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ON ESTABLISHING THE JUCHE OUTLOOK ON THE REVOLUTION

Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea October 10, 1987

Foreign Languages Publishing House Pyongyang, Korea 1988 Greeting the 42nd anniversary of the foundation of our Party today, I would like to emphasize once again the matter of establishing the Juche outlook on the revolution among Party members and other working people.

Ever since its foundation our Party has become steadily stronger and more developed by conducting a series of difficult and complex revolutionary campaigns, and has all along led our revolution to victory. It has developed into a revolutionary party which now has unconquerable strength primarily because it has inherited the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. The true revolutionaries during this struggle held the Juche outlook on the revolution. So they were able to fight resolutely for victory in the revolution without the slightest vacillation even in the most trying of circumstances, rallied solidly behind the great leader Comrade Kim II Sung and forming unbreakable ties with the popular masses.

The revolutionary outlook of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters was not mere knowledge obtained from a book or in a study. It was an unshakable belief acquired while fighting a grim war to destroy the brutal enemy, under the guidance of the great leader who had blazed the trail of the revolution. A revolutionary outlook that has been shaped and consolidated into a belief through practical struggle in this manner can become an ingrained characteristic peculiar to revolutionaries.

Our revolution has made great headway, and many changes have taken place in the status of the revolutionaries and in their circumstances. Nevertheless, making the revolutionary outlook a belief remains an important matter for us. Our revolution has not yet been completed, and we still have a long and rugged revolutionary path to tread. But our revolutionary veterans have gradually been decreasing in number, while a great many younger people who have not been trained during an arduous revolutionary struggle are joining the ranks of our revolution. If we are to overcome the trials and difficulties and achieve eventual victory in our revolution, we must equip all Party members and other working people firmly with the Juche outlook on the revolution.

The revolutionary outlook must be shaped to become one's belief rather than being taught as general knowledge. An ideology can only be firm when it has been acquired through a practical struggle because it is social consciousness that reflects one's desires and interests. An outlook on the revolution can be one's unshakable will when it has not only been understood theoretically, but also experienced in the course of one's life.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has said that people

cannot be considered to have established a revolutionary outlook on the world until they realize their class positions and interests, feel hatred for the exploiting class, are ready to champion their class interests, and then embark upon the path of the revolution with a firm determination and will to fight to destroy the society of exploiters and build a new society for the working masses. This is an outstanding idea, the first of its kind in history to explain scientifically the process of the formation of the revolutionary outlook on the world.

I can see, however, that the work of our officials in teaching Party members and working people to establish their revolutionary outlook remains, on the whole, at the stage of simply making them understand. Due attention is not being paid to the matter of encouraging them to shape their outlook and make it their belief through a practical struggle. Some officials seem to think that the matter of establishing the revolutionary outlook will be completely settled if they compile statistics on the number of study sessions and public lectures that have been given and organize such things as competitions for reciting phrases. Even question-and-answer contests are conducted in such a way as to make the contestants learn phrases by heart mechanically, instead of using methods of stimulating a large number of people to form a broad and deep understanding of the essence of the given question by drawing on their collective intelligence through argument. The purpose of imbuing Party members and working people with the revolutionary ideology is, in essence, to help them to participate in the revolutionary struggle with a high degree of willingness and with the attitude of masters, rather than to make them learn phrases by heart and show them off. Of course, it is necessary to go through the stage of cognition if one is to shape one's outlook on the revolution. But cognition is not an end in itself; it is significant only as a prerequisite for encouraging people to participate enthusiastically in the revolution with revolutionary determination and fighting spirit. We must not deal perfunctorily with the work of establishing the revolutionary outlook, but do it substantially in close combination with revolutionary practice so that this outlook can become an unshakable belief and will.

The Juche outlook on the revolution is the Juche-orientated revolutionary concept and attitude that must be acquired by a master of the revolution. Establishing this outlook means acquiring a correct understanding of the essence of the revolution, its basic aim and the method of carrying it out, and having a resolve and will to devote everything for the revolution, with a strong belief in their cause.

The revolution is an undertaking for providing Chajusong for the masses; it is an undertaking that must be conducted by the masses themselves, the masters. The aim of the revolution is to realize the Chajusong of the masses, and the basic method of carrying it out is to enhance their creative role under the leadership of the Party and the leader. Victory in the revolution depends, in the long run, on how the subject of the revolution, the integral whole of the leader, the party and the masses, is strengthened and how its role is enhanced. In establishing the revolutionary outlook, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the object of the revolution, but it is most important to have a correct concept of and attitude towards the subject of the revolution.

Since the subject of the revolution is the integral whole of the leader, the party and the masses, shaping a correct outlook on the leader, the organization and the masses is a prerequisite for establishing an outlook on the revolution. In addition, the Juche outlook on the revolution must be fortified by the revolutionary moral outlook which requires sharing life and death, weal and woe, on the basis of revolutionary ethics and comradeship, because the subject of the revolution is a socio-political organism which has a common destiny. Just as the leader, the party and the masses constitute the subject of the revolution by forming a socio-political organism, so the outlooks on the leader, the organization, the masses and morals constitute an integral outlook on the revolution in an unbreakable relationship. Therefore, in order to establish an unshakable Juche outlook on the revolution it is essential to acquire the revolutionary outlooks on the leader, the organization, the masses and morals together.

If one is to establish the Juche outlook on the revolution, one must, above all else, establish the revolutionary outlook on the leader.

In doing this, it is important to have the correct understanding that the leader is the centre of the life of the socio-political community.

The importance of the leader's role of guidance has been emphasized a great deal in previous revolutionary theories. Needless to say, the leader plays an important role as the centre of leadership in shaping the destiny of the masses. But the leader must not be regarded simply as the man in high command. The importance of leadership has been recognized in every society and by every class, but no other class has ever given such high prominence to its leader as the centre of the life of the socio-political community as the working class does. The relationship between the leader and the people must not be understood as a mere relationship between the man who leads and the men who are led. If the leader is viewed simply as a man with authority to command, and the people simply as being in duty bound to obey, their relationship will be no more than that of authority and duty and not that based on a love for comrades and on revolutionary ethics. Bourgeois democracy, which is based on an individualistic outlook on life, views the relationship between the man in command and his subordinates as that of authority and duty.

From the point of view of bourgeois democracy, it is impossible to understand the revolutionary outlook on the leader.

The essence of the leader in all contexts lies in his being the centre of the life of the socio-political community. There is no doubt that the centre of life is important for the existence and activities of the organism. Unless the masses are united, centring on the leader, they cannot acquire vitality as an independent socio-political community. We must understand and believe that the leader is the centre of the life of the socio-political community and that it is only when we are linked to the leader organizationally, ideologically and as comrades that we can acquire immortal socio-political integrity.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters remained loyal to the leader through to the end because, while fighting decisive battles against the enemy, sharing life and death, weal and woe, united closely behind the leader, they formed a clear understanding, through actual experience, that the leader was the centre of the life of our nation and that their destiny was inseparably linked to the leader. So the question arises of how we should, in today's circumstances, induce Party members and working people to acquire the life experience of the inseparable ties linking the leader and the people, just as the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters experienced. Certainly, works of literature and art can provide them with secondhand experience of what the revolutionaries in those days experienced. In helping them to establish their outlook on the leader, it is necessary to produce and show them many works of literature and art that deal with the model anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who were unfailingly loyal to the leader. It is fine to cultivate the outlook on the leader through such works, but it is always better to do it in close combination with actual revolutionary activities.

The circumstances of the revolutionary struggle of the past and that of the present are different, but there is no difference between the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and today's struggle in that the revolutionary struggle is conducted under the guidance of the leader and in accordance with his ideas and will. Conducting the revolutionary struggle under his leadership and in line with his ideology and will means fighting for the revolution by acquiring socio-political integrity from him. The more we are faithful to the leader's ideology and will, the closer our ties with the leader will be, the greater the value of our socio-political integrity will become, and the more worthy a life, which is beyond the imagination of those who lead an individualistic life, we shall enjoy. Only those who seek the worth of life in thinking and acting in accordance with the leader's ideas and will and in sharing life and death, weal and woe, with him can be called revolutionaries who have established an unshakable revolutionary outlook on the leader. We must realize that the greatest value and worth of life exist in faithfully implementing the revolutionary tasks set by the leader by trusting in

him as a strong moral support at all times, and we must prove ourselves unfailingly loyal to the leader through our revolutionary activities to implement his ideology and will.

