

KIM IL SUNG

**ON SOME POINTS
OF THE JUCHE IDEA**

**Foreign Languages Publishing House
DPR Korea
Juche 109 (2020)**

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

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THE PATH OF THE KOREAN REVOLUTION

(Excerpts)

Report to the Meeting of Leading Personnel of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League Held in Kalun

June 30, 1930

Comrades,

This situation urgently demands that our revolution be led along the road to victory on the basis of a correct revolutionary line, strategy and tactics.

We are young communists who have set out on the road of sacred struggle with the single purpose of saving the country and people. Therefore, we should meet this pressing demand of the times.

In order to lead the Korean revolution to certain victory we must learn serious lessons from the stern reality that our people's mass struggle against the Japanese fails time after time and our revolution undergoes ordeals.

Those who professed to "guide" our people's anti-Japanese national liberation movement were divorced from the masses. They gathered together a few high-ranking officials solely to indulge in empty talk and quarrelling,

instead of mobilizing the masses of the people for the revolutionary movement.

It is true that large numbers of people have so far taken part in various anti-Japanese movements. But they were scattered and unorganized.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses of the people. Only when they are organized and mobilized can they win the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the leaders of the movement must go among the masses and awaken them so that they themselves can wage the revolutionary struggle as masters. But the self-styled leaders of the communist movement merely indulged in a war of words harmful to the revolution, and gave no thought to awakening the masses and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle. Without organizing the masses for revolutionary struggle, is it possible to achieve the sacred cause of liberating the country from the vicious Japanese imperialist colonial yoke?

The so-called leaders of our people's anti-Japanese national liberation movement not only failed to mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle, but being infected with worship of great powers, did serious harm to our revolution.

Since our aim is to carry through none other than the Korean revolution, we should solve all problems arising in the course of that revolution by our own efforts, proceeding from the specific conditions in our country.

But the factionalists who have infiltrated the ranks of the communist movement are so imbued with worship of great powers that they have solved none of the problems facing

our revolution; rather, they have put obstacles in its way.

Let us see how the factionalists acted in connection with the problem of party building in our country. This problem concerns the correct fulfilment of the Korean revolution, so Korean communists have to solve it by themselves to suit their actual conditions. We do not need someone else's approval for our revolutionary movement. Whether anyone approves or not, we will succeed if we conduct our revolution properly. Nevertheless, the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the North Wind Association group and other factions, each insisting that it was the only "orthodox" and genuine "Marxist" group, approached the Comintern for approval, instead of building up the party. Thus the KCP failed to strike its roots among the masses deeply enough to overcome Japanese imperialist oppression and, in the long run, was expelled from the Comintern.

After the KCP was dissolved the factionalists put up the signboard of "Party reconstruction" but were engrossed solely in expanding their own factions and in the scramble for leadership. Then each of them without any foundation fabricated the "Party centre" and again tried to get approval from the Comintern. This clearly shows how completely saturated the factionalists were with worship of great powers.

The losses worship of great powers inflicted on our revolution are indeed serious. As mentioned above, the May 30 Uprising was merely the brainchild of the factionalists to satisfy their political ambitions, and from beginning to end took an ultra-Leftist direction under the

instigation of the “Left” adventurists. This put big obstacles in the path of our revolution.

Experience shows that in order to lead the revolution to victory one must go among the masses of the people and organize them, and solve all problems arising in the course of the revolution independently on one’s own responsibility and in accord with the actual conditions, instead of relying on others.

Drawing on this lesson we regard it as most important to take the firm standpoint that the masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people and that the Korean revolution should by all means be carried out by the Korean people themselves in a way suited to the actual conditions of their country.

Only when we adopt this standpoint towards the revolution can we map out a correct line and policy, and achieve the sacred cause of national liberation.

**ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC POLICIES
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND SOME
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS**
(Excerpts)

**Answers to Questions Raised by Newsmen
of the Japanese Newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*
*January 10, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to our country.

Over the past years you have been friendly towards our country and have given great assistance to our citizens in Japan in their activities to defend their democratic, national rights and in their repatriation work.

You have also done a great deal to improve relations between Korea and Japan.

We are grateful for this.

You have spoken a great deal about our personal guidance. We go to the masses to learn from them rather than to try to guide them.

We had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past, and when we set about building the nation, we came up against many problems. In order to solve them

we decided we should go to the masses, particularly the workers and peasants—the producers—and learn from them. That is why we often visit factories and villages and discuss issues with the workers, peasants and other working masses.

When a Marxist-Leninist party representing the interests of the working class and working masses assumes power, it can become more and more subjective and commit bureaucratic errors. In order to avoid this, it must go to the masses. Especially when it is in a difficult situation, it should go deep amongst the masses and discuss all matters with them and take their advice.

The masses of the people are our teachers. We always learn from them.

In the period of peaceful construction following liberation, during the Fatherland Liberation War and in the postwar years when we carried out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we constantly went to the masses, with whom we looked for ways out of the difficulties confronting us, and gained confidence and courage from them. We could quote many instances of this.

It is our steadfast belief that the key to success either in the revolutionary struggle or in the work of construction lies in unity between the Party and the masses.

Today we have hosts of unsung heroes in our factories and farm villages. They support the Party and provide the motive power for the revolution and construction. Our Party tells the masses of its aims, summarizes their creative opinions and, on this basis, formulates its lines

and policies. Our Party's lines and policies, therefore, enjoy wholehearted popular support and they are all carried out successfully by the united efforts of the Party and the masses.

Our Party always breathes with the masses of the people. We can say that this is the reason why our Party has become neither subjective nor misguided up to now. In the future, too, we shall continue to strengthen close ties with the masses to avoid committing subjective errors and further expand and develop existing successes.

I have received your questions through the Central Committee of the Journalists Union of Korea.

They concern many problems covering a vast field of activities.

For the sake of convenience, I should like to arrange them in groups according to their contents in order to answer them.

1. ON THE JUCHE IDEA

You asked me to explain the Juche idea in detail.

I shall give you a brief answer.

I think you will get a clearer idea of it if you read some of my books on the subject.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding idea of our Party and the guiding principle for all activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Taking the Juche idea as a steadfast guide in revolution and construction, we have firmly established Juche in all fields of our activities.

Establishing the Juche orientation means that the people approach the revolution and construction in their own country as masters. In other words, it means the embodiment of independence and creativity; the people must adopt an independent and creative stand in order to solve all the problems arising from the revolution and construction mainly by themselves in the context of their own country's actual conditions.

Revolution cannot be exported nor imported. Foreigners cannot carry out the revolution for us. The people are the masters of the revolution in each country, and the decisive factor of victory in this revolution is the strength of the country itself.

Furthermore, as the revolutionary movement of the working class and the masses of the people forges ahead, many new difficult and complex problems arise.

Therefore, in order to carry out the revolution in each country, the people themselves, as masters of the revolution, must work and fight, and through their own intelligence, judgment and efforts, solve all the problems which arise from the revolution and construction, in conformity with the situation in their country. This is the only way to carry out the revolution and construction successfully.

Thus, the Juche idea demands that everyone make the revolution in his country the focal point of his thinking and revolutionary activity. Revolution and construction are carried out by people. For victory in the revolution, therefore, people must have a correct revolutionary world outlook, and it is important for them to be prepared to

accept responsibility as masters for the revolution and construction in their own country.

The Juche idea is based on these requirements of the revolution.

Establishing the Juche orientation was especially important for us. Long ago some people in our country developed worship of great powers—the servile attitude of not believing in their own strength but worshipping others whether right or wrong and serving those powers. Even when the country was in danger, those who were infected by this attitude engaged in sectarian strife with the backing of their masters, turning to others for help instead of trying to overcome the crises by relying firmly on their own people and their own efforts. As a result, our country was eventually ruined by others.

Flunkeyism towards great powers was not even eliminated later on and, accompanied by dogmatism, did great harm to the development of our revolution. The main reason for the collapse of the nationalist movement and the failure of the early communist movement in our country lay in flunkeyism and the resulting sectarianism.

There are many examples of this, not only in our country, but also in other countries. In some countries factionalists appeared who failed to maintain an independent stand in the national-liberation and communist movements but followed the ideological trends of foreign countries, greatly hampering the development of revolution.

We learned from this the important lesson that when a person takes to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot, when a

nation takes to flunkeyism the country is ruined and when a party takes to flunkeyism it makes a mess of the revolution.

If anyone, captivated by flunkeyism, blindly follows others and acts as they do, he cannot discover the cause of any error he commits, nor the way to remedy it. But when one judges all matters for oneself and solves them to suit the actual conditions of one's own country, one will not only be able to carry out the revolution and construction successfully but will also be able to find the cause of an error quickly and remedy it if one is at fault.

In the light of this experience, the Korean revolutionaries were determined to avoid sliding into flunkeyism in the revolutionary struggle and to build an independent and sovereign state in the true sense of the words, on the basis of the Juche idea, when they would establish a new country in the future. This was the unanimous intention of the early Korean revolutionaries.

...

Viewing the establishment of Juche as the key to the destiny of the revolution and construction, we have fought unyieldingly all the time against flunkeyism and dogmatism in order to establish Juche firmly. In the course of this historic battle, we achieved the complete spiritual emancipation of our people from the yoke of flunkeyist ideas which had corroded the spirit of national independence and creative wisdom for a long time. The Juche idea has been thoroughly embodied in all areas of the revolution and construction in our country.

Our people, as well as Party members and cadres, arm

themselves thoroughly with the Juche idea. They do not waver in the least, regardless of any winds which may blow in from other countries, and are not in the least affected by these winds. The ideas of our people are very sound.

You asked about the essential points of our Juche-based policy.

All our Party's internal and external policies are based on the Juche idea and proceed from it. Juche underlies our specific measures as well as all lines and policies—political, economic, cultural and military.

The Juche idea is embodied, first of all, in the lines of political independence, economic self-sufficiency and national self-defence.

Political independence is the first criterion of any sovereign state. Only when a nation exercises its legitimate right to political self-determination, can it ensure the country's complete independence.

We have established and are establishing all our lines and policies independently on the Juche idea. We do not act on orders or instructions from any foreigners; neither do we copy nor imitate foreign ways. None of the policies determined and implemented by our Party since liberation have been copied. They were created by ourselves in accordance with the requirements of our revolution from the standpoint of Juche.

This does not mean that we do not refer at all to other countries' revolutionary movements and their experiences. We have considered foreign ways objectively and applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively to

suit our actual conditions from the Juche stand. That is why we have committed no errors and have been able to steer the revolution and construction along the right path.

From our Juche standpoint we have solved all issues entirely in accordance with the existing conditions in our country.

An example of this is that, in order to lay the foundation for an independent national economy and to ensure the rapid improvement of the impoverished lives of people when everything had been destroyed by the war, we advanced our basic line of socialist economic construction—that of giving priority to the development of heavy industry at the same time as the development of light industry and agriculture. This is an original line arrived at by reflecting the demands of our own economic development correctly and through the creative interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

After assessing our specific requirements properly, we also established a policy of agricultural cooperativization to reorganize the economic forms prior to technological reconstruction. We proposed the reorganization of the capitalist commerce and industry on socialist lines. These proposals were original and unknown in other countries. When our Party advanced this line and proposals, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism criticized them, saying, “No book has ever dealt with them,” and “They have never been tried before.” But the validity of the line and proposals has been proved by the fact that our country has become a socialist industrial state with a developed agriculture in a short time.

With regard to our intellectuals, we have also followed a different policy from other countries.

Despite their former wealth, the old intellectuals of our country have a national, revolutionary spirit, because they were subjected to national oppression and discrimination under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

As regards those intellectuals who were educated in the old way and worked in a bourgeois or feudal society, if they wanted to work for the people and the development of the nation, we pursued the policy of developing the revolution with them, educating and reforming them in the practice of revolution. In this way, they have been reformed as revolutionary intellectuals serving the revolutionary cause of the working class. They have already done a great deal and even now, are still working faithfully.

...

That is why all our Party's policies are in conformity with the prevailing conditions in our country and the aspirations of our people, and we are able to maintain our political independence firmly without wavering in adversity.

Economic self-sufficiency is the material basis of political independence. The country which depends on others economically cannot help depending on others politically.

This was why, immediately after liberation, we put forward the line of building an independent national economy and implemented it despite many difficulties.

To build an independent national economy through

one's own efforts does not mean closing the door of one's country. While building an independent national economy under the banner of self-reliance, we have developed economic relations of mutual accommodation and cooperation with other countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Our struggle has borne good fruit and, as a result, we now have a comprehensively developed independent national economy equipped with modern technology. This firmly guarantees the political independence of the country.

National self-defence is the military guarantee for the country's political independence and economic self-sufficiency. As long as the world is divided into national states and imperialism remains in existence, one cannot speak of independence and self-sufficiency if one has not the capacity to protect the country and people against foreign aggression.

By implementing the military line of self-defence thoroughly, we have built up an enormous defence capacity to smash any provocation on the part of the aggressors and to defend the country's security and the revolutionary gains stoutly.

With the thorough implementation of the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in protecting the nation, we have built the proud, powerful and reliable new socialist country that we hoped for. If we had not established Juche but had, instead, bent with the wind and danced to the tune of others, we could not have achieved today's successes.

Some capitalist newspapers call a socialist country

which maintains independence “national communism”. Our Juche idea has nothing in common with the “national communism” which the reactionaries talk so much about.

The Juche idea is based on Marx’s principle “Workers of all countries, unite!” and is in full accord with proletarian internationalism.

We make it a principle to maintain and defend independence on the Juche ideology and, at the same time, to strengthen international unity and cooperation. Independence we advocate is by no means alien to proletarian internationalism. There can be no internationalism without independence, and vice versa. It is not fitting for a communist to turn his back on proletarian internationalism on the pretext of maintaining independence. This simply means sliding into ethnocentrism.

We maintain mutual relations with other countries on the basis of complete equality and independence.

We do not intend to encroach upon the interests of other nations nor shall we allow anyone to trample upon the rights and dignity of our nation. We are developing political and economic relations, on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect, with large and small countries which adopt a friendly attitude towards our country.

Independence is also a prerequisite for unity and cooperation between the socialist countries. In order to achieve genuine unity, all should abide strictly by the principle of independence. We hold fast to our principles

in our effort to achieve unity and cohesion between the socialist countries.

Our principles are, firstly, to oppose imperialism; secondly, to support the national-liberation movement in colonies and the working-class movement in various countries; thirdly, to march on towards socialism and communism; and fourthly, to abide by the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. It is our belief that, even if differences exist, they should give way to these four principles so that unity can be achieved.

As regards our attitude towards the revolutionary struggle and democratic movement in other countries, we also abide strictly by the principles of independence and noninterference.

The party and people of each country know their national circumstances better than anyone else. It is natural, therefore, that they should decide how to conduct the revolutionary movement in their country. All we have to do is to support and encourage as best we can the just struggle of other peoples for national and social emancipation. We will not meddle in it or force our ideas upon them. We do not blindly follow the examples of others nor do we ask them to adopt ours in their entirety.

The revolutionary and democratic movements now proceeding in many countries can develop successfully and emerge victorious only when the parties and people of those countries independently work out a correct guiding theory and scientific methods of struggle according to the actual conditions in their countries, and put them into practice.

**ON SOME PROBLEMS OF OUR PARTY'S
JUCHE IDEA AND THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC'S INTERNAL
AND EXTERNAL POLICIES**
(Excerpts)

**Answers to Questions Raised by Journalists
of the Japanese Newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun*
*September 17, 1972***

I warmly welcome your visit to our country.

I have received your questionnaire through the Central Committee of the Journalists Union of Korea.

Now, I should like to give brief answers to your questions.

**1. SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED
IN THE IDEA OF JUCHE**

You have asked me to tell you how the Juche idea originated.

In a nutshell, the idea of Juche means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. In other words, one is

responsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

We are not the author of this idea. Every Marxist-Leninist has this idea. I have just laid special emphasis on it.

How keenly the necessity of establishing Juche is felt and how much emphasis is laid on it depends on people and on a country's social and historical background.

In the course of my struggle for the freedom and independence of our country I became firmly convinced that we must and could work out our own destiny through our own efforts. Our struggle was hard and complex. We had to solve everything by ourselves and use our own initiative to formulate the lines and methods of struggle as well.

Naturally, therefore, we met indescribable difficulties and had to pass through harsh trials. Through this, however, we gained absolutely unique experience and learned lessons. We realized that the simple and ordinary working masses, provided they were brought to revolutionary awareness, could display a really great strength and carry out the revolution through their own efforts in any adverse and arduous conditions.

Our situation was also extremely difficult immediately after liberation. We had had no experience of running the state or managing the economy. Our country was very backward, and it was divided into north and south. We could look nowhere for a ready-made solution to the problem of building a new country in this complex situation.

The first question which confronted us was whether to take the road to capitalism or the road to socialism, so that we could quickly free ourselves from our wretched situation.

The road to capitalism meant preserving exploitation and oppression. This would not only prevent us from rousing the broad masses of the proletariat for the building of a new country, but would also involve the great danger of our country being subordinated again by another imperialist power. It was evident, therefore, that we could not follow the road to capitalism.

However, we could not take the road to socialism immediately. Socialism was what we needed. Subjective desire alone could not obtain it. We were faced with the immediate tasks of the democratic revolution which had to be solved before going over to socialism. So we could not simply imitate the socialist system.

From the outset we had to use our own initiative to determine a political system that would serve the interests of the working class and other sectors of the working masses and that would be able to rally the broad masses of the people. We also had to determine the way to effect democratic social reforms that would suit the specific conditions of our country. Accordingly, for agrarian reform, we went to farm villages and stayed many days with the peasants, exploring ways and means that would suit our rural situation.

Our experience showed that trying to solve our problems in this way to suit our actual conditions was much better than mechanically copying foreign ways. Our

post-liberation struggle for the building of a new country showed that our Juche idea was veritable and increased our faith in it.

Then, we waged the bitter three-year war ..., and our country was reduced to ashes. This rendered our task of building socialism even more difficult.

...

Now that everything had been ravaged by the war, there was little difference between the small and medium entrepreneurs and the urban craftsmen. Everyone became a proletarian, so to speak. They had to pool their efforts and follow the road to socialism; this was the only way for them to exist. In order to shore up their completely devastated agricultural base, the peasants also had to do the same.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist proposition that cooperation, even when it is based on primitive techniques, is far superior to private farming and considering the actual fact that our peasants badly needed to work together to free themselves from their plight, we adopted an original method—boldly pushing ahead with the socialist transformation of agriculture before industrialization. As regards the small and medium entrepreneurs and rich peasants, we also chose a unique way—drawing them into the cooperatives and reforming them on socialist lines because there was no necessity to expropriate them.

Again experience justified our Party's line of solving all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country without

recourse to any ready-made formula or proposition.

In the course of this, we have become more deeply convinced that the correct stand and attitude to maintain in revolution and construction is to settle all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, believing in and relying on our own strength with the consciousness of being the masters of the revolution.

Our revolution has traversed, and is traversing, a very complicated and difficult road. Whenever we were faced with trials and tribulations we maintained the attitude of a master towards the revolution and thereby were able to achieve glorious victories. This process made our conviction still more unshakable—a conviction that only by relying firmly on the Juche idea can one thoroughly adhere to the revolutionary stand of the working class and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to conditions in one's country.

You asked me whether you can take it that the Juche idea comprises independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in national defence. Your understanding is quite correct.

Establishing Juche means adopting the attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction. Since the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses, they should take the responsible attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction. The attitude of a master is expressed in an independent and creative stand.

Revolution and construction are work for the masses of the people, work which has to be carried out by them alone. Therefore, the transformation of nature and society

demands their independent position and creative activity.

Based on the interests of our people and on the interests of our revolution, our Party has always maintained a firm, independent stand in mapping out all policies and lines through its own efforts and carrying out the revolution and construction responsibly on the principle of self-reliance. Our Party has always been able to win victories because it believed in the strength of the people and gave full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity, thus encouraging them to bring about all potentials and reserves themselves and solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction to suit our actual needs.

Adhering to the stand of master in the revolution and construction and enhancing the role as master are integrated concepts with different aspects. You could say that the independent stand is concerned with defence of the rights of the master and discharging the master's responsibility, whereas the creative stand concerns the development of the role of the people, the masters, in remaking nature and reconstructing society. In other words, the independent stand is the fundamental stand which we must maintain in the revolution and construction, and the creative stand is the fundamental method which we must use in transforming nature and society.

To adhere to the independent stand it is most important that we fully guarantee independence in politics.

Independence is what keeps man alive. If he loses independence in society, he cannot be called a man; he differs little from an animal. We might say that socio-

political life is more valuable to a man than physical life. He is a social being. If he is forsaken by society and deprived of political independence although he seems alive, he is virtually dead as a social human being. That is why the revolutionaries deem it far more honourable to die in the fight for freedom than to remain alive in slavery.

Ignoring independence is tantamount to ignoring man himself. Who likes to live shackled to others? Why did people fight to overthrow the feudal system in former days and why are the working class fighting against the capitalist system today? Needless to say, the working people wanted to extricate themselves from feudal slavery just as they want to free themselves from capitalist exploitation and oppression. We are fighting against imperialism in order to liberate our nation completely from its yoke and enable it to enjoy freedom as a sovereign nation. In a word, all revolutionary struggles aim to attain freedom from either class or national subjugation; they are struggles of the people in defence of their independence. Our struggle for the building of socialism and communism is, also, in the long run, to enable the people to extricate themselves from many forms of subjugation and lead independent and creative lives as masters of nature and society.

In order to become the master of its own destiny, a nation must have an independent government and firmly guarantee political independence. This is why the Juche idea should first be embodied as the principle of independence in politics.

To guarantee solid independence in politics, there must

be a special guiding idea and a capacity for formulating all policies and lines solely in the interests of one's people and in conformity with the specific conditions of one's country, according to one's own judgement. The government that acts under pressure from or instructions of others cannot be called a genuine people's government responsible for the destiny of the people. A country with this sort of government cannot be regarded as an independent, sovereign state.

The principle of independence in politics demands complete equality and mutual respect between all nations. It opposes both subjugating others and being subjugated by others. A nation which subjugates others can never be free itself.

In strengthening the independence of the country, it is essential to strengthen self-sufficiency in the economy as well as political independence. Without self-sufficiency in the economy, it is impossible to meet the people's growing material needs and materially guarantee them a real role as the master of the state and society. Economic dependence on others cannot guarantee political independence and without independent economic power, it is impossible to carry through the line of self-defence in national defence.

Self-defence and self-protection are basic to man's nature. A country must also have the means to defend itself. The line of self-defence in national defence is an essential requirement of an independent and sovereign state. While there are still imperialist aggressors, the state which has no defence power of its own to protect its

sovereignty against internal and external enemies is, in fact, not a fully independent and sovereign state.

Our Party's consistent line of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in national defence has long since been proved correct and vital by our people through their revolutionary practices.

Next, I am going to say a few words about your question about what we emphasize as an embodiment of the Juche idea in our present domestic policy.

Embodying the Juche idea means accelerating the revolution and construction powerfully from an independent and creative stand.

The most urgent problem facing us at present in embodying the Juche idea in the Korean revolution is that of bringing about the independent, peaceful reunification of our country.

Our people have been fighting for a long time to rid themselves of the yoke of imperialism but our national sovereignty is still being trampled underfoot by foreign aggressors in one half of our territory. There is nothing more urgent for our people today than driving out foreign aggressors and establishing national sovereignty throughout our country.

...

The main task before us now to implement the Juche idea in the northern half of Korea is to free our people from tough labour by pushing dynamically ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

Our people, freed from exploitation and oppression, have now the important task of emancipating themselves

from arduous work.

Labour holds the most important place in people's social life. Eliminating fundamental distinctions which exist in work conditions and freeing the people from tough labour will be of great importance in making their lives more independent and creative.

In order to emancipate the people from backbreaking work, it is imperative to press ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution. The three tasks we propose are designed to narrow the differences between light and heavy labour and between agricultural and industrial work and to free our women from the heavy burdens of household chores by developing techniques comprehensively through our own efforts. When they are carried out completely, difficult work in town and country will be largely removed and the class difference in work between the working class and the peasantry will be eliminated.

We proposed the three major tasks of the technical revolution as our goal in emancipating our people from arduous labour; we did this instead of merely referring in general terms to the development of heavy industry or light industry. This clearly testifies to our Party's consistent standpoint that economic construction or technical revolution should not be carried out for their own sake but should serve as a means to provide the people with fruitful lives as the masters of the state and society. Attaching the greatest importance to people in every respect and serving them—this is precisely the requirement of the Juche idea.

Next, you asked me to talk about the education of our young people and children based on the Juche idea.

We are greatly concerned with the education of young people and children. This is because they are the reserves of our revolution who must carry forward the revolution through coming generations. Moreover, there is no more important task than that of educating and training people for the progress of society.

It is true that with no material means people can neither live nor develop. In this sense, the economy constitutes the material foundation of social life. However, this is always planned for the benefit of people and would be meaningless without them. It is also the people who create the means of living and improve living conditions. Therefore, the most important factor in the development of society is training people to be more dynamic; in order to press ahead with the revolution and construction, top priority must be given to the work with men, that is, to the work of reforming men.

The basis of the Juche idea is that man is the master of everything and decides everything. Remaking nature and society is also for the benefit of people and it is work done by them. Man is the most precious treasure in the world and he is also the most powerful. All our work is for the people and its success depends on the way we work with them. Education is an important aspect of this work.

Education involves training people to be social beings who are fully prepared mentally, morally and physically. In order to become social beings, they must first have

sound social consciousness. If the younger generation, who were born in this revolutionary era, are not armed with revolutionary ideas and if they are ignorant of science, techniques or literature and art as the men in our era of socialist construction, they cannot be called social beings.

Only when people have an ideological and cultural background which they should possess as social beings, can they participate as masters in all aspects of social life and energetically accelerate the revolution and construction. This is why our Party always places greater emphasis on education than on any other work.

We regard the implementation of the principles of socialist education as the core of education. Its basic principle lies in training people to be reliable revolutionary workers equipped with ideology, knowledge and a strong physique which will enable them to adopt the role of master in the revolution and construction.

In training and educating people, it is most important to reform their ideology in a revolutionary way. All human activity is determined by ideology. If a man is ideologically backward and morally degenerate, despite his excellent health, he can only be regarded as utterly useless and mentally disabled in our society. Therefore, our Party always directs its primary attention to reforming people's ideology in a revolutionary manner.

In the education of young people and children, we should give top priority to the work of training them in revolutionary ideas. If they hate work and do not serve the state and society, their knowledge and skills will be of no use however excellent they may be. They must be so

equipped with socialist patriotism and a revolutionary world outlook as to work for their people and homeland instead of trying to get promoted or earn money; we must ensure that whatever they learn is useful and that all children and young people grow up into men of a new type with communist moral traits, who are eager to work, protect and take good care of state and social property, and take the lead in the revolution and construction. This is the fundamental requirement of socialist education.

Today we are making great efforts to introduce universal ten-year compulsory education. When this has been effected, our rising generation will grow up as an able builder of socialism, equipped with the essentials of a revolutionary world outlook, with a basic knowledge of nature and society and more than one technical skill. This is of tremendous importance in revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society and advancing our socialist construction.

You requested me to give a detailed explanation of the Juche idea. But there is no end to it. All the policies and lines of our Party derive from the Juche idea and they embody this idea. The Juche idea is not a theory for theory's sake; it is the guiding idea of the revolution and construction in our country that we put forth on the basis of the experiences and lessons obtained through our complicated revolutionary struggles. In our country the Juche idea is a stern fact of history established in all aspects of social life. To have a deep understanding of the Juche idea, it is necessary to make a detailed study of our Party's policy and our country's situation.

**TALK WITH THE MANAGING
EDITOR OF THE JAPANESE
POLITICO-THEORETICAL
MAGAZINE *SEKAI***
(Excerpts)

October 6, 1972

I am grateful to you for your visit to our country. I also extend my thanks to your director for the letter he has sent me. When you return home, please convey my greetings to him.

You have addressed a number of questions to me and I shall now make my comments.

You asked me when the Juche idea was formed and established.

On this question I am going to give you a general account as I did to the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*.

You asked whether you can consider it correct to say that the history of the Juche idea is the history of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea itself. I quite agree with you.

The Juche idea could be fully established in our country after the people assumed power. We can say that since then we have worked hard to put the Juche idea into

effect in all spheres of activity.

But insofar as the background of the emergence of the Juche idea is concerned, we formed this idea in the course of a long revolutionary struggle waged through many trials and tribulations.

To illustrate how I came to form the Juche idea, I must mention two events which I witnessed while I was young. Of all the things which I saw when I was still young, particularly when I was a student, there were two which I thought most unjust.

One of them was the fact that the communists and nationalists who professed themselves to be engaged in the national-liberation movement of Korea were divorced from the masses; a few top-level personalities simply playing with words and quarrelling, instead of arousing the masses to the real revolutionary movement. It was essential to organize and mobilize all the masses to assure success in the revolutionary movement. But those people, isolated from the masses, were only scrambling for power and indulging in “theoretical” arguments with each other, each claiming that he was right. Their “theory” was not for the advancement of the revolution, but was a sophism that had nothing to do with revolutionary work. So I wondered how they could ever lead the revolution to success merely by getting together and indulging in controversy all the time without developing a mass movement, and began to take a critical view of these things.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses, and only when they rise will it be possible to win

the struggle. Yet, a handful of leaders, divorced from the masses, were just talking nonsense. What was the use of this? We considered the matter seriously. Those people ought to have gone amongst the masses and awakened them so that they became masters in the revolutionary struggle. No problem could be solved while a few people in leading positions did nothing but indulge in word play. This led us to attach great importance to Juche, to the viewpoint that the masses themselves were the main factor in solving all problems.

Another fact I faced was that there were many factions within the Korean communist movement at that time. I am not sure whether this was because of a lack of understanding of the communist movement or a scramble for power or flunkeyism. But our country had many factions then, such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group and the North Wind Association group. All these factions sent their representatives to the Communist International in an attempt to obtain its recognition. If they had conducted the communist movement well, they would have been recognized without taking such trouble. However, they formed their own groups by collecting together three or five persons and busied themselves in gaining the recognition of the Communist International, instead of carrying out revolutionary movements. Each of the groups insisted that it was the only “orthodox” and genuine Marxist group. As a result, the Korean Communist Party was expelled from the Communist International in 1928, and was finally dissolved. We thought it a disgrace to the Korean nation. If one conducts the revolutionary

movement well, one will be recognized by others without going to all the trouble of asking for their recognition. Is a Communist Party regarded as such only when it has obtained the recognition of other people? We need not get approval of others before starting our revolutionary movement. We carry it out if we want to. When we do so properly, what does it matter whether others give us approval or not? As long as we make revolution well, others will give us recognition naturally. What is the need of rushing around to gain other people's recognition?

These two factors—the serious factional strife in the Korean national-liberation and communist movements and the leadership divorced from the masses—strongly convinced us that we must not carry out our revolution in that way. We keenly felt that we must mix with the masses and rely on them in our struggle, that we must solve our problems by our own efforts, and that if we worked well, the recognition of others would be of no importance.

The two aspects mentioned above had a great influence on the development of my revolutionary thinking. From then on we emphasized that the people are the masters of revolution, and accordingly, we must mix with them and that if we step up the revolution of our own country by our own efforts in a responsible manner, whether or not recognized by others, we will naturally gain sympathy, recognition and assistance from other countries. We can say this was the starting point of our Juche idea.

As I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* journalists the other day, the long revolutionary struggle deepened our

conviction that the force of the masses is the main factor in the solution of all problems. We must solve all problems, relying on the force of the masses, and since revolution is a struggle of the masses to emancipate themselves, they must rise up together. It is on this basis that we carried out our revolutionary struggle.

We also thought that all problems had to be raised in accord with the masses' political awareness.

In 1936 we organized the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and put forward its Ten-Point Programme. I shall not go into its details. At the time we presented a programme for mass unity—that the whole nation must be banded together and all the people must be united—a programme to form an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front against the imperialists and traitors to the nation. This was a most appropriate slogan for our people at that time. After liberation, we also followed this line in carrying out a number of policies.

Our fundamental problem was how to get more of the people to take part in the revolutionary movement and the building of the country. In the early days after liberation we organized the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Immediately after liberation, however, our country had a small working class, and only a few of its members were armed with communist ideology. In this situation, if we had stuck to the slogans of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, it might have split the masses and young people into many groups. We took stock of the situation and realized that the formation of the Communist Party did not conform with the masses'

preparedness. Therefore, we promptly reorganized it into the Workers' Party. We also took the initiative in transforming the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League which included young men and women of all levels.

The revolutionary movement and the construction of the country cannot be carried out by the efforts of a few communists. They must be joined by many young people and progressives. Therefore, we abandoned the narrow-minded position and reformed our organizations to meet the needs of the situation.

After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea we laid greater emphasis on the necessity to solve all problems on our own.

Our situation was completely different from that in other countries. Ours was the only Asian country where the people seized power immediately after World War II. At the time China was still carrying on her revolutionary struggle. Our country's situation was also quite different from that in the European countries. We have characteristic features as an Oriental people, as the Korean nation. Therefore, we could not copy European things mechanically. Of course, we ought to study and refer to some experiences gained in the European countries, but we could not follow them automatically. Ours was a backward country which had suffered for a long time from the corrupt policies of feudal rulers and then remained a colony for over 36 years. If our country was to rid itself of backwardness, it was essential to adopt lines and policies to suit the Korean situation. So we had to solve all

problems in a unique way. Objective realities required us to do so. In other words, the facts demanded that we display independence and creativity. That is why we believed more firmly that we had to pursue all policies in conformity with our country's conditions and our people's needs.

You asked, amongst other things, what the biggest problem was in the formation of the Juche idea. This is a very interesting question. In my opinion, it also has two aspects.

The most important thing in establishing the Juche idea is to do work with people well, because the people decide everything. Success in the struggle to transform society and nature, in the last analysis, depends largely upon how one works with people.

