

September 28, 1969

Eldridge Cleaver's Notes on Korea

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Summary:

Notes taken by Eldridge Cleaver during his visit to North Korea in September 1969 for the "International Conference on Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in their Fight against U.S. Imperialist Aggression."

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OUR PARTY BELIEVES THAT NOT ONLY IS URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE
POSSIBLE AND PRACTICAL, BUT THAT IT IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY
FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

28 September, 1969

1. Working Class must have power in thier hands, destroying the Capitalist Class
2. Must eliminate exploitation and oppression
3. Truth expounded by Marx and Engels
4. Continued by Lenin and Stalin
5. Comrade Kim Il Sung follows these
6. 19th Century Marx and Engels founded Communism
7. 20 th Century Lenin and Stalin expounded
8. Marxist philosophy, political economic science, scientific socialism
9. Marxist philosophy--Historical materialism
Materialist world view
10. Marx dealt only with capitalist countries
11. Lenin--formulated thesis of Imperialism. Revolution in one country possible.
12. After 2nd World War, there was a need for more theoretical analysis. provided by Comrade Kim Il Sung
 - a. Comrade Kim Il Sung has expounded new theory for our era.

- b. In one word, Comrade Kim Il Sung's theory consists of Juche spirit.
- c. Our Era: The time for universal destruction of Imperialism, establishment of socialism
- d. Post 2nd World War situation
- e. Waging of Revolutionary struggles all over world
- f. Socialism has more power than capitalism
- g. Correct analysis of our era is most important
- h. What is significant difference in our era and Marx and Lenin? (1) World wide revolutionary situation; (2) Complex situation: some fight against colonialism, some fight against neo-colonialism, some against capitalism.
- i. Many Communist parties in world. Each party must deal with its own revolution. No one center.
- j. Korea has its own very valuable experience, traditions, etc.
- k. 25 years of struggle and construction: Japanese Imperialism, U.S. Imperialism. Democratic Revolution. Socialism. Out of this rich experience, Comrade Kim Il Sung has set forth the Workers Party Line.
- l. Kim Il Sung came out of revolutionary family. Korean people suffered greatly under yokes.

- m. Motherland of Marxism is Germany; Motherland of Leninism is Russia; Motherland of Marxism-Leninism in our era is Korea.
- n. Great powers cannot tell us who is the Vanguard. Only the people can determine who is the Vanguard.
- o. Many problems unanswered by Marxism-Leninism. Kim Il Sung has formulated new principles.

II

REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF JUCHE

1. Juche means (a) All problems must be solved by own thought based on self-reliance, (b) The standpoint of which all the Marxist theories must be applied to specific situation.
2. Content of Juche spirit: Anti-Imperialist, Anti-U.S. strategy and tactics of revolution in one's country.

Theory and Tactics of World Working Class Movement and International Communist Movement.

3. Comrade Kim Il Sung successfully led Korean Revolution
 - a. He founded Revolutionary tradition in Korea
 - b. Founder of Korean Workers Party
 - c. Founder of Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, of proletarian Dictatorship in DPRK

- d. Founder of all Social organizations and is personal leader of people
 - e. Leader of party and all social and political organizations
Some countries this is not so.
 - f. He opened new era of socialism and communism and own prosperity. Entire Korean people are saying that Comrade Kim Il Sung is great leader of 40 million Korean people.
4. Comrade Kim Il Sung is one of the outstanding leaders of World Revolutionary movement:
- a. Comrade Kim Il Sung found the correct tactics and line for uniting socialist camp.
 - b. He has discovered the strategy and tactics of the line for anti-colonialism and neo-colonialism struggle.
 - c. Comrade Kim Il Sung has found the correct line for anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. imperialist struggle.
- Conclusion: Ideology should be Juche.
- Juche
- (1). Juche--Anti-imperialist, anti-feudalism
 - (2). Anti-U.S. and other Imperialism
 - (3). Working Class and World Communist Movement

Leading

- (1). How he is leading the Korean people
- (2). How he is contributing to World Revolution

III

Unitary Ideological System: Entire Revolutionary Spirit of their own party. The party should be totally unified on ideology. To keep the party strong.

Note: The working Class is the Vanguard. Black people are of the Working Class. We made the mistake of giving us our identity as the Working Class. If there is any people in the U.S. who are of the working class, it is the Blacks.

Unitary Ideological System

1. To establish the U.I.S. we must arm ideologically and carry out tasks. Unite with the leader, rally around that leader, fight along side the leader. All members must support leader without fail.
2. Why U.I.S. is necessary. Vanguard of people must have its own line. Line must be sufficient and must be followed. Leader-party-people, including Working Class, must have one line. Upholding the teachings of the Leader is not traitorous--the contrary is. We must have our own leaders and not vacillate.

Necessity: For constructing party UIS is necessary.

1. If we cannot construct U.I.S., it is not a Marxist-Leninist party
2. International Scene: Big power Chauvinism. Each country must have strong correct leadership to protect it from

domination by outside forces.

How to Establish U.I.S.

1. Defend and support teachings of Leader in all fields, against all ideologies and policies that are in conflict.
2. Keep own revolutionary traditions. Revolutionary tradition means to put emphasis on own leader.
3. Strict regulation according to instruction and teachings of the leader.
4. Uphold, support, and defend with life the Leader.

Class Struggle

four categories

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Political struggle | |
| 2. Economic struggle | TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION |
| 3. Armed struggle | ALL THESE MUST BE CARRIED ON |
| 4. Ideological struggle | |

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION ESTABLISHED BY

COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

I

1. Comrade Kim Il Sung is founder of idea of Revolutionary Tradition in our country. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all mentioned the importance of the Revolutionary Tradition. But during their time there were certain limitations to the indication and establishment of the Revolutionary Tradition.

THEORY OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

1. The necessity to establish the Revolutionary Tradition and the conditions for its establishment.
 - a. In our day, the international Communist and Working Class Movement is complicated. Many countries were able to have their own Revolutionary Traditions. In other words, those having their own experiences through their own struggles. But many confusions and problems arise. Therefore it is now necessary to clarify the situation.
 - b. Now the young generation has to continue the Revolution. Revolutionary experiences, theory, and practice must be conveyed to young.
 - c. This is quite necessary due to the legal requirements of revolutionaries who have won the revolution. Many countries stop after achieving power, do not deal with young.
 - d. At present time, Right and Left Wings are going to destroy all Revolutionary Traditions. They are saying that now that times have changed there is no need for Revolutionary Traditions and the role of leadership. Therefore, it is essential standpoint for carrying out revolutionary against enemy and controlling one's fate, either give up revolution or continue the revolution. Therefore to develop the Revolutionary Tradition in each country means to continue the revolution.

2. What is the content of Revolutionary Tradition established Comrade Kim Il Sung

a. Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified theory of role of Revolutionary Tradition. What its place and role should be:

- (1). Guarantee final victory of revolution.
- (2). To make revolutionary power, the main point is to base on Juche--self-reliance. All people must be armed ideologically. This is the role of Revolutionary Tradition.
- (3). It is a powerful arm for constructing socialism and communism while continuing the revolution. All the people must live and embody Revolutionary Tradition. Otherwise they will be unable

b. Comrade Kim Il Sung indicated main content of Revolutionary Tradition. What content should be involved in R.T.

- (1). The Revolutionary and party position stands for creating the history of our era. What is the treasure of the working class: party and revolution. Therefore, every Working Class should have its own Revolutionary Tradition.
- (2). Contents are: Unitary Ideological System; gains and experiences of the Revolution; Revolutionary method of working and acting method.

c. The necessity of the continuous revolution and its development.

- (1). The Revolutionary Tradition can be established by leader of the Revolution. (Cannot import others' tradition).
- (2). To continue the Revolution to find victory, otherwise, we cannot reach the expected target of program.

d. Stages to indicate the method of carrying out the Revolution.

- (1). To support and follow the ideas of leader of the Revolution.
- (2). Revolutionary Tradition must be carried out in large scale, not in small scale. Large scale means, not only from left and right, top and bottom--but systematically. These are main point of Revolutionary Tradition expounded by Comrade Kim Il Sung. Significant: (a) has contributed to treasure of Marxism-Leninism; victory must be contained in Revolutionary Tradition. (b) helps establish Unitary Ideological System; (c) to kick away all negative elements of Right and Left wings.
Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao all used but did not systematize.

II

WHAT IS THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF THE
KOREAN WORKERS PARTY ESTABLISHED BY COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

1. Revolutionary Tradition can only be established by Leader.

Korean Workers Party's Revolutionary Tradition has been established by activities of the Leader. Revolutionary Tradition starts when Leader comes on scene. All other influences are patriotic movements. Other fighters must be given their due--but in perspective. Revolutionary activities of Comrade Kim Il Sung and Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Movement.

a. Revolutionary family is influences revolutionary activities for making revolutionary tradition. Family of Comrade Kim Il Sung were all revolutionaries. He came out of a poor family from classical point of view. Marx, Lenin, Engels had middle class origins. Origins make the quality of the leader. Comrade Kim Il Sung appropriated the revolutionary influences.

b. Starting revolutionary activities are part of Revolutionary Tradition. From 1926 to 1932, Comrade Kim Il Sung woke up as a revolutionary. During this period Comrade Kim Il Sung was in school. He was born April 15, 1912.

(1). During this period, Comrade Kim Il Sung developed the idea of Juche. He set forth line of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Feudalism. He also set forth line of armed struggle. And line of joint front against Japanese Imperialism. Set forth line of establishing the party. At this time, he already had idea that Korean revolution must be carried out by Korean people themselves. There were many tendencies at that time: peaceful struggle; some refused joint front; some wanted to go directly

to socialism avoiding democratic revolution.

- (2). Comrade Kim Il Sung established Self-Revolutionary power in order to carry out Revolution. Core around which masses rally. Guerillas were core.
- (3). Comrade Kim Il Sung established tasks of Communists: methods, tactics, relationship and treatment of people.

c. Content of Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Movement. From April 25, 1932 to August, 1945.

