

RED



FLAG

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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The following item is an editorial from the Albanian Daily Zeri I Popullit (People's Voice) of May 11, 1966. We are reprinting it because of its correct analysis and for its recognition of the need for the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally. We endorse such a call for the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninists against imperialism and its offspring, revisionism.

Six months have passed by since the outburst of an open fascist reaction in Indonesia. And these six months have been characterized by an unprecedented fascist terror mainly against communists and progressive people. It is said that the number of people killed and cruelly massacred without being brought to court has reached to some hundreds of thousands. Some news agencies put it at 300,000 and others at 500,000 persons. It is also said that some of the principal leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party are among the victims of this white terror.

The tragedy which the Indonesian people and communists are experiencing should shock the conscience of all progressive people. Indonesian fascists, assisted openly or in a roundabout way by American imperialists and Khrushchevite revisionists, are repeating, on a much higher scale, what the nazis once did when they had assumed power. A halt should be called to them. The powerful voice of protest of every honest man, of every revolutionary, of every anti-fascist should be raised against the massacring of Indonesian communists and progressive people. This is the most elementary duty of all, because it is a real and unpardonable crime to let such frenzied reactionaries kill off hundreds of thousands of innocent people (probably in no war, except the world wars, have there been so many victims) and let them run away with it.

The Albanian people and communists express their internationalist solidarity with the Indonesian communists, victims of fascist terror. We are convinced that the Indonesian Communist Party, which is a Marxist-Leninist Party, regardless of the great damage it has incurred, will respond, to the fascists with a determined revolutionary struggle to wipe out reaction. It is now clear that there is but one way open to Indonesian communists and patriots, namely, to respond to counter-revolutionary violence, with an armed struggle of workers and peasants in defense of freedom and democracy, against fascism and terror.

The development of Indonesian events is a bitter actuality for communists and all revolutionaries. Yet, what happened in Indonesia constitutes a major experience which should be carefully studied and from which valuable lessons can be drawn. Revolution does never develop in a straight line. It advances through triumphs and setbacks. It is the duty of revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists that, while consolidating their gains, to learn from temporary setbacks and draw the necessary conclusions, so as to raise the revolution to a higher level and further it by a greater force. The experience of one revolution is not of advantage to the revolutionaries and communists of one coun-

try alone, but to all revolutionaries, to all Marxist-Leninists of the world. Therefore, not only the Indonesian communists but the revolutionaries and communists of the various countries should draw their lessons from the Indonesian events. This is of primary importance.

The Indonesian Communist Party grew and developed as a Marxist-Leninist Party in bitter class struggle against internal and external enemies. After the hard blows it received from reaction in 1927 and 1948, when thousands of communists and all the Party leaders were massacred, the Indonesian Communist Party was set on its feet again through battles and endeavors until it became such a force that by the number of its members represented the biggest Communist Party of capitalist countries. There is no doubt that, in spite of the major losses it is now incurring, it will gradually rise to its feet again through a courageous and consistent revolutionary Marxist-Leninist struggle. We, Albanian communists, have unshaken confidence that the Indonesian communists will carefully analyze their work so far, that they will detect the shortcomings, mistakes, and weaknesses which have been manifested in the work of the Party, that they will draw the necessary conclusions so that the Indonesian Communist Party may lead the Indonesian people to a successful revolution in the days to come. None can do this better than the Indonesian communists themselves.

Indonesian events are not an isolated phenomenon. They are links of a chain, a component part of the assault of the international reaction against the communist movement and the liberation struggle of peoples. They are linked with the aggressive activity of American imperialists in Viet Nam and elsewhere, with bloody intervention of imperialists in Santo Domingo and throughout Latin America, with the organization of counter-revolutionary coups against several new states in Africa, with the diversionist and dissentient activities which the Khrushchevite revisionists have long resorted to within the ranks of the international communist movement, with their sabotage of the national-liberation struggle of peoples, with the active support they give to American imperialists and various other reactionaries, and so on.

It is for this reason that the revolutionaries and communists of various countries should consider these phenomena seriously, should analyze them carefully and draw the necessary conclusions so that the revolutionary struggle may forge ahead from victory to victory.

How Should "Democratic Freedoms" In a Bourgeois State Be Assessed and Utilized?

The bourgeoisie and, together with them, the modern revisionists too speak a lot of and highly assess the so-called democratic freedoms. In fact, in every bourgeois state called democratic there exist, pro forma, certain relatively democratic "freedoms". We say relatively because they never exceed the bounds of the bourgeois conception of "freedom" and "democracy", because they extend up to the point where they do not jeopardize the vital interests of the bourgeoisie in power.

These conditions are, of course, taken advantage of by the working class and progressive people to organize themselves, to propagate their views and their ideology to pave the way for over-

throwing the exploiting classes and taking over the reins of power. Following the second world war, as a result of the victory over fascism and the role played by communist parties in the anti-fascist war, communist parties in many capitalist countries of Europe succeeded in taking part also in the government (as in France, Italy, Finland and so on), in having a large number of deputies in the parliament, important posts in the state apparatus and even in the army, and so on.

Favorable conditions were likewise created during these last fifteen years, in various periods in certain countries of the Middle East like Iran and Irak, in Latin America as in Guatemala, Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, etc. Quite a favorable situation was created also in Asia, particularly in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party marked a rapid growth, it took part in the government, it exerted a major influence in the internal and foreign policy of the country and so on.

But a bitter class struggle, a struggle for life or death, goes on between the revolution and reaction, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie also under conditions of "democratic freedoms". If the proletariat and their party strive to consolidate their positions, reaction and the bourgeoisie are not less active. On the contrary, by using the bourgeois state apparatus, police and armed forces, corruption and diversion, by nurturing opportunism and reformist and pacifist illusions within the ranks of the working class and so on they make serious preparations to consolidate their positions and crush revolutionary forces.

Development of events after the second world war shows that within the framework of "democratic freedoms" the bourgeoisie have, in various ways, acted energetically to suppress the revolutionary movement of the working class.

When the bourgeoisie and reactionaries consolidated their positions, they ousted the communists from the government, from state functions and from the army as in Italy, France and in Finland. In England, Austria and elsewhere the communists were deprived of their last place in parliament whereas in Greece they were put to prison or even to death.

When the bourgeoisie and reactionaries see that their rule is in jeopardy as a consequence of the mounting prestige of the communist party and the revolutionary movement of the masses they play their last card: they put the armed forces in motion, they organize pogroms in order to break and suppress the revolutionary movement and communist parties as in Iran and Irak and, of late, in the tragic events of Indonesia. In cases of this kind the bourgeoisie and reactionaries of one country have taken direct advantage also of the aid of world reaction and even of its armed forces as in Santo Domingo and elsewhere.

What conclusions can be drawn from this historical experience?

First of all, the so-called "bourgeois freedoms" and "democratic movements" in capitalist countries are not such as to allow communist parties and revolutionary groups to attain their objectives. No. The bourgeoisie and reactionaries allow activities of revolutionaries up to the point where they do not jeopardize the class rule of the bourgeoisie. When this rule is endangered or when the reactionaries find the opportune moment, they suppress these democratic freedoms and resort to all methods and means to crush revolutionary forces

with no moral or political scruples. In all countries where communist parties are allowed to work openly the bourgeoisie and reactionaries utilize this occasion to get acquainted with all the activities, persons and methods of work and struggle of Marxist-Leninist Parties and of revolutionaries. Therefore, communists and their genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties would commit a fatal mistake if they would lend credit to the bourgeois "freedoms" which this conjuncture allows them and advertise everything openly, if they would not keep their organization and plans to themselves. Communists should take advantage of conditions of legal work, they should even make use of them in order to carry a wide work of propaganda and organization, but, at the same time, they should be prepared for clandestine work.

Secondly, opportunist illusions on the "peaceful way" to assume power are a bluff and constitute a real danger for the revolutionary movement. On the surface the Indonesian Communist Party seemed to have had the most suitable ground to achieve this end by this method. Yet, the Indonesian communists had stated more than once that they nurture no illusions about the peaceful method. In the greetings of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party addressed to the Congress of the Communist Party of New Zealand they affirmed that "events in Indonesia proved once again that there is no class in power... and reactionary force to allow revolutionary forces to attain victory by 'peaceful methods'". From the tragic events of Indonesia communists draw the lesson that it is not enough to discard opportunist illusions on the "peaceful way", nor to admit that the only way to assume power is the revolutionary way of armed struggle. The party of the proletariat, Marxist-Leninists and every revolutionary should take effective steps to prepare for the revolution, from educating communists and the masses in a militant revolutionary spirit to making concrete preparations to meet the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionaries with an armed revolutionary struggle by the popular masses.

Thirdly, regardless of the favorable conditions and positions which the party of the working class may enjoy at a given moment, it should in no way slacken its revolutionary vigilance, overestimate its strength and that of its allies and underestimate the power of the opponent, of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. The Indonesian Communist Party exerted a major influence in the country, but, apparently, it has overestimated and has placed undue confidence especially on the political authority of Sukarno and of that part of the bourgeoisie which supported it. At the same time it seems to have underestimated the strength of reaction especially of reaction in the army. The Indonesian comrades seem to have nurtured the opinion that whoever has Sukarno on his side has the key of Indonesia, without making a careful analysis of where Sukarno's strength lay and how real this strength was based on the people. Recent events in Indonesia showed clearly that Sukarno's prestige and authority were not well founded either socially, economically or politically. Reactionary generals succeeded in checkmating Sukarno and even of utilizing him for as long as necessary to further their counter-revolutionary ends.

Fourthly, a Marxist-Leninist Party and every true revolutionary should consistently and persistently pursue a revolutionary line and fight with courage against opportunism and its most arrant manifes-

tation, modern revisionism, Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. Opportunists and modern revisionists have made the struggle for "bourgeois freedoms" their banner and have renounced the revolution, they preach "the peaceful way" as the only way to assume power. It is precisely this opportunist and revisionist line, the influence of Khrushchevite and other revisionists that have turned many communist parties, which represented once a major revolutionary force, into parties of social reform, into appendages and assistants of the reactionary bourgeoisie. This took place in the Italian, French, Finnish, English, Austrian and other communist parties. Opportunism and pursuance of the opportunist line of the 20th Congress of the Khrushchevites led the Communist Party of Iraq, the revisionist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Algeria and others to their collapse and elimination. The Communist Party of Indonesia is a Marxist-Leninist Party. It opposes modern revisionism. Recent events in Indonesia and the undermining role the Khrushchevite revisionists played there show that a genuine, revolutionary party loyal to Marxism-Leninism and determined to carry the revolution ahead with courage, should maintain a clear-cut stand towards opportunism, towards Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. It is not enough to be at one with the struggle of Marxist-Leninists against revisionism alone, but it is necessary that the party launch an uncompromising, open war against revisionist treason, for only thus are communists educated in a revolutionary spirit and the party protected from any danger of revisionism. Imperialism, reaction cannot be fought, the cause of the revolution and of socialism cannot be furthered without waging a persistent and courageous war against opportunism and Khrushchevite revisionism.

Communists and Alliances With Progressive Forces

Historical experience shows that in their revolutionary struggle the communists have always allied and ally themselves with various progressive forces. Because, especially when it is a question of democratic revolutions or of national emancipation from imperialist and colonialist oppression, this interests, besides the communists and genuine revolutionaries, also the broad strata of the population ranging from workers and peasants to the national bourgeoisie and other progressive-minded people. It could have been a mistake, sectarian and dangerous for the revolution if all those that can be united are not united to carry it through. And communists and genuine revolutionaries, as the most daring fighters and most faithful representatives of the broad masses of people, are always interested in uniting all those who are eager to carry the revolution ahead.

Indonesian events are a great lesson also as regards the problem of alliances. NASACOM, which represented the alliance of nationalist, religious and communist forces had been in existence for a long time in Indonesia. The Communist Party of Indonesia did well to take part in NASACOM. It consolidated its position and that of the working class in the whole life of the country through it. But, as events go to show, no sound organizational and revolutionary work was done there. The NASACOM, which represents the alliance of nationalist, religious and communist forces and "freedom" of action

were given undue publicity. The fact is that the first storm brought the whole NASACOM structure down. NASACOM was not so strong a dam as to ward off the wave of counter-revolution.

In their revolutionary struggle, therefore, the communists and revolutionaries should never be content with the formal conclusion of alliances. They should not be enthusiastic over "statements" about the "vitality" of such alliances but should see to it that these alliances should best serve the revolution.

Therefore, it is essential that in the various popular democratic, national and national liberation fronts genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties should win the confidence of their allies through their work and struggle, should lead them effectively. The leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, its correct revolutionary course in the interests of the broad masses united in these fronts is the guarantee of power and vitality of fronts and their major role in achieving the objectives of the revolution. It is proven more than once that when these fronts are guided by other social forces and political parties they are wavering, no consistent revolutionary line is pursued, they are often used for counter-revolutionary purposes and blow off like soap bubbles at their first encounter with reaction.

By following the line of unity with all those that can be united in the front, Marxist-Leninist Parties, contrary to the views of modern revisionists, should not only preserve their independence and their role of leadership but they should, at the same time wage a war against the wavering of various allies, against their reactionary inclination, their attempts to split the front and start bargaining with reactionary forces. The line of unity and of struggle helps strengthen the fronts, cleanse them from reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements, raise their compactness and revolutionary spirit, attain a unity based on more sound grounds. Pursuance of the line of unity alone neglecting struggles create a false, formal kind of unity and enable reactionary elements and forces to undermine and eliminate it more easily dealing a hard blow on the cause of the revolution itself.

In their alliances with various social strata and elements to achieve one objective or another in the various stages of the revolution, the communists should never lose sight of their ultimate goal -- the triumph of socialism. "One must know how to join the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialist revolution subjecting the former to the latter," Lenin has said. "Herein lies all the difficulty, herein all the essence... Don't forget the main thing (the revolution), place that on the front row...subject to and coordinate with it all your demands for democratic rights" (V. I. Lenin; WORKS, Vol. 35, p. 213, Russian edition). Communists are frank in their alliances with other social forces, they will fight with determination to carry out the programs of united fronts, but at the same time, they make no secret of their ideals and, once they have accomplished their democratic and national tasks, they are determined not to stop half way but to carry the revolution ahead to the triumph of socialism and communism.

The struggle of our party during the National-liberation War, its agreements, talks with progressive-minded elements and, even, with factions of bourgeois reactionaries, taught us how to take the correct bearings in this labyrinth. This experience gained in battle

helped our party, and helped it a great deal in its correct policy with the broad masses of workers, it helps the party in its internal policy and in orientating its foreign policy, in studying and solving non-antagonistic and antagonistic contradictions both in the country and outside of it as well as in the international communist movement.

Strengthen The International Unity of Marxist-Leninists

The world proletariat, Marxist-Leninist Parties and all genuine revolutionaries are engaged in a bitter war against imperialism, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against modern revisionism, against their ideology. This is a battle for life or death, a war of great international significance. The war between us and our enemies is a bitter and merciless class struggle. Neither the enemy nor we give way to each other. The development of this class struggle is not presented alike everywhere, not only from the point of view of its intensity but also of its forms; its dynamic development, of the Weltanschauung of its participants, of its conjunctures, zigzags, of the progress of the revolution, of temporary retreats, of attacks and of many other objective and subjective factors.

It behooves all Marxist-Leninist communists and workers parties to bear all these important and essential things in mind, to analyze them scientifically under the prism of creative Marxism-Leninism carried out not as a dogma but as a live revolutionary theory in action, keeping always pure the basic principles, the general laws of development and of the revolution, and not let right-wing opportunism or dangerous sectarianism hide under the slogan of the alleged "real conditions of the country" or "the conjectures of the time or of the moment".

Recent events, the ruthless assaults of the imperialists, of Khrushchevite and other revisionists and of different reactionaries against socialism, against the liberation wars of peoples, against communist parties and revolutionaries of various countries, show that international Marxist-Leninist unity is now, more than at any time ever, an essential condition. He who does not understand this great truth, does not understand Marx's great slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!". Marxism-Leninism teaches us that all revolutionaries should unite against the enemies of the proletariat and people, against capitalists, imperialists and their allies, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the varieties of its ideology one of which at present, is modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism.

Enemies of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism have opposed international Marxist-Leninist unity with all their might. They have used all the means at their disposal and have coordinated all their efforts to this end. This is what world imperialism, headed by that of the U.S.A., is doing today; this is what modern revisionism, with that of the Khrushchevites at the head, is doing now; this is what all the various reactionaries of the world are doing. The unity of Marxist-Leninists of the world is the death's door to the enemy and salvation to us.

The traitors to Marxism-Leninism, Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and their servitors have worked out a well defined scheme to hamper the unity of Marxist-Leninists and, in general, to deny the

objective necessity for this unity. In the first place, with a view to achieve their treacherous goals, they attacked the idea of an international organization of communists. The revisionists stood in need of this in order to rehabilitate traitors and Trotskyite betrayal and particularly to discredit the idea of international Marxist-Leninist unity which would and will become a real danger for them. Soviet revisionists embarked on the road of discrediting every sound Marxist-Leninist thing in order to be able to build a new kind of unity on the basis of revisionism and under the dictates of Khrushchevites. This was, of course, building a castle on sand for no unity can ever exist outside Marxism-Leninism. The preachings of Khrushchevites for "unity" are directed principally against the idea of Marxist-Leninist unity and are made for the purpose of hindering its realization. Khrushchevite revisionists preach that kind of "unity" in order to oppose the true Marxist-Leninist unity for which we, Marxist-Leninists, fight and will fight to the end and which we shall certainly win. Revisionists speak of their "unity" but within this "unity" there are cropping up and developing every day various forms and ideas of disintegration, centrifugal ideas which will lead to the open degeneration of pseudo-Marxists under whatever guise they may appear. The heroic and consistent fight of Marxist-Leninists will tear many a mask. If not now, later on there will also be an unmasking of the game of those who play the role of centrists who feign to defend principles but who in reality distort them under the guise of "independence", of "specific conditions" which they keep using to this day to conceal their gradual departure from Marxism-Leninism, their break with the international Marxist-Leninist unity in the world. Marxist-Leninists should consolidate their unity without heeding the slanders and considerations of the revisionists. As to the organizational forms this unity is to take, they should be thought out and worked out in a concrete way.

Khrushchevite revisionists make a lot of noise about the thesis of the independence of the communist and workers parties and the activities to comply with the concrete conditions of each country. This is in fact a Leninist thesis which only we, Marxist-Leninists, really observe with consistency. But modern revisionists try to speculate with the so-called pro forma independence of parties because, in reality, Khrushchevite revisionists want dependence of all the movement under their leadership. They think of independence something apart from internationalism, that Marxist-Leninists need not have a common line of action on basic issues like their attitude towards imperialism and the renegades of Marxism-Leninism, like the observance of the general laws of the revolution and of socialist construction and so on. Marxist-Leninists, while strictly respecting the independence of every party to determine its own line and policy should, at the same time, submit to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the general laws of the revolution and socialist construction, they should work out a common line and a common stand on most fundamental issues, especially, as regards the struggle against imperialism and the struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism from modern revisionism.

The events of Indonesia and the joint attack of imperialists and Khrushchevite revisionists against the people, against Marxism-Leninism and socialism go to show that we should strengthen the international unity of Marxist-Leninists. All revolutionary communists, all

genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, must overcome with courage and without hesitation and crush every obstacle that modern revisionists have laid in our way of Marxist-Leninist unity. Revisionists will reproach us with setting up new international organism; they will be doing us a great honor.

Because Marxist-Leninists of the world nurture a great and well-deserved faith in People's China and in the Marxist-Leninist line of the glorious Communist Party of China, the enemies accuse them of becoming China's satellites, of having lost their "independence" and other piffles like these. These calumnies of revisionists and imperialists have neither stopped nor will stop our Party of Labor or any genuine Marxist-Leninist party from consolidating their unity with People's China and its Marxist-Leninist Party, thus making a solid block with it. This bloc strikes terror to the imperialists and revisionists, that it why they try by all means to fight us, they try to bedazzle Marxist-Leninists with their slogans we talked of above.

But it is futile: the slogan "Proletarians of the whole world and all oppressed peoples, unite!" will triumph.

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is the Party of the proletariat and the vanguard of the working class of the United States of America, the highest form of class organization. The Party exists to lead the proletariat and the working class in revolution. Our objectives are proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTES

HISTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The historical struggle of the American working class was carried forward by the formation of the Communist Party in 1921 with the adherence and acceptance of the Party in the Third International. With few members and under the direct attack of United States imperialism, the Party waged struggle against the capitalist system. After years of struggle, the Party, in 1927, was forced to deal with the presence of Trotskyites within the ranks of the Party, and it waged a struggle against those representatives of bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the Party.

The Communist Party of the United States of America led the working class in struggle and fought for the rights of the national minorities and raised the slogan of the right of self-determination for all nations oppressed by United States imperialism. In 1935 at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, certain leaders of the Party attempted to withdraw the position of the right of self-determination for the Negro nation in the South and pursue an incorrect line on the national-colonial question. The Third International under the leadership of Stalin did not uphold this erroneous position.

This point represented part of the development of an opportunist tendency within the Party which came to be developed under Browder into revisionism and finally in 1944 the revisionists proceeded to liquidate the Communist Party in the United States of America. In 1945, the Communist Party of the United States of America was reconstituted in name only because of international criticism against Browderite revisionism. The period from 1945 to 1956 saw the full implementation of a revisionist theory and practice within the Party. Under this situation, it degenerated into a social-democratic Party defaulting in its historical role as that of the vanguard Party of the working class. In 1956, the Party's conversion into a Party of the liberal bourgeoisie was all but complete. Under the centrist leadership of William Z. Foster, the conciliators of revisionism within the Party fought to secure "unity" with the open revisionists. By 1958 the conciliators along with the revisionist faction felt secure enough to expel the Marxist-Leninists from the Party.

In 1958, Marxist-Leninists who had been expelled and others still in the Party joined together to form the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States of America (P.O.C.),

The theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the question of whether to make revolution or not to make revolution has always been the dividing line between Marxist-

Leninists and revisionists. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made clear that there existed two different lines within the international communist movement on this question of principle. At the 22nd Congress, the revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful transition" and "peaceful competition" was put forth by certain fraternal parties. As a result of the 22nd Congress modern revisionism fully exposed its ugly features. The revisionist Communist Party of the United States of America fully endorses and supports the revisionist theories put forward by the Khrushchevite revisionists. The consequence is further exposure of the Communist Party of the United States of America and its class collaborationist policies in the service of the bourgeoisie.

In 1962, the centrist Progressive Labor Movement was formed with the direct assistance of the revisionists and Trotskyites. There has occurred an intensification of the class struggle and the national struggle within the United States. This struggle revealed itself within the Marxist-Leninist groups. With the reaching of a higher plane in the struggle represented by the developments of August 1965, the opportunist elements of the leadership of the Provisional Organizing Committee (P.O.C.) abdicated the leadership of the class and capitulated to the bourgeoisie. At the time the Marxist-Leninists who later formed the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) moved decisively to carry forward the historic role of the vanguard Party of the proletariat.

Representatives of the United States working class met during the weekend of September 4-5, 1965, at Los Angeles, California, to attend the Founding Conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist). These representatives were from the Workers Organizing Committee (Marxist-Leninist) and the Marxist-Leninists from the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the United States.

The Communist Party of the United States has been reconstituted to carry forward the struggle for the emancipation of the working class of the United States and fulfill its international proletarian obligations to fight for national liberation, peace and socialism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST) UPHOLDS THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) adheres to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and opposes the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action. It demands that in striving to build socialism and communism we should proceed from reality, apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a flexible and creative way for the solution of various problems arising out of the struggle and thus continuously develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the Party in its activities upholds the principle of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual struggle of the working class.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) adheres to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the Eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties which are summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries unite; workers of the world unite

with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the world revolution step by step to complete victory and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) further recognizes the fundamental class contradictions which exist in the contemporary world. Marxist-Leninists hold that they are:

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism; and the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) calls for the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) holds that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement. The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) condemns the schismatic activities of the modern revisionists in their vain attempt to split the international communist movement.

Modern revisionism is the social prop of imperialism. It is the advance guard of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement. In the United States, revisionism expresses itself in complete capitulation to the bourgeoisie under the guise of being Marxist-Leninists - centrism frantically assists modern revisionism by advocating unity between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.

Trotskyites who have long been political corpses have been dragged from the dead by modern revisionists.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) must wage an untiring struggle against modern revisionism, centrism and Trotskyites for without a struggle against modern revisionism and centrism any struggle against imperialism is but an idle phrase. The Party must prevent and resist corrosion by bourgeois and petty bourgeois ways of thinking and styles of work and guard against and defeat any rightist or "leftist" opportunist deviation inside the Party.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY MUST BE PUT INTO PRACTICE

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) puts into practice all that it advocates through the activity of the Party organizations and membership among the masses and through the conscientious efforts made by the people under its guidance. For this reason it is necessary to constantly develop the tradition of following the mass line in Party work. Whether the Party is able to give correct leadership depends on whether or not the Party will, through analysis and synthesis, systematically summarize the experience and opinions of the masses, turn the resulting ideas into the policy of the Party and as a result of the Party's propaganda and organizational work among the masses, transform it into the views and actions of the

masses themselves, testing the correctness of Party policy and supplementing and correcting it in the course of mass activity. It is the duty of the Party leadership to ensure that in the endless repetition of this process of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses" the Party members' level of understanding and that of the masses of the people are continually raised and the cause of the Party and the people is constantly advanced. The Party and its members must, therefore, maintain close and extensive ties with the workers, farmers and intellectuals and strive constantly to make such ties ever stronger and widespread. Every Party member must wholeheartedly serve the people, constantly consult them, pay heed to their opinions, concern himself with their well-being and strive to help realize their wishes.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) has been reconstituted firmly on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The historic task before us is the building of the Party so that it may lead the proletariat in revolution and overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the United States of America.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The organizational principle of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is democratic centralism which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. The Party must take effective measures to promote inner-Party democracy, encourage the initiative and creative ability of all Party members and of all local and primary Party organizations. Only in this way can the Party effectively extend and strengthen its ties with the masses of the people, give correct leadership and adapt itself flexibly to various concrete conditions and local characteristics. And only in this way can Party life be invigorated and the centralism and unity of the Party be consolidated and its discipline be voluntarily, not mechanically, observed.

Democratic centralism demands that every Party organization should strictly abide by the principle of collective discussion coupled with individual responsibility and that every Party member and Party organization should be subject to Party supervision from above and from below.

DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE PARTY MUST NOT BE DIVORCED FROM CENTRALISM. THE PARTY IS A UNITED MILITANT ORGANIZATION, welded together by a discipline which is obligatory on all its members. Without discipline it would be impossible for the Party to lead the people in making the proletarian revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and overcoming all the powerful enemies of the working class and build socialism and communism. As the highest form of class organization, the Party must strive to play a correct role as the leader and core in every aspect of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and must combat any tendency to departmentalism, which reduces the Party's role and weakens its unity.

Solidarity and unity are the very life of the Party, the source of its strength. It is the sacred duty of every Party member to pay constant attention to the safeguarding of the solidarity of the Party and the consolidation of its unity. Within the Party no action which violates the Party's political line or organizational principles is

permissible, nor is it permissible to carry on activities aimed at splitting the Party or factional activities, to act independently of the Party or to place the individual above the collective body of the Party.

No political party or person can be free from shortcomings and mistakes in work. The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) and its members must constantly practice criticism and self-criticism to expose and eliminate their shortcomings and mistakes so as to educate themselves and the people.

In view of the fact that the Party strives to play the leading role in the life of the working class, it is all the more necessary that it should make stringent demands on every Party organization and member and promote criticism and self-criticism; and in particular, it should encourage and support criticism from below, inside the Party as well as criticism of the Party by the masses of the people, and should prohibit any suppression of criticism.

In the case of Party members who have committed mistakes, the Party should, in the spirit of "curing the illness to save the patient", correct their mistakes, provided such mistakes can be corrected within the Party and the erring Party member himself is prepared to correct his mistakes. As for those who persist in their mistakes and carry on activities detrimental to the Party, it is essential to wage a determined struggle against them, even to the point of expelling them from the Party.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) requires all its members to place the Party's interests above their personal interests, to be diligent and unpretentious, to study and work hard, to unite the broad masses of the people, and to overcome all difficulties in order to lead the proletarian revolution, overthrow the capitalist system, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build a modern socialist state and on this basis to advance towards the achievement of communism.

Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America
(Marxist-Leninist), adopted September 4-5, 1966.

I. Membership

Article 1. Membership of the Party is open to any resident of the United States of America who does not exploit the labor of others, accepts the program and Constitution of the Party, joins and works in one of the Party's organizations, carries out the Party's decisions and pays dues as required.

Article 2. Party members have the following duties:

- (1) To strive to study Marxism-Leninism and unceasingly raise the level of their understanding.
- (2) To safeguard the Party's solidarity and consolidate its unity.
- (3) To faithfully carry out Party policy and decisions and to energetically fulfill the tasks assigned them by the Party.
- (4) To strictly observe the principles of the Constitution and of communist ethics. No exception is made for any Party member, whatever his services and position.
- (5) To place the interests of the Party and the masses of the people above their personal interests, and in the event of conflict between the two submit unswervingly to the interest of the Party and the masses of the people.
- (6) To serve the masses of the people conscientiously, to strengthen their ties with the masses of the people, to learn from them, to listen with an open mind to their wishes and opinions and to report these without delay to the Party, to explain the Party's policy and decisions to the people.
- (7) To set a good example in their Party work and constantly raise their productive skill and professional ability in their Party work.
- (8) To practice criticism and self-criticism, expose shortcomings and mistakes in work and to strive to overcome and correct them; to report such shortcomings and mistakes to the leading Party bodies up to and including the Central Committee, and to fight both inside and outside the Party against everything detrimental to the interest of the Party and the people.
- (9) To be honest and truthful with the Party and not to conceal or distort the truth.
- (10) To be constantly on the alert against the intrigues of the enemy and to guard the secrets of the Party.

Party members who fail to fulfill any of the above mentioned duties shall be criticized and educated. Any serious infraction of these duties, splitting the Party unity, violation of Party decisions, damaging Party interest, or deception toward the Party constitutes a violation of Party discipline and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

Article 3. Party members enjoy the following rights:

- (1) To participate in free and practical discussion at Party meetings or in the Party press on theoretical and practical questions relating to Party policy.
- (2) To make proposals regarding the Party's work and to give full play to their creative ability in their work.
- (3) To elect and be elected within the Party.
- (4) To criticize any Party organization or any functionary at appropriate Party meetings.

- (5) To ask to attend in person when a Party organization decides to take disciplinary action against them or to make appraisal of their work.
- (6) To reserve their opinions and submit them to a leading body of the Party in case they disagree with any decision which, in the meanwhile, they must carry out unconditionally.
- (7) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any Party organization, up to and including the Central Committee. Party members who fail to respect these rights of a Party member shall be criticized and educated. Infringement of these rights constitutes a violation of Party discipline and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

Article 4. The following is the Party's recruitment policy:

- (1) Applicants for Party membership must undergo the procedure for admission individually. New members are submitted to the Party through the basic political unit, the cell. An applicant must be recommended by two full Party members and is admitted as a probationary member after being accepted by the general membership meeting of the cell and may become a full member only after the completion of the probationary period of three months. Under special conditions applicants may be admitted to the Party directly with the approval of the Secretariat.
- (2) Party members who recommend an applicant for admission must be highly conscientious in furnishing truthful information about the applicant's ideology, character and personal history, and must explain the Party program and Constitution to the applicant.
- (3) Before approving the admission of an applicant for Party membership, the Party Committee concerned must assign a Party functionary to have a detailed conversation with the applicant and carefully examine his application form, the opinion of his recommenders and the decisions made by the Party cell on his admission.

Article 5. The following is the Party's policy on probationary membership:

- (1) During the probationary period, the Party organizations concerned shall give the probationary member an elementary Party education and observe the probationary member's political qualities. Probationary members have the same rights as full members except they have no rights to elect or vote on any motion.
- (2) When the probationary period of a member has expired, the Party cell must discuss without delay whether that member is qualified to be transferred to full membership. Such a transfer must be accepted by a general membership meeting of said Party cell and approved by the next higher Party organization. When the probationary period of a member has expired, the Party organization concerned - the cell - may prolong the probationary period for three months after which time a final evaluation must be made. If the probationary member at the end of six months is found to be unfit for transfer, then the status of probationary membership shall be annulled. Any decision by the cell to prolong the probationary period of a probationary member or to deprive him of his probationary status must be approved by the next higher Party organization. The probationary period of a probationary member may be shortened only with the approval of the Secretariat.

(3) The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day when the general membership meeting of a Party cell accepts the applicant as a probationary member. The Party standing of a member dates from the day that the general membership meeting of the cell accepts the member.

Article 6. Party members transferring from one Party organization to another become members of the latter Party organization.

Article 7. Party members are free to withdraw from the Party. When a Party member asks to withdraw, the cell to which that member belongs shall, by the decision of the general membership meeting, strike that member's name from the rolls and report the matter to the next higher body.

Article 8. A Party member who over a period of one month and without proper reason fails to take part in Party life, or pay membership dues, is regarded as having quit the Party. The cell to which that member belongs shall by decision of the general membership meeting strike his name from the rolls and report the matter to the next higher body.

Article 9. Party organizations at appropriate levels may, according to each individual case, take disciplinary measures against any member who violates Party discipline, such as warnings, serious warnings, removal from post held in the Party, placing on probation within the Party or expulsion from the Party. The period in which a member is placed on probation shall not exceed six months. During this period the rights and duties of the member shall be the same as those of a probationary member. If after being placed on probation the member shows that he has corrected his mistakes, his rights as a full Party member shall be restored and the period in which he is placed on probation will be reckoned in his Party standing. If that member is found to be unfit for Party membership he shall be expelled from the Party.

Article 10. Any disciplinary measures taken against a Party member must be decided on by a general membership meeting of the cell to which he belongs and must be approved by the next higher body, under special conditions, the Party cell has the power to take direct action against a member, but such action is subject to the approval of the next higher body.

Article 11. Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of a regional committee, or a district committee from the said committee, to place him on probation or to expel him from the Party may be taken by a two-thirds majority vote at a plenary session of the Party Committee to which the member belongs, but it must be subject to approval by the next higher Party committee. Lower Party organizations have no power to make decisions on the removal of a member or alternate member of a higher Party committee from the said committee, or placing him on probation or expelling him from the Party.

Article 12. Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Central Committee of the Party from the Central Committee, or to place that member on probation or to expel that member from the Party, must be taken by the National Party Congress. In conditions of urgency, such decisions may be taken by a two-thirds majority vote of the Central Committee at a Plenary session, but it must be subject to subsequent confirmation by the next session of the National Party Congress.

Article 13. Expulsion from the Party is the most severe of all inner-Party disciplinary actions. In taking or approving such an action, all Party organizations must exercise the utmost caution, thoroughly investigate and study the facts and material evidence of the case and listen carefully to the statement made in that Party member's defense by the Party member concerned.

Article 14. When a Party organization discusses or decides on disciplinary measures against a Party member, it must, barring special circumstances, notify the member concerned to attend the meeting to defend himself. When the disciplinary action is decided upon, the person against whom such action is taken must be told the reasons for it. If the member in question disagrees, that member may ask for a reconsideration of his case and address an appeal to higher bodies, up to and including the Central Committee. Party organizations at all levels must deal with all such appeals seriously or forward them promptly; no suppression is permitted.

II. Organizational Structure and Organizational Principle of the Party

Article 15. The Party is formed on the principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Its basic conditions are as follows:

- (1) The leading bodies of the Party at all levels are elected.
- (2) The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress. In the region, the highest leading body is the regional committee. In the district, the highest leading body is the district committee. The National Party Congress elects the Central Committee. The regional Party delegate meeting is composed of the district secretaries under that region, and it elects the regional secretary. The district Party delegate meeting is composed of the branch secretaries under the district, and it elects the district secretary.
- (3) All leading bodies of the Party must pay constant heed to the views of their lower organizations and the rank-and-file Party members, study their experiences and give prompt help in solving their problems.
- (4) Lower Party organizations must present periodical reports of their work to the Party organizations above them and ask in good time for instructions on questions which need decision by higher Party organizations.
- (5) All Party organizations operate on the principle of combining collective discussion with individual responsibility. All important issues are to be discussed collectively and at the same time each individual is enabled to play his part to the fullest possible extent. Each body below the Central Committee is responsible to the leading comrade in that body who in turn is responsible to the next leading body. Each body is ultimately responsible to the General Secretary who in turn is responsible to the Central Committee.
- (6) Party decisions must be carried out unconditionally. Individual Party members shall obey the Party organization; the minority shall obey the majority; the lower Party organizations shall obey the higher Party organizations, and all constituent Party organizations throughout the country shall obey the National

Party Congress and the Central Committee.

Article 16. Party organizations are formed on a geographical, industrial or administrative basis.

The Party organization in charge of Party work in a defined area is regarded as the highest of all the constituent Party organizations in that area.

The Party organization in charge of Party work in a particular industrial or administrative unit is regarded as the highest of all the constituent Party organizations in that unit.

Article 17. The highest leading bodies of the Party organizations at various levels are as follows:

- (1) For the whole country, it is the National Party Congress. When the National Party Congress is not in session, it is the Central Committee elected by the National Party Congress.
- (2) For a region or district it is the regional or district Party committee.

In the case of newly formed regions or districts, the regional or district committee is appointed by the next leading organization of the Party until such time as a regional or district delegate meeting consisting of district secretaries as the regional delegates and the branch secretaries as the district delegates is convened for the purpose of electing officers of the region or district.

- (3) For branches it is the branch committee elected by the delegate meeting of the branch.

In the case of newly formed branches, these branches are directly responsible to the next leading organization of the Party, and the branch committees are appointed by the next leading organization of the Party until such time as a delegate meeting is convened for the purpose of electing officers of the branch.

Article 18. The Party elections must fully reflect the will of the electors. The list of candidates for election put forward by the Party organizations or by the electors must be discussed by the electors. The Party organizations put forward proposed lists of recommendations for submission to the delegates. All comrades elected are subject to the approval of the next higher body.

Election is by secret ballot. Electors shall be ensured of the right to criticize or reject any candidate or nominate a person who is not on the list.

In an election in a branch, voting may be by a show of hands if voting by ballot is impossible. In such cases, each candidate shall be voted upon separately and voting on a whole list of candidates is forbidden.

Article 19. Party electing units (Central Committee, delegate meetings, cells) have the power to replace any member they have elected to a Party committee during his term of office, subject to the approval of the next higher body.

A higher Party committee may, if it deems necessary, transfer or appoint responsible members of a lower Party organization.

Article 20. In places where, because of special circumstances, it is impossible for the time being to call delegate meetings to elect Party committees, such Party committees may be appointed by higher Party organizations.

III. Central Organizations of the Party

Article 21. The functions and powers of the Central Party organizations and those of the local Party organizations shall be appropriately divided. All questions of a national character or questions that require a uniform decision for the whole country shall be handled by the central Party organizations so as to contribute to the centralism and unity of the Party. All questions of a local character or questions that need to be decided locally shall be handled by the local Party organizations so as to find solutions appropriate to the local conditions. The functions and powers of higher local Party organizations shall be appropriately divided according to the same principle.

Decisions taken by lower Party organizations must not run counter to those made by higher Party organizations.

Article 22. Before decisions on Party policy are made by leading bodies of the Party, lower Party organizations and members of the Party committees may hold free and practical discussions inside the Party organizations and at Party meetings and submit their proposals to the next leading bodies of the Party. However, once a decision is taken by the next leading bodies of the Party it must be accepted. Should a lower Party organization find that a decision made by a higher Party organization does not suit the actual conditions in its locality or in its particular department it should request the higher Party organizations concerned to modify the decision. If the higher Party organization still upholds its decision, the lower Party organization must carry it out unconditionally.

On policy of a national character, before the central leading bodies of the Party have made any statement or decision, departmental and local Party organizations and their responsible members are not permitted to make any public statement or make decisions at will, although they may discuss it in the appropriate bodies among themselves and make suggestions to the next leading bodies.

Article 23. The publications issued by the Party organizations at all levels must publicize the decisions and policy of the central Party organizations, of higher Party organizations and of their own Party organizations.

Article 24. The formation of a new Party organization or the dissolution of an existing Party organization must be decided upon by the next higher Party organization.

Article 25. To facilitate the direction of the work in various localities, the Central Committee may, if it deems it necessary, establish a bureau of the Central Committee as its representative body for an area embracing several regions. A region may, if it deems it necessary, establish a regional subcommittee or an organization of equal status as its representative body for an area embracing several districts.

Article 26. Party committees at all levels may, as the situation requires, set up a number of departments, commissions or other bodies to carry on work under their own direction.

Article 27. The number of delegates to the National Party Congress and the procedure governing their election and replacement and the filling of vacancies shall be determined by the Central Committee.

The National Party Congress shall be convened by the Central Committee at the time set by the Congress. Under extraordinary conditions, it may be postponed or convened before its due date as the Central Committee may decide. In the absence of the Central Committee, the department heads of the Secretariat may convene a National Party Congress.

Article 28. The functions and powers of the National Party Congress are as follows:

- (1) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee and the General Secretary.
- (2) To determine the Party's line and policy.
- (3) To revise the Constitution of the Party.
- (4) To elect the Central Committee.

Article 29. The Central Committee of the Party is elected for the term of duration between National Party Congresses. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the National Party Congress. Vacancies on the Central Committee shall be filled by alternate members in order of established precedence. The Central Committee may coopt members to its ranks subject to ratification of the next National Party Congress.

Article 30. When the National Party Congress is not in session the Central Committee is responsible for the entire work of the Party and it carries out the decisions of the National Party Congress.

When the Central Committee is not in session, the General Secretary is delegated to discharge the responsibilities of the Central Committee through the Secretariat.

The General Secretary directs the day-to-day work of the mass organizations of a national character through leading Party members' groups (Party fractions) within them.

Article 31. The Party organizations in mass organizations of a national character and in organizations directly responsible to the Party carry on their work in accordance with the direction of the General Secretary. The Secretariat, under the direction of the General Secretary, may set up bodies or departments it deems necessary in such organizations to take charge of the ideological and organizational work of the Party in those organizations.

Article 32. The Central Committee meets in plenary session at least twice a year, to be convened by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

Article 33. The Central Committee elects at its first plenary session the Standing Committee as well as the Chairman and General Secretary of the Central Committee. The Central Committee may, if it deems it necessary elect a vice-Chairman.

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee formulates positions to be presented to the Central Committee. In emergency situations, the Standing Committee functions for the Central Committee.

The General Secretary, the Chairman and the vice-Chairman of the Central Committee are on the Standing Committee. The General Secretary presides over the Standing Committee and convenes meetings of the Standing Committee.

The Secretariat attends to the daily work of the Central Committee under the direction of the General Secretary. Members of the Secretariat are appointed by the General Secretary.

IV. Party Organizations in Regions and Districts

Article 34. The delegate meeting of a region or district elects the Party committee for the area. The delegates for the regional meeting consist of the district secretaries in that region; the delegates for the district committees consist of the branch secretaries in that district.

Article 35. The Party committee of a region or district is elected for a term of two years. The number of members and alternate members shall be determined by the next higher body. Vacancies on the committee shall be filled by alternate members of the committee in order of established precedence.

The Party committee of a region or district shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party in its area, direct all work of a local character, set up various Party organs and direct their activities, take charge of and allocate Party cadres in accordance with the regulations laid down by the General Secretary, direct the work of leading Party members' groups in local mass organizations and local organizations directly responsible to the Party and systematically report to the next higher body of the Party.

Article 36. The Party committee of a region or district shall meet in full session at least four (4) times a year.

The Party committee of a region or a district elects at its plenary session its standing committee and its staff as needed.

The standing committee exercises the powers and functions of the Party committee when the latter is not in plenary session. The staff attends to the daily work under the direction of the regional or district secretary.

The members of the staff and those of the standing committee of the Party of a region or a district must be approved by the next higher body as must all comrades in positions of responsibility.

V. Bodies Reporting to the General Secretary

Article 37. In the event that there is no intermediary body between the district or branch and the General Secretary, then that body is to report directly to the General Secretary as the regions do, and the decisions reached by that body and the candidates elected or appointed by that body are subject to the approval of the General Secretary.

VI. Primary Organizations of the Party

Article 38. Primary Party organizations are formed in factories, mines and other enterprises, in cities, counties, in Party work areas and in other primary units - i.e. cells - where there are three or more full Party members. Where there are less than two primary units, no branch should be established. When a primary area contains less than three full Party members, no cell should be established, but these members, together with the probationary members in the unit may either form a group or join the primary Party organization of a nearby unit. A cell should contain no more than five (5) members.

Article 39. Primary organizations take the following organizational

(1) A Branch may, by decision of the next higher Party committee, hold a delegate meeting of the cell leaders to elect a branch committee. The branch committee has the power to make decisions on the admission of new members and on disciplinary measures against Party members.

(2) Groups may be formed under a Party branch.

Article 40. A Party branch shall hold a delegate meeting at least once every two years for the purpose of electing the Branch Secretary. The Branch Secretary is elected for a term of two years. The other members of the branch committee, the cell leaders, are elected for a term of one year each by a general membership meeting of their cells.

A Party cell elects a leader.

A Party group elects a leader.

Article 41. Primary Party organizations must cement the ties of the workers and other toiling people with the Party and its leading bodies. The general tasks of the branches are as follows:

(1) To carry on propaganda and organizational work among the masses and put into practice what the Party advocates and the decisions of the higher Party organizations.

(2) To pay constant heed to the sentiments and demands of the masses and report them to higher Party organizations, to pay constant attention to the material and cultural life of the masses and strive to improve it.

(3) To recruit new Party members, to collect membership dues, to examine and appraise Party members and to maintain Party discipline among the membership.

(4) To organize Party members to study Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policy and experience and raise the levels of their ideology and political understanding.

(5) To promote criticism and self-criticism, to expose and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes in work and to wage struggles against the violation of Party laws and Party discipline.

(6) To educate the Party members and the masses to sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and to be constantly on the alert to combat the disruptive activities of the class enemy.

Article 42. Branches in the organization directly responsible to the Party and in mass organizations should guide and supervise the administrative bodies and mass organizations in their respective units in the energetical fulfillment of the decisions of higher Party organizations and in ceaselessly improving their work.

VII. Relations Between the Party and Organizations Directly Responsible to the Party

Article 43. Organizations directly responsible to the Party carry on their activities under the guidance of the Party. The highest bodies of these organizations accept the leadership of the Party's Central Committee. Their local organizations are simultaneously under the leadership of the Party organizations at the corresponding levels and of the higher bodies of their organizations.

Article 44. Party organizations at all levels must take a deep interest

in the organizations directly under the control of the Party; those organizations are the Party's assistants in advancing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. At all levels, Party organizations must take a deep interest in the ideological and organizational work of these organizations, give guidance to them in imbuing all their members with communist spirit and in educating them in Marxist-Leninist theory, see to it that close contact is maintained between these organizations and the broad masses of the proletariat and of the working class in general, and to pay constant attention to selecting members for the leading core of these organizations.

- VIII. Leading Party Members' Groups in Non-Party Organizations.

Article 45. In the leading body of a mass organization, where there are three or more Party members holding responsible posts, a leading Party members' group, sometimes called a Party fraction, shall be formed. The tasks of such a group in the said organ or organization are: to assume the responsibility of carrying out Party policy and decisions, to fortify unity with non-Party cadres, to cement the ties with the masses, and to strengthen Party discipline.

Article 46. The composition of a leading Party members' group shall be determined by a competent Party committee. The group has a secretary. A leading Party members' group must in all matters accept the leadership of the competent Party committee.

GENERAL PROGRAM

Adopted at the First National Party Congress. General Program of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) -- The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist), in acceptance of the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Twelve Party Declaration and the 1960 Eighty-one Party Statement, recognizes the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world as:

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism; the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE IMPERIALIST CAMP. The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is an irreconcilable contradiction. It is a contradiction between two diametrically opposed social systems. It is a contradiction between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The contradiction between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp can be resolved only through the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The imperialists find that the very existence of the socialist camp cannot be tolerated, and the imperialists are intent on provoking war with the socialist camp. The war with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by fascist Germany is a clear indication of the imperialist attempt to destroy the then only existing socialist state. The United States imperialists' preparation for war against the People's Republic of China and United States aggressive actions against Vietnam and Korea are also an indication of the imperialists' inability to tolerate the existence of the socialist camp. The imperialists are intent on destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat 'peacefully' if possible by consciously cultivating the bourgeois strata and revisionists within the socialist countries as in the case of the modern revisionists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is plainly an attempt to destroy the socialist camp, an attempt which will fail.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a fundamental class contradiction that follows from the social character of the means of production and the private ownership of the means of production. It is the basic class contradiction that exists and is an irreconcilable contradiction which is manifested in class struggle. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat can only be resolved through proletarian revolution and elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class and bourgeois ideology as the expression of its class. The proletarians of all countries are the basis of the 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 cannot be prevented from coming to the fore as an open manifestation of this basic irreconcilable contradiction. The ever present strikes and spontaneous outbreaks and uprisings are an indication of this contradiction in concrete terms and cannot be prevented from occurring.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND IMPERIALISM.

The oppression and exploitation of nations under 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 revolution. The imperialists must increase their exploitation and oppression in order to maintain their profits, thus intensifying national liberation struggles.

The national liberation struggles that are occurring on a worldwide scale are on the advance while imperialism, headed by United States imperialism, is headed for total defeat. The revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and peoples which are occurring in Africa, Asia and Latin America are changing the world through revolution more quickly this century than ever before in the history of human society.

The oppressed nations and peoples are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its flunkies. The anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed people are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of 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 headed by United States imperialism. The struggle of oppressed nations against imperialism is an important component of contemporary proletarian revolutions; they assist such revolutions by weakening imperialism and its ability to maintain domination over many oppressed nations and peoples. Once the national liberation struggle is successful, the proletarian Party must consolidate its position and carry forward the revolution to a proletarian revolution. The stage of "independence" (semi-colonial stage) 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 compradore bourgeoisie) for a counter-revolution and neo-colonialism. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations can only be resolved through proletarian revolution.

THE CONTRADICTION AMONG IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AND AMONG MONOPOLY CAPITALIST GROUPS

The contradiction among imperialist and monopoly capitalist groups is a fundamental contradiction and is irreconcilable. The imperialists and the monopoly capitalists are engaged in an ever-increasing struggle which cannot be eliminated under capitalism. The essence of imperialism compels the imperialists to struggle for the domination and re-division of the world. The international communist movement should seek to exploit this contradiction among imperialists such as between the United States imperialists and the French, German and Japanese imperialists. The competition for markets and territory such as between the United States imperialists and the French imperialists for colonies and the European Market and the dissolution of United States military blocs such as N.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O., and S.E.A.T.O. are also a clear indication of the intensification of the contradictions between imperialists.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The principal contradiction within the United States of America is the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie.

There also exists a contradiction between United States imperialism and the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation as direct colonies of United States imperialism. Further, there exist contradictions be-

tween monopoly and other sections of the bourgeoisie and among monopoly groups.

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

Fascism is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Using the facade of "democracy" and under the slogan of "law and order" the bourgeoisie is increasing its attacks on the most oppressed and most exploited section of the American working class. U.S. 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 pursued by the United States government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

Racism has one primary source: United States imperialism. Racism emanates from the reactionary policies of aggression abroad. The basis for its eradication can only be the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Another aspect of the rise of fascism in the United States today is the conversion of the trade unions into an open labor front of United States monopoly capital. The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) approaches the trade union question based on the rank and file. We seek to unite with the most exploited and oppressed sections of the class. It is essential that the broadest possible united front against fascism be formed with all democratic forces in alliance with the working class.

AN ANALYSIS OF CLASS FORCES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE BOURGEOISIE

Monopoly Capitalists —

The monopoly capitalist group possesses the fewest numbers of persons and the largest amount of wealth. The monopoly capitalists politically control the United States of America. They are in a position to and are seeking to destroy all competition and prevent progress. They are part of the international system of imperialism. The monopoly capitalists cannot operate solely out of one country. Monopoly capitalists are imperialists.

The imperialists are the most vicious enemy of revolutionary movements; they are the most reactionary and undemocratic. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party represent monopoly capital. It is absurd to consider these two Parties different in essence. The contradictions among the various groups of monopolists must be considered, but the task of the Party of the proletariat is to discredit completely these bourgeois Parties and their influence within the working class. Both Parties are part of reaction and both are capable of representing fascist dictatorship. Both Parties function as a coalition of monopoly capitalist groups.

Middle Bourgeoisie *

The middle bourgeoisie is that section of the capitalist class which owns most of the small corporations, possesses or 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 capital and much of their possessions are tied to monopoly capital.

Presently, the middle bourgeoisie is in general support of monopoly capital internationally. At home it is general support of monopoly capital, however, it opposes policies that tend toward centralization and concentration of political power and wealth which the monopoly capitalists demand. 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 cover of conservative and which are for "states' rights". They are as reactionary as monopoly capitalists domestically but do not direct state policy and hence do not present the same danger as monopoly capitalist groups who are the main enemy of the proletariat.

In terms of the working class, the middle bourgeoisie alligns itself with United States imperialism. Alliances can be made with democratic sections of the middle bourgeoisie, but they are temporary and cannot last.

Petty Bourgeoisie —

The petty bourgeoisie are owners of small shops, stores and small farms. The petty bourgeoisie occupies the least stable position within the bourgeoisie and comprise the largest section of the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie are constantly being thrown back into the proletariat by the competition of monopoly capitalists and the middle bourgeoisie. Their main political expression is support of the policies of monopoly capital.

Democratic sections of the petty bourgeoisie can serve as a part of a united front against imperialism and be allies of the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie are highly unreliable and unstable as an ally from the point of view of the proletariat. Their instability is due to the social relations of the petty bourgeoisie to the bourgeoisie, their constantly being threatened with annihilation by the bourgeoisie.

Presently sections of the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the aristocracy of labor have formed a number of small radical political parties but are incapable of leading the proletarian revolution.

THE WORKING CLASS

Aristocracy of Labor —

The aristocracy of labor is that section of the working class which presently sides politically and ideologically with the bourgeoisie. They form an integral part of the working class and must be won to the side of the proletariat. The aristocracy of labor is the most highly bribed section of the working class but are still wage slaves. Their interests ultimately are with the proletariat.

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 and the core of the revolutionary movement.

The urban proletariat is the most politically advanced and the most highly organized section of the proletariat. They are the basis for the revolutionary movement.

The rural proletariat is less organized and less politically conscious than the urban proletariat and must be moved into revolutionary activity by the urban proletariat.

The proletariat has nothing to lose by revolution and has everything to gain and is the most revolutionary section of the working class and is the only section capable of proletarian revolution. They are the vast majority of the people whose everyday life points out the necessity for revolution.

In the United States of America, the proletariat has been without consistent leadership since 1944, until the reconstitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America in 1965 to the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist). Since the Party of the proletariat - the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) - has not fully developed on a national scale the proletariat has not been able to expand its areas of influence and has not been able to organize its forces to do consistent battle with the bourgeoisie.

Under the guidance of the Party of the proletariat - the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) - the proletariat will be capable of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Lumpen Proletariat --

The lumpen proletariat are those de-classed elements (prostitutes, thieves, and 'hustlers') who have given up the class struggle. The lumpens lack stability and definite relationship to class struggle. They are generally opportunist elements in the employ of whoever will buy them. They are an unreliable ally of the revolutionary proletariat.

THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

The policy of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) on the trade unions is to win control and support of the trade unions in the United States of America. The Party will win such support by organizing politically the rank and file of the trade unions through the exposing of the labor lieutenants of the capitalists.

Our objective is to smash the bourgeoisie's control of the trade union movement, and in so doing smash the fascist labor front.

The trade unions represent the organization of the advanced sections of the proletariat. Revolutionary trade unions have historically formed the bulwark of the revolutionary movement. The winning of the workers in the trade unions to support their Party -- the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) -- is viewed as one overall central task of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist). The trade unions in themselves, economic strikes in themselves cannot emancipate the working class. The essential question is proletarian revolution. The purpose of trade union work is to be able to turn economic strikes into political strikes and political strikes into revolutionary action.

THE NATIONAL - COLONIAL QUESTION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

The U.S.A. is a multi-national state, comprised of three nations: The American nation, the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation. The Negro nation and Puerto Rican nation are direct colonies of U.S. imperialism.

The contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the Negro nation and Puerto Rican nation is irreconcilable. The struggle against the oppression of the Negro nation and Puerto Rican nation is part of the world-

wide national liberation struggle. The end to national oppression can only occur with the destruction of U.S. imperialism. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) calls for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) states that the right of self-determination can only be secured by the Negro nation and Puerto Rican nation by proletarian revolution and with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States.

The struggle of the American proletariat and the Negro and Puerto Rican proletariat is part of the proletarian revolution in the United States. The struggle of the proletariat is against the common enemy, United States imperialism. Our Party is the Party of the proletariat of the United States of America. With regard to the Negro and Puerto Rican nations, armed revolution is the only means to emancipation. By the right of self-determination for the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation, the Communist Party of the United States of America (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 United States of America or the amalgamation of the Negro nation and or Puerto Rican nation with the American nation.

The position of the communists within the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation must be to fight for unity with the proletariat of the American nation against the common enemy.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) upholds proletarian internationalism by combatting any tendency towards great nation chauvinism within the Party and the proletariat. Hence, full support for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation and the Puerto Rican nation must be fought for by all Marxist-Leninists and class conscious workers. In addition, the greatest unity must be expressed between the proletarians of the national minorities of the American nation and the rest of the American proletariat. The task of the communist and revolutionary class conscious proletariat of the oppressed nations must be to oppose nationalism by fighting for unity of all the proletariat of the United States of America.

We call for an anti-imperialist united front for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation in the South and the Puerto Rican nation which will include those forces who represent the national liberation forces of the oppressed nations.

MODERN REVISIONISM

Revisionism did not suddenly develop because of the reactionary stance of the bourgeoisie. The revisionism of the C.P.U.S.A. had its origins prior to 1944, and its origin and base for development was the class composition of the Party. 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 liberal policy of the Roosevelt administration.

Revisionism expresses itself in concrete policies and positions. The rejection of the proletariat, the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the social chauvinist position of rejection of the existence of the Negro nation in the South and the right of self-

determination for the Puerto Rican nation and the Negro nation and support of reactionary nationalism and racism. The revisionists seek an alliance with all sections of the bourgeoisie disregarding the class needs of the proletariat. The essence of revisionism is to serve imperialism. The class composition of the revisionist Communist Party of the United States of America is the aristocracy of labor, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. There can be no unity with the revisionist Communist Party of the United States of America since there can be no principled basis for such unity. The revisionists must be thoroughly exposed and destroyed. We reject any united front action with the revisionists internationally and nationally.

THE 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 of the United States of America, express their class base and outlook in their concrete position of social chauvinism and opportunism - the rejection of the Negro nation in the South and rejection of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Further, the Progressive Labor Party is not a Leninist party in structure.

The Progressive Labor Party follows in the wake of the spontaneous movement of the proletariat, students and reactionary nationalists.

The Progressive Labor Party is incapable of leading the proletariat because they are a party of the petty bourgeoisie. Their programs and position will be rejected by the revolutionary proletariat. The support of the Progressive Labor Party is not the proletariat but the petty bourgeoisie. The revisionist Communist Party of the United States of America and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party provide direct physical aid and assistance to their conciliators, the Progressive Labor Party. The Progressive Labor Party are covert revisionists. The Progressive Labor Party is a source of confusion nationally and internationally because of their erroneous and deceptive statements which are used to cover their class collaboration.

The role of the Progressive Labor Party at present is that of a centrist in actual relations. They seek international support by claiming to support the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, such as a claim of opposition to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union while supporting revisionism in Cuba. Nationally, they pursue a steady course of collaboration and support with revisionists and Trotskyites in united front movements and in inter-party relations.

As long as the Progressive Labor Party espouses a policy of joint action with revisionists and Trotskyites nationally, coupled with their opportunist and class collaborationist position on the national-colonial and trade union questions, there can be no principled basis for unity between Marxist-Leninists and the Progressive Labor Party.

THE TASK OF THE PARTY

The task of the Party is to build a 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 build a center and newspaper, to recruit the most advanced sections of the proletariat.

In the formative stage of the Party, our immediate task is the amassing of a core of professional revolutionaries.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY M. I. LASKI TO THE FIRST NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

(The following item consists of excerpts from the Report of the General Secretary, M. I. Laski, to the First National Party Congress of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist), delivered on September 4, 1966. This item should clarify the mistakes and the misquotes that might have appeared in the PEOPLE'S VOICE report of the speech.)

... THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE

... In September, 1965, we met and determined that it was not only possible but highly desirable to fill the void which had existed in this country since 1944, a void which had existed in the leadership of the proletariat. It was the decision at the founding conference to accept the challenge of building a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in this country. We had no illusions at that time that our mere presence in that room meant nothing in itself except for what the future held and what the conditions at the present would enable us to do. Based on the conditions and circumstances developing in this country we had an unlimited potential, in terms of revolutionary development and building the Party.

We could have called ourselves a Committee, a Provisional Committee, or an Organizing Committee, but we called ourselves a Party, because we accepted the challenge. For we realized at that time that to build an organization and not view ourselves as the formative elements of the Party would enable us to conveniently draw on a number of excuses way we could not or should not undertake certain activities and functions, precisely because we would claim we were not a Party. We understand, as we did then, that our tasks had to be centralized and could not be too diffuse, because we would accomplish relatively little if they were too diffuse; that we had to set ourselves concentrated tasks to be fulfilled in order to facilitate our development and our progress as the vanguard of the working class; that to accomplish this required that we understand the central task at any given moment and in any given circumstance, and that we grasp hold of the central task, as Comrade Stalin said, seize in every situation the key to that situation, grasp onto it, and utilize it as a key to hurl forward the efforts of the Party. And this has been the precise approach we have taken. In taking the step of reconstituting the Party we grabbed hold of one of those key and central points: that is, to dare to struggle, to dare to tackle imperialism, to dare to give leadership and direction to the working class, to dare to overcome the obstacles and problems that face us, to dare to study, to dare to improve ourselves, to dare to live and to fight imperialism.

A BRIEF RESUME OF THE FIRST PART OF OUR PAST YEAR

... On the National-Colonial question, we set about to form a Negro National Liberation Front, utilizing the publication BLACK FLAG and the organization CONFESTAB to further the activity of the Negro nation and the Negro national minority in the direction of anti-imperialist struggle on this particular question.

The main agitational efforts of the Party were in the Watts district. We determined to launch a program on the organization of the district, and the main emphasis of the program was based on the question of self-defense units and the organization of the people.

...It became apparent after the first three months of the Party's existence that it was difficult just to maintain the newspaper. We realized that without a centralized point of direction highly developed that the Party would become a loose, federated organization. It became apparent that decisive to the question of the center was the question of leadership, and that essential to the work of the center was the newspaper. We came to the decision that our main propoganda tool is the PEOPLE'S VOICE, and that our main effort must be in the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The newspaper must come first in our political responsibilities, and we must criticize the newspaper where it merits criticism.

We determined to build a core of professional revolutionaries --- full-time comrades who devote their every moment to the cause of the Party and the proletarian revolution.

ATTACKS ON THE PARTY

...We found we were continuously being attacked by the revisionists. If the revisionists attacked us we know that we must have really hurt the ruling class as well as the revisionists, for why would the revisionists attack us if it did not hurt the ruling class?

We found that in the course of the struggle our position became consolidated and crystalized. We found where we had to correct our policies. These struggles gave us a consolidated core. From the consolidation followed the expansion.

...We found that there are a number of people who view us as such a threat that they have to try physical annihilation and bomb our bookstore, and this showed us that we are on the correct path. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing. We grew and learned from the situation. We suffered tactical defeats at some points, but out of the situation we were greatly strengthened.

We expanded our national contacts. We utilized the press. The bourgeoisie thought they would frighten us to death with exposure, and that they could bring shame to us. But we let them expose us, and rather than frighten us we have forthrightly stated our views and become known nationally and internationally. We utilized the bourgeois freedoms to the advantage of the proletariat.

...We are not fooled by the present legality. We made preparations for operating on both a legal and an illegal footing.

...We exposed the revisionist convention in New York City in June of this year. We have cut the revisionists at every opportunity. First, the revisionists tried to dismiss us through personal attack and abuse. Now they have been forced to deal with us as a real political threat.

(The Teach-In Incident)

...We are the Communist Party, but at the U.C.L.A. Teach-In on March 25, 1966, the revisionists controlled the event. Dorothy Healey would not let us speak and she had us arrested, but the result was that instead of talking to 2,000 students, we were able to speak for

will increase and his forces will diminish. Every loss he incurs will be one he cannot replenish; every gain we make will be one the enemy cannot take from us. That must be the approach we take, bearing in mind Comrade Mao Tse-tung's adage, to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing, it is a good thing. Labor under that, and labor under the additional adage of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "The enemy advances, we retreat. The enemy camps, we harass. The enemy tires, we attack. The enemy retreats, we pursue." You cannot expect to be able to win all your battles, but you must be able to preserve your forces, in order to do battle with your enemy. It is our obligation to stay alive so that we can fight and kill the enemy. If we stay alive and do not kill the enemy, we are not fulfilling our function, and we might as well be dead. With these points in mind we proceed to the future.

weeks after to several million people through the press because of the interest generated by the incident.

RECRUITMENT

...The fact that in less than six months time of our founding we could recruit and build members across the country without having to send direct representatives to other sections of the country proves the correctness and vitality of our stance.

... We dropped some members in the process of expansion, and the concrete lessons gained have been in the area of communist ethics and morality. We must eliminate bourgeois ideology from Party members, and if we cannot rid the member of the bourgeois ideology, we must sever our ties with that comrade.

THE FUTURE

We have reached the point now where we can expand the open operation of our Party to New York City. Plans have been made for this and will be executed within the month of September 1966, to open up a branch of the Party in New York City, along with a bookstore, in Harlem. Our presence in New York City will be a most unsettling thing, especially with the Trotskyite and revisionist groups. New York City is a focal point in this country. It is the political center for revisionism and Trotskyites in this country. We will send our most decisive elements to New York City to set up a unified, centralized section of this Party, not a federated circle in New York City, but one under the central direction of the leading comrades of the Party, integrated completely in a uniform way with the activity of the Party. The center remains in Los Angeles, but the General Secretary will operate out of New York City for a period of three months. We will absorb the best elements of the proletariat and the working class and of the other scattered political groups, and we will incorporate them into a unified, monolithic Party.

"ANTI-RIOT" LAW

...If Mayor Yorty had to go to speak with Governor Brown and President Johnson in order to get legislation directed specifically against our activities in Los Angeles at this stage, the ruling class is surely in trouble. We must proceed full speed ahead with our preparations for illegal work. As long as the ruling class, the revisionists, and the Trotskyites attack us, you can know we are carrying out our tasks correctly. But the moment they begin to praise us and play us up, beware, for then you know you have done something wrong.

We have the correct theory; it is the concretization of the theory that is the source of the difficulty.

We must prepare for the attacks of the ruling class, to know how to deal with them, to preserve our forces so we can destroy the enemy. Our forces meager - in their numbers alone insignificant opposed to the enemy's forces; our strength stems from the correct application of the small forces we have now, to pinpoint them at the enemy's weak point, to destroy the enemy decisively wherever we attack him, and to gather strength from the enemy's defeats. In doing that our forces

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

June 15, 1966

Dear Comrades,

Please accept the thanks of our Party for your kind message of condolence on the death of our late President, Comrade M.H. Williams.

Your message has been published in our Party press along with tributes from other countries.

With Comradely Greetings
V. G. Wilcox
General Secretary
Communist Party of New Zealand

TELEGRAM

August 3, 1966

Comrade Wilcox, Communist Party New Zealand:

Comrade Michael I. Laski, General Secretary, beaten in jail July 28 STOP In hospital. Statements of support to C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.), 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles, California, 90002.

Central Committee
Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.)

TELEGRAM

August 7, 1966

C.P.N.Z. denounces brutal assault on your General Secretary, Michael Laski STOP Reconsider act in line with development of fascist repression against C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) and all democratic forces.

R. Nunes
For National Secretariat
Communist Party of New Zealand

TELEGRAM

September 4, 1966

Regret unable to send observer Congress. Please accept greetings from Communist Party New Zealand and convey best wishes to delegates for successful Congress directed towards struggle against United States imperialism and for advance of working class and Negro people towards socialism.

Wilcox
General Secretary
Communist Party New Zealand

Due to technical error, the GREETINGS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA appears on page 38 instead of page 42 as announced in the Table of Contents and pages 39 to 42 will not appear.

GREETINGS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

TELEGRAM

To: Central Committee, Communist Party of China, Peking, China
The Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.) greets the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people on the National Day of the People's Republic of China.

For the Central Committee
C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.)
E.W. Simmons, Chairman

PEOPLE'S VOICE EDITORIALS
IN SUPPORT OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

PEOPLE'S VOICE SUPPORTS THE GREAT SOCIALIST
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The PEOPLE'S VOICE declares its support for the great socialist cultural revolution in the People's Republic of China. The Communist Party of China, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is the vanguard of the Marxist-Leninist forces. Mao Tse-tung's thought serves as a beacon light in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism and lights the way to revolution.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE supports the struggle against the anti-Party elements. These bad elements are the seeds of revisionism; they are the contemporary Trotskys, Bukharins and Khrushchevs. They must be stopped from their wrecking activities.

We are reprinting excerpts from Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" to which we give our support.

MAO TSE-TUNG ON LITERATURE AND ART

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period.

(Revolutionary art and literature) are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. The struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form.

There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology or communism or the Party is.

We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this debate and join actively in this struggle so that every comrade may become sound and our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

P.V. HAILS P.L.A. ANNIVERSARY

The PEOPLE'S VOICE hails the 39th anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and points to the P.L.A. as the foremost example of the military arm of the proletariat. The P.L.A. was founded on August 1, 1927, and has since that time served as the revolutionary armed force of the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan, of the Second and Third Revolutionary Civil War periods, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE supports this revolutionary tradition as a tremendous victory for the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally. The P.L.A.'s principle of "four firsts" in political work is the crystallization of Mao Tse-tung's thought on this question. The principle of the "four firsts" is giving first place (1) to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons (2) to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work (3) to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work and (4) in ideological work to living ideas in handling the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas.

The "four firsts" principle of the P.L.A. is a basic statement of the proletarian manner of approaching one's work, giving first place to the class needs of the proletariat and to its Party. This principle is vital to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat and to guard against any manifestation of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Any manifestation of bourgeois ideology will find its organizational expression in the form of revisionism if not resolutely destroyed.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE supports the removal of all supporters of bourgeois ideology from the leadership of the P.L.A. This removal is most necessary in order to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat from the influence of those elements who rely not on the people but merely upon the shibboleth of technology. The bourgeois line of relying on weapons and not upon the people is unmitigated capitulation to U.S. imperialism, mere worshipping of the jet plane and prostrating oneself before the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. government.

The removal of those weak elements from the leadership of the P.L.A. is a necessary step taken to guard against the reduplication of Khrushchevite revisionism. The Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army are advancing the Chinese People's great Socialist Cultural Revolution and sweeping away all monsters who dare to stand in the way of the proletariat. This struggle is a relentless struggle between bourgeois ideology and proletarian ideology. Only the most continuous and relentless struggle of the proletariat against the class enemy can insure the victory of proletarian ideology, the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism and communism.

On this occasion, the PEOPLE'S VOICE offers its support to the Chinese People's Liberation Army and to the Communist Party of China for their example and for their leadership to the revolutionary forces internationally. Their many successes point to the correctness of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung on the people's army of the new type and on the role of the Party as the leading element in the united front. The 39th anniversary of the P.L.A. is a great victory for the international proletariat. It shows the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's exhortation to rely upon the people. The growth of the P.L.A. and the victory of the Chinese revolution showed this reliance upon the people.

The success in socialist construction and in the cultural revolution show even further advancement of the concept of relying upon the people. By continued application of this principle the Marxist-Leninist forces will continue to advance the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for socialism and communism to the end.

PEOPLE'S VOICE
August 8, 1966

PEOPLE'S VOICE HAILS CHINESE RED GUARDS

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE SUPPORTS THE RED GUARDS - A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

Following the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at its Eleventh Plenum concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution (the decision was adopted on August 8, 1966), there has developed a mass movement among the revolutionary youth of China in support of the cultural revolution. It is for the advancement of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, carrying forward the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the leading Marxist-Leninist of our era. This youth movement known as the Red Guards has set as its goal the removal of bourgeois, feudal and other reactionary and decadent influences and of all old ideas, culture, customs and habits. Starting in the major cities, this movement has spread throughout all of China.

The Red Guards have taken to the streets to demonstrate their determination to advance the revolution in all aspects of the work - from exposing the revisionist actions of certain persons in positions of authority, such as the former Peking University Party Committee, to renaming streets and factories with revolutionary titles and to criticizing all decadent fashions and prevailing upon the tailors and department stores not to cater to those decadent tastes. In short, the Red Guards are the arm of the Party of the proletariat in advancing the proletarian revolution on all fronts. They serve the Party as the People's Liberation Army serves the Party in defending the interests of the proletariat against all enemies, in advancing the position of the Party, in participating in socialist construction and in criticizing all manifestations of the enemy ideology so as to annihilate these obstacles.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE supports the Red Guards and lauds the Red Guards as the necessary arm of the Party in guaranteeing the advance of proletarian ideology and the vigilance of the people against bourgeois ideology during the period of socialist construction. The Red Guards are an arm of the Party in guarding the socialist state against the restoration of capitalism. The Red Guards are the Party's mass organization exposing all traces of revisionism and combatting all manifestations of bourgeois ideology. The Red Guards are the Party's close links with the masses in advancing the struggle against the former exploiting classes and the would-be exploiters. The Red Guards have also served to expose certain enemies of the people working in the pay of the imperialists (such as various missionaries). The vigilance

of the Red Guards is a necessary first step in arming the people ideologically against the machinations of the class enemy.

The revisionists have become panicked over the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Red Guards. The revisionists have done so because it is precisely their fellow imperialist agents who are being exposed and combatted in China. The American revisionists (see PEOPLE'S WORLD of September 17, 1966) accused the C.P.C. of being in opposition to the communist movement and to the socialist countries because the C.P.C. takes the Marxist-Leninist stand, as put forth by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat sharpens with the development of socialism necessitating the effective utilization of the dictatorship of the proletariat to smash any and all bourgeois remnants. The revisionists, themselves being bourgeois remnants, are of course, opposed to this Marxist-Leninist conception and prefer to talk of the "state of the whole people" without regard to classes so as to cover up for restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia and other places where the revisionists are serving U.S. imperialism.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becomes intensified with the building of socialism as Comrade Stalin pointed out, because the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the wielding of state power by the proletariat in any country is an open threat to capitalism internationally. The bourgeoisie makes every effort to destroy the socialist countries whether by overt attack as Hitler tried against the Soviet Union in the 1940's or by the fostering of revisionism as U.S. imperialists are doing today in the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie aims to restore capitalism whether through its army or through its revisionist agents whichever means is most efficient.

Because of this fact, it is incumbent upon the Party of the proletariat to arm the people ideologically against any manifestation of bourgeois ideology and to fight resolutely against all revisionist elements so as to advance the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Red Guards in China are serving precisely that purpose.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung described the needs of the proletariat on this matter, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself." (Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan"). If the Party does not undertake actively to combat bourgeois ideology, then the bourgeoisie will win by default. On the other hand, when the Party takes the proper steps to combat bourgeois ideology and to expose all examples of revisionism then the Party is arming the proletariat and advancing the revolution to a higher stage. The PEOPLE'S VOICE welcomes and supports the Red Guards as the proper step in this direction.

PEOPLE'S VOICE
September 26, 1966

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND ON REVISIONISM

The following is a section from the Report of V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, to the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand. We are reprinting this section because of the importance of the struggle against revisionism, as was noted in the report. Reprinted from NEW ZEALAND COMMUNIST REVIEW, April, 1966.

Comrades, I come to the second major task facing us. And it arises, naturally, from the first; that is, to continue the fight against revisionism, the main danger in our world movement and in our Party. We must do this in a Marxist-Leninist way, in a non-sectarian way, avoiding dogmatism; otherwise we can easily turn away from the great possibilities of developing mass movement on a scale not seen in New Zealand for many a long year.

Why is the second task so important? It is so because if the ideas of the modern revisionists in any way affect either our thinking or our activity, then, because of their non-Marxist appraisal of the nature of the situation within imperialism today, no fully developed fight against imperialism on all fronts can be developed. Their activities today, both in New Zealand and elsewhