

Draft General Program of the Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.)

PREFACE

September 3-4, 1970, marks the 5th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

On this 5th anniversary, the Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is issuing a Draft General Program of the Party. This Draft General Program of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) is based on a revision of the General Program of the Party passed at the First Party Congress in 1966.

In the near future, the Party will detail its position on a number of additional issues not covered in this Draft General Program -- issues such as the student question, the trade union question, and the question of building the Party. These sections will be included in the final Program.

In the meantime, the widest and most open discussion of this Draft General Program and of subsequent position papers is welcome. The Central Committee hopes the publication of this Draft General Program will lead to widespread discussion and constructive suggestions. The PEOPLE'S VOICE will publish constructive comments on the Draft General Program on a continuing basis. From such suggestions will come a General Program to meet the needs of the working class, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

-- The Central Committee,
Communist Party U.S.A.
(Marxist-Leninist).

DRAFT GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (MARXIST-LENINIST)

I. INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is the Party of the proletariat in the United States of America. The Party is the advanced detachment of the working class; the Party exists to organize the working class, prepare it for proletarian revolution, lead the working class in the seizure and retention of proletarian state power (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in the United States, and in the building of socialism and communism in the United States.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is the Party of all communists in the multinational state that is officially known as the United States of America.

II. FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) recognizes the fundamental contradictions in the world today as being:

The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. (From Lin Piao's "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", 1969.)

A. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The oppression and exploitation of nations under imperialism and social-imperialism has increased. The general crisis of capitalism has deepened and has served to accentuate the process of development and change through national liberation struggles and proletarian revolutions. The imperialists and social-imperialists must increase their exploitation and oppression of the oppressed nations in order to maintain monopoly capital's profits, thus intensifying national liberation struggles. These national liberation struggles, in turn, serve to deplete the imperialists of resources at home, force the imperialists to round up the workers of their own and other countries as cannon-fodder, cause the imperialists to tighten the screws on "their own"



The people of the world are marching forward under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

workers in order to keep up profits, and thus intensifies the development of the proletarian revolutionary movements in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries.

The national liberation struggles that are occurring on a world-wide scale are on the advance while imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, is headed for total collapse. The revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and peoples, which are occurring in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are changing the world through revolution more quickly this century than ever before in the history of human society. As Chairman Mao Tsetung correctly points out: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today."

The oppressed nations and peoples are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and social-imperialism and their flunkies. The anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

These struggles point out clearly the correctness of proletarian internationalism and of the need for a united front against imperialism and social-imperialism. The struggle of oppressed nations against imperialism and social-imperialism is an important component of contemporary proletarian revolutions; they assist such revolutions by weakening imperialism's ability to maintain domination over many oppressed nations and peoples, and advancing the internal contradictions in imperialist and social-imperialist countries.

Once the national liberation struggle in an oppressed nation is successful, the Party of the proletariat in the oppressed nation must consolidate its position and carry forward the revolution to a proletarian revolution. The stage of 'independence', even if under New Democracy, is but temporary. It is the stage of polarization of forces -- when the proletarian Party must evaluate and prepare its reserves for proletarian revolution because imperialism and reaction are preparing their reserves (the reactionary and comprador bourgeoisie) while promoting revisionist ideology within working class ranks for counter-revolution and neo-colonialism. The fundamental contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand, and the oppressed nations on the other hand, can only be resolved through national liberation struggles and through proletarian revolution.

The primary task on the agenda of the world's peoples now is the defeat of American imperialism. "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"

B. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries is a fundamental class contradiction that flows from the social character of the means of production, on the one hand, and the private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists, on the other hand. It is the basic class contradiction that exists in capitalist society and it can only be resolved through proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the resulting elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class and bourgeois ideology as the expression of that class. The proletarians of all countries are the basis of the proletarian revolution and are the only class capable of liberating mankind from the yoke of the capitalist system.

Open struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor in capitalist and revisionist countries cannot be prevented from coming to the fore as an open manifestation

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Quotations From Chairman Mao

People of the world, unite and defeat
the U.S. aggressors and all their running
dogs!

U.S. imperialism is our common enemy,
and we all stand on the same front and need
to unite with and support each other.

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of this basic irreconcilable contradiction. The ever-present strikes and spontaneous outbreaks and uprisings are an indication of this contradiction in concrete terms, and these manifestations of the class struggle cannot be prevented from occurring.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) aims at raising the everyday class struggle of the proletariat to the level of revolutionary struggle -- to the level of class war and proletarian revolution.

C. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN IMPERIALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES, AND AMONG THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

The contradiction among imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries, is a fundamental contradiction and is irreconcilable. The imperialists and social-imperialists are engaged in an ever-increasing struggle which cannot be eliminated short of eliminating the basis of the capitalist system.

The essence of imperialism compels the imperialists and social-imperialists to struggle for the domination and redivision of the world. The "honor," partnership and cooperation that may exist between various imperialist and social-imperialist countries is the same kind of "honor" and partnership that exists among thieves. The imperialists and social-imperialists are constantly coming in conflict with one another as they seek to divide up the world into colonies, semi-colonies, and "spheres of influence."

However much the imperialist and social-imperialist powers may fight among themselves, though, they are united against the proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

The leading imperialist and social-imperialist powers in the world today are: American (or United States) imperialism; Soviet social-imperialism; Japanese imperialism; English (or British) imperialism; Israeli imperialism; German imperialism; French imperialism; Portuguese imperialism; South African imperialism; Italian imperialism; Australian imperialism; New Zealand imperialism; Dutch imperialism; Canadian imperialism. The biggest and most dangerous imperialist powers in the world today are American imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

D. THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON THE ONE HAND AND IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM ON THE OTHER HAND

The contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and the imperialist and social-imperialist countries on the other hand is an irreconcilable contradiction between two diametrically opposed social systems -- namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism and social-imperialism can be resolved only through the triumph of socialism over capitalism.

The imperialists and social-imperialists cannot tolerate the very existence of the socialist countries, and they are intent on provoking war with the socialist countries. Thus, the imperialist powers launched joint attacks against the Soviet power following the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Thus, the German imperialists attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 in an imperialist attempt to destroy the then only existing socialist state. Thus, the American imperialists have criminally attacked the socialist Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and along with the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union they have made repeated intrusions into China in preparation for an attack against the great socialist People's Republic of China, the bulwark of the proletarian forces in the world today.

The international balance of forces between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and the socialist countries has undergone a fundamental change since World War II. There are now a number of socialist countries instead of just one. In spite of the imperialist and social-imperialist counter-offensive on a world-wide scale, the present international situation is developing in favor of socialism. As Lenin pointed out, the era of imperialism is the transition period from capitalism to socialism; this is the era of the revolutionary socialist and national liberation struggles against imperialism. It is the era when imperialism is headed for total defeat. If the imperialists and social-imperialists persist in attacking the socialist countries, they will only hasten their own doom.

III. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The principal contradiction within the United States of America is the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie (which is headed by monopoly capital).

There also exists a secondary contradiction within the U.S.A. between American monopoly capital on the one hand, and the Black Belt (the Negro nation) in the South and Puerto Rico on the other hand. Further, there exists another secondary contradiction between American monopoly capital and various national minorities and nationalities in the American nation -- i.e. Indians, Mexican-Americans (Chicanos), Negro-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans. In addition, there exist secondary contradictions between monopoly capital and other sections of the bourgeoisie and contradictions among monopoly groups.

Fascism is developing in the United States of America as the direct result of American monopoly capital being threatened and deprived of its sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. The loss of American colonies and semi-colonies, coupled with the contradictions among other imperialist powers, means the loss of American monopoly capital's super-profits and serves to deepen further the general crisis of American imperialism.

The contradictions between the American imperialists and the revolutionary national liberation movements, the socialist states, and among the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, have caused the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the United States to become intensified. In order to maintain its profits, its monopoly of raw materials, cheap labor power, markets, and spheres of influence for investment of capital; and in order to be able to increase the size of its state machinery, the American imperialists have been forced: to increase their exploitation of the American working class; to increase their super-exploitation of the Black Belt and of Puerto Rico; to increase taxes; to speed-up automation and mechanization in industry; to speed-up mechanization of large scale agriculture, especially within the Black Belt and Puerto Rico; to speed-up the destruction of the petty bourgeoisie -- hurling many of them into the ranks of the working class.

These moves, in conjunction with the drafting of young workers as cannon-fodder for the imperialist war of aggression in Indo-China, has produced resistance in the form of economic strikes by the organized sections of the working class and spontaneous uprisings and outbursts by the most exploited and oppressed sections. Consequently, the imperialist state has been forced to increase its suppression of the proletariat and has had to increase the size of its armed bodies and the budgets of its armed bodies by many fold, thus putting even more of a burden upon the class it is designed to oppress.

The growth of the bourgeois state power is proof of the increasing acuteness and sharpening of the fundamental class contradiction that it is designed to hold in check: the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the United States.