Work with people is extremely important. As I always say, Party work is work with people, so is the work of mass organizations. Economic activity, too, only proceeds well when work with people is done well. But this work was often not done properly but in an administrative manner, instead of educating and teaching people patiently. This was our greatest difficulty.

It is wrong to work with people in an administrative manner. The administrative method of work is a bureaucratic work method. Revolution must not be made in an administrative way. We have not yet been able to correct this completely.

Within the Party we are continually trying to change Party work into work with people. But in some cases this work is replaced by issuing instructions or decisions or

by holding meetings. I think this is one of the major defects which have to be overcome. We are now making efforts to rectify it.

In order to establish the Juche idea, it is most important to reform the people's ideology. Using administrative methods, this is impossible. If we issue instructions in an administrative manner, people do not really accept them, although they superficially appear to do so. If we issue orders which are not to their liking, the masses do not accept them at heart; they just pretend to accept them. We insist on rooting out administrative methods. We are making sure that both in economic and state affairs, or in any other activity, political work is done ahead of all other work before the appropriate tasks are given.

In personnel administration, we have to educate cadres after their assignment. Only then can we prevent them from committing errors. Giving them no education after their assignment and dismissing them when they commit mistakes is wrong. This shows ignorance of work with people and an inability to do it.

Another large stumbling block in establishing the Juche idea is flunkeyism. Flunkeyism is an old idea which had persisted for centuries in our country. The flunkeyists claim that the things of their own country are all bad, that they have nothing which is useful and that everything foreign is good. They take such a nihilistic attitude to things of their own.

Of course, there are good as well as bad foreign things, and we can learn from the good things. It does

not mean that we are chauvinistic, just because we are opposed to flunkeyism.

We must learn from good foreign things and cast aside the bad ones. Even when we do this, we must take them in a way which suits our taste. We must not try to swallow those things which we do not like. Some Koreans had been so deeply infected by flunkeyism in the past that we had to wage a hard struggle to root it out.

At one time there was a great deal of flunkeyism in our country. Let me tell you just how flunkeyism was manifested in the realm of literature and the arts.

This is what happened when flunkeyism and dogmatism were very evident in our country. I visited a local army hospital during the war in order to enquire about the wounded. There was a picture hanging on the wall. It showed a Siberian landscape with a bear crawling about on the snow-covered ground under a giant pine tree. I asked the soldiers what place the picture showed. They said that the painting showed a bear crawling around in a forest but that they did not know where the place was. Then I asked them if there were many bears in our forests. They said that there were some but they were not typical Korean animals.

I asked the soldiers which they preferred, this picture or a nice painting of our Mt. Kumgang. They answered that they preferred the latter. So I asked the chief of the political department of the unit why he had hung this kind of picture instead of one of our Mt. Kumgang, which the soldiers liked better. I was shocked to hear his answer. He said that he had to buy it because our picture dealers sold

only such pictures.

This incident gave us a great deal to think about, and we decided that it was all due to flunkeyism. So we began to check how things were going on in the realm of the arts at that time. Our examination showed that almost all of our artists were engaged in Western-style painting.

At that time our musical world had a very few national instruments. There were national instruments at some places, but they were exactly the same as those used in the old days. Some artists alleged that our national music was outdated and Western music was modern. This is actually what they used to call them. So I gathered artists together and asked them why they, our contemporaries, could not produce their own music although our ancestors had created theirs, why they regarded Western music as the sole modern music, why there was no modern national music and on what grounds they asserted that modern music was Western music; I asked them why Korean national music should be old music and modern music be Western music and why we Koreans could not create modern music to suit our national taste. They could not answer my questions.

Furthermore, I asked our artists about the meaning of the word “realism” which they used so often. They knew the word only, not its real meaning. So I told them that they should not swallow things that way. Then I gave a definition of socialist realism in our country: national in form and socialist in content.

I told them that they must not label everything as socialist realism, and that it was meaningless to create

music that could not be understood by the Korean people. I also said to the artists: “Of course, I am not against your singing only Italian and other European songs. But I wonder how many Koreans will like them. You have failed to create art for the masses. What’s the use of making art for art’s sake? Art should serve the people. Music should be pleasant to hear; it should bring joy to people; it should be understood and endorsed by them. But they say they don’t understand your music. If you indulge in the old musical art under the pretence of performing national music, our young people will not like it. You must not take to restorationism either. If you do so, you’ll eventually be inclined to admire the West. We should never do that.”

Instead of trying to serve their nation and people, some people thought that if they introduced everything foreign, it would do since foreign things were all good. This was a great problem.

In our country flunkeyism also found expression in the fields of construction, industrial management and education.

Thus, flunkeyism was manifested a great deal in different realms in our country previously and it was very difficult to overcome. We have fought flunkeyism over a long period.

As I have said, we have two major obstacles to overcome in establishing the Juche idea in our country. One is flunkeyism and the other is the administrative method in working with people. I think this will be only overcome through a prolonged struggle.

We are still endeavouring to overcome them and I think we should continue to do so. We do not consider that they have now been surmounted completely. That is why we are still stressing that both Party work and the activities of the working people's organizations should not be conducted by the administrative method but should be converted into work with people. At the same time, we stress the fact that all of us must serve our country and people and that we must not adopt a nihilistic attitude towards our own things, claiming that we have nothing which is useful, while approving and worshipping everything foreign. In a nutshell, we are going to eliminate the idea of relying on others without having faith in our own strength. This does not mean national communism. If revolution and construction are conducted well at each national unit, they will also be successful on a worldwide scale, won't they? Marx, Engels and Lenin also said that Marxism is not a dogma and it should be applied creatively.

In your next question, you asked if the Juche idea is a new philosophy on the correlation between the national task and the task of internationalist solidarity. That is excessive praise.

In my opinion, true Marxists must have independence and creativity. For my part, I have only emphasized this point.

I shall not speak at length about this matter. I have already talked a lot about the problems related to the content of the Juche idea. Since I dealt with them fully in my answers to the questions raised by the Japanese

Mainichi and *Yomiuri Shimbun* journalists, I believe you understand them. So, in order to avoid repetition I am not going to make any further statement.

I have spoken about the problems which have arisen in translating the Juche idea into reality. There are many other problems, of course, but I have concentrated on fundamental points today. So much for the problem of the Juche idea.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY
A DELEGATION OF ARGENTINIAN
JOURNALISTS**
(Excerpts)

September 18, 1974

Question: We believe that the Juche idea can be applied to Latin America, too. Mr. President Kim Il Sung, as the author of the Juche idea, what do you think?

Answer: The ideology the people of each country adopt as their guide to action and apply in their practical activities is something that must be decided as they themselves wish.

The Juche idea is the guiding ideology of the Korean revolution formulated by us in conformity with the requirements of this revolution and on the basis of its historical experience. All the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic are based on the Juche idea and embody it. The correctness and vitality of the Juche idea have been fully confirmed in the whole course of our revolution and construction. The Korean people have adopted the Juche idea as the only guiding principle of the Korean revolution, and have unshakable faith in it.

There is great response to the Juche idea today not only amongst the Korean people but also amongst many peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of the third world. This, I think, is because the Juche idea coincides with the common aspirations and desires of those peoples calling for independence. If the peoples of Latin America also feel attracted to the Juche idea, this will be for the same reason.

The Korean people and the peoples of Latin America have many things in common. All suffered from the aggression and plunder of the imperialists in the past, and waged a long, hard struggle for national liberation and independence. Today too, they are fighting against the imperialists' moves of aggression and intervention and are striving under the banner of independence to build a new society free from exploitation and oppression. It is natural that the Korean people and the peoples of Latin America who suffered the same fate in the past and who have common fighting goals and aspirations today should have a similar revolutionary ideology, the same thoughts and feelings.

You said that the Juche idea could be applied to Latin America too. I consider that the question of whether or not the Latin-American peoples apply the Juche idea to the revolution and construction in their own countries has to be decided entirely by the Latin-American peoples themselves.

One thing I should like to emphasize here is that the Juche idea and the specific experience of the Korean revolution obtained in the course of its application cannot

be made to fit all other continents and peoples. Conditions vary in different countries; so people should settle all problems to suit the specific conditions of their own country and the requirements of their own revolution. The Juche idea too, I believe, will display its superiority and vitality to the full only when the people of each country apply it creatively from an independent standpoint.

Question: Mr. President Kim Il Sung, what do you think is your greatest experience in guiding the revolution and construction?

Answer: The most important experience gained in directing the revolution and construction is that thorough establishment of Juche is the decisive guarantee of all victories and successes in the revolution and construction.

In the whole course of guiding the revolution and construction of the Korean people we have striven untiringly to establish Juche thoroughly in all fields.

Establishing Juche means adopting the attitude of master towards the revolution and construction. In other words, it means taking an independent stand to settle one's problems on one's own responsibility without a feeling of dependence on others by displaying a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and taking the creative position of solving the problems posed by the revolution and construction to suit the conditions of one's own country.

In directing the revolution and construction we have always mapped out all our lines and policies as we see fit in keeping with the interests of our people and our

revolution; we have adhered to the principle of settling all problems of the revolution and construction on our own responsibility and by our own efforts on the principle of self-reliance. We have upheld the principle of applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries creatively to fit the historical conditions and national peculiarities of our country, instead of accepting them intact.

In establishing Juche we made it a priority to equip the masses of the working people thoroughly with the Juche idea. As a result, our people have thrown off subservience to the great powers and dogmatism; their national pride and consciousness of independence have risen; and their spirit of self-reliance has become more pronounced. Now that the working masses are equipped with the Juche idea and tackle their work as masters steadily on the Juche standpoint, they have performed wonders and introduced innovations in the course of the revolution and construction.

While establishing Juche in ideology, we have at the same time thoroughly applied the Juche idea in practice in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

Applied to the political field, the Juche idea is our Party's independent line.

Our Party has adhered to the principle of resolving all problems of the revolution and construction creatively from our own viewpoint to suit the people's interests and the actual conditions prevailing in our country.

In foreign activities too, our Party has firmly maintained independence. We have developed friendship and

cooperation with other countries, both large and small, on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect, and have conducted all our foreign activities on our own judgement and conviction in keeping with our own situation.

Our Party's line of building an independent economy is a manifestation of the Juche idea in the field of economic construction.

We have maintained the principle of developing the national economy primarily with our own techniques, materials and cadres and by the efforts of our people, and by displaying a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. In this way, a comprehensively developed independent national economy equipped with modern technology has been built, and our once backward colonial agrarian country has been transformed into a socialist industrial state.

In building up our national defences a policy of self-defence has been consistently followed. With the implementation of our Party's military line of self-defence, our country now commands a mighty defence power capable of crushing any invader and of firmly protecting the gains of the revolution and the people's security.

By establishing fully Juche in ideology and applying the Juche idea thoroughly to all fields of the revolution and construction, our country has become a developed socialist state with full political sovereignty, a powerful independent national economy, a vast defence potential and flourishing national culture.

Furthermore, experience gained in the guidance of the

revolution and construction shows that it is very important to follow the mass line steadfastly.

The masses of the people are the masters of the revolution and construction and possess the power to drive them forward. Success in the revolution and construction depends on the active participation and conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative of the masses, the masters.

For this reason our Party has paid the greatest attention to the implementation of the revolutionary mass line in guiding the revolution and construction.

Our Party has always adhered to the principle of carrying out the revolutionary tasks in hand by believing in the strength of the masses and enlisting them. Our Party has carried out its revolutionary tasks by going to the masses, explaining the Party's lines and policies to them and bringing into play their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity.

