards the leader. As a matter of principle, revolutionary duty and comradeship should not change according to circumstances and conditions. Children love and respect their parents not because their parents are superior to others nor because the children receive special attention from them, but because the parents gave them life and have brought them up. A man with the sense of revolutionary duty shares the same fate with the leader, the party and the masses, which are the parent body of his integrity, at all times, whatever the circumstances, whether favourable or unfavourable. If a man feels disappointed and thinks badly of his country because it is backward, or betrays his threatened motherland in order to save himself, no one and no country will consider him a man of conscience. A man with the sense of revolutionary duty will neither worship the major powers nor betray his leader, his party and his motherland, whatever the adversity.

The first thing we must realize is that our leader, not some great man from some other country, won back our lost country by overcoming all the hardships and difficulties in the dark years of Japanese imperialist rule and he has built a prosperous socialist nation in this land. It is our leader who led our people to defeat the Japanese and US imperialists and to honour Chollima Korea. It is also our leader who is leading our people's revolutionary cause for socialist construction and for independent national reunification to victory even in the difficult circumstances in which we are directly confronted by US imperialism, the ringleader of the world's reactionary forces. All the communist revolutionaries of Korea have been accorded immortal political integrity by the paternal leader and have been trained under his loving care. Indeed, he is the great teacher of us all and father of our political integrity. Therefore, the loyalty of our Party members and working people to the great leader is untainted, pure, absolute and unconditional.

In order to maintain our loyalty to the Party and to the leader as revolutionary duty by acquiring a sound revolutionary attitude towards the leader, we must have a clear understanding of the greatness of the leader and our Party. When teaching people about this greatness, emphasis must be placed on informing them of the greatness of the Party's and the leader's ideas and theories, of their leadership and of their ideological and mental qualities.

At the moment Party organizations are conducting a great deal of education in the leader's virtues. However, this education alone cannot give Party members and working people a clear understanding of the leader's greatness. Our leader is endowed with the noblest popular qualities and communist virtues. However, in order to train Party members and working people to be genuine communist revolutionaries with a firm Juche-orientated revolutionary world outlook, we must first instil in them the greatness of the leader's ideas, theories and leadership.

Respected Comrade Kim Il Sung is a great thinker and theoretician who has evolved the immortal Juche idea, and a great statesman who has been guiding our people wisely along the untrodden path of socialism and communism under the difficult and complex circumstances in which we are

in direct confrontation with US imperialism. Progressive people in many countries throughout the world are now learning from the immortal Juche idea created by respected Comrade Kim Il Sung and regard him highly as a great teacher.

If Party members and working people are to acquire a clear understanding of the greatness of the leader's ideas and guidance, they should be encouraged to study his works closely. This is important.

The works of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung are the crystallization of the ideas, theories and methods of Juche and elucidate all the theoretical and practical problems which arise in the revolution and construction and the specific ways in which they can be solved. His works summarize the breadth and depth of all the valuable experience gained and the brilliant achievements made by our people in the arduous and complex struggle under the leadership of the Party; they give a full explanation of the fundamental principles and the strategy and tactics by which we must be guided. They are an encyclopedia which summarizes the true facts concerning the revolution and construction and a library of the Juche idea. His works are priceless classics which we must study. Therefore, only the original texts must be used when studying the leader's works.

But at present the works are being studied in a perfunctory manner. Some officials only read the texts of explanatory lectures and other reference material, instead of studying the works in the original. It is easy to understand the originals but difficult to read the explanatory lectures and to identify the main points. However, propaganda workers substitute the study of the works with this material which they circulate to their subordinate units and with the control of their attendance at study sessions.

The purpose of studying the leader's works is to acquire his ideas and theories in full and to implement them to the letter. The Party members and the working people must first study in greater depth his works that relate to their fields and channel their main efforts into carrying out the tasks set out

in the works.

If we are to study the works properly, we must organize a variety of forms and methods for doing so, to suit the people's characteristics and preparedness. Debating the works at a seminar is a good method of studying them in depth. Studying through discussion in a collective way is effective both in establishing the habit of studying and in acquiring a deep understanding of the content. I have already emphasized that studying combined with questions and answers is effective in stimulating enthusiasm for studying and in understanding clearly true facts through united efforts. We must ensure that all fields and units arrange seminars on his classic works widely, and study them through discussion and in conformity with their particular situation.

At seminars on the works we must not only concentrate on acquiring a deep understanding of their ideological and theoretical content but on debating the ways and means of solving those problems that arise in implementing the principles and applying the methods that are indicated in the works. A seminar on the works must not be idle chatter, divorced from practical work.

We must intensify education in the Juche idea and thus establish a proper attitude to the subject of the revolution and further strengthen the unity of the leader, the Party and the masses.