The result of all this is the rise of fascism. Fascism is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital. Using the facade of "democracy" and under the slogan of "law and order", monopoly capital is increasing its attacks on the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class. American imperialism employs both legal and extra-legal means of suppression, which lays bare the true nature of "democracy" and "freedom" in the United States and reveals the inner link between the reactionary policies of the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

As an attempt to break out of its impasse, American monopoly capital promotes splittist ideologies and tactics among workers. The major splittist tactics used in the United States today are: American chauvinism, white chauvinism (or racism), and male chauvinism. All these ideologies have one primary source: American imperialism. They emanate from the reactionary policies pursued by monopoly capital. The basis for the eradication of these anti-working class ideologies can only be the destruction of American imperialism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the actual practice of equality of all workers and all nations which are now under the control of American monopoly capital.

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FIGHT THE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE
OF THE RULING CLASS WITH THE
REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE OF THE
PEOPLE!

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IV. ANALYSIS OF CLASS FORCES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A. THE BOURGEOISIE

1. Monopoly Capitalists:

The monopoly capitalist group possesses the fewest numbers of persons and the largest amount of wealth of any class strata in the United States. The monopoly capitalists constitute only a few thousand families, totaling less than 1/40th of 1% of the population; yet they own and control the economic structure and thus the state apparatus of the United States, including the political structure, military apparatus, educational facilities, mass media, and other aspects of the state apparatus. Democracy in the United States exists only for this group -- they have ready access to the White House, the Pentagon, the police departments, and other halls of power, and this group exercises control over federal, state and local politicians in the United States.

Monopoly capitalists are in a position to destroy and constantly seek to destroy all competition. They are part of the international system of imperialism. They cannot operate solely off the people of one country, so they are imperialists, and constantly seek to squeeze the labor power and resources out of many oppressed nations under their control. Today, American monopoly capital is the leading imperialist group in the world, eclipsing in scope and intensity all hitherto existing imperialist groups in history. American monopoly capital is the bulwark of international reaction, and is the bitterest enemy not only of the working class in the United States, but is the bitterest enemy of all the world's peoples.

The monopoly capitalists are the most vicious enemy of the revolutionary movements internationally; they are the most reactionary and undemocratic of all class strata in the United States. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party represent monopoly capital. It is absurd to consider these two Parties as being different in essence. The contradictions among the various monopoly groups should be recognized, but the task of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), as the Party of the proletariat, is to discredit and to destroy the influence of all of the various monopoly capitalist groups and the bourgeois parties under their control within the working class. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are part of monopoly capital's reaction and both are capable of representing fascist monopoly capital dictatorship. Both parties function as a coalition of monopoly capitalist groups.

2. Middle Bourgeoisie:

The middle bourgeoisie is that section of the capitalist class which owns factories or land but is not able to manipulate or control whole sections of industry. The middle bourgeoisie are not in a position to compete with monopoly capitalists and much of their possessions are tied to monopoly capital (through monopoly capital's extension of credit and loans, for instance). Members of the middle bourgeoisie usually measure their possession of the means of production in hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars, whereas the monopoly capitalists reckon their possessions in tens of millions or hundreds of millions or billions of dollars. In times of economic crisis, sections of the middle bourgeoisie who find they cannot compete with monopoly capital and stay in business must sell out to the monopoly capitalists, who thus further strengthen their economic control and further destroy competition. The middle bourgeoisie and their families constitute less than 1% of the population.

Presently, the middle bourgeoisie is in general support of monopoly capital internationally. At home it is in general support of monopoly capital; however, it opposes policies that tend toward centralization and concentration of political power and wealth, which monopoly capitalists demand (because it would be under the monopolists' control). Sections of the middle bourgeoisie seek a return to free competition and laissez-faire capitalism. Presently the contradiction between monopoly capitalists and the middle bourgeoisie has expressed itself in the formation of groups of the middle bourgeoisie such as the John Birch Society, which operate under the label of "conservative" and which are for "states rights" and other manifestations of less concentration and centralization. They are as reactionary as monopoly capitalists domestically, and just as anti-working class and anti-communist, but except for certain state and local governments (especially in the Black Belt) where monopoly capital allows certain segments of the middle bourgeoisie to be local political administrators (as long as they do not cross up and come in conflict with monopoly capital), the middle bourgeoisie does not direct state policy and hence do not present the same danger as monopoly capitalist groups who are the main enemy of the working class.

In terms of the working class, the middle bourgeoisie in general aligns itself with American imperialism. Limited tactical alliances can be made with the more democratic and anti-monopoly capital sections of the middle bourgeoisie, but such alliances must be very limited, very temporary, and they cannot last.