In order to establish the Juche outlook on the revolution, one must adopt a proper concept of and attitude towards the party.

Generally speaking, a working-class party represents the vanguard detachment of the working class and other working people that are integrated organizationally and ideologically with the leader at their centre. From this point of view, party leadership implies guidance by the leader, and the concept of and attitude towards the party are, in essence, identical to the concept of and attitude towards the leader. The leader is the leader of the party, so it is inconceivable to regard them as being in isolation from each other.

However, the party and the leader cannot be fully identified with each other. The essential quality of the leader can be defined as being the centre of the life of the socio-political community, whereas the essence of the party lies in being an organization which plays the role of the backbone in making the masses a socio-political organism centring on the leader.

The party is an integration of its organizations with the leader at the centre. The concept of and attitude towards the party comprise those towards both the leader and the party organization. Since the outlook on the leader has been considered an independent component of the outlook on the revolution, the concept of and attitude towards the party boil down to the concept of and attitude towards the party organization. For this very reason, in dealing with the components of the outlook on the revolution, we refer to them as the outlooks on the leader and on the organization rather than as those on the leader and on the party. The outlook on the organization implies the concept of and attitude towards not only the party organization but also all the social and political organizations which link the leader with the masses under the leadership of the party. The party organization differs from all other social and political organizations in that it is a political organization which plays the role of the backbone of the socio-political community.

Without the organization, a man cannot be linked inseparably to the leader, nor can he acquire immortal socio-political integrity. However knowledgeable and talented he may be, he cannot acquire the socio-political integrity provided by the leader unless he is linked to the leader through organizational channels. One's isolation from the organization means, in effect, losing one's socio-political integrity. Therefore, a true revolutionary regards the organization as being more valuable than his own life and respects it; he considers it to be an inviolable rule to live and fight at all times relying on the organization.

Formerly, the value of the organization was emphasized mainly

in connection with the need for unity. Needless to say, the revolution requires organizational unity. Unity gives us great strength to carry out the revolutionary struggle. In this sense we can say that the strength of the organization is, in effect, the strength of unity and that unity is the source of strength for revolutionaries and guarantees their victory.

In order to have a deep understanding of the value of the organization, one must consider it in relation to one's own socio-political integrity. Only through the party organization, the parent body, can the popular masses be integrated into an independent socio-political organism and become the real masters of their own destiny. We must value and respect the Party organization as the parent body of our integrity. We refer to the leader as the fatherly leader and to the Party as the motherly Party because the Party organization with the leader at its centre is the parent body of our socio-political integrity.

If we are to establish a revolutionary outlook on the organization among Party members and other working people, we must help them not only to understand the value of the organization theoretically but also to experience it fully through their life in an organization. All Party members and other working people must hold the organization dearer than their own lives and acquire the habit of relying on the organization at all times and living and working under its guidance and control. Party life is political life in the course of which Party members meet the requirements of their political integrity. Our political life is, in essence, an organizational and ideological life to keep our position as the master of the state and society and to discharge our responsibility and play our role as such. Through their Party life, Party members enjoy a most valuable and worthwhile life as masters of the revolution.

Party life can be classified into Party organizational life and Party ideological life.

Party organizational life is political activity for Party members, in their specified Party organizations, to implement the revolutionary tasks assigned them by the Party under the direction and control of their organizations. The masters of a Party organization are the Party members themselves. They must take part, like masters, in the work of strengthening the Party organization and, in the course of this, temper their Party loyalty steadily and cultivate the habit of acting, as a member of the Party organization, in accordance with the will and discipline of the organization at all times.

Party ideological life is political life in which the Party members receive intellectual sustenance to keep their political integrity and digest and absorb it. It is only when they are armed with the ideology of the Party and the leader that they can become welded into the Party ideologically and maintain their political integrity as Party members. Just as a man eats food to maintain his physical life, so a Party member must, through his ideological life, continue to make the revolutionary ideas of the Party and the leader his lifeblood. Only then can he share the destiny with the Party through thick and thin.