Sometimes a big obstacle or ordeal has arisen in the building of socialism; then, too, we put our faith in the working masses and called on them, and consulted them about ways of overcoming the difficulty and introducing innovations. In this way the working masses grasped the Party's intentions and launched a movement of collective innovation to carry out the Party's lines and policies.

Indeed, there is no limit to the strength and wisdom of the working masses. Once they are aroused to action, nothing is beyond their power. By enlisting their keen revolutionary ardour and creative activity, we have been able to fulfil all the enormous and difficult tasks of the

revolution and construction successfully. A secret of our notable success in the revolution and construction lies precisely in the fact that we solved all problems by the revolutionary method of relying on the masses and rousing broad sections of them to action.

All our victories represent a tremendous victory for our Party's Juche idea, and a brilliant victory for our Party's revolutionary mass line.

Our experience shows that however far a nation lagged behind in the past, once it establishes Juche firmly in its thinking, applies it profoundly to all fields of the revolution and construction and mobilizes the creative enthusiasm and talents of the masses of the people correctly, it can rapidly build a new, rich and powerful society and achieve the prosperity of the country and the people.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE
RESEARCH AND PLANNING
DEPARTMENT OF THE MINISTRY
OF INTERNAL SECURITY AND
NATIONAL ORIENTATION OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN**
(Excerpts)

June 30, 1979

Question: The Juche idea holds an important place in the world. It is particularly well known in the third world countries.

Some intellectuals affirm that the Juche idea will become the philosophy of the third road for the third world.

What do you think of this affirmation, Comrade President?

Answer: The present era is the era of independence when the oppressed and humiliated people have emerged as masters of the world and are carving out their destinies independently and creatively.

The world's people desire independent lives now. No one wants to be subjugated by another nor does he tolerate his right to independence being trampled upon. Even some capitalist countries, to say nothing of the newly independent and the socialist countries, oppose

imperialist and dominationist control and interference in their bid to lead independent lives.

Vast multitudes of people in the world who were long exploited and oppressed by the imperialists in the past are now pressing forward along the road to a new society under the banner of independence. At present, newly independent nations are valiantly struggling to consolidate their political independence, build independent national economies and increase their own defence capabilities in the face of many trials and tribulations. This proves that it is the trend of the times which no force can ever check now that the world's people want independence and are advancing towards independence.

Our Juche idea reflects this trend.

What is essential in the Juche idea is to establish Juche in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Establishing Juche means having the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction. In other words, it means discarding the idea of dependence on others and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. This enables one to maintain at all times the independent standpoint of tackling one's own problems on one's own responsibility, and to adhere to the creative standpoint of solving all the problems that arise in the revolution and construction in line with the interests of one's people and the actual conditions of one's country.

The independent and creative standpoints are embodied in the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence.

Political independence is the lifeblood of a country and nation. Only when independence is maintained in politics is it possible to defend the nation's prestige and to accelerate the revolution and construction.

Political independence must be guaranteed by an independent economy. An independent national economy is essential for the consolidation of political independence and national prosperity and for providing the people with an affluent material standard of living.

An independent and sovereign state should always be self-reliant in national defence. Self-reliance in defence is indispensable for safeguarding national independence and revolutionary gains against all forms of imperialist aggression and interference.

Guided by the Juche idea, our people have established Juche in all fields of the revolution and construction. As a result a great victory has been achieved in the struggle for a new society. Our country, once a destitute and backward colony, has been transformed into a powerful socialist state, politically independent, economically self-sufficient and self-reliant in defence. Our people's brilliant victory in the building of a new society is graphic proof of the correctness and vitality of the Juche idea.

Although the Juche idea is our own proposition based on the requirements of the Korean revolution and our people's experience, it evokes a sympathetic response in people throughout the world because it reflects the trend of our times.

You said that the Juche idea is popular with the people of the third world. I think this is because the idea is in

accord with their aspirations and needs.

What kind of idea a people will adhere to and which path they will follow will be decided by their own wishes. The Juche idea says that one is the master of one's own destiny and that one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny. If the people of the third world carve out their path independently with a high consciousness that they are the masters of their own destiny, they will surely have a bright future.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE
GHANA TIMES, ORGAN OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF GHANA
(Excerpts)**

October 8, 1981

Now I should like to talk briefly about the Juche idea.

You have asked what theoretical and practical questions are important in the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is a man-centred philosophy. This means that the Juche idea is a philosophy which puts man in the centre of its study and regards it as its mission to give an answer to the problem of man's destiny.

The Juche idea defines the essential character of man and his position and role in the world. In doing so it provides a scientific and revolutionary view of the world which shows a correct way of carving out man's destiny.

The essential characteristic of a social being which is considered by the Juche idea is independence and creativity. Because he has independence and creativity man is a special being who differs from all other beings in the world, in which he holds a special position and plays a distinctive role.

The Juche idea treats man as the master of everything

and the maker of all decisions. This concept is the basis of the Juche idea.

That man is the master of everything means that he holds the position of a master who dominates the world. Because he is an independent being, man does not live in subjugation to the world which surrounds him, but by dominating nature and society. Man is the only living creature who has independence and, accordingly, he is the sole master who rules the world.

That man decides everything means that he plays the role of transforming and changing the world. Because man is a creative being, he does not adapt himself to the world about him, but changes and transforms nature and society. Man is the only living creature with creative power and he acts purposefully. Therefore, he is the only creator who changes and reforms the world.

Because man holds the position of master who rules the world, he is the master of his own destiny. Furthermore, because man plays the role of changing and transforming the world, he also plays a decisive role in shaping his own destiny. In the final analysis, the Juche idea clarifies the truth that man is the master of his own destiny. That man is the master of his own destiny is the pith of the Juche idea and here lies the revolutionary essence of the Juche idea.

The Juche idea requires that man is placed in the centre of all thinking and everything is made to serve man. This is the most universal methodology which must be followed in recognizing and changing the world.

Placing man in the centre of all thinking and making

everything serve him means to give priority to man and view and approach all the things and phenomena in relation to him and make everything in nature and society contribute to accomplishing his independent aspirations and demands.

Man is the most precious being in the world. Everything in the world has value only when it benefits man and serves him. Therefore, it must be established as the supreme principle to defend man's independent rights and interests and everything in the world must be subordinated to bringing about man's independent aspirations and demands.

Man is the most powerful being in the world and everything in the world can only be changed in his favour by his creative activities. Therefore, in all the activities to transform nature and society the first process must be to train man to be a more powerful being, and all problems arising in the revolution and construction must be solved by increasing man's creative role.

The Juche idea demands that the working people adopt the attitude of master in the revolution and construction. For the masses of the working people to maintain the attitude of master towards the revolution and construction is the fundamental principle which must be adhered to constantly in the struggle for independence.

The master of the revolution in each country is its own people, and the factor in the victory of the revolution also lies in the strength of its own people. For this reason, if the revolution is to emerge victorious, the working people must always have the attitude of master towards the

revolution in their own country.

For the working masses to adopt the attitude of master towards the revolution and construction means maintaining the position of master and playing that role fully. In other words, this means maintaining an independent and creative stand.

Maintaining an independent stand is the characteristic need of the revolutionary struggle itself for independence. Revolution is a struggle to achieve independence for the working people. Therefore, one must maintain an independent stand in the revolutionary struggle.

An independent stand is a revolutionary stand to defend one's right as the master of the revolution and construction and discharge one's responsibility to the full. The working masses have the right to deal with all the problems which arise in the revolution and construction in conformity with their needs and interests and assume the sacred duty to advance the revolution and construction in a responsible way. If the working people are to defend their right and discharge their duty in the revolution and construction, they must implement the principle of independence and self-reliance.

The working people must decide on all the problems arising in the revolution and construction in accordance with their own judgement and opinion and solve them in conformity with their requirements and interests. In carrying out the revolutionary struggle and work of construction the working people must never dance to the tune of others or cringe to others.

The working masses must accept responsibility for all

the problems arising in the revolution and construction and settle them through their own efforts. One may receive help from others in the revolution and construction, but in the final analysis the main thing is one's own strength. If one relies on others, one will never be able to solve one's problems satisfactorily. The working masses must carry out the revolution and construction on the principle of self-reliance, believing in their own strength and relying on it.

Maintaining a creative stand is an indispensable need of the revolutionary struggle and construction work themselves. Revolution and construction are a creative movement to change nature and society in conformity with the independent aspirations and requirements of the working masses. Therefore, one must adhere to a creative stand in this work.

Maintaining a creative stand implies solving all problems of the revolution and construction in an original way in conformity with the prevailing conditions of one's country by mobilizing the creative power of the working people.

In the revolution and construction, the workers are the master of creation. It is only when the creative ability of the working people is brought into action that it is possible to solve any difficult and ambitious problem successfully and promote the revolution and construction energetically.

The circumstances and conditions under which the revolution and construction proceed are complex and varied. Furthermore, they continually change. There are

no principles of action which are appropriate to every complex and varied situation, and no immutable methods of action. One must solve every problem in conformity with the real situation on the basis of scientific attention to the specific circumstances and changing conditions. With regard to existing theories and foreign experience, one must not accept them automatically, but approach them in a creative way.

The experience of our country shows that if the working people adopt the attitude of master and solve every problem by maintaining an independent and creative stand, they will succeed in the revolution and construction without deviating in the slightest from the right path.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE RSS
NEWS AGENCY OF NEPAL**
(Excerpts)

June 22, 1982

First I will speak about the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is a man-centred world outlook and a revolutionary theory for realizing the independence of the masses of the people.

The Juche idea is a philosophical approach to the world which explains it from the perspective of placing man at the centre; it gives a correct solution to the question of the destiny of man.

The Juche idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. That man is the master of everything means that he is in the position of the master who dominates the world, and that man decides everything means that he plays the role of transforming and changing it.

Man holds the position of the master who dominates the world and plays the role of transforming and changing it because he has a specific attribute which is foreign to the other beings of the world.

Man is a social being possessing self-determination.

Self-determination is intrinsic to the nature of man who wants to live freely as the master of the world. Because of his ability of self-determination, man is an independent being who opposes all restraints and subordination and dominates everything. Self-determination is the lifeblood of man, the social being. Consequently a man denied the ability for self-determination is as good as dead.

Man is a social being with creativity.

Creativity is intrinsic to the nature of man who transforms the world in conformity with his independent aspirations and needs. Because he is endowed with creativity, man is a creative being who transforms nature and society purposefully, instead of adapting himself blindly to the outer world.

Self-determination and creativity are guaranteed by man's consciousness. Man's self-determination and creativity are attributes which are manifested in conscious actions. All his independent and creative activities are of a conscious nature. Therefore, consciousness is an important attribute of man.

The possession of self-determination, creativity and consciousness set man apart as a being who occupies a special place and plays a special role in the world. In other words, through the possession of these qualities, man becomes the sole master who dominates the world, and the sole creator who transforms and changes the world.

Because he is the sole being who dominates and transforms the world, man is the master of his own destiny and plays the decisive role in moulding it. In the final

analysis, the Juche idea elucidates the truth that man is master of his own destiny. That man is master of his own destiny is the pith of the Juche idea and herein lies its revolutionary essence.

The Juche idea clarifies the laws of the development of society and the principles of the revolution with the masses of the people as the central factor.

The masses of the people are the subject of history. This means that they are the central figure in history and that social movement is realized by them.

Society does not mark time but moves and progresses continuously. Society moves forward as the position and role of the masses, the subject of history, are enhanced.

The masses of the people are responsible for social movement, and they are also the motive force of social progress. Their activity underlies social movement, and society develops owing to their independence and creativity. The independence and creativity of the masses develop and this results in the movement and development of society. This is the law-governing process of social development.