3. Petty Bourgeoisie:

The petty bourgeoisie are owners of small shops, stores, or small farms, having a very limited amount of the means of production under its ownership and control. The petty bourgeoisie occupies the least stable position within the bourgeoisie and comprises the largest section of the bourgeoisie, with they and their families numbering at different times from perhaps 3% to 10% of the population.

The petty bourgeoisie either works directly with the productive forces they own, or they may employ as many as one or two dozen workers. The value of the productive forces they own may be reckoned in terms of hundreds or thousands or tens of thousands of dollars, going up to as high as a hundred thousand dollars or so. Beyond that point, a petty bourgeois enters the ranks of the middle bourgeois.

Quite often, petty bourgeois just eke out an existence out of their small enterprises, and are just as oppressed as many workers, though they are not exploited. In fact, these highly oppressed petty bourgeois may be exploiting a number of workers under their control.

These "cockroach capitalists", the petty bourgeoisie, are constantly being thrown down into the ranks of the working class by the competition of the monopoly capitalists and the middle bourgeoisie. Especially in times of "tight money" when interest rates are high, the petty bourgeoisie has a particularly rough time of it, finding it hard to get loans and credit to expand, or even to stay in business.

The main political expression of the petty bourgeoisie is to support the policies of monopoly capital as far as issues directly concerning the working class are concerned. However, there are certain democratic sections of the petty bourgeoisie, especially in the Black Belt and in Puerto Rico, that can serve as a part of a united front against imperialism and be tactical allies of the working class. Such a united front would gain strength from the constant threat to the petty bourgeoisie of annihilation by monopoly capital and the middle bourgeoisie. However, the petty bourgeoisie can be highly unreliable and unstable because they are aspiring capitalists, anti-working class in essence, carrying bourgeois ideology. The party of the proletariat must constantly be on guard against the influence of petty bourgeois ideology within the working class.

Presently, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the aristocracy of labor have formed a number of small "radical" political groups, but they are incapable of building for or leading a proletarian revolution.

B. THE WORKING CLASS

1. Aristocracy of Labor:

The aristocracy of labor is the least exploited and least oppressed section of the working class. Although they are still wage slaves, they are the most highly bribed section of the working class. Today, many segments of the aristocracy of labor side politically and ideologically with the bourgeoisie under the false impression that because they are so highly paid in comparison with other workers that capitalism is in their best interests.

The aristocracy of labor includes: those who are non-owning managers and officials; high-level professional workers (research lawyers working for someone else, clinic doctors, college professors, etc.); well organized (unionized) skilled tradesmen, such as electricians, plumbers, and certain other building tradesmen; lower-level professional workers (the more highly paid social workers, teachers, etc.); and certain other occupational groups who are highly paid and perhaps unionized (certain steelworkers, for instance). Only some of the workers in the AFL-CIO unions are in the aristocracy of labor, with the bulk being middle-level workers.

The aristocracy of labor totals about 20% of the working class -- that is, about 15,000,000 workers in 1970. Ideologically, many of these aristocracy of labor carry petty bourgeois ideology, and they figure that if they can just accumulate enough capital they can go into business for themselves. Thus, some plumbers and electricians and others in the aristocracy of labor are often going into business for themselves and, once in business, often going broke and being forced back into working for someone else. Thus, there is a constant shifting in numbers between the lower levels of the bourgeoisie (petty bourgeoisie) and the upper levels of the working class (aristocracy of labor).

Because of the general crisis which has hit American monopoly capital, including wars of national liberation overseas and domestic economic and political crises, there is less and less money available in the hands of the ruling class with which to bribe sections of the working class in an effort to turn workers into aristocracy of labor. In order to squeeze more profits from the working class, the ruling class has tightened the screws on the aristocracy of labor as well as on the middle and lower levels of the working class.

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Within the aristocracy of labor, this means less in real wages, worse working conditions, and less opportunity to become a petty bourgeois. Thus, the aristocracy of labor, which traditionally has been the most reactionary section within the working class, has been becoming more radical. However, the level of struggle among the aristocracy of labor has yet to go beyond the economic level.

Because the aristocracy of labor is an integral part of the working class, and because it has in the past been a great force of reaction within the working class, efforts should be made to win the aristocracy of labor to the side of the most highly exploited and oppressed section of the working class, and to raise the level of struggle among the aristocracy of labor from the level of purely economic struggle to the level of political revolutionary struggle.

2. Middle Level Workers:

Middle level workers, many of whom are unionized, are more highly exploited and oppressed than the aristocracy of labor, but they are not the most highly exploited and oppressed section of the working class.