- (1). He created the ^{guide} ~~guide~~ Revolutionary Idea for carrying out Korean Revolution. Analyzing the situation faced by Korean people. Also line of Revolution.
- (2). Comrade Kim Il Sung set up revolutionary working method and the people's methods of working.
- (3). Also found big valuable experiences and gains.

2. Differences of Revolutionary Tradition Compared with others

- a. The Revolutionary Tradition of the Korean Workers Party is the deepest and in general suite for everybody in the country. Content of Revolutionary Tradition is pure Content of revolution itself. Emphasis placed on victories and gains.
- b. Korean Workers Party's Revolutionary Tradition is living tradition. It was formed at the hard time and for a long time. No other country came out of such a long hard struggle. Without a rear.

- c. Revolutionary Tradition has rich and large scale resources. Revolutionary Tradition is not only experiences of armed struggle, but also of socialist construction. Experience fighting spies. All this is rich treasure and valuable experiences. Therefore, has significant meaning for carrying out international.

III

DETAIL OF CONTENT OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

A. Treasure of Ideology

1. Ideological system established by Comrade Kim Il Sung, maximum important point in founding the Revolutionary Tradition of the Korean Workers Party.

Conditions:

- a. Juche Spirit (idea). Conditions for development of this idea?

- (1). Requirement of historical development of revelation, forced by situation. Specific power relations of widespread revolution manifests juche spirit.
- (2). Many Marxist parties are born in countries, have their own leaders, can carry out revolution with their own forces. No need for dogmatism.
- (3). Why Korea needed juche idea: (a). At this time, Korea was a colony, also under class oppression. No historical model; (b) Real circumstances of country required juche spirit. Had to discover

through practice. No rear, no help; (c) Korean revolution fought against chauvanism, satelitism (frankism). Korea surrounded by Russia, China, Japan, and U.S.A.

Content

b. Realization of Juche idea. Content of juche idea. (1) All questions should be set up by one's own power and strength.

(1). Anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle stands on juche idea. Korean Revolution should be carried out by Koreans.

(2). Expressed through forming own Revolutionary party

(3). Lines of revolution and line of masses is for construction of society, always based on juche. For establishing juche spirit in all fields of activities. Should not depend on others. Should build up own forces.

c. Apply Marxism-Leninism to one's own specific situation.

2. Valuable Revolutionary Spirit of Communism

a. Firm belief in victory. Indomitable spirit of struggle. Revolutionary optimism. All communists must have firm belief in struggle.

b. Principles of unity, solidarity, and revolutionary, friendly love.

c. Socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism.

B. Revolutionary gains and experiences established by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

1. Revolutionary gains of Korean Workers party

a. Destroyed Japanese imperialistic rule in Korea and liberated the nation.

(1). 15 years Anti-Japanese imperialist armed struggle; destroyed Japanese rule.

(2). Opened up road for building new society.

b. The basis has been made for carrying out Korean revolution

(1). Organic and ideological basis for founding the Korean Workers party. Party established on mass basis, from bottom. Creative point.

(a). Core of founding party has been formed.

(b). Unity of Communists has been formed.

(c). Established the preparation for founding the party, ideologically

(d). Mass basis has been formed.

(2). The basis for founding of people's power has been formed.

(a). Line of party as well as core of party and mass basis formed.

(b). Principles for people's power and principles established.

(3). The formation of the basis of social mass organization has been established. Methods and guidance has been completed.

(4). The formation of basis of people's army has been formed.

(5). Joint front against imperialism has been formed on a mass basis. Communists cannot carry out revolution alone. Must rally all masses.

c. Opened new era of armed struggle : Vanguard units in the cause of struggle against anti-imperialist and for national liberation/ salvation. Anti-colonial struggle should be followed only by path of armed struggle. Korea was first--Vanguard.

2. Experiences.

a. Experiences for building up the party. Comrade Kim Il Sung has found the ideological and organic basis during the anti-Japanese imperialist guerrilla movement.

(1) The experience for educating the core of the party.

(a). How Comrade Kim Il Sung educated core of the party. All parties must have a core or there will be no party.

(b). The core will be formed with principle:
Classes: working class, peasants, progressive intellectuals. Continuous struggle cannot be carried out without core. Core insures continuity of party in face of repression. Without core, factionalism is inevitable. Will be only small scale bourgeois party, will be chauvanistic. party is for defending interest of certain classes--political organization. Marxist-Leninist party must be based on working class and peasants or will not be a real proletarian party.

(c). The experiences have been formed by Comrade Kim Il Sung for educating the core, through the line of organization and struggle. Therefore, core should be formed through the line of organization and struggle. In all parts criticism and self-criticism must be vigorously carried out to keep the party strong. Must be used by core!

(2). The experiences for combating anti-group activities, Frankism, and Left and Right Wing. Although groups are united against enemy, there are internal contradictions. Ideological, strategic, and tactical contradictions. Localism, racism, familism (nepotism), sectarianism

(a). The Korean Workers Party fought against all these elements without hesitation. If these elements remain, party will be destroyed. They cannot remain; No compromise.

(b). Always party kept to principles. Without principles cannot determine enemies and friends. Must be careful not to judge only by past activities; must judge objectively. Must see people dialectically, otherwise will lose masses

(c). Our experiences show that anti-sectarianism, Left and Right Wing, etc., should be followed paralleled to establishing Unitary Ideological System.

- (3). Experiences for the work methods with the people. How the party treats the people. Party is formed with various elements of society. Party must develop own method for relations between cadres, party members, non-party members. First procedure is to work with the people. All struggles must be first with the people--economic struggle--political struggle--armed struggle. Working with people means: mobilization ideologically of people--line of reality. Arouse, provoke people, teach them method of struggle, in order to arm people politically and ideologically. Our party treats the people, applying their own specialities and particularities. All must be approached individually according to their problems--women, old people, youth, army, etc.
- (4). The experiences have been formed in the education of party members as well as masses.
- (a). Party always places first ideological and political education.
 - (b). Party always sets the task first place study in the revolutionary struggle.
 - (c). Party always taught revolutionary tradition of the country, combined with practice and theory.
 - (d). Party always taught masses according to their level of understanding.

b. These experiences for constructing of peoples power. The main point in the revolution is power. No past experience for wielding power.

(1). Experiences for establishing the power and fortifying it.

(a). Experiences came only through revolutionary explosive power. (Red Terror). Not by elites' coup d'etat, but mass upheaval.

(b). Peoples power shall follow guidance of party and power of people should be formed in the clear cause. At sometime, party must uplift masses and teach them how to wield and control power. Otherwise many mistakes will result.

(c). In order to fortify peoples power, it is necessary to fortify the relationship with the people.

(2). Experiences for raising the role and capacity for peoples power.

(a). Experiences for all kinds of democratic reforms have been established.

(b). Raising up the dictatorship, particularly against agents and spies, and counter-revolutionary elements. Always find out who are real friends and enemies--objectively not subjectively. Struggle against these elements must always be based on masses. Clarifying enemies--what class do they belong to; what maneuvering he has done; what criminal acts he has done; what kind of effects to show the hostile acts. Line of Class and line

of mass can be carried out. If we do not follow these two points, enemy will use these two points against us. We must always discover ways first. First form units with strict regulation. Always be vigilant against the enemy.

c. Social Organization. Party should have its own social organizations: Women, unions, etc. Party should lead all social organizations. All social organizations must receive instructions from the party. Party is the Vanguard Political Organization.

- (1). Party should have its own social organizations as link chain with mass organizations. Revolution must have mass basis or cannot be carried out.
- (2). What our experience shows. Mass organizations should be large scale and built around party. Cannot take one small group as a representative.
- (3). All the social organizations should defend their own social class. If they do not defend their own interests, they become tools for enemy.
- (4). All social organizations should keep their own purity, must not include counter-revolutionary elements.
- (5). Party should take responsibility for educating the masses and social organizations.
- (6). To realize the party's guidance to social organization.

d. Experiences of Organizing army and military organization

- (1). Experiences of organizing the army.

- (a). Army should be subservient totally to the people. Therefore, army should defend the interests of Working Class and Peasants. To make a peoples army.
- (b). To arm the Army politically and ideologically
- (c). Army should be armed with modern equipment and knowledge.
- (d). Regulation and rule of army should be based on self-wishes. Soldiers should have high morale and self-discipline.
- (e). Revolutionary army must have strict equality and respect.
- (f). The army should have good relations with the people. Fishes cannot live without water. Army cannot live without good relations with the people.
- (g). Army must have its own rear--source of supplies

(2). Experiences of forming the basis of Guerrilla Movement

- (a). It is quite necessary to have the base areas
 - ((1)). permanent base area; ((2)). moving base area; ((3)). temporary area base;
 - ((4)). know secret area known only to defenders for training, education, rest, supplying, treatment.
- (b). Fixation of what kind of base. Complete knowledge of terrain: mass, material, geographic, climatic, enemy presence. Must be flexible about nature of bases; analyze

situation constantly.

- (c). Necessary to defend area bases at any cost.
- (d). people must be armed, politically and ideologically, and with arms. All area bases must be fortified. Rear must be dealt with. (READ REMINISCENCES OF THE GUERRILLA WAR)

(3). principles of making strategy and tactics of guerrilla

- (a). Correct location for base areas for guerrillas. principle of guerrilla is maximum defense of our power, maximum destruction of enemy.
- (b). principles of guerrillas--defeat big power of enemy with small power of guerrillas. Attack. Ambush, Draw. Follow.
- (c). If enemy attacks in massive force, guerrillas must smash sections of enemy and break up concentration of enemy forces.
- (d). Guerrilla must concentrate maximum power to destroying the enemy.
- (e). Guerrilla units must have good, quick, communications with each other.
- (f). Weather. Geography. Population.