The destiny of the people in society is hewed out in the process of the revolution. The revolution is essentially an organized struggle for defending and realizing the independence of the masses. It transforms and changes the old social relations and social system and enhances the social position and role of the masses of the people.

The masses are the master of the revolution, and they have the power to promote it. A revolution breaks out and is pushed forward by the independent aspirations

and requirements and creative ability of the masses. The direct cause of a social revolution lies in a high sense of independence and political readiness among the masses. A revolution will come about only when the masses of the people become conscious of their class position, have a keen desire to rid themselves of domination and subjugation and live freely, and are ideologically and politically prepared to struggle to attain that desire.

The ultimate goal of the revolution is the full and complete guarantee of an independent and creative life for the people. If this is to be achieved, class and national domination and subjugation must be done away with and the remnants of the old society eliminated completely from the ideological, technical, cultural and all other spheres of social life.

The Juche idea demands that the working masses realize Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, through an attitude of master towards the revolution and construction.

In each country the people themselves are masters of the revolution and construction. Their strength is the key to victory. Therefore, the masses of the people should realize Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence by adopting the attitude of master towards the revolution and construction. Juche, independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance in defence are the guiding principles of the revolution.

Guided unswervingly by the Juche idea, the

Government of our Republic has firmly established Juche in ideology and adhered strictly to the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, thereby attaining brilliant victories in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

Establishing Juche in ideology is vital in maintaining the attitude of master in theoretical and spiritual life.

The revolution and the work of construction imply the conscious struggle of the people, and so success in the revolution and construction requires the establishment of Juche in ideology before all else. In particular, in our country where flunkeyism towards great powers had been a glaring problem in the past, the establishment of Juche in ideology was a matter of the utmost urgency.

The Government of our Republic waged a relentless struggle against flunkeyism and for the establishment of Juche in ideology. The struggle for Juche brought about a radical transformation in our people's ideological life and mode of thinking. It completely changed their way of living and working. Today the Juche idea pervades the whole of our society. All the people think and act in the manner required by this idea.

Realizing independence in politics is a principle in maintaining the attitude of master in political life and state activities.

Politics is a very important sphere of activity for it plays the decisive role in social life. Only when self-determination is maintained in politics is it possible to realize independence in all spheres of social life.

In order to maintain self-determination in politics, one must have an independent government. Only such a government is capable of conducting the affairs of state in conformity with the people's aspirations and demands for self-determination and of steadfastly defending national independence and sovereignty.

The Government of our Republic is truly an independent government.

The Government of the Republic formulates all its policies itself to suit the specific conditions of our country and carries them out by relying on the strength of our own people. It exercises completely equal rights in its external relations and resolves all questions arising in its international relations in accordance with its conviction and judgement. The authority of our country as an independent and sovereign state and the dignity of our people lie precisely in the fact that the Government of the Republic firmly maintains political independence.

Realizing economic self-sufficiency means thinking and acting like masters in economic development.

Economic self-sufficiency constitutes the material basis of political independence and sovereignty. Only when a nation is economically self-sufficient, can it consolidate its independence, exercise complete sovereignty, and give the people a full material guarantee for their independent and creative lives.

If a nation is to be economically self-sufficient, it must build an independent economy.

Advancing the line of building an independent national economy, the Government of the Republic, drawing

on the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, has shaken off the nation's economic backwardness in a very short time and built an excellent socialist independent national economy which is run with our own resources and efforts, diversified, and equipped with up-to-date technology. At present, our independent national economy is producing everything required for socialist construction and satisfying all the people's daily needs. It is continuing to develop rapidly on a stable basis, unaffected by world economic fluctuations. Our independent national economy is also making an active contribution to the strengthening of economic and technical cooperation with the newly-emerging nations.

Realizing self-reliance in national defence means approaching the issue with the attitude of masters in building a defence capability.

As long as imperialism exists in the world, any independent and sovereign state must have a strong defence capability of its own, capable of repelling enemy aggression. Without one, it would be impossible to preserve national independence and safeguard the achievements of the revolution and construction. A self-reliant defence capability is a sure military guarantee for political independence and economic self-sufficiency.

By carrying through the revolutionary line of self-reliance in defence, the Government of our Republic has developed a defence system capable of offering swift resistance to any imperialist moves of aggression and safeguarding the socialist system and the security of our people. Today, our self-reliant defence capability

provides a sure military guarantee for our historic cause of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea.

We have developed our country into a land of Juche, a powerful socialist country, independent, self-sufficient and capable of defending itself, by firmly establishing Juche in our ideology, and carrying through the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy, and self-reliance in national defence. To sum up, this is the major achievement of our people in the revolution and construction under the banner of the Juche idea.

Our revolutionary practice has proved the validity and vitality of the Juche idea. In the future, too, our people will push forward the revolution and construction under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea and will nobly carry out the historic aim of modelling the whole society upon it.

**ON THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S
STRUGGLE TO APPLY THE
JUCHE IDEA**
(Excerpts)

**Talks to the Delegation of the American Popular
Revolutionary Alliance of Peru**
June 30 and July 1 and 5, 1983

Comrade General Secretary, you said that the masses of the people are the masters of their destiny and makers of history and, therefore, it is none other than the Latin-American people who are the masters of the struggle to achieve the liberation and independence of Latin America and also the masters of the struggle for the unity of this continent. I consider that such view and conviction of yours are excellent. I fully support your viewpoint.

The masses of the people are the masters of their destiny and makers of history. History is made and society develops through the role played by the masses. They can prevail over any imperialism and build a new society to meet their aspirations and demands in any adversity.

From the very first days of the revolution to this date we have always relied firmly on the strength of the masses in our struggle, strongly convinced that if we depend on them in our activities, we can solve any problems arising

in the revolution and construction.

...

If the masses bring their creative ability and wisdom into full play, deeply conscious that they are the masters of the revolution and construction, there is nothing impossible for them to do. This is a priceless truth we obtained while guiding the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction.

If you insist on me letting you know our humble experience, I will do so.

I am hugely delighted to meet such wonderful comrades-in-arms as you who have common views and ideas with us.

I would like to offer my warm thanks to you, comrade head of the delegation, and other guests for expressing wholehearted agreement to the Juche idea and actively supporting our people's struggle for the triumph of this idea.

Comrade head of the delegation, you have just now pointed out that one cannot develop one's country independently if one depends upon imperialists and capitalists. You have grasped a highly important matter.

At present the rulers of some countries are so affected by flunkeyism and fear of technology that they do not believe in the strength of their peoples, the strength of their nations, but pin hopes only on developed countries. They cannot build independent new societies that way.

A few years ago a delegation from a certain Asian country visited our country. I met them after they had visited a number of places in our country. The head of

the delegation said that in his country even tiny factories were run by foreigners, but here in Korea all the factories, great or small, were run by the Koreans themselves; and he added that this was quite mysterious. So I told him to the following effect: The Asian people are talented and diligent by nature; still today the handicrafts made by Asians are much better than those made by Europeans, which shows the excellent ability of the Asian people; Asians became backward in recent centuries because they failed to carry out the industrial revolution; in the past the feudal systems which had suppressed social progress were so strong in Asian countries that they failed to carry out the industrial revolution while European countries were making it; if the Asians are to catch up with the countries which have already carried it out, they must first discard the tendency to rely on others, instead of believing in their own strength and the strength of their nations.

If one draws on one's people's strength properly, one can do anything without the help of others.

In our country we made even electric locomotives on our own by means of drawing on the strength of the people. When we were going to make our first electric locomotive, a European ambassador to our country claimed that Korea would not be able to make it, and suggested that we had better buy the electric locomotives produced by his country. But we decided to make them by our own efforts. At the time I assigned young technicians with the task of designing an electric locomotive and encouraged them and solved all problems they raised.

Finally we succeeded in producing electric locomotives on our own. In our country the electrification of the railways was stepped up in a big way by using the electric locomotives of our own make.

We constructed all modernistic buildings such as this Kumsusan Assembly Hall by our own efforts by enlisting the strength of the people. At present our people's architectural skill is very high. They developed it while building many things anew on the debris after the war.

Our experience shows that if one is to develop one's country by one's own efforts without relying on others, one must first train many native cadres.

Immediately after liberation our country was very short of its own cadres as a consequence of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. There were only dozens of university graduates, and most of them had specialized in law or literature; there were few who had graduated from technological colleges. The Japanese had not imparted techniques to the Koreans. As a consequence, there were few people who were capable of managing and operating industry after liberation.

We proposed the training of our own cadres as a top priority task in the construction of a new society and exerted great efforts for this task.

In an endeavour to train our own cadres we set up a university before anything else in the teeth of every hardship. When we were trying to do this immediately following liberation, some people asked how we could build a university without any asset. We did not waver in the least, however. We brought in teachers and

intellectuals from all over the country, some of the intellectuals even from the southern half of Korea. Meanwhile, our peasants had done their first farming on the land distributed to them and donated some of the rice to the state, which we used as funds to erect the buildings of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and the university. This Mangyongdae Revolutionary School is an institution to give education to the sons and daughters of the comrades who died while carrying out revolutionary activities with us.

After the establishment of the university we opened several more universities. Even during the Fatherland Liberation War when the country was hard pressed, we carried on the training of Korean cadres.

Thanks to our Party's correct educational policy, our country has more than 180 institutes of higher learning today although there was none before; the number of technicians and specialists has now grown into 1 200 000, whereas there were only dozens of them right after liberation.

Intellectuals play an important role in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Since we have a huge army of 1 200 000 intellectuals, we can do anything once we decide to.

You asked how we authored the Juche idea and formulated it theoretically. I will explain it briefly.

...

The Koreans are a sagacious nation with a long history. Our country had a long developed culture; it was advanced in everything. You would understand this

well if you go to our history museum. Our country has beautiful mountains and rivers and abounds in natural resources. Therefore, the great countries adjacent to us had long had a covetous eye on it and tried to draw it under their influence. The US, too, had long tried to swallow Korea and spread Christianity here.

Historically speaking, many flunkeyists emerged out of the feudal rulers towards the end of the Ri dynasty, the last feudal state in Korea. At the time the flunkeyists were divided into pro-Qing (China under the Qing dynasty–Tr.), pro-Russian and pro-Japanese factions. The pro-Qing faction, with the Qing's backing, tried to introduce the Qing's ideology and culture into our country, and the pro-Russian faction tried to draw in the forces of Russia with Russian support and the pro-Japanese faction the forces of Japan with Japanese backing. Originally, Japan developed under the impact of our culture. But, as Japan quickly developed through the industrial revolution, there appeared among our people the tendency to look up to Japan and seek Japanese backing.

While other countries were making the industrial revolutions, our feudal rulers were engrossed in factional strife under the manipulation of great powers, and would not develop their country. At the time there were reformists in our country, too, who attempted to carry out bourgeois reforms and the industrial revolution, but failed under the suppression of the feudal rulers. Hence, our country could not develop and became backward; at the time our people began to have an inimical habit of unreservedly regarding everything done by the great

countries, as good and fine.

After all, our country was ruined because of the flunkeyists. In 1910 it became a complete colony of Japan and was under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialists for 36-long years. After their occupation of Korea, these imperialists pursued a vicious colonial policy towards her. But the Korean people did not yield to them.

The Korean people rose in resistance to their colonial rule and struggled to liberate the nation. But factions appeared in the ranks of the anti-Japanese struggle and harmed greatly the national-liberation struggle.