Party life must be conducted in close combination with the fulfilment of revolutionary assignments. A man who fulfils his revolutionary tasks faithfully is a man who leads a good Party life and who is faithful to the Party and the leader.

In guiding the Party life of the members, some Party officials are currently paying primary attention to matters relating to how the members observe organizational discipline, how they study, and so on, but they are little concerned about how they fulfil their basic revolutionary duties. These officials have a mistaken view that the Party members' performance of their basic revolutionary assignments is a business routine to which administrative and economic officials alone must pay attention. In consequence, the Party life of the members is not geared towards improving how they carry out their basic revolutionary assignments and even obstructs the implementation of these tasks. That is why I have long emphasized the need to link the Party life of the members closely to the performance of their revolutionary duties.

When told to coordinate the Party life of the members and the fulfilment of their basic revolutionary duties closely, some Party officials take administrative and economic affairs upon themselves as if it were proper to do so. This runs counter to our Party's principles in guiding Party life.

Party officials must give substantial guidance to the Party life of the members so that every member values his organization and faithfully carries out the Party's revolutionary assignments.

In order to establish the Juche outlook on the revolution we must have a correct concept of and attitude towards the popular masses.

As the great leader Comrade Kim II Sung has said, the popular masses are the masters of the revolution and construction and they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. The revolutionary outlook on the masses is the concept and attitude of regarding the masses as the masters of the revolution and serving them, and of carrying out the revolution by believing in and relying on their inexhaustible strength.

If we are to establish the revolutionary outlook on the masses, we must regard the popular masses as the masters of the revolution.

Of course, the party is in the position of leadership in relation to the masses. But this does not mean that the party is something that has been placed over the masses. The party is the guiding, hard-core force of the masses themselves. That a party could exist, separated from the masses, is unthinkable.

By the party leading the masses we do not mean that the party imposes its subjective will upon the masses but that, based on a scientific insight into their desires and interests, it sets correct fighting targets and leads the masses to attain them. The party is in duty bound to guide the struggle of the masses to meet their desires and interests. It must serve them by fulfilling this duty satisfactorily. The party cannot have separate interests to those of the masses, and the supreme principle governing party activities is to fight in the interest of the masses.

Since the party is the advance detachment of the masses it will not be able to serve them in good faith if it tails behind them. The party must help and lead the masses so that they acquire a correct understanding of their genuine interests and strive to meet them. The party's leadership of the masses means serving their genuine interests.

If officials lack the understanding that the masses are the masters of the revolution, they will look down upon the masses, shout at them, wield Party authority and behave bureaucratically by regarding themselves as special beings that stand over the masses. If one looks down upon the masses one naturally thinks of oneself as a special being. This attitude is an ideological hangover of the ruling class of the old society, which exploited and oppressed the working masses. Officials must acquire the firm belief that the popular masses are the masters of the revolution and must understand clearly that serving the people is most honourable and worthwhile.

In order to acquire the firm belief that the popular masses are

the masters of the revolution, it is necessary not only to understand this clearly in theory, but also to make it an iron rule to work for the revolution believing in the strength of the masses and relying on it, and make it a part of one's daily routine to mix with the masses and share joy and sorrow with them.

You can say that you have established the revolutionary outlook on the masses when you are resolved to serve the masses, regarding them as the masters of the revolution, and then make it a part of your daily routine to work for the revolution believing in the strength of the masses and relying on it. Victory in the revolution depends on how you enlist the creative wisdom of the masses and their efforts. An individual, however wise and able he may be, can assimilate only a very limited part of the human wisdom and strength that have been accumulated down through the ages. The popular masses alone fully embody all the social wealth that mankind has accumulated historically and have the creative ability to shape their own destiny by harnessing nature and transforming society and people themselves. Therefore, the masses are the only people who can undertake the revolution and promote the forward movement of society. In carrying out the revolution there can be no other alternative than to rely on the efforts of the masses. A man who does not believe in their strength is a person who does not believe in his own strength. He is not qualified to be a revolutionary. Lack of confidence in the strength of the masses results in worshipping great

powers, in depending on foreign forces and in falling into pessimism and defeatism.