(4). To disarm the inside of the enemy--politically and ideologically

- (a). Use political and ideological attack. Introduce for what purpose we fight. Expose brutality in the nature of the enemy against people. Propaganda. Radio. Pamphlets. Megaphones. Letters. Active propagandizing among the

1994

Fronts: Upper Joint Front, Bottom Joint Front; Elite Joint Front, Mass Joint Front.

(b). Experiences of forming the anti-Imperialism Joint Front.

(1). Necessary to relate to elements fighting common enemy: means to support each others struggle; (2). must have connections between fighting elements of each sector of Joint Front.

3. Comrade Kim Il Sung established revolutionary method of treating the people,

a. The revolutionary view of the masses; Communists should have their own revolutionary view of the masses for serving the people,

(1). To believe in the masses of people and to rely on the people, The strongest force.

(2). Thoroughly defend the interests of the people.

(3). Awake the people and educate them; be teacher and student of the masses. Revolution should belong to the people.

(4). All revolutionaries should learn from the people. the masses are the best teachers of revolution.

b. peoples method of work

(1). political work should be first; if political work is not first, it is not peoples work.

(2). To educate masses must be explained, patient, humble.

(3). Strict guidance must be adhered to.

- (4). Catch center-core of the work and to solve point by point; center core point should be solved then other points follow.
- (5). Combination of general guidance with individual guidance. General guidance means line of party policy and strategy. Individual guidance is to execute the line and policy. Main target--correct fulfillment of line and policy; catch experiences from which to generalize.

c. people's working attitude

- (1). Never talk down to people; be humble
- (2). Always show examples; revolutionaries must set examples
- (3). Humanitarianism and Culturalism means to raise up their knowledge; cadre must be shining examples.
- (4). Revolutionary spirit must always be maintained. Always finish task.
- (5). Always forge ahead; never give up; never stop.

IV

PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPING AND CEMENTING
REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

A. Necessity for inheriting revolutionary tradition

1. Revolution should be continued; therefore, continuous revolution should be followed.
2. Revolution is now going on under difficult conditions and will take a long time cementing.

3. The new generation has come who does not know.
 4. Plot of the Left and Right wings are now raised because they are now insulting revolution/tradition, to destroy it.
- B. What is task for bequeathing revolutionary tradition
1. To arm with ideology of leaders and establish unitary ideological system.
 2. To arm with revolutionary tradition; revolutionary tradition is history of leader. Ideology, guidance, attitude of leader. Young generation must be educated on these points.
 3. To defend revolutionary tradition from outside and inside.

Comrade Kim Il Sung's Strategies and Tactics on people's Democratic Revolution

Main task of Working Class is to emancipate Working Class all over the world from exploitation and oppression. Very difficult and complicated to fulfill. What is the proper course to take: from capitalism to socialism. From colonial oppression requires special program. Those facing colonial domination have a two fold task: liberation and revolution. Close link between two struggles. In order to build up new society, National Liberation must be carried out. National enemy and class enemy are combined together. Must discover real enemies and friends among masses.

1. The place and role of the anti-feudal revolution and anti-imperialism. Anti-feudal revolution and anti-imperialism-- National liberation, democratic revolution. Revolution from capitalism to socialism must first pass through democratic revolution.

- a. People's Democratic revolution forms all stages of revolution. Liberation of nation and democratic revolution. Revolution determined by character of society, also determines tasks of revolution. What are contradictions inside society; what problems have to be solved. Liberate nation from colonial rule and liberate working class from class oppression. ROK: imperialists, landlords--intellectuals, students, petty bourgeoisie. Landlords, capitalists, reactionary bureaucrats. Main task is to down U.S. imperialists and their lackies.
- b. Tasks for carrying out this revolution. To destroy this colonial rule and to guarantee development of social democracy. Destroy colonial rule, establish social democracy, and combine with Northern half of Republic.
- c. Power for carrying out revolution. With whom do we shake hands? Workers, peasants, middle bourgeoisie, students, lower officers, national capitalists: ~~from~~ up national capitalists.
- d. Object of revolution. Main enemy is aggressive power of U.S. imperialists, traitors, reactionary bureaucrats, landlords, national capitalists, capitalists with foreign collaboration.
- e. What is the way of carrying out the revolution. Only with explosive power; without explosive power, people will be forced to beg. gun against gun necessary: enemy rules through guns.

2. Leadership and power making strategies in the cause of peoples Democratic Revolution.

a. Making power.

(1). To establish main power for revolution: create the party, involving workers and peasants. Without this, revolution cannot be carried out successfully. For making power, important to form Marxist-Leninist party on basis of worker - peasant alliance with masses rallied around. In order to establish the party, first task is to make core of party; core will increase members of party, down to people educating them to rally around party. Masses are as sand on beach; if the party cannot organize them they will remain as sand. Mass organizations must be legal and above ground; separate from party.

(2). The core will be chosen through the struggle. Political struggle, armed struggle, illegal struggle, peaceful struggle, semi-legal struggle--all struggles determined by specific conditions obtaining in one's country.

b. To form large scale United Front in order to carry out the revolution must have masses, not only core must have mass forces. To make mass forces, necessary to establish mass front. Joint struggle starts low but moves to higher forms, from simple to complicated. In the united front, all elements must be included.

c. To weaken and destroy counter-revolutionary forces.
Important to disarm reactionary army and police.

d/ To arm the masses politically and ideologically;
educate one, one gets ten.

e. On Leadership

(1). Working Class should be leading group. However,
working class must have alliance with peasants. If
leading group is bourgeoisie, revolution will fail.
Black bourgeoisie. Revolution must be carried out
by working class: Black power was a call for
workers' power.

(2). Working Class leadership should lead all elements
of society. Working class must lead society to final
victory of Communism. Without Dictatorship of the
proletariat, working class cannot lead society to
final victory of Communism. People's democratic
revolution must be led by the working class.

(3). Main sworn enemy is U.S. imperialism--# 1 target.

3. All the people's democratic revolution will reach the socialist
revolution. After National Liberation there are two roads:
capitalism or socialism. Only the road to socialism can
bring people happiness and fulfillment of tasks.

a. To carry out anti-feudal and anti-imperialism

(1). Thoroughly destroy colonial rule of society. How?

(a). Withdrawal of military bases and foreign troops

(b). Destroy all colonial organization. Peace Corps,
embassys, police, unequal trade relations, CIA.
Destroy puppets, as they are stooges of enemy.

(c). Struggle against alliance of imperialists with imperialists must be carried on.

(2). To carry out social democratic reformation.

(a). To solve the land problem, land should belong to farmers. Farmers for centuries have wanted land--land hunger.

(b). All factories, mills, electrification must be nationalized and destroy capitalist base of private property.

(c). To establish national revolutionary peoples army to defend gains of people

(d). All society must turn to democracy: press, demonstration, publications, law, education, health; daughter & sons of working class privilege.

(e). To build up the peoples culture.

b. Socialist production relations must be formed.

(1). To make cooperative farms.

(2). Shop owners, handicraft, small business, all formed into cooperatives. Must be eliminated. Education & propaganda. Tasks set by government, raw materials and machinery controlled by government, products purchased by government. Party controls cooperatives. Teach to serve people instead of exploitation. Shoe makers, barbershops, commercial establishment.

c. peoples democratic dictatorship must be formed. Essential thing: proletarian dictatorship. Must create people's

power on the basis of working class-peasant alliance.

power changes at every stage of revolution. During anti-Japanese Guerrilla Movement power was in hands of workers and peasants and all anti-Japanese elements. After liberation, power in hands of workers-peasant alliance.

1947 (Feb.) N. Korean people's Committee formed.

Sept. 9, 1948 DPRK formed--proletariat dictatorship formed.

- (1). New political organizations must be formed: cabinet, Supreme Court, Supreme Assembly, government constitutional organs, lower organs should be formed. General elections should be held. Members of the Supreme people's Assembly elected.

Revolutionary Line of Self-Sustenance, Self-Independence, Self-Defense of our party

- A. Juche is carrying out Korean revolution. Juche for us means for us to carry out our revolution
 1. The contents of juche: the idea of loyalty to party that is carrying out the Revolution.
 2. The standpoint of creating general theory of Marxism-Leninism and experiences through the Revolution.
 3. The idea of loyalty to one's own revolution as well as the the world revolution in the cause of carrying out the revolution.
 4. The resources of juche idea: From one's own local revolutionary conditions. Revolution cannot be exported and imported, must be based upon development of one's own conditions. Revolution in each country cannot depend upon others and should be carried out by local comrades.
 5. All socialist revolutions are carried out by their own inner power. Comrade Kim Il Sung said: "host of Korean Revolution

is Korean people themselves. Therefore, decisive power is their own power. The revolution, including socialist construction, cannot be carried on by other forces."

6. Each revolution in each country is contributing to the world revolution.

B. Juche: the general requirements for carrying out the revolution in each country.

1. Creative stand; Self-independent stand.

(a. Creative stand means to develop and apply Marxism-Leninism to one's own revolutionary conditions.

b. Taking experience from other countries, must be examined and criticized, and only take as example only what applies to one's own situation; not to follow blindly.

c. Self-sustenance stand means: All programs raised in the course of the revolution must be devised by local brains under local conditions. To keep self-reliance. Never become dependant upon others on the outside. Self-reliance is very valuable revolutionary spirit in carrying out the revolution. World revolution situation becomes clear when viewed through this perspective.

Self-Sustenance Line of Our Party

A. Contents of Self-sustenance

1. Required for making own revolutionary theory in order to lead revolution in each country. All countries that are carrying out revolution cannot take their theory from other countries. Therefore, revolutionary theory will be leading theory of one's own country, not relying on theories of others at all. All

leading theory should be based on Marxism-Leninism and should create it according to local situation.

2. It is natural that self-sustenance is required to avoid chauvinism, dogmatism, frankism, and stands for local theories. Comrade Kim Il Sung said, "we are not receiving orders from outside. We are doing the revolution for the interests of our own people. Therefore, all problems must be solved by our own brains and theories of our own country."
3. Self-sustenance Line should be forced on basis of proletarian internationalism, standing against nationalism and isolationism. Therefore, self-sustenance should intensify and fortify proletarian internationalism. proletarian internationalism and self-sustenance are very closely linked, cannot be separated or divided.