Middle level workers cover hundreds of occupational categories, chiefly semi-skilled and skilled categories. At 1970 prices, the wage range for middle level workers would be from about \$2.50 per hour to about \$4.00 per hour. This is just barely enough to make ends meet today, and for middle level workers there is a constant struggle just to keep one's head above water, financially speaking. Today, middle level workers constitute about 25% of the working class, or about 20,000,000 workers in 1970.

Recently there has been a tremendous growth of revolutionary ideology among middle level workers. The futility of fighting for purely economic demands is being seen by many of the middle level workers, many of whom have been struggling consistently since World War II for "more" and have just managed to stay where they are. Lately, the middle level workers have been receiving heavy economic blows from American monopoly capital, blows which have shattered some hitherto existing illusions about the "American way of life".

The middle level workers are already close to the most highly exploited and oppressed section of the working class, economically and ideologically, and the political bond between the two strata must be strengthened. As the blows from the ruling class against the working class continue, the economic discontent among middle level workers must continue to be fanned into revolutionary discontent.

3. The Proletariat:

The proletariat is the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class. They constitute the most reliable section of the working class, politically, and they must form the core of any revolutionary movement which is to be successful in America. The proletariat has nothing to lose and everything to gain from a revolution in America, and they lead the working class, which is the only class capable of revolutionizing social relationships in America.

The proletariat in the United States consists of urban industrial workers and rural agricultural workers. The urban industrial workers are concentrated in the cities and larger towns of the United States, where over 70% of the population now lives. The rural agricultural workers (who include the several million migrant agricultural workers) are especially prevalent in the Black Belt in the South and in Puerto Rico, and they are wage slaves in the agricultural "factories in the fields".

The proletariat, both urban and rural, consists of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who are found in over 90% of the occupational categories existing today. At 1970 prices, they earn a wage below \$2.50 and often work for \$1.50 or \$1.00 an hour or less and on only a day-to-day or a week-to-week basis. For over five years now, real wages for the proletariat have been steadily going down. Increasingly, rising prices make living harder and harder for proletarians, and life becomes more brutal and miserable.

Today, life for the proletariat is a constant struggle of trying to get enough or adequate food to eat, of trying to find decent shelter in which to live, of suffering illness without proper medical care, of low education, of being forced from one locale to another to look for work or a better job, of suffering the indignities of begging for inadequate "welfare" payments which do not even begin to meet the amounts needed for the basic necessities of life, and many other degradations.

The proletariat includes both "blue collar" and "white collar" workers, and includes some unionized workers (although the bulk of the unionized workers are middle level workers). The proletariat -- this most highly exploited and oppressed section of the working class -- numbers well over 50% of the working class, or over 40,000,000 workers, in 1970, of whom over half, or more than 20,000,000 workers are constantly hungry or starving.

The proletariat consists of workers of all skin colors, religions, and national origins. They are

united by their common class position and their common enemy -- American monopoly capital. The proletariat includes the overwhelming majority of the national minorities and nationalities in America, including members of the Negro national minority, the Puerto Rican national minority, the Mexican-American national minority, and the Indians who are from oppressed nationalities.

The heroic proletarian uprisings and more than 1000 spontaneous proletarian outbursts in over 200 American cities since 1964 are indications that the proletariat in the United States is the most politically advanced section of the working class, a section capable of transforming its revolutionary aspirations into action.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), as the party of the proletariat, exists to organize and lead the proletariat in the revolutionary seizure of power, and in the exercise of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) develops more fully as the fighting vanguard of the proletariat, the proletariat will be able to expand its influence and organize its forces to do consistent battle with the bourgeoisie.



The heroic struggle against American imperialism is mounting with increased fury in the U.S.A. Photo shows young workers in New York City, members of the Negro national minority in the American nation, rising up in anger against the brutality, exploitation and oppression of American imperialism.

V. THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America is a multinational state, comprised of three nations: the American nation, the Negro nation (the Black Belt) in the South, and Puerto Rico. The American nation, having a history and heritage dating back to the New England area, is an oppressor nation; the Black Belt and Puerto Rico are held as direct colonies of American monopoly capital, the ruling class of the oppressor nation.

The contradiction between American imperialism and the Black Belt and Puerto Rico is an irreconcilable contradiction. The struggle against the oppression of the Black Belt and Puerto Rico is part of the world-wide struggle for national liberation. The end to national oppression can only occur with the destruction of American imperialism. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) calls for the right of self-determination for the Black Belt and for Puerto Rico. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) states that the right of self-determination can only be secured by national liberation struggles in the Black Belt and Puerto Rico and successful proletarian revolution in the American nation, leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States.