No matter how great the strength of the masses may be, they do not display it of their own accord. It is only when the masses are awakened to ideological consciousness and united organizationally that they can display their strength to the full. The strength of the awakened and organized masses is incomparably greater than the arithmetical sum total of the individuals' strength and is qualitatively different from it. The unconquerable vitality of the revolutionary method of work evolved by the great leader lies in enabling us to solve all problems by relying on the strength of the masses, believing in it and enlisting their creative ability to the maximum.

On its own, the method of stimulating the interest of individuals is not enough to give full scope to their creative initiative and devotion. Only a man who is aware that the interests of the collective are more valuable than those of the individual can struggle for the revolution, displaying a high degree of initiative and devotion.

In the revolution the destiny of an individual is inseparably linked to the destiny of the collective; the interests of the collective and those of individuals exist in unity. To all intents and purposes, however, the revolution is for the good of the masses, the collective, not for any individual. It is only when an individual is a member of the collective that he can become the master of the revolution and play the role of master. Revolutionaries can only shape their own destiny to their great credit when they devote themselves to struggling in the interests of the collective.

Our Party's mass line is excellent in that it not only provides the popular masses with democratic freedom and equality but also encourages them to occupy the position of masters and play the role of masters in the revolution and construction. The popular masses must not rest content simply because they are equal masters of society, but fulfil their duties and play their role as masters of the revolution and construction. To this end, they must be united organizationally and ideologically under the leadership of the party and fight in accordance with a sound strategy and tactics. The mass line must be combined with party leadership. Without party leadership it is impossible for the masses to display their might as masters of the revolution and construction; also, without relying on the masses it is impossible for the party to lead the revolution and construction. This is the very reason why combining unitary Party leadership and its mass line constitutes the fundamental principle in the activities of our Party.

Our officials talk a great deal about the Party's mass line, but they have not yet completely overcome bureaucratism and are unable to give rein to the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability as they should, because they have failed to acquire a sound revolutionary outlook on the masses and the Party's revolutionary work method which is the application of the mass line. As a result, they lack confidence in implementing Party policy, and there are even instances of pinning their hopes on an individualistic, pragmatistic method which is alien to our Party's revolutionary work method. We must put great efforts into encouraging our officials to acquire a sound revolutionary outlook on the masses and our Party's revolutionary work method.

If the revolutionary outlooks on the leader, the organization and the masses are to be accepted as a belief, based on revolutionary conscience, they must be moulded with the revolutionary outlook on morals.

Morality is the social standards of behaviour which are supposed to be observed willingly according to one's conscience, not through coercion or control. The revolutionary outlook on morals is the concept of and attitude towards the standards of people's behaviour based on revolutionary conscience. Revolutionary conscience is a social consciousness that places the life of the socio-political community above that of an individual and regards the interests of the party, the people and the revolution as more precious than those of an individual. Revolutionaries feel a sense of pride when they have acted in the interests of the revolution. They feel remorse when they have harmed these interests, even though nobody may know about their misbehaviour. Being loyal to the leader, the party and the masses is an inviolable duty of revolutionaries, a duty which is derived from the need to meet the fundamental interests of the revolution. Neglect of this duty is intolerable from the point of view of revolutionary discipline because it means, in the final analysis, betraying the revolution. Loyalty to the leader, the party and the masses is also a moral obligation for revolutionaries because the relationship between the leader, the party and the masses—a socio-political organism with a common destiny—is based on a love for comrades and revolutionary ethics. Loyalty to the leader, the party and the masses must be guaranteed by morality that is based on revolutionary conscience. Only then can it really be lasting and true.

In the past, when our people, as the colonial slaves of the Japanese imperialists, were subjected to every manner of maltreatment and oppression, when even the spirit of the nation was on the brink of being extinguished, the great leader created the immortal Juche idea, inspired in our people the spirit of national independence and led them in the sacred revolutionary struggle. The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is, indeed, the saviour who revived our nation. He is the benevolent father who has provided our people with the most precious socio-political integrity as well as the happiest and most worthwhile life. To hold the fatherly leader in high esteem and to be loyal to him is a moral obligation for all Koreans.