Nationalists divided themselves in different groups and got engrossed in bickering, turning to big powers, instead of thinking of struggling by drawing on the forces of the masses of the people. Some of them tried to achieve Korea's independence with the backing of China, others with the help of the Soviet Union, and still others who had been to Japan for study harboured illusions about Japan and hoped her to make a "present" of Korean independence. Some people agreed to Wilson's "doctrine of self-determination of nations" and worshipped it.

The communists who professed an anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle, too, split into various groups and engrossed themselves in factional strife, without trying to conduct the revolution by relying on the masses of the people. Each of these factions declared itself to be the "orthodox party", visiting the Communist International to gain recognition. A revolution is an undertaking which should be done of one's own accord, not with the

recognition of somebody else. Why did they travel about to get recognition when they could naturally have won the recognition of the Communist International if they had made a successful revolution for their own country?

Viewing critically this situation of the nationalist movement and the initial communist movement in our country, I keenly felt that the struggle should be waged on the strength of our own people and that our own problems should be solved on our own responsibility. My father, too, had much revolutionary influence on me conceiving this idea.

My father was one of the forerunners of the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement in our country. In the autumn of 1917 there occurred the sensational “case of 105” in which 105 persons who had been struggling for national liberation in our country were arrested at a time by the Japanese imperialist police. Most of these arrested people were members of the Korean National Association. My father, the organizer of the Korean National Association, was also arrested at the time and spent more than a year in prison. Although he was physically weak when he was released from the prison, he resumed the national-liberation movement. While he was continuing the struggle against the Japanese imperialists, he was arrested again by their police, but he ran away during his escort. He passed away in 1926 when I was 14 years old because of the aftereffects of the torture he had undergone in prison and of the frostbite at the time of his escape from the escorting police.

My father thought that it would be impossible to win

national independence if the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement suffered factional strife and that national independence could be achieved only by uniting the masses of the people and fighting on their strength. He was opposed to factions in this movement and asserted unity.

After my father's death I entered a school run by the Korean nationalists in northeast China. I studied there, but I did not like the content of nationalist education given by the school. Originally, this school was set up under the guidance of my father to train the cadres for an independence army.

I made up my mind to pave a new road of revolutionary struggle and formed the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU) with the patriotic youths of the school and started the revolutionary struggle. Later, the members of the DIU played a hard-core role in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

After the formation of the DIU, I organized the Anti-Imperialist Youth League, the Young Communist League of Korea and many other communist youth organizations.

When I started the revolutionary struggle, some of my comrades advised me to go to Moscow and study at the university run by the Communist International. They asked this because they wanted me to give good leadership to the revolutionary movement after a greater deal of study, but I declined. I did not go to Moscow, thinking that it would be better to learn while struggling among the people than studying at Moscow. Our people,

not people at Moscow or Shanghai, were my teachers.

In 1932 we organized an army against Japanese imperialism, but we had no experience in an armed struggle at the time. Nevertheless, we launched an armed struggle, acquiring and enriching our experience through the struggle. In the struggle the armed ranks grew, and the revolutionaries and young patriots became closely united. My comrades respected me and I loved them. The soldiers of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army treasured and loved one another in this way, waging an arduous armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists for 15-long years.

We did not receive foreign aid in our fight against the Japanese imperialists. Even if we wanted some aid in the procurement of weapons, there was no one to turn to for such aid. We armed ourselves by capturing weapons from the Japanese imperialists and fought the enemy with the support of the people.

The Japanese imperialists launched intensive "punitive operations" with a large force of one million troops in an attempt to wipe out the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, while at the same time manoeuvring in every possible way to starve the KPRA men. The enemy set up "concentration villages" and forbade the people's free exit from the walled "villages" in order to prevent the people from approaching the KPRA units. The enemy locked up even the provisions within the walls and controlled their exit. But the people sent provisions to the KPRA units in various ways. In autumn farmers removed the vines from their potato fields pretending to harvest the potatoes and

then informed these units of the fields, telling them to harvest the potatoes. The farmers also hid their harvested maize in woods and told the units to take it away. Support for our People's Revolutionary Army came not only from workers and farmers but also from all sections of the patriotic people including intellectuals.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I put up the slogan, "As fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," and got the KPRA fighters to have kindred relations with people. The KPRA could win victory in the long struggle against Japanese imperialism because it had close bonds with the people and enjoyed their active support.

Through the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we came to know well how great the people's strength was and became convinced that the revolutionary struggle would win when it was carried on by believing in their strength and relying on it.

After the liberation of our country in 1945 we lost no time in tackling with the work to found the Party. We formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea in October 1945 and proclaimed the founding of the Party to the world. Later we set the policy of developing the Communist Party into a mass party of the working people to meet the needs of the prevailing situation and the revolutionary development in the country, and put this policy into effect in a short time.

Right after liberation, there were not many qualified communists in our country; the working class was still

young and people had no correct understanding of communism. The Japanese imperialists had long conducted a misleading propaganda against communism among our people, so quite a few of them took communists for stooges of the Soviet Union.

Under these circumstances, if the Party was to take deep roots among the broad masses of the working people, it was necessary to develop the Communist Party into a mass party by widely admitting to it not only qualified communists and advanced elements of the working class but also the fine elements of the peasantry and the working intellectuals. Thus in 1946, we developed the Communist Party into the Workers' Party to embrace all the advanced members of the working masses. Since then our Party has steadily developed as a united party of the working masses.

The emblem of our Party is inscribed with a hammer, a sickle and a brush, which stand for the workers, peasants and working intellectuals making up the Party.

In the Fatherland Liberation War, we felt even more keenly the need to hold fast to the banner of the Juche idea against dogmatism and flunkeyism.

After liberation we sent many students to foreign countries to build a new Korea and called back home quite a few Koreans who had been active abroad. Flunkeyism and dogmatism found expression among them. Those who had studied abroad as well as those who had returned home from abroad preferred foreign things to ours, trying to copy foreign things mechanically. When fighting the enemy during the war, they proposed

to apply foreign methods, without taking into consideration the specific situation of our country. We were opposed to such a tendency. At the time of the Second World War, hundreds of tanks were employed at a time to attack the enemy in wide plains of Europe, but such a tactic did not conform to our country's terrains. Our country had not many tanks, and even if we had had many, we could not have used many of them at a time to attack the enemy in our terrain conditions. Our country has few plains but many mountains.

As the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army at the time, I stressed that we had to fight by Korean tactics to conform with our terrains, instead of employing foreign tactics. We developed the guerrilla tactics created in the anti-Japanese armed struggle to meet the needs of a regular war and worked out various new tactics suitable for our specific situation.

...

The necessity of opposing flunkeyism and establishing Juche in our country posed as a more urgent problem in the postwar period. Therefore, I made a speech to Party information and publicity workers in 1955 on thoroughly establishing Juche in ideological work. At that time, I told them that of course we should not become narrow-minded nationalists but we should not forget our country and nation and that in drawing a picture we should do for the benefit of our people and in singing a piece of song we should sing one they like. From then on we put a strong emphasis on the question of establishing Juche.

After the war we established Juche in all domains of

the revolution and construction and did everything in our own way. As for the cooperativization of private farming, too, we did it not in a foreign way but in our own way, to suit the actual conditions in our country. As a result, our agricultural cooperative movement was carried out quickly and smoothly.

When we cooperativized agriculture I told the officials: We should learn from good foreign experience, but chew it and see whether or not it suits the specific situation of our country and the interests of our revolution; if it is acceptable to our “stomach” we should swallow it, but if not, we should spit it out. Even afterwards, we stressed that of things foreign we should accept those which our people demand and should not those which they do not demand and that even in case of adopting them we should not adopt them mechanically but assimilate them to suit the actual conditions of our country. We have always educated our officials and working people in the Juche idea in this way.

As we established Juche and did all work in our own way in the past, everything went off satisfactorily in our country.

Still today we resolve all problems in our own way, on the basis of the Juche idea. We develop industry in the Juche-oriented way and carry out construction in the Juche-oriented way. We are also developing agriculture in the Juche-oriented way to suit the specific situation of our country.

Many of our agricultural specialists studied abroad in the past. But we made sure that they did not apply the

farming methods they had acquired to the reality of our country as they were, because there were differences between the actual conditions of our farming areas and those of other countries. The foreign farming methods they studied do not suit our specific situation. If we introduce the farming methods which do not fit in with our situation we cannot farm well.

Once our universities of agriculture taught students with the textbooks used at foreign agricultural universities which were translated into Korean. But, today we teach our students with new textbooks written to meet the requirements of the Juche farming method.

If you see the performances by our artists you will realize that we sing songs in our own way and also develop operas in our own way.

True, the world has many fine musical works such as Tchaikovsky's. But, however fine they may be, foreign pieces do not well suit the feelings of our people. Our people like the art national in form and socialist in content. We oppose both the tendencies to ignore our own things and copy foreign things mechanically and restore the obsolete things of the past as they are. We adhere to the principle of developing literature and art national in form and socialist in content.

In a word, Juche industry, Juche agriculture, Juche construction and Juche literature and art are quickly developing in our country today.

If we are guided by the Juche idea, everything goes off well.

Comrade head of the delegation, you said that the

Juche idea is not a mechanical copy of Marxism but its creative development which suits the reality of today. I think you are right.

In fact, we did not apply Marxism to our reality as it is. If one applies it mechanically, one cannot win the revolutionary struggle.

Marx advanced his revolutionary theories on the basis of the analysis of capitalist society while working in developed capitalist countries like Germany and England. He considered that revolution would break out continuously in the major capitalist countries of Europe and predicted that communism would triumph soon on a worldwide scale. But there is not a single country where communism has been realized, though over a century has passed since Marx and Engels made public *The Communist Manifesto*. Capitalism still remains in England.

Capitalists are very cunning. They leave no stone unturned to maintain their position. They rear labour aristocrats among the working class and put them up to disorganize the ranks of the working-class movement. Here lies one of the major reasons why revolution does not break out in the developed capitalist countries now.

We should not consider that once the ranks of the working class increase, a revolution will break out of itself, nor should we consider that we can make revolution only with the working class. In former colonial and semi-colonial countries which did not go through the normal stage of capitalist development, workers are not so many, whereas the peasants and

handicraftsmen form the overwhelming majority of the population. In these countries the revolution can emerge victorious when even the peasants and handicraftsmen are organized.

Shortly after liberation the workers were not so many and the peasantry occupied 80 per cent of our nation's population. Therefore, we regarded the peasantry as the motive power of our revolution like the workers and rallied them behind the Party. In some countries intellectuals were not regarded as part of the motive power of the revolution, because they belonged to the propertied classes. But we recognized their important role in the revolutionary struggle and rallied them around the Party. Once the anti-Party factionalists opposed our Party's policy with regard to intellectuals. However, we shattered their moves and carried out this policy.

We rallied workers, peasants, working intellectuals and handicraftsmen and carried out the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Our brilliant achievements in the revolution and construction substantiate the correctness of our Party's policy.

Marx's works do not specify the method of the revolution for each country. Communists in each country should use their own brains to seek the means and ways for accomplishing the revolution to meet the interests of their people and the actual conditions of their country. The party of a country knows well about the national reality. You know better than anybody else about the Peruvian revolution, and we about the Korean revolution. As for the theoretical and practical problems arising in the

revolution and construction of each country, its party can offer the most correct conclusion.

There can be no immutable formula in making revolution. There are formulas in mathematics, but not in making revolution. If there is any formula that must be observed in revolution, it is that one should think everything with one's own brains and deal with it by one's own efforts. There can be no other formula. We reached this conclusion through our protracted revolutionary struggle.

He who takes a dogmatic attitude towards Marxism and foreign experience is not a genuine Marxist. He is a bogus Marxist.

In the past, there were sham Marxists in our country, too. They set foot on the Korean soil but kept their heads in foreign countries.

Such people may try hard to profess themselves to be Marxists, but they are mere phrasemongers. They are fond of fooling people with revolutionary words. In the past, whenever they made speeches, the phony Marxists in our country used many words people could not understand, such as "hegemony", "proletariat" and "intelligentsia", pretending to know much. So I severely criticized them.

People neither listen to such empty talks of bogus communists nor follow them.

You say that you are now organizing the masses in keeping with the specific conditions of Peru. If you do so, everything will go well. I think you are right in doing so.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE
INDONESIAN NEWSPAPER *MERDEKA*
(Excerpts)**

March 6, 1986

Question: Your Excellency, Mr. President, you created the Juche idea in the course of leading the Korean revolution and have made tireless efforts to embody it in all fields.

I would like Your Excellency to explain in detail how the Juche idea is embodied in Korea.

Answer: I shall have to talk a great deal if I am to explain in detail how the Juche idea is being implemented in our country. I will talk about this briefly by concentrating on the main aspects.

The Juche idea is the guiding ideology of the Korean revolution. All the lines and policies of our Party and the Government of our Republic emanate from the Juche idea and are the application of this idea. All the successes which our people have achieved in the revolution and construction are the brilliant results of their struggle to implement the Juche idea.

The Juche idea is a man-centred outlook on the world and a revolutionary doctrine to provide the masses of the

people with independence. The Juche idea views and approaches the world by centring on man. It provides a correct answer to the question of man's destiny.

The Juche idea requires that the masses should have the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction and realize Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in national defence.

The people of each country are the masters of the revolution and construction in their country, and the forces of the people of that country are the decisive factor in the triumph of their revolution and construction. That is why the masses must have the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction and realize Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in national defence. Juche, independence, self-support and self-reliant defence are the guiding principles of the revolution.

The revolution and construction are a conscious struggle of the people. Therefore, the people of each country must first establish Juche firmly in ideology if they are to carry out these undertakings successfully. The need to establish Juche in ideology was particularly urgent in our country in former days when great-power worship was rampant.

We struggled tirelessly against great-power worship to establish Juche in ideology. As a result, our people have got rid of great-power worship and dogmatism and have acquired a higher sense of national pride and independence. Today, our society is imbued with the Juche idea, and all our

people think and act in accordance with this idea.

Politics is an important undertaking which plays a decisive role in social life. Maintaining independence in politics is the way to uphold the dignity of one's country and nation and realize independence in all spheres of social life.

The Government of our Republic maintains independence fully in all fields of its activity. It formulates all its lines and policies independently to fit the interests of our people and the specific situation in our country, and it carries them out by relying on the strength of our own people. It exercises complete equality in its external relations and settles all matters relating to international relations according to its own conviction and judgement.

Economic independence is very important in building an independent and sovereign state. It is a prerequisite for the consolidation of national independence, for the enjoyment of full sovereignty and for the provision of satisfactory material conditions for the people to lead an independent and creative life.

If a nation is to be independent economically, it must build its own independent economy. The Government of our Republic laid down the line of building an independent national economy and has implemented it in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance over recent years. As a result, it has eliminated the nation's economic backwardness in a short time and built an excellent socialist, independent national economy which depends on our own resources, is run by our own efforts, and is well-rounded and equipped with modern technology. Today

this independent economy is meeting the material needs of the nation with its own products and is developing steadily with every passing day.

Self-reliant defence is essential for an independent and sovereign state. A country which cannot defend itself by its own efforts is not, in the final analysis, worthy of being called an independent and sovereign nation, nor can it build a new society. By implementing the military line of self-reliant defence the Government of our Republic has built up a strong defence power capable of resisting any aggressors, and so of safeguarding our socialist country and revolutionary achievements.

The revolution and construction are undertakings for the masses of the people, and they must be carried out by the masses themselves. The aim of these undertakings is to realize the independence of the masses, and their success depends on how the creative strength of the masses are mobilized.

The Government of our Republic regards the championing of the people's interests as the highest principle of its activity and always protects their interests fully and devotes everything for their happiness. Whenever we make a decision, we consider first what the people want; whenever we build a factory, we consider first the people's convenience. All the policies of the Government of our Republic are designed for the interests and happiness of the people.

We consider it the basic guarantee for success in the revolution and construction to give rein to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative talent of the masses

and always encourage the people to expand their creative role; we thus solve every problem arising in the revolution and construction, and overcome any difficulties by relying on their strength. Although the situation in our country has been complex and many difficulties have stood in our way in the past, we have been able to build socialism smoothly and successfully. This is precisely because our Party has given full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and effectively mobilized their efforts.

Since the revolution and construction are undertaken by the masses, it is very important to develop the masses' power.

In order to train the people into powerful beings possessed of independent thought and conversant with the latest science and technology, it is necessary to develop education. We are therefore giving priority to education over all other work and are putting great effort into it. We have established an advanced educational system which suits the specific situation in our country, and are developing preschool education, school education and adult education without neglecting any level. In our country the whole of the younger generation are given a complete general secondary schooling under our 11-year compulsory education system before going out to work, and our working people study under the system of adult education, which provides various types of education while on the job. We intend to introduce compulsory higher education at some time in the future in accordance with our Party's policy of intellectualizing the whole of society. If they are given compulsory higher education, all our

working people will acquire the general knowledge of a university graduate. Our people's creative power will then have increased greatly, and our society will make more rapid progress.

Our people's struggle to implement the Juche idea has now entered a new, higher stage. We are now endeavouring to model the whole of society on the Juche idea.

Modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea is the general objective of our revolution. It is an undertaking to transform all members of society into communist men of the Juche type and reform all spheres of social life as required by the Juche idea in order to realize the full independence of the masses.

From now on we will push more strongly the revolution and construction under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea and thus accomplish, with flying colours, the historic cause of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

**LET US BRING THE ADVANTAGES
OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY
INTO FULL PLAY**
(Excerpts)

**Policy Speech Addressed to the First Session
of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

May 24, 1990

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Comrades,

The socialist system in our country is the greatest achievement of our people in their struggle to realize independence under the excellent leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

Our people are proud of the fact that they have, from their own conviction, chosen the path to socialism and have been building socialism successfully by their own efforts.

Our socialism is, in short, man-centred socialism, the embodiment of the Juche idea. The principal characteristic of our society is that it is a truly people-oriented society of which the masses are the genuine masters and in which

everything serves the masses.

The process of building socialism by the application of the Juche idea can be described as the process of strengthening the motive force of the revolution and of transforming all the sectors of society to meet the requirements of Juche, in other words, the process of thoroughly establishing Juche.

Strengthening the motive force of the revolution is the fundamental matter in the struggle for socialism. Unless they are fully prepared as the motive force of the revolution, the masses will be unable to emerge victorious from the struggle for political power; unless the motive force is consolidated steadily, it will find it impossible to build a socialist society and bring its advantages into play.

In carrying out the revolution and construction, we have always put preferential efforts into the consolidation of the motive force. We have promoted the work of strengthening the motive force in keeping with the development of the revolution and the progress of our construction to higher levels.

By imbuing the masses with the Juche idea, the guiding ideology of our revolution, we have thoroughly established Juche in ideology, strengthened the Party and united all the people closely behind the Party, with the result that our revolutionary ranks have been welded into a socio-political organism. Today in our country the seasoned Workers' Party of Korea stands firmly at the centre of the revolutionary ranks, and the masses who have withstood all trials and have always shared their destiny with the Party even when poised between life and

death during the long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle, are solidly united around the Party in a single purpose and mind. The fact that we have given definite priority to the work of strengthening the motive force of the revolution and thus strengthened the politico-ideological unity of the masses and helped them to fulfil their responsibility and role as befitting masters, has been the cardinal factor for success in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism.

Transforming all the sectors of society creatively to meet the desire for independence of the masses, the motive force of the revolution, is the basic direction in which to build man-centred socialism. Throughout the course of building socialism, our Party and the Government of our Republic have consistently maintained the independent and creative stands and implemented the line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence.

We have practised independent politics to safeguard and realize the political independence of the masses, the masters of society, and have constructed an economy which can stand on its feet and can meet the people's material needs on its own. We have also prepared self-reliant defence forces capable of reliably maintaining the security of the country and of protecting our revolutionary achievements. As a result of the establishment of solid political independence, reliable economic self-sufficiency and firm self-reliant national defence, our country has become a Juche-oriented, independent socialist country which continues to develop

in all spheres, free from subjugation to and dependence on others.

The strong, independent motive force of our revolution which is based on the unbreakable unity of ideology and purpose between the Party and the masses, and its steady consolidation and development on the strong basis of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliant defence, constitute the source of the might and indestructibility of the socialist system in our country and a sure guarantee for our accomplishment of the socialist cause without wavering, whatever the difficulty or complexity.

**ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE
MASSES OF THE PEOPLE IS THE
GUARANTEE FOR VICTORY IN
THE CAUSE OF INDEPENDENCE**
(Excerpts)

**Speech at a Banquet Given by the Government
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

April 15, 1992

With the belief that the masses of the people, not an individual, are the makers of history, I have always linked my life with the life of the masses and found the value of my life and the key to victory in sharing the same destiny with the masses. I fought, braving all the difficulties, with the conviction that I would surely emerge victorious if I fought by believing in the people and relying on their strength.

Our enemy was formidable and our struggle was arduous. When the country was liberated through the protracted and arduous struggle against imperialism, the whole country bubbled over with joy and delight. The people were hopeful about worthwhile creation and a happy future, but unexpectedly we were faced with the new misfortune of national division and had again to fight imperialist forces of aggression. The three-year-long

Fatherland Liberation War against the imperialist invasion was a hard fight. Our struggle to reconstruct towns and villages on the ruins after the war and our efforts to build socialism were also difficult. But we were not afraid of our enemies from whatever quarter, nor did we feel discouraged in the face of any trials and difficulties. We have been able to overcome all our trials and difficulties and win a brilliant victory by fighting with the conviction that nothing is impossible for us as long as we have the Party and the masses who are solidly united behind the Party.

Our Juche idea reflects the desire of the masses, the makers of history, for independence and their interests. In the whole course of the revolution and construction we have been guided by the Juche idea and adhered strictly to the Juche stand and Juche principles.

Meeting the desire of the motive force of the revolution for independence by strengthening it and increasing its role is the guiding principle of the revolution and construction which embodies the Juche idea. Both in our struggle against imperialism and in our efforts to build socialism we have put our main efforts into strengthening the motive force and enhancing its role, and we have promoted all our work to transform nature and society to meet the requirements of the motive force. The line of effecting Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, as well as the general line of socialist construction on giving a strong impetus to the three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural—while strengthening

the people's power and continually raising its functions and role, embody our Party's Juche-based guiding principle.

The society we have built is a society in which the Party and the masses have been fused into a single-hearted unity and constitute an independent motive force for the revolution; it is also a society in which Juche has been firmly established in all fields of politics, the economy and culture and it is a socialist society centred on the people that makes everything serve them. That is why our socialism is advancing confidently and steadily, displaying its advantages, in spite of the ceaseless anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries and despite the turbulent situation.

I can say that the Juche idea is a life-giving factor in the efforts of our Party and our people to accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause. In the future, too, we must continue to advance under the banner of the Juche idea and consistently implement the guiding principles of Juche, holding fast to them. Then we will be able to achieve the ultimate victory of our cause.

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

No. 208173