The struggle of the American proletariat and the proletariat of the Black Belt and of Puerto Rico is part of the proletarian revolutionary struggle in the United States. The struggle of the American proletariat and the people of the Black Belt and of Puerto Rico is against the common enemy, American monopoly capital. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is the Party of the proletariat of the U.S.A. With regard to the Black Belt and Puerto Rico, revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation by a united front led by the working class is the only means to emancipation.

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By the right of self-determination for the Black Belt and for Puerto Rico, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) means the right of the people of those nations to determine completely for themselves their own destiny as a nation. The right of self-determination includes the right to secede and form an independent national state, or the right to autonomy within the framework of a relationship with the American nation, or the amalgamation of the Black Belt and/or Puerto Rico with the American nation.

The position of the Communists within the American nation must be to fight for self-determination for the people of the Black Belt and the people of Puerto Rico, for only when the people of two nations stand on an equal footing with one another can there follow a meaningful unity between the workers of the two nations. The position of the Communists within the Black Belt and Puerto Rico must be to fight for unity with the proletariat of the American nation -- i.e. for autonomy in a federated state with the American nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat as one of the possible choices under the guaranteed right of self-determination. Communists must uphold the right of nations to self-determination, but in so doing Communists must not abdicate their right and their duty to put forward proletarian internationalist solutions to national and colonial questions under the right of self-determination.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) upholds proletarian internationalism by combatting any tendency toward great nation chauvinism within the Party and within the working class. Hence, full support for the right of self-determination for the Black Belt and for Puerto Rico must be fought for by all Marxist-Leninists and all class-conscious workers. In addition, the greatest unity must be expressed between the workers of the national minorities in the American nation and the remainder of the American working class. The task of the Communists and the revolutionary class-conscious workers of the oppressed nations must be to oppose bourgeois nationalism by fighting for unity with the workers of the American nation.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) fights against all manifestations of great nation (American) chauvinism, white chauvinism, reactionary bourgeois nationalism, and against any ideology which serves to split workers along lines of nationality, national origin, or skin color.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) calls for an anti-imperialist united front for the right of self-determination for the Black Belt in the South and for Puerto Rico, which will include those forces who represent the national liberation forces of those oppressed nations.

VI. THE WOMAN QUESTION

Under American monopoly capital's rule, women suffer under doubled and trebled exploitation and oppression. The average wages for working women are only half those of working men. All women -- paid and unpaid -- are relegated to the most menial tasks in relation to men, in that women are expected to be unpaid domestic servants (housekeepers, cooks, babysitters, etc.) for men.

The enslavement of the wife to the menial tasks of the household has been the typical situation throughout class society, from early slave society all the way to capitalism. And the family is used by the ruling class as the



Double- and triple-exploitation of women workers is a basic feature of monopoly capitalist society. Photo shows women and men workers protesting against this ruthless exploitation of women workers by monopoly capital, with placards expressing the demand of equal pay for equal work.

vehicle for the oppression of the woman. The discrimination and added exploitation against women workers comes from the women's conditions of greater oppression in this capitalist society. The bourgeois family, of necessity, serves to re-enforce the domination of the man over the wife by the bourgeois family relationships.

The double-exploitation of women workers, and the triple-exploitation of women workers from the oppressed nations, is one of the basic features of monopoly capitalist society. This is not to say that we must wait for the ending of class society before we should fight for equal rights for women. It is through the fight for the proletarian revolution that revolutionaries must advance both the struggle for the equality of the working women with the working men, and the fight for both to join in the struggle, since the proletarian revolution means the emancipation of all the working people.

It has been shown historically that as the revolutionary movement develops, women are brought into the movement in increasing numbers, thus undercutting the base of male supremacy within the revolutionary movement. With the necessary changes taking place -- with the growth of the revolutionary movement; with the increased participation of women in the revolutionary movement; with the triumph of the proletarian revolution; and with the construction of socialism and communist society -- only then can the working people be free, especially women workers who are the most exploited and oppressed workers under capitalism. As Chairman Mao Tsetung points out: "Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole."

The building of the revolutionary working class movement, as well as the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism and communist society, must, of necessity, involve all the workers, men and women.