In our own lives we have keenly experienced that to act in accordance with the leader's ideas and intention is the most conscientious and moral behaviour because the leader embodies the desires and interests of the popular masses at the highest level. That is why we call loyalty to the leader the highest expression of communist morality.

We must hold the leader in high esteem not because pressure is exerted on us or out of a sense of duty, but with willingness, respect the dignity of the Party organization, observe organizational discipline voluntarily, love the popular masses sincerely and serve them heart and soul.

Revolutionary morality based on revolutionary ethics and comradeship must be embodied in all fields of social activity as well as in loyalty to the leader, the Party and the masses.

Originally, morality came into being as universal standards of behaviour for all members of society to observe voluntarily. But as the interests of one class of people conflicted with those of another, morality came to acquire a class character and was at variance with the different classes. In a society of exploiters, universal morality which transcends class interests is inconceivable.

In a socialist society, where the working masses are masters, morals assume a working-class character. However, the interests of the working class accord with those of the whole of society because the working class is striving to abolish the classes and build a classless society. The morals which reflect the interests of the working class are of universal relevance because they accord with the interests of all the people.

Communist morality, the morality of the working class, is the most refined and advanced morality in that it has inherited all the good elements of the morals of the preceding ages and in that it has evolved to suit the social character of man. Communist morality comprises universal standards of behaviour that must be observed by everyone who advocates Chajusong and creativity, the intrinsic social qualities of man.

In a socialist society, which is the embodiment of the working-class ideology, the people are equal as masters of the state and society and are integrated into a socio-political organism with a common destiny. The voluntary observance by people of communist morality, which is based on revolutionary ethics and comradeship, is a proper and natural practice that conforms to the intrinsic requirements of the socialist system.

The reason why communist morality is not yet being displayed to the full in socialist society can be explained mainly by the fact that there still exist some remnants of the old society. When the complete victory of socialism has been achieved and an advance is made towards the higher stage of communism in the future, the scope of social life controlled by power will gradually become narrower and the range of public life influenced by communist morality will grow wider. From this point of view, it can be said that the course of building socialism and communism is the process in which the action of power in social life decreases gradually and the action of morality expands steadily.

The working-class party must naturally develop communist morality to the full and intensify communist moral education in keeping with the law of social development.

However, this education is not being conducted efficiently to meet the requirements of the developing situation. Our officials are conducting a great deal of such education in the context of cultivating loyalty to the revolution, but paying little attention to it in relation to everyday life. Education in communist morality must centre on cultivating loyalty to the Party and the revolution, but this alone is not enough to establish communist morality in all fields of social life nor is it capable of intensifying loyalty itself on a lasting moral basis.

Communist morality can be classified into two categories. One is the morality that must be observed in the relations between the community and individuals and the other is the morality that must be kept in a personal relationship.

The relationship between the community and individuals means the relationship between the leader, the party and the masses as a whole and individuals.

Naturally, the popular masses constitute the community, and

the leader as the centre of the community and the party as its backbone also represent the community. Because public property, too, belongs to the community, we should consider the relationship between the communal property of the state and society and individuals as the relationship between the community and individuals. Further, the relationship between individuals and the country, which comprises all the people, property and territory, should also be regarded as the relationship between individuals and the community.

The community and the individuals who belong to it share one and the same destiny, so the principle of revolutionary ethics based on comradeship governs the relations between the community and individuals. The collectivist principle "One for all and all for one!" is an expression of this communist moral relationship between the community and individuals. However, it does not mean that the interests of the community are identical to those of individuals. Evidently, the interests of the community are more valuable than those of individuals because individuals cannot live apart from the community. In his relationship with the community, an individual should regard the interests of the community as more valuable than his own, and consider it a moral obligation to serve the community with devotion.

The relationship between individuals within the socio-political community is also governed by the principle of revolutionary ethics based on comradeship, but unlike the relationship between the community and individuals, it is an equal relationship. So there can be no question of the interests of one individual being more valuable than those of another. Within the community all its members must regard their moral duty to be to love and help each other on equal terms and in a comradely manner.