B. It is a natural right to keep the self-sustenance line in politics. Each country should keep self-sustenance line in politics; otherwise, will lose independence and cannot develop prosperity of own country.

1. Essential guarantee to keep independence and prosperity of country; all nations are equal and self-independent. Therefore, all nations and countries have right to solve their own problems. However, sovereignty is keeping only with the struggle against Right and Left Wing, particularly imperialists. It is very important point to decide own national independence and sovereignty.
2. The self-sustenance guarantees their own people's interests and country's dignity. Therefore, everyone should make their own policy by their own brains and carry it out thoroughly. It is

quite natural to keep Self-Sustenance in politics in order to keep own independence and dignity.

3. Revolutionary construction in North Korea firmly based on self-sustenance line. Comrade Kim Il Sung said, "Our republic has solved every problem by our own brains and thought under guidance of our party in the struggle for construction in Agricultural policy, educational policy, cultural policy, etc.

- a. We solved the power problem by our own thought. Different from Soviet power.
- b. The Reformation of Production Relations has been solved by our own thought. Cooperatives. Own approach to formation. Scale & speed depend on local conditions.
- c. Self-Sustenance Line served in all fields: politics, economics, defense, culture, etc. Carried out line of class struggle and self-independent economy, and general line of construction to develop in all fields.
- d. This self-sustenance line is continuously keeping until completion of socialism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin didn't indicate on these problems. They lived in era of capitalism and couldn't foresee conditions and terms of era when social revolution completed. They lived under capitalism and couldn't foresee many things. After World War II of Imperialism, many socialist countries were born, established new production relationships. In this state, Comrade Kim Il Sung established idea of continuous revolution after victory of socialism, until final victory of revolution, and idea of proletarian Dictatorship, and idea of class struggle

during course of revolution and transition, and idea of ideological struggle, management economy, idea of agricultural problem.

LINE OF SELF-INDEPENDENT ECONOMY

- A. The main contents of line of self-independent economy established by Comrade Kim Il Sung. After taking over power by Marxist-Leninist party, economic construction is also taken over by party. Because after taking power, the party becomes responsible for increasing living standards of people; in order to increase production, there will be needed correct line for party. For this, Comrade Kim Il Sung established line of self-independence economy. He said "We are fighting with blood, because we have to serve the people, particularly to increase the living standards of the people.
- B. Contents of National Independence Economy:
1. All programs raised in economic field should be solved by the party and people themselves. Revolution should be carried out by the people themselves. Foreign aid is secondary.
 2. All economic construction should be based on own labor and resources to the maximum possible. Must organize cadres to spread knowledge. Believe in the ability of the people.
 3. All people should be mobilized to find out from nothing we can make everything.
 4. Self-Independence Line requires to stand against chauvanism and dogmatism; must concentrate on own resources and their development. Blind to our successes. All of these negatives are obstacles to development. Does not mean National Egotism. All major consumption of people must be supplied by their own production; through trade on basis of mutual

1. The first of these is the

fact that the United States has a long and distinguished history of

supporting the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

2. The second is the fact that

the United States has a long and distinguished history of

supporting the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

3. The third is the fact that

the United States has a long and distinguished history of

supporting the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

4. The fourth is the fact that

the United States has a long and distinguished history of

supporting the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

5. The fifth is the fact that

the United States has a long and distinguished history of

supporting the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

6. The sixth is the fact that

The people must be armed for total war.

THEORY FOR SOLUTION OF AGRARIAN PROBLEMS ESTABLISHED BY COMRADE

KIM IL SUNG

I. This Theory contributed to Marxist-Leninist treasure for solution of Agrarian problem

A. It is important program for solving the agrarian problems in order

to carry out the revolution and to build up Socialism and Communism. Without solving the agrarian problem, the cause of socialism, and communism could not be built up. Peasants are the main allies of Working Class and also is force for building up new society: socialism and communism, because Working Class is responsible for producing industrial products and peasants have to produce agricultural products. Therefore, to solve the agrarian problem is the same as national salvation, liberation, and independence. From this point of view, to solve the agrarian problem is the same as to carry out the revolution with the working class to destroy exploitation and oppression and to build up socialism and communism.

B. Comrade Kim Il Sung enriched new theory for solving the agrarian problem in the course of building up the new society of socialism and communism. Of course, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin also tried to deal with the agricultural problem, but only in the course of the democratic revolution. Up until the socialist revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung set his new theory in the stage after completing the socialist revolution. Comrade Kim Il Sung wrote his main theses on the socialist agrarian problem in our country.

1. Intensifying basis of co-operative farms and developing its living standards in order to avoid the difference between the city and village countryside.

2. Principles for solving the Agrarian problem are:

- a. To carry out technical, cultural, and ideological revolution.
- b. To guide farmers and help the cooperative farms by working Class and industry and to support the farmer by city.
- c. All the agrarian management should be increased as industrial management. Ownership of cooperative should be turned into ownership of all the people--nationalized.

II. The theory of Technical, Cultural, and Ideological revolution pursued by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

- A. The necessity to continue the revolution after forming the cooperative farm; after formation of cooperative farms:
 1. In order to avoid the differences between city and villages: under socialist construction the industrial production is growing up without limitation. However, villages remain backward, developing slowly. Therefore, party and government called people to continuous revolution even after formation of cooperatives in villages.
 2. To raise enthusiasm for increasing agricultural production: As a revolutionary point of view, farmers have to build up their own society, as they did in the past with the democratic revolution. Giving up on these points is one of the major obstacles to the development of the revolution.
 3. To intensify the superiority of the agrarian system under socialism: In order to show the superiority of the agrarian system under socialism, they must have firm basis of technical, cultural and ideological.
- B. The essential task after forming the cooperative farm, (Comrade Kim Il Sung said: Technical, cultural, ideological revolution are essential tasks for carrying out the revolution in the villages after completing the cooperative farms).

1. Why those tasks are necessary tasks and essential tasks?
 - a. Only after carrying out those revolutionary tasks can the village stand as towns and the differences between them be eliminated.
 - b. Because in order to carry out the final victory of the revolution we should fulfill the revolutionary tasks of making the firm basis for ideologically and material basis should be formed.
2. The principles of carrying out the technical, cultural, and ideological revolution.
 - a. The first place should be ideological revolution. Under socialism the class struggle is still going on. What form does class struggle take in this situation? There are two kinds: one is destroy the old ideological elements remaining in the villages; second, to crush the reactionary attempts from outside.
 - b. In order to guarantee the superiority of socialism, it is necessary to raise the ideological level.
 - c. Only increasing the ideological level can the technical, cultural, and ideological revolution be fulfilled. All three revolutions must be carried out by masses of peasants. Therefore, all farmers should rid their minds of all bourgeois elements, pessimism, and non-activity for the society.
 - d. Ideological education needs a long time, therefore the education should be taken as a responsibility of Party and the government. Ideological reformation of people is very difficult and complicated problem after founding of socialism. From Marxist-Leninist point of view, it is rather

easier to seize power than to eliminate the negative ideological elements.

3. It should be carried out ideological revolution first with with cultural and technical revolution in parallel
 - a. Only in carrying out the ideological, cultural, and technical revolution can people stand on producing the material for the people and follow the socialism and communism
 - b. After completing the technical and cultural revolution, they can be freed from hard and difficult work
 - c. Only carrying out technical and cultural revolution, they can reform their minds applying to the new society.

C. Technical, Cultural, and ideological revolution and the way of fulfilling them/

1. Technical revolution in the village. Contents are: electrification, irrigation, mechanization, chemicalization
2. Cultural revolution contents are: to raise the level of culture and technical level and to educate the cadres in agricultural fields and avoid negative elements. To lead their life morally and healthily. Aim: to create farmers to level of skillful agrarian engineers; in this way, destroy difference between town and country.
3. Contents of ideological revolution are to overcome negative; ideological elements, follow progressive ideology and raise up to the level of the Working Class.
4. Chemicalization: fertilizer made available and insecticides.

III. Theory of support to the village established by Comrade Kim Il Sung

- A. It is necessary to help the villages by party and government to develop the villages.

1. Farmers will follow the guidance of Working Class only through

helping them by the party and government.

2. Agriculture has to receive the assistance of industry in order to develop their own production.
3. Villages need all kinds of assistance: political, cultural, ideological, technical--then they can follow progressive path of mankind.

B. Principles kept by government and party on the cooperative farms policy:

1. Farmers under the socialist system are main component of alliance with Working Class in accomplishing the revolution.
2. Prior to socialism, farmers led own life; under socialism government and party become leaders. All problems become their responsibilities.
3. The way of helping cooperative farms.
 - a. Working class has to intensify the guidance in the fields of ideology and politics.
 - b. Party and government have to assist in material to the cooperative farm.
 - c. To assist village in cultural field; to raise their cultural standards of the people. Now in our country every corner has own schools, hospitals, movie theaters, handicrafts, nurseries, etc. All cultural institutions.

IV. The theory of guidance and management of cooperative farms to close the people's ownership and relationship between them established by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Theory on the management of the agricultural economy established by Comrade Kim Il Sung. The direction of the guidance shall be to close the industrial management in all agricultural fields. Agriculture should be combined with science and technics. therefore, it

it is very important to raise production in cooperative .
 applying correct guidance and organization made already in the
 industrial field.

THEORY ON CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION

The socialist revolution is the taking of power by the Working Class. There are three ways to achieve the revolution in colonized area: (1) explosive method, (2) continuous armed struggle; the continuous armed struggle has to lead to the people's Democratic Revolution. (3) Through the coun-d'etat, based on the guidance of Communists; the main forces will be army forces + people's power. (4) The new way which we have found: certain areas have a liberated area, or base (Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia); power can never be taken through parliamentary techniques. Communists do participate in this area, but only as a propaganda platform to expose the enemy and educate the people. Party members can infiltrate the enemy's parliamentary or political apparatus, but the main target is to reserve Revolutionary forces for the right moment. Agent of socialist revolution is the Working class. After taking power, basis of socialism must be laid by Communists; after taking power the socialist revolution is achieved, but the construction of socialism has just begun: (1) to establish Socialist system. (2) to achieve Democratic reforms; to establish people's Committees (for people's Law and Constitution, education system, health, etc.) Democratic Reforms: (a) Land reforms --cooperative farms; (b) all middle and small scale business and handicraft should combine into one large cooperative--this marks the establishment of Socialist System: 1. The Victory of Socialist Revolution; 2. Establishment of Socialist System. This must be

carried out to final victory of Socialist Revolution. The stages are high points of Socialist Revolution: 1. Victory of Socialist Revolution; 2. Establish basis of Socialist system; 3. Carry out to complete victory of Socialism; 4. Final victory of socialism; 5. First stage of Communism.

TRANSITION PERIOD AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

A. The theory of transition period from Capitalism to Socialism by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

1. The necessity of the Transition period

- a. Destroy all sources of exploitation.
- b. Establish Socialist production Relations and establish basis of material and techniques.
- c. Reform ideas of people to socialist ideology.

2. Transition period means the period of social revolution after achieving Working Class power to lead the victory of socialist construction in the cause of political, ideological, cultural, and moral. Therefore, it is class struggle right on. Transition period is after establishing proletarian dictatorship on to the complete victory of socialism.

- a. Transition period is period of destruction of Capitalism, i.e., all techniques and elements of exploitation.
- b. To make a society by revolution.

B. Tasks During Transition period

- 1. To liquidate elements of exploitation, and reformation of economic structure of society.
 - a. To crush counter-revolutionary attempts to restore Capitalism.

- b. To defeat reactionary ideas and elements inside outside: inside reactionaries try to connect with outside reactionaries.
- 2. Destroy difference between town and country, between Working Class and peasants
- 3. To realize socialist industry and make firm technical and material basis of Socialism. Raise up all people's living standards to the middle class.

THE THEORY OF WORLD REVOLUTION

ESTABLISHED BY COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

A. Unity of Socialist Camp and Working Class Movement

- 1. Principled stand of K.W.P. for unifying Socialist Camp
 - a. To defend Socialist Camp by all means. Socialist Camp should get all support from all Communists. The necessity of this: unity and solidarity among them can be defended from attempts of imperialists. Only through this way can we carry out world revolution. If individual communists do not support the socialist camp, liberation movements, national salvation movements, they are not real Communists. Only to do this can we defeat the divide and conquer strategy of U.S. imperialists. Socialist camp was formed in common struggle and is common gain of movement. Some countries are forgetting their socialist principles.
 - (1). For intensifying unity of Socialist Camp, unity must come from struggle--Comrade Kim Il Sung.
 - (2). Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out that for the unity of the socialist camp, we must keep our own sovereignty. Sovereignty makes contribution to firm unity

of socialist camr. Sovereignty avoids chauvinism and dogmatism.

2. Ideology of Anti-Imperialism and for National Liberation Struggle

a. National Salvation struggle is the struggle of destroying imperialism as a whole, also is link with the world Working Class movement as whole. Two main World Revolutionary Forces: Working Class forces and National Liberation Movements; 72% of land under control. 2/3 population Third World. 100,000,000 under colonialism and imperialism.

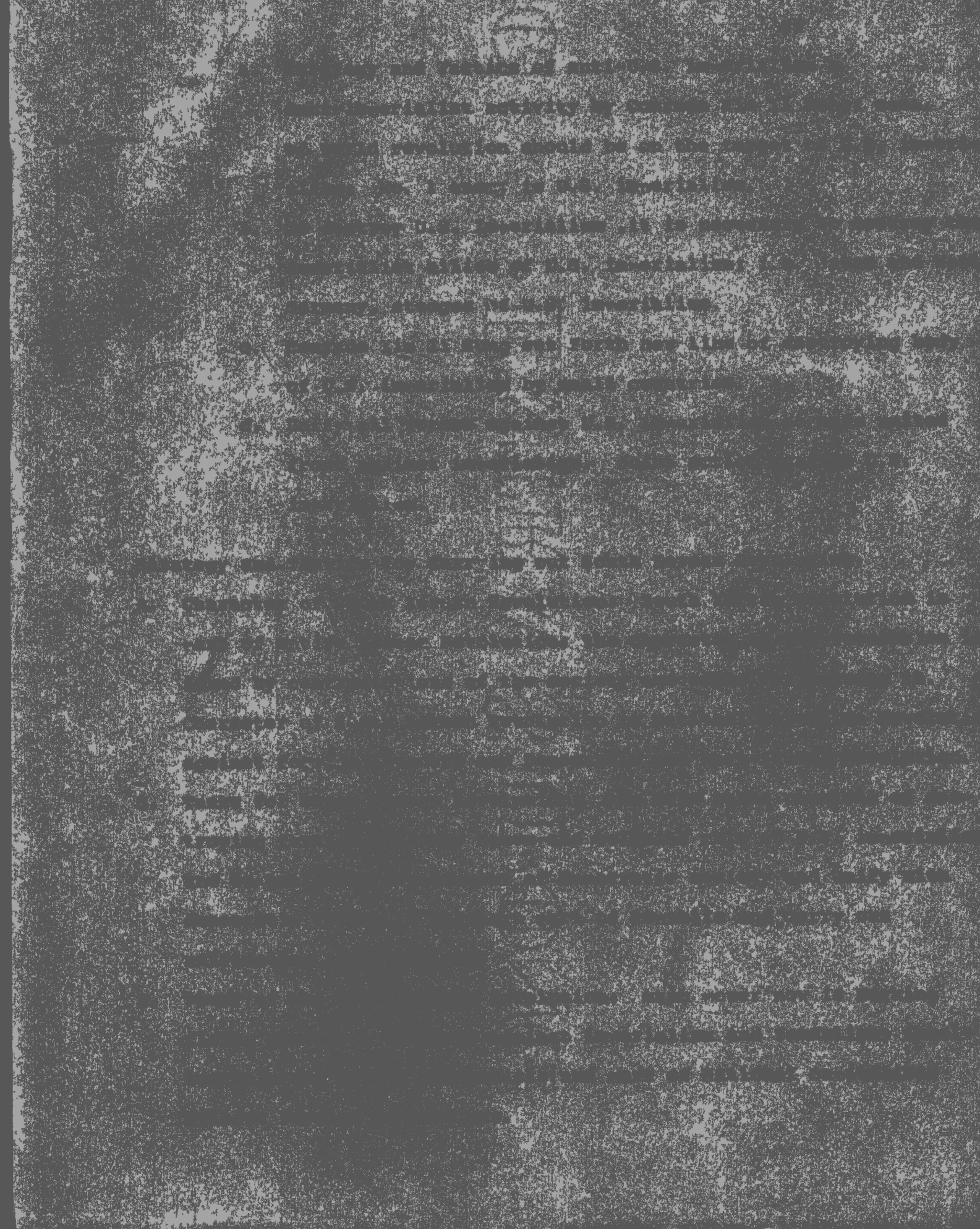
b. The people have to fight against imperialism, including armed struggle and all forms. Nature of imperialism never changes. All people under oppression can be freed only by militant struggle; therefore, all lies of imperialism must be exposed. All wrong ideas about imperialism must be destroyed. As imperialism is using guns, the people must have their own guns.

c. Comrade Kim Il Sung indicated the way of prosperity of countries standing firmly against imperialism. All countries that have achieved people's Democratic Revolution must go forward to Socialist Revolution; taking power is only first step, continuous revolution must be carried out.

(1). All newly independent countries should keep line of self-independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense

(2). All countries that have gained Revolution must assist other oppressed people.

3. The ideology of Anti-U.S. imperialism and all other anti-imperialist people all over the world now have historic task of destroying system of imperialism all over the world.



- D. Object of South Korean Revolution: first target U.S. imperialism, landlords, capitalists with foreign collaboration, reactionary bureaucrats.
- E. Main Line of Revolution in South Korea: building up explosive power
- F. Essential point: unification of Republic (1) without any foreign interference, independently; (2) unification is internal matter: Korean people have capacity to do this; have wise leaders, material base, experience.
- G. Democratic way because the majority of people are eager to have own power. Entire Korean people don't want to live under capitalist power.
- H. Peaceful way because Korean people do not want war, do want to destroy their gains. They have proposed: (1) general elections without foreign interference; (2) federal system of North and South with High National Committee for common interests. REFUSED BY ENEMY; (3) exchanges: economic and cultural, electricity, postal, peace agreement.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION BEFORE TAKING POWER

In order to take power, working class must continue all forms of struggle. All should be based on strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism.

- A. Preparations for revolutionary activity before period of taking of power: all revolutions have objective and subjective conditions. Contents of objective conditions are: (1) people's revenge for hard repression, dissatisfaction of people; (2) ruling class cannot be stood to rule any longer; people tired; (3) international situation is in favor of revolution and unfavorable to enemy. Subjective conditions are: (1) main force of revolution should be formed; (2) revolutionary organization already formed; (3) It must

have core cadres and experiences struggling against the enemy; party must be formed by working class after careful analysis of situation.

- B. How the main force of revolution should be formed: main force of revolution is Marxist-Leninist party which is based on the working class and peasants strongly or deeply. In order to form main force of revolution must have good ^{connections} ~~relationships~~ with the masses gathered around party as much as possible.
- C. How to form party: In order to form Marxist-Leninist party there are certain prerequisites:
 1. guiding idea of party should be established; idea of Marxism-Leninism as well as ideas of leader of revolution; avoid dogmatism.
 2. Clearly state party's program and slogans--political line should be clearly set forth, target of revolution and method for achieving it; this is expressed by minimum and maximum program of party.
 3. To form party everyone should have own organic line of party. Organic line means class basis on which party is formed.
 4. Make principles of activity of party clear. Democratic Centralism must be established. Party fights against well-organized enemy and itself must be well-organized--Unitary Instruction System; from Central Committee down to bottom must have same line. Individualism must be stamped out.
 5. Type of activity should be fixed or decided. Legal activities and illegal activities determined by situation. Legal forms are to be preferred to illegal activities. Always be prepared to continue underground when situation calls for it; case of

Indonesia in point. Italy and France in same situation of Indonesia before Suharto's massacre of Communist party members.