VII. MODERN REVISIONISM, CONCILIATORS OF REVISIONISM, AND TROTSKYITES

A. MODERN REVISIONISM

Of bourgeois influences within the working class, modern revisionism is the chief danger today. Modern revisionism did not suddenly develop because of the reactionary stance of the bourgeoisie. In the United States, the revisionism of the old Communist Party had its origins with the opportunist leadership of the United Front period beginning in 1935, particularly with Earl Browder and the "centrist" William Z. Foster.

The base for the growth of revisionism at this time was the class composition of the Party which changed from a proletarian membership in the late 1920's and the early 1930's to being a membership of the aristocracy of labor, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie. Revisionism arose as a response to the needs of the bourgeoisie and as a sympathetic response of the bourgeois elements within the Party to the bourgeoisie.

The revisionists systematized their political opportunism and capitulation in tailing the policies of the Roosevelt administration, with the revisionists liquidating the National Negro Congress in the late 1930s and the Party apparatus in the South by 1940, and eventually liquidating the Party in 1944 and reconstituting it as the "Communist Political Association" with the sole purpose of re-electing Roosevelt as President in 1944!

Although the old Communist Party was "reconstituted" as a "Communist Party" in 1945, and Browder was expelled, the revisionism which was widespread within the organization was not tackled and the "Party" has slid further down the hill of opportunism and class collaboration since that time. Today, the thoroughly and hopelessly revisionist "Communist Party" is little better than the "Left" arm of the Democratic Party.

Revisionism expresses itself in concrete policies and positions. The rejection of the proletariat, the chauvinistic position of rejection of the existence of the Black Belt in the South and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt and for Puerto Rico, and support of reactionary nationalism and racism -- all these policies are concrete expressions of revisionism. The revisionists seek an alliance with all sections of the bourgeoisie and disregard the class needs of the proletariat. The essence of revisionism is to serve imperialism. They play the "lesser evil" game, promoting "good" imperialists over "bad" imperialists, and beg handouts from "liberal" imperialists in exchange for revisionist support. Thus, they supported Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 Presidential election -- a leading example of the thoroughly class collaborationist nature of the modern revisionists.

There can be no unity with the modern revisionists, since there can be no principled basis for such unity. The revisionists must be thoroughly exposed and destroyed.

The modern revisionists and their conciliators are only the latest traitors in a history of traitorous opportunism within the working class movement -- a history as old as the fight for proletarian revolution. The fight against revisionism includes a fight not only against the modern revisionists but also against their conciliators (particularly against the opportunist leaders of the Progressive Labor Party), against the Trotskyites, and against all other opportunists who wish to scuttle the fight against imperialism for their own particular expediency.

(Continued on the Next Page)

DRAFT GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (M.-L.)

(Continued From the Preceding Page)

B. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The latest party to develop from the petty bourgeoisie, the Progressive Labor Party, labors under the illusion that it represents the "progressive" forces in the United States of America. They, like the revisionist "Communist Party", express their class base and outlook in their concrete position of social chauvinism and opportunism -- in particular, their rejection of the Black Belt in the South and its right to self-determination, and their backstabbing of the Indo-Chinese struggle under the guise of being "experts" on how people's war "really" should be conducted.

The Progressive Labor Party has a long history of opportunism and conciliation of revisionism in ideology and organization. Their leadership grew to political maturity during the late 1950s and early 1960s within the revisionist "Communist Party", long after that group had exposed itself as a bunch of traitors. Rather than openly opposing the revisionist leaders while in the revisionist "Communist Party", the Progressive Labor Party leaders did not offer any public criticism of the revisionist Gus Hall clique (the leadership of the revisionist "Communist Party"). It should be added that the Progressive Labor Party leaders at this time had themselves voted for the expulsion of the leaders of the anti-revisionist "Left caucus" (which numbered over 400 members) in 1958.

Ever since the formation of Progressive Labor in 1962, the Progressive Labor leadership has sought new recruits from the campuses, and P.L.'s membership has long been infamous as being largely composed of students and professors. This is not to say that a revolutionary party should shun intellectuals, but rather it should concentrate its efforts on the working class in more than a dilettantish manner.

Progressive Labor's leadership has also led its membership in following in the wake of the spontaneous movement of the proletariat, students, and reactionary nationalists. For several years, Progressive Labor tailed after reactionary black nationalists such as Ron Karenga and LeRoi Jones, playing the American imperialist game of trying to split workers along skin color lines. Finally, in 1967, when even the Black Panthers had become more proletarian internationalist than Progressive Labor, the leadership of P.L. did a 180° turn, and to prove they were more "internationalist-and-proletarian-than-thou" they developed a superficial and mechanical class analysis and recognized no internal contradictions within the United States except that between bourgeois and proletarian. Progressive Labor's leaders refuse to recognize the contradiction between American imperialism and the oppressed Black Belt and Puerto Rican nations, because P.L.'s leaders do not see the Black Belt and Puerto Rico as oppressed nations. Exhibiting the American chauvinism of bourgeois liberals, Progressive Labor's leaders speak only of racism, and when they are forced to deal with the question of super-exploitation they speak of super-exploitation being based on skin color instead of national oppression. This absurd position which runs directly counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought not only confuses the Negro question and the Puerto Rican question, but leads to ridiculous bourgeois liberal positions such as that on the Mexican question where P.L.'s leaders see the oppression of the Mexican-American national minority being a "brown (skin color) question" rather than a question of national oppression. Thus, they refuse to go beyond the question of racism to that of national oppression, and in this refusal they render American imperialism invaluable service.

The current refusal of Progressive Labor's leaders to recognize the Black Belt and its right to self-determination and their refusal to support the leadership of the Indo-Chinese struggle continues to hinder the spreading of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and a truly proletarian internationalist position on the national and colonial question, by clouding the understanding of Progressive Labor's members and friends.

The Progressive Labor Party is incapable of leading the proletariat because it is chiefly a party of the petty-bourgeoisie and aristocracy of labor -- especially petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Their programs and positions are not accepted by the revolutionary proletariat. The leadership of the Progressive Labor Party are covert revisionists, currently promoting their erroneous revisionist line from a "Left" stance, which, in its service to American imperialism, turns out to be Right in essence.

The Progressive Labor Party is a source of confusion nationally and internationally because of its erroneous and deceptive statements which are used as a cover for their class-collaborationist ideology. The P.L. leadership seeks international support by claiming to support the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, such as the claim of opposition to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but the opposition of P.L.'s leaders to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is placing them in an increasingly isolated position, as exemplified by their criticism of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the People's Republic of China for the ideological and material support China has given and is continuing to give to the Indo-Chinese struggle against American imperialism.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) seeks to expose and destroy the leadership of the Progressive Labor Party. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) has no quarrel with the rank and file in Progressive Labor Party, most of whom are honest revolutionaries. Many fraternal contacts among rank and file members and former followers of P.L.P. have been developed by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) will continue to point out the opportunist nature of P.L.'s leadership and P.L.'s ideology to P.L.'s rank and file. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) will welcome the rank and file of P.L. as revolutionary allies in the struggle against American imperialism and for proletarian revolution upon their acceptance of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist)'s line, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

C. TROTSKYITES

The Trotskyites have long been exposed as agents of imperialism and reaction. The largest Trotskyite group, the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance, promotes policies which support corrupt, bourgeois politicians and the liberal wing of American monopoly capital. Another Trotskyite group, the Spartacists, take much the same "Left" opportunist position as does the Progressive Labor Party.

Though not as much a danger today as the modern revisionists and their conciliators, the Trotskyites are still a danger and must be thoroughly exposed and destroyed.

VIII. THE TASK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The task of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is to build the Party of the proletariat of the United States of America capable of leading the proletariat in revolution, overthrowing the capitalist system, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to build such a Party, it is necessary to continue to build the Party's newspaper -- the PEOPLE'S VOICE -- as a collective agitator and a collective organizer for revolution, and to continue to recruit the most advanced sections of the proletariat to its ranks.

Once the dictatorship of the proletariat is established there is nothing that the organized working class cannot accomplish. Immediate benefits for the working class under the dictatorship of the proletariat are economic and political control of the society and an end to the present exploitation and oppression of capitalism. These changes mean that the necessities of life -- which are so difficult to obtain under capitalism because the wealth the workers produce is robbed from them rather than enjoyed by them -- are available to the working class by virtue of the fact that as the workers who have produced the wealth in society, they have the right to enjoy that wealth. Thus, social necessities, such as food, housing, clothing, health care, education, transportation, etc., become available to workers by virtue of the fact that they are productive members of society and because the working class will be in control of their own destiny. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the current exploiters and oppressors -- the whole capitalist class -- will have their "private" property and wealth (which has been socially produced and robbed from the workers who produced it) expropriated without any compensation, and this wealth which the working class has produced over the decades will finally be enjoyed by the workers.

To accomplish the task of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, a huge, many-sided, revolutionary struggle involving the whole working class, led by its revolutionary vanguard, will be required. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is now in the formative stage, building toward the day when it can effectively lead the struggle for socialism. The most vital task at this point is to build the Party into an effective fighting force.

Long live the heroic working class of the United States of America!

Long live the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist)!

The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.

-- Mao Tsetung.