As a matter of principle, comradely love presupposes that one regards another person as an independent being and recognizes his independence. Comradely love cannot exist between the dominator and the dominated. It can exist only between the members of a socio-political community who share the same destiny. Therefore, it should find expression in mutual respect and selfless assistance. If one displays love for another as a means of satisfying one's greed, it cannot be considered genuine love for one's comrade.

A personal relationship in the socio-political community, whose members share a common destiny, is a completely equal, independent relationship as well as a relationship of comradely love of helping each other with devotion. Communist morality which reflects the requirements and interests of the socio-political community must contribute to giving full rein to the Chajusong of individuals and, at the same time, to strengthening the unity and solidarity of the community. Communist society, which is an excellent embodiment of this morality, is the most just society, a society of the greatest harmony and unity, welded together by comradely love.

The moral traits of a communist that suit the characteristics of communist society comprise, by and large, two aspects. A man with communist moral traits is, first of all, a most just man. A just man is fair, aboveboard and honest. He hates all the injustices that infringe upon man's dignity and rights and knows how to deal with all matters fairly, free from any prejudice and self-interest, He is also a most popular and devoted man who holds people dear, loves them and knows how to serve them wholeheartedly.

The great leader gave instructions that, since man is the most precious being in the world, it is the most important moral trait of a communist revolutionary to respect and love man.

Some of our officials, however, have not yet acquired communist moral qualities so that they still do not take loving care of the people with all their hearts and so that they even trample on the personal dignity of others and encroach upon their rights to independence. There are instances of abusing official authority with a view to bringing pressure to bear upon people, as well as attempts at seeking selfish ends at the expense of the interests of others. All these are remnants of the old society and cannot be tolerated in our society. Nevertheless, some officials do not take a serious view of these practices, and consider that they do not conflict with the fundamental interests of the revolution to any great extent. Those who ignore the personal dignity of people and do not love them cannot be faithful to the revolutionary cause of the popular masses. A man who deceives his comrades can deceive the party and the leader; a man who sacrifices others for his own sake can turn his back on the interests of the revolution.

Communist morality, which everyone must observe, must be fully embodied in the relationship between comrades as well as in the lives of the family and the community.

It is important to be true to revolutionary ethics in the relationship between comrades.

The great leader has said that a comrade in the revolution is worth his weight in gold and that the revolution must begin by rallying comrades.

Comrades in the revolution are dear comrades-in-arms and intimate brothers who, with common socio-political integrity, fight for the revolution, sharing life and death, good times and bad. A revolutionary feels most happy when he has found a true comrade and most unhappy when he has lost such a comrade. It can be regarded as an elementary moral quality of a revolutionary to take loving care of his comrades. Those who do not treasure and love their comrades wholeheartedly and do not treat them honestly cannot be faithful to the Party and the revolution, either. Knowing whether or not one is able to observe revolutionary ethics in one's relationship with one's comrades in everyday life is the first process of examining and judging correctly one's faithfulness to the Party and revolution.

Love between comrades must be warm, sincere and highly principled. A man who says he loves his comrade but connives at his comrade's error, instead of trying hard to help him to correct it, lacks sincere love for the comrade and is unfaithful to him. It is also wrong to treat one's comrade coldly and try only to find fault with him on the plea of observing one's principles. We must treat people fairly on the principle of being loyal to the Party and leader and, at the same time, love comrades intensely, trusting them and sharing joy and sorrow with them.

Comradely love and revolutionary ethics must also permeate the relationship between superiors and subordinates. The relationship between them in our society is in no way a relationship between the dominator and the dominated; it is the relationship between comrades who are performing their duties to the revolution in cooperation. The subordinate must respect and help his superior, regarding him as a precious comrade who performs a more important revolutionary duty than his own; the superior must take good care of his subordinates and lead them, displaying a higher sense of responsibility.

The family in our society is the basic unit of life. A sound and happy family life helps to make social life as a whole cheerful and animated.

The relationships between family members can be distinguished

from other social relations in that they are based on kinship. However, family relationships are part of social relations, so they are governed by the moral principles common to the given society. We must respect the love of kinship between husband and wife, between parents and children and among brothers and sisters and help it to become a true comradely love.