D. To form the party, organic work should be followed.

1. To educate core cadre continuously in order to form the strong party.
2. Party organization should be formed among the working class and peasants and soldiers; form special committee in special area and special city. Special field-industrial, agricultural, commercial target area or sector.
3. Party should be formed simply but in quality; those who are willing to lay down life for cause. Make distinction between real revolutionaries and activists. Not even all members of guerrillas can be members of party. Simply means to keep cells small and clean; party members must be secret, must stay undercover--identity.
4. In the special place or field, the party members should extend in double line or tri-activity. Even after taking over or making gains, members should maintain secrecy.
5. Revolutionary activity should be combined in two forms: illegal and legal activities.
6. Party should be formed through the struggle of mass movement.
7. Party should have its own secret members inside other organizations. Fracture.
8. Party is responsible to individual party members; at the same time, members must be educated by party or else members will be weak and backward.
9. During illegal activities, party should have defense points or fortress to hide revolutionaries, liberate them from prisons, etc. Defense fortress has own financial system, supplies,

communications.

E. Ideological works of party:

1. In order intensify the party, it is necessary to educate party members on program. It is necessary to keep strong party based on Marxism-Leninism because consciousness lags and reactionary propaganda is always strong.
2. Duty of ideological work is to propagandize party's policy and to awake the people in class education and consciousness.
3. Direction of ideological work:
 - a. To propagate party policy and program
 - b. To educate with own revolutionary tradition which must be given by the party.
 - c. Socialist patriotism should be given to members as it is true patriotism to combat enemy concept of patriotism.
Contents of Socialist patriotism: (1) to expose the brutal exploitation of ruling class--capitalists, landlords, etc. people must hate them and stand ready to fight; (2) to propagandize the superiority of socialism and the gains of socialist construction, etc. defend all socialist gains.
(3) introduce all the events of international liberation movements and working class movements so that people will believe in the possibility of victory; (4) education of people with love of future and revolutionary optimism. Revolutionaries are honored to make supreme sacrifice for the glorious future.
 - d. Establish juche spirit; propagandize self-sufficiency in order to avoid chauvinism and dogmatism.
4. Education for members of party --obligatory.

- a. must systematize education: party school, cadre school, study groups, individual study, groups discussions, teachers lecturers; decide upon size of class for study effectively.
 - b. political study must be combined with activity and party life theory and practice.
 - c. Under illegal conditions, party must have secret studies, secret meetings.
5. Mass education: propaganda in education.
- a. In working class, peasants, and soldiers: all contents aimed at these groups; students, unemployed. Simple language
 - b. To educate party members, it is necessary principles of party line and working classness. Target & center core for awakening masses stage by stage.
 - c. Necessary to take regularities of objective; standard of knowledge of audience--profession, situation, elements in majority, sex, etc.
 - d. To combine legal education with illegal education.
 - e. To combine strategic tasks with general tasks. Anti-U.S. imperialism with anti-fascist movement and for democracy.
 - f. To combine inside propaganda with outside propaganda in the strategic propaganda.
 - g. All revolutionaries must be propagandists of party. Together with this, non-party members can be involved as core of propagandists.
6. Type of mass propaganda and education.
- a. Oral propaganda--word of mouth; discussions, lectures, rumors, short slogans.
 - b. posters--visual propaganda.
 - c. publications--legal and illegal--written propaganda

- d. Radio, T.V., films, etc.
 - e. Mass meetings organized by ourselves or our enemies, churches
 - f. Mass cultural work should be carried out by artists in art, drama, music, poetry, everything.
7. Work of mass organizations: to make main force of revolution; it is necessary to gather mass organizations.
- a. General principles on Mass organizations: (1) involve large scale organization; all these mass organizations must be democratic; (2) must defend interests of members--be legal
 - b. How to organize mass organizations.
 - (1). First, to educate cadres. Cadres should defend party program and should have ability to guide people. People should have respect for cadres. Cadres inside mass organizations must not expose themselves as party members.
 - (2). Make up correct program of mass organizations. Minimum program of party, beneath level of party program. Anti-fascist and democratic. For improvement of living standards, democracy for students.
 - (3). To establish mass basis. In order to establish mass basis, must first educate people, organize mass struggles in all fields.
 - (4). Choose correct time for organizing mass organization. Fix type and name of organization.
 - (5). Mass organizations must be formed voluntarily, not by force.
 - (6). To give detailed tasks by party to mass organizations. Only through struggle can mass organization be intensified. Organize around grievances of people

- c. Existing mass organizations should be used. Infiltrate reactionary mass organizations to influence them, and fractures.
- d. Guidance of mass organization by party; party reason-
for intensifying organization: (1) to increase mem-
bership; (2) to give political education; (3) increase
core of activists; (4) to avoid sectarianism; (5) to
fortify legal stance--fight for legal status; (6) train
core through struggle.
- e. Activity of Mass organization: (1) to have own organs
(publication); (2) carry out cultural work; (3) to
lead struggle for gaining own requirements; (4) mass
organization should follow party's instruction.

WORK OF JOINT FRONT

In order to carry on the final victory of revolution, it is necessary to attract the masses as much as possible to the main forces of the revolution. Revolution needs additional forces.

A. Necessity of joint front

1. It is necessary for growing the main force of revolution.
2. It is necessary because revolution needs additional forces.

B. Subjective and Objective Conditions are:

1. As objective conditions, all elements of society are oppressed by U.S. imperialists.
2. Subjective conditions: there is a party under the theory of Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary to have a party in order to guide the Joint Front, otherwise front will be crushed by the enemy.

C. General strategy and tactics for realizing Joint Front

1. Working class should guide revolution in the course of formation of Joint Front; however, Working Class should have alliance with peasants.
 2. Key body of United Front should be Working Class with peasant Alliance. After that, can unite with all elements of society.
 3. Avoid closing door on potential support--as broad as possible.
 4. United Front should not practice Right Sectarianism.
- D. Detailed method of United Front at work
1. To keep the party's program independently. Hold aloft the party program gathering the masses.
 2. After forming United Front, party should not attack other member organisations. Concentrate attacks on major enemy.
 3. principles must be kept by the party with the ideological struggle. Through struggle, unity will develop.
 4. Choose correct slogans.
 5. United Front should be based on bottom unity. Must attract masses. Involve masses. Attract individual celebrities.
 6. Differentiate secret work from open work. Hegemony of party must be emphasized.

TO DESTROY ENEMY'S ARMY FROM WITHIN

- A. It is necessary to destroy enemy's army.
1. To make into weak anti-revolutionary force.
 2. To null enemy soldiers and fortify revolutionary forces. All times destroy enemy forces and resources. Lenin and Comrade Kim Il Sung were greatly successful at this.
- B. Isolate high officers and generals and null middle officers and soldiers. Soldiers are lower class. Split officers.
- C. Work of destruction should be carried out by party and mass organisations

D. Party works inside enemy army.

1. Create action group inside army.
2. Infiltrate army.
3. Send secret missions inside key points, to military schools, strategic department, communications, ammo dumps, personnel, supplies
4. Infiltrators should make wide friendships.
5. Must have communications with outside forces.

E. Ideological in the Army

1. Direction of ideological work: propaganda of policy of party, to promote the education and class consciousness and to expose the lying propaganda of the enemy, and to make soldiers strong with revolutionary idea.
2. Method and type of ideological work in the army: send letters to soldiers; spread rumors; spread revolutionary songs; use holidays of soldiers (leaves); use demobilized soldiers.

F. Struggle organization in the Army

1. Immediate task: defend human rights, anti-war, spread rumors: "Soldiers don't want to follow fascists"; "Run away"; "destroy" Revolt; kill officers; turn over equipment; execute bad officers
2. Main target: change soldiers minds, create distrust by officers of men, demand democracy for soldiers
3. In decisive moment, type of struggle; to join with the people's revolt; stand as vanguard of revolt? Indirect or support to mass struggle. See neutral. Direct support--vanguard.
4. The type and method of struggle; request--petition; threatening letters, sabotage, refuse duty, protection, desert, escape to people, join mass struggle. High tide of struggle is military revolt; maximum type is military coup d'etat.

5. To make coup d'etat, must organize center core power and will of certain soldiers; select correct target; combine with mass revolt. Must have support of masses. Coup should be carried out with immediate attack against enemy.

VARIOUS KINDS OF STRUGGLE BEFORE TAKING OVER POWER

prior to taking power, it is necessary to build up power, step by step from bottom up to higher stage, (1) Anti-fascist, and for democratic struggle based on struggle with masses in the cause of revolution--Legal form; (2) Armed struggle beginning with groups of small size; (3) Decisive struggle with the armed revolution.

A. Method of guidance for Organizing masses to the Struggle

1. Principles of Mass Struggle

- a. ~~minimum~~ Through struggle, the forces of mass struggle should be increased. Mass struggle serves to build up revolutionary forces, trains and educates people.
 - (1). Correct calculation of enemy as well as own forces. Act only when conditions are favorable for victory.
 - (2). It is necessary to have initiative in action.
 - (3). Through the struggle, mass should be rolled into one.
- b. Struggle should be waged for the Armed Struggle, carrying out minimum program.
 - (1). Fortify the gains of struggle
 - (2). prepare for the next target of struggle. Resting, or halting the struggle means failure.
 - (3). prepare all the people for the decisive battle with enemy
- c. Combination of political, economical, and other types of struggle
 - (1). To take only political struggle is Left Wing; to take only Economic Struggle is Right Wing.

(2). Explosive Struggle and Unexplosive struggle should be combined, Communists should carry on both forms. Explosive Struggle consists of partial explosive Red Terror, small groups armed struggle, revolt, mass armed struggle guerrillas warfare. peaceful struggle can be turned into explosive struggle. Armed struggle is highest form of explosive struggle, a godlike state--guns are gods.

(3). To combine legal with illegal struggle.

d. The principles of mass struggle should be based on Working Class and peasants. Main force of revolution is Working Class and peasants.

2. Strategic program of Mass Struggle

a. Correct slogans should be simply and clearly and easily show direction of action. political slogans, economic slogans, strategic and tactical slogans, national slogans, class slogans action slogans, mobilizing slogans.

(1). Simply. Request of the people to suit wishes of people.

(2). Regards with local situation.

(3). Capable of having support from society.

b. Correct fixation of type of slogan

(1). Real slogan should be raised according to the local situation. Consider position of people and what is basis people have (consciousness).

(2). To combine various types and methods. Demonstrations, sabotage, strikes, sit-ins, revolts (large or small)--according to local situation and changes in society.

(3). It is necessary to change type and method according to situation. (i.e. sit-ins, tear gas= change of tactics)

c. Use all weaknesses and contradictions of enemy.

- (1). Contradictions are between enemies themselves, between Law and Justice, bureaucrats and egotists; individual contradictions.
- (2). How to use contradictions of enemy. All these contradictions should be used in the interests of masses. All should be used to carry out tasks of revolution, to destroy reactionary system.

d. To equip well the struggle organization. Struggle organization should have own headquarters and unit.

- (1). Well organized struggle committee headquarters.
- (2). Unit itself should be defined as Vanguard and additional units.

e. Preparation and starting of struggle should be well organized. Target, method, type of struggle, method of struggle, slogan. Choose good chance for acting. Initiated in due time by leaders.

f. Political work should be well organized. To carry on propaganda to expose right reaction fascist regime. to mobilize all the masses for the struggle. To summarize up: at each stage all the struggle should be analyzed, short comings, fixture of tasks based on experiences; be optimistic in pointing out future course.

g. To overcome all the suppression and lying propaganda of enemy

- (1). To prepare against enemy forces; police army, naves, right stooges, puppets, intimidate enemy forces.
- (2). Be vigilant for enemy's attempt to destroy revolutionary forces.
- (3). To guide leader activists and core forces.

- (4). It is necessary to rescue captured comrades and to help families of those lost in action; materially, morally. Letters for wounded men. Take care of the wounded.
- h. To keep strong standpoint in the struggle and carry on the confrontation with enemy.

ARMED STRUGGLE IN DANYLON

ARMED STRUGGLE

Two kinds of Armed Struggle: (1) reservation of armed forces. Democratic movement and armed struggle must be combined. (2) Decisive stage of taking power. Avoid witchism.

I. Small group of armed Struggle

A. Duty of small group of armed struggle

1. To plant the revolutionary forces everywhere and prepare the revolutionary forces. In order to carry on the revolution, must have core forces and explosive power. Goal is not to destroy enemy, but to build up forces and awaken people. Because this stage is under hard fascist repression. Armed propaganda group.
2. In this stage very important to create guerrilla bases for armed

struggle.

3. This is stage for keeping defense of revolutionary forces, destroying enemy one by one. To agitate with slogan of party's program for carrying out armed struggle. Kill main reactionaries destroy enemy headquarters, spy enemies secrets.
- B. Method of organizing for armed struggle--Select correct and Right men for carrying out the armed struggle. In order to select members of armed units; well equipped ideologically, physically, brave, disciplined, very concrete. Each group should be small--2,3,4,5.
 1. After selecting men, they must be trained well, because these men will become leaders of detachments.
 - a. Political education must be emphasized: to know well party program and policy and strategy, method of destroying enemy's army, method of mobilizing masses, building up party. They will have political duty; must have history of armed group activity.
 - b. Military training. Killing. Expert on weapons. Shooting, geography and map reading. Map making; strategy, attack, ambushes. (Ideas: put sand in socks to make body strong) Avoid all obstacles; know how to survive, land mines, chemicals. Wet handkerchiefs make good gas masks. Self-defense with hands and feet.
 - c. All technical skills: driving, boats, communications, equipment, disguises. Adapt to local conditions.
 - d. Communist morality. Never touch the people or harm them. Consider all treasures of people their own. Pay for everything. Avoid becoming bandits. Never touch women.
 - d. Must know language, slang, customs, clothes of locality.

- e. How to survive off the land; medical; where to sleep; natural enemies.
- f. Transistor radios. News
- 2. To prepare all kinds of equipment for action; all equipment should be simple, light, compact.
 - a. Arms: pistol, knife, rifle, hand-grenades
 - b. Technical equipment: transistor radio, wireless, binoculars, make-up and disguises, wigs.
 - c. Medicine and food. Salt.
- 3. To have strong base.
- C. Principles of group guerrillas
 - 1. To defend their own forces when necessary
 - 2. To keep mass and class lines. Propaganda is essential
 - 3. Legal and illegal struggle should be combined. Appear with false name before the people.
- D. Method of activity
 - 1. Organizing work: must not neglect this aspect; must defend rights of people, their organizations.
 - 2. Carry out propaganda and education for the people, educating them ~~much~~ according to program. Revolutionary songs.
 - 3. Names, traitors, running dogs must be killed; method determined by effect desired.
 - 4. Military activity must be carried on.
 - a. Always take initiative. Move quickly and decisively, precisely. Strategy must be varied. Careful planning and calculation.
- E. To make a guerrilla base is very important: choose place carefully. Population, supplies, finances.

II. Struggle of Guerrilla Units. Small groups grow into larger groups.

A. The meaning of guerrilla battles

1. Essential nature of guerrilla battles: Revolutionary war for liberating the people and nation and class from oppression by arms.
2. A way of developing the guerrilla battle: born during the cause of liberating the people from colonial rule and national salvific struggle. To develop guerrilla battle means political basis among people and Marxist-Leninist party and cadre of military-political capability. Geographical conditions and natural conditions chosen; it is necessary to have all conditions of material and techniques; to have experiences of struggle. The enemy should be isolated from the people. Only these conditions can give birth to successful guerrilla action.

3. Kinds of guerrilla battles.

- a. National salvation guerrilla battle
- b. Guerrilla battle for defeating reactionary ruling class
- c. For defending gains of socialist construction
- d. Class liberation guerrilla battle

All American Liberation Army--AALA

4. The Aim of the guerrilla battle is to destroy the enemy's forces and create chaos in system, to weaken the reactionary system. To give belief in victory to people. To prepare to take power. Guerrilla battle itself cannot take power. Guerrilla war can be long or short. Decisive battle for gaining power is short time. Naturally comes aims of each stage.

5. Duty of guerrilla battle

- a. Military Duty: living power must be destroyed, technical equipment. Bases must be destroyed, missile bases, airways,

bridges, communications center. Should give shock to enemy.

b. Political Duty: educate people; organize masses and mass organizations; defend base areas; defend liberated areas; nationalize resources.

6. Through the guerrilla battle, it is necessary to build regular army. Platoon, regiment, battalions, divisions. With modern equipment.

7. Political guidance should be followed. Political commissioner. Chief of guerrillas acts under orders of party. Political cadre is spokesman of party. Political commissioner must be in guerrilla unit. Strong regulation and strict discipline. Always explain actions. Voluntary discipline should be sought.

8. Equipment and Organization of Guerrilla Unit.

1. Principles of organization of guerrilla unit.

a. To make the line of unit should be class point of view and peasants, progressive intellectuals, and students.

b. Guerrilla units should receive guidance of party

c. Guerrillas are volunteers, not by force

d. Guerrilla units should have firm Democratic Centralism. Must follow orders.

e. Equip units politically. All cadres must be all-around qualified. Necessary to have party organization in units. Out of 100 guerrillas, at least 20 should be party members

--1/5

2. Methods of organizing the units: select members from masses, from the people. Must create core first, then gather masses around core. Then through underground activities and mass struggle.

Equip units with deserters from enemy troops.

3. Organic system: Commander in Chief, division, company, platoon, battalion, regiment. Special troops.

4. Equipment of units: from the enemy; homemade; foreign aid.

Travel light.

C. Establishment of guerrilla base--Necessity of the base: to make up units and train them education, treatment, supplies, food, clothes, everything.

1. Choose correct place for guerrilla base; masses have to support guerrillas. Certain material needs, geographic; sufficient equipment for defending base. Communications station.

2. Types of Guerrillas Bases are:

a. permanent base: liberated area

b. Secret base.

c. Temporary base

d. Sea coast bases, mountain side, etc., town base, according to local situation.

3. Elements of equipment for guerrilla base:

a. Command post

b. place for study and training; repair shop for equipment; storage; clothes repair; hospital; communications station; equipment for coping with the weather.

D. Strategy and tactics of guerrilla base

1. principles of strategy--to guarantee the strategy of the party

a. Keep good relationship with people

b. Self-reliance. Rely on the bases.

2. Tactical principles

a. Initiative power

- b. Continuous attack: according to the local situation, guerrilla forces can retreat from one place to another. Attack means to destroy the system of enemy. From every corner, attack together. Coordinate attacks.
- c. Speed up quickly
- d. Immediate action. To solve the matter take quick action, as soon as possible.
- 3. Type of guerrilla action: attack; waiting attack; explosion confuse enemy; retreat. Attack by cold-trailing; defense; decoy; surrounding.
- E. Guidance of Guerrilla battle. Command post-guides place of battle. Flags, smoke signals. Intelligence network. Internal security. Secret police.

THE DECISIVE MOMENT FOR TAKING OVER THE POWER

- I. The decisive moment means to take over the power within a short time after Having the firm basis of subjective and objective conditions of revolution The decisive moment can take the power only through defeating the reactionary elements. Growth of revolutionary forces: anti-fascist movement and for democracy: through the armed struggle.
- A. When is decisive moment?
 - 1. Superior power of revolutionary forces compared to reactionary power. Party, organizations (mass), Joint Front, etc.
 - 2. Masses rising against the reactionaries in the struggle to free themselves from the oppression; masses can go with fighting spirit to the revolution.
 - 3. International situation should be suited for the decisive step. It would be better to have more countries waging revolutionary movement against system of oppression. World War is also favor-

able moment. When U.S. imperialists fail in all fields of aggressive activity: Vietnam, Korea, etc. To prepare one must continue to build up forces, have good international connections.

3. prospect of decisive moment in U.S. The question of time is in the hands of the American Revolutionaries.

1. Nowadays, inside U.S., revolutionary forces are building up

2. The contradictions of society are deepening, such as racism and exploitation and fascist regime. The situation will get worse and worse for fascism and imperialism. Yankoes will become much more fascistic and more and more imperialistic outside. Without exploitation and war, the pigs can't make it.

3. Every corner of the world is now raising revolutionary voices as never before. Particularly the power of the socialist camp is growing up. The contradictions inside socialist camp are growing temporary. In France, Italy, Japan, and Germany, England--working class movement is getting stronger; favorable situation for revolution.

4. U.S. Imperialism now is stumbling down in history. The danger of economic crisis is growing. The budget of the war naturally brings misery for the people. Inside the U.S. anti-war sentiment is growing as never before. Outside, U.S. imperialism is getting strong hammer blows. Now the people well understand that the lying propaganda is not true. All the treatment of the U.S.A. cannot be effective much longer. The people know very well that U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 enemy. Threat of atomic and hydrogen bombs can no longer control history, holding the forward march of the people back. Human beings can be produced just as

the bombs and human beings can destroy the bombs. Such a war will be the doom of the enemy. Human beings will survive and march forward to socialism and communism. The death of U.S. imperialism is inevitable. We see with our own eyes the situation of the death of U.S. imperialism. However, U.S. imperialism does not die itself, we must fight to bury it.

II. The tasks of decisive moment.

- A. To make party's work general attack stance to totally destroy enemy
 1. To do this, to establish party's organization in every sector of society at every level; and to intensify the guidance on the social organization.
 2. To arm all the people. All the people must be armed, must be organized into units, must build an army--AAA. Do not reactionary counter-attack. Make correct line of war and to distribute forces correctly.
 3. Choose correctly targets and all forces concentrate on it. Must have center core target. To effectively utilize forces. Must have centralized target. Reactionary authorities, Pentagon, White House, C.I.A., F.B.I., police. Communication, broadcasting, wireless communication; trunk of telephone bank.
- B. After accomplishing above, prepare for armed struggle
 1. Choose exact and correct time for armed attack. Looking after the incidents of coup d'etat, must have occurred on Sundays or when reactionary leaders are either outside of the country or during meetings.
 2. First attack target should be chosen correctly and complete destruction should be accomplished. Can be done in decisive steps or

successive attacks. If targets are dependent, the complete destruction is a must. Night time is the right time.

3. Rapidly solve the matter through rapid attack. It is necessary to be rapid and decisive. Life or death struggle.

C. To establish new people's power, destroying reactionary organs and machinery. Arrest all the Congressional members and occupy cabinet building, hoist revolutionary banner over seats of authority and halt activity of all rigs at all cost. Shoot and kill all resistance. Must destroy all levels of exist authority. It is necessary to occupy all main seats of authority in order to halt all mobilization by rigs. Necessary to have top rigs sign document turning over power to the people. Always keep strong position. Show no weakness or mercy. Use all rigs in first stage.

1. Immediately establish new revolutionary power after destroying reactionary organs, fixing temporary new organs and naming new machinery. Leave no vacuum of authority. Announce new authority and its composition immediately. Call for outside recognition of new government. Programs, declarations, statements on all levels. Stop all reactionary activity. Disband their organizations and forbid them to meet. Set up new organizations. Front off streets. Destroy all present heads, create new heads. Monopoly and reactionary bureaucrats must be destroyed. Declare reforms, nationalization of industry, etc. Organize huge demonstrations in support of new power, issuing own statements of support of new power.

D. After taking over the power, it is necessary to continue the revolution until the ultimate victory.

1. Reactionary ruling instruments, from top to bottom, must be destroyed. Heads executed. Destroy all anti-people's law. Announce all agreements with foreign countries terminated. Establish Dictatorship of proletariat. Execute some, imprison others, put others to work. All killers of people executed.
2. To carry out all the democratic reforms.
3. To restore relations with revolution organizations all over the world. Establish diplomatic missions with socialist camp and all sources of support. Recall all diplomats and demand loyalty or not. Force them to support. Call together foreign diplomats and ask for statement of support or they must leave country.

III. In order to take over the power, we can use way of people's mass struggle and/or coup d'etat. If we use coup d'etat, it must involve mass action and support. Make demonstration uniting people with armed forces.

Party program--Black Panther Party

1. Program not based firmly upon Marxism-Leninism.
2. Does not express all the points that people want; concerned only with Blacks.
3. It is not stated main point of taking over the power.
4. We must issue new expanded party program
5. point #2--On Full employment--limited only to Blacks
6. point #3: end of robbery of Black community by capitalists. Capitalists rob everybody.
7. point #4: Not asking for enough. "Raise standards of living for all people."
8. point #5: Contents of education of people--must attack complete system
9. point #6: To say, to form All American Liberation Army
10. point #7: Brutality and murder of Black people--must move on entire system.
11. No. 8: Prison and jails not only for Black. Freedom must be given to all people.
12. point #9: Should require
13. point #10: General election for all people

Program is limited to the contradictions of the Black colony. It shows the aspect of community imperialism. We have outgrown present program. Present program becomes obstacle to further development of our revolution.

The Character of the Revolution can be decided by the targets of the revolution, by which you carry on the analysis of society, such as contradictions between classes and society's structure. Program must be based on these points of contradiction. Main contradiction between capitalists, landlords, reactionary bureaucrats and oppressed people. Second contradiction is between Whites and Blacks and other oppressed races. Thirdly, the contra-

dition between the people all over the world and U.S. imperialism. In order to solve these contradictions, it is necessary to crush U.S. imperialism and together with the people all over the world to carry out the revolution and establish people's power. "All power to the people" must continue to be raised. Fulfilling this is the only way that Blacks can be liberated from oppression by capitalism. Our struggle is for Socialist Democracy. This is a working class revolution.

We are in the transitional phase of moving from the ethnic struggle to the class struggle: (1) Anti-fascist movement; (2) New Democratic Regime; (3) Free Blacks from racist oppression; (4) Anti-war activity.

From Ethnic Struggle to Class Struggle: our program must reach beyond radicals to appeal to the community. All Communists in the U.S. must unite.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ CONTENTS OF NEW PARTY PROGRAM

1. Destroy U.S. imperialism and fascism and to build a socialist society

Working Class, peasants, intellectuals, all progressive elements, mobilized to concentrate on target of destroying U.S. fascist regime and build up the democratic power with Working Class, agricultural labor, intellectuals, small scale petty capitalists, Black man--all ethnic groups.

Target: to destroy U.S. Fascism and Imperialism

Tasks: To build a socialist society.

2. To destroy all the Fascist regime and to guarantee the development of Socialist Democracy

Requires the destruction of the F.B.I. and C.I.A. and all reactionary laws. To free all prisoners and guarantee the publishing of newspapers and magazines and the right to assemble and organize. To give equal voting rights to the people. To guarantee activities of progressive parties and mass organizations.

3. Free Black man from oppression and exploitation and guarantee equal rights to all ethnic groups.

All ethnic groups must be liberated and have equal rights as Whites

in political, social, and economic, cultural spheres. All nations, tribes, and races in U.S. might be taken their autonomy to control their own destinies. All small nations, races, tribes must be free from all oppressive special laws and show their capabilities. Must have proportionate share in manipulation of sovereignty.

4. Disarm all aggressive U.S. Armed Forces. Fascist gendarm and police and their lackies, Right Wing para-military organizations.

Require withdrawal of all aggressive U.S. troops from abroad and to deny aggressive war. To establish a revolutionary army based on Working Class, peasants, serving for the people.

5. Nationalize all main industries and guarantee the development of the national economy.

To confiscate all the assets of capitalists--banks, railways, shipyards, big farmers, and oil fields, mines. All natural resources and means of production. Use all wealth to upgrade the standard of living of all the people, particularly the poor.

6. All land, forests, rivers must be nationalized to improve lives of agricultural laborers. All big big landlords must be expropriated and the land held in common by the people. All natural resources held in common by the people. Cooperatives instead of land reform.

Withdrawal of all foreign military bases. Stop producing and using nuclear weapons.

7. To issue Democratic Labor Law and improve the lives of workers and peasants. To guarantee full employment and 4 hour work day. Social facilities; social security. No slavery. Abolish interests on loans. Equality of salary. Free medical treatment. Free Universal Education. Abolish taxes.

8. To guarantee equal right of Women. Guarantee the free social activity and religion. Human rights; Abolish prostitution. Defend Mothers and children. Abolish Welfare system. Nurseries and day care clinics for Women. Prohibit child labor.

9. Establish educational system defending the interests of the people, people's educational system.

Obligatory education. Compulsory education. Free Education. Abolish R.O.T.C. Abolish the draft. Guarantee study of science.

10. Foreign policy: friendly relations with all peace-loving nations based on mutual benefits. Diplomatic relations with socialist

countries. Support all struggles for liberation against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Support U.N. for all people, not just instrument for U.S. imperialism.

Rules of Black Panther Party

Rules put emphasis on stopping negative habits.

Duty:

Rights of party. Right to criticize.

Right to protect themselves.

Right to take part in policy making.

Duty to accept/ recognize party rules and program and to carry them out themselves.

Duty to hate and fight against the enemy. Must work in party organization. Must carry on political study and continually raise level of knowledge.

Love comrades. Live simple lives and be careful with the people--women--drink.

Keep party secrets. Party members should contribute materially to party. Make donations.

Standardize and abolish party structure.