Some people think that communist revolutionaries are inhuman people who care for nothing but the revolution, ignoring even their families. They are mistaken. It is the basic obligation of a man to love and respect his parents. A person who does not love his parents, spouse and children, who form the closest bonds of kinship, cannot love his country and fellow people.

This, however, does not imply that the love of kinship among family members should be regarded as absolute. Since socio-political integrity is more valuable than physical life and since comradely relations are more important than ties of kinship, the love of kinship among family members should always be subordinated to comradely love. While loving their families intensely, revolutionaries must render them comradely assistance in every possible way so that they all work faithfully for the revolution.

Observing morality in love between men and women is of great importance in ensuring sound family and social lives. The relations between the sexes should be developed on the basis of true love and become comradely relations in which the two people respect each other's personal dignity, trust each other and help each other sincerely.

We must see that communist morality is observed voluntarily in community life.

An important aspect of community life is labour. To work faithfully is a noble moral duty for a social man. Anyone who neglects social labour has no right to be the master of society and cannot lead a worthwhile life as a creative man. All the working people must like labour and work honestly with the attitude of being responsible to society for the results of their labour, whether they are seen or not.

Every member of society must not only participate in labour faithfully but also value anything created through labour and take good care of it. Valuing the wealth created by labour and taking good care of it are an expression both of loyalty to the social community and of a proper attitude towards labour and workers.

We must also pay close attention to ensuring that everyone is decorous and that a social climate is established of giving polite assistance to elderly people, children, mothers with babies, and the infirm and disabled.

If one is to assimilate the Juche outlook on the revolution and make it one's unshakable conviction, it must become one's outlook on life.

The outlook on life can, roughly, be classified into an

individualist one and a collectivist one. The individualist outlook on life regards one's own personal comfort and pleasure as one's ultimate goal, whereas the collectivist outlook on life fuses one's destiny into that of the collective and finds the true worth and happiness of life in struggling for the good of the community. According to the individualist outlook on life, nothing is dearer than an individual's life and a human life ends with the death of the individual. However, as for the collectivist outlook on life, the life of the community is dearer than an individual's life and a human life does not end with the death of the individual but lasts for ever with the community.

We are conducting the revolution not only for ourselves and our generation but also for future generations, and further, for the future of mankind. If a man simply pursues his own comfort all his life, he will leave nothing to posterity. His life will be totally worthless and meaningless. If a man's life is to be worthwhile, he must contribute something to the community, which will last, and leave something behind him. In former days the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters fought unyieldingly, sleeping in the wind and rain, sometimes eating only grass roots and tree bark, not because they were unaware that a comfortable life was good, but because they knew that fighting for the country and their fellow people, though they might live for only a short while, was an honourable and worthwhile way of life. Were it not for the previous generations, it would have been impossible for our generation to come into existence, and without ours the next generation would not come. It is our noble duty to build a happy future not only for ourselves and our generation but also for the generations to come.

Human fates are interrelated. We must fight not only for our people but also for the prosperity of mankind. Just as we reject selfishness in individual relationships, so we must oppose national egoism. Revolutionaries must naturally be loyal to both their national and international duties to the revolution.

Our people are now working hard to build socialism and reunify their divided country in direct confrontation with US imperialism, the ringleader of the reactionary forces of the world, while safeguarding peace and the eastern post of socialism. Our struggle is the struggle for the good of our nation as well as a noble struggle for the security and prosperity of mankind. We are waging a hard-fought struggle, but it is so much the more honourable and worthwhile. History shows that the exploits of those who have devoted themselves to the struggle for the future of their people and mankind are lasting and that their great services are honoured more and more with the passage of time. Living in the spirit of loyalty to one's own people and mankind is the way to remain most faithful to oneself.

We must hold the firm belief that being loyal to the leader, the

Party and the masses is the way to a most honourable life, and we must make this revolutionary outlook our outlook on life.

The work of establishing the revolutionary outlook is an extremely important undertaking for strengthening the subject of the revolution and accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche down through the generations.

We must conduct efficiently the work of establishing the revolutionary outlook and thus develop our Party members and working people into genuine communist revolutionaries who are firmly equipped with the Juche outlook on the revolution.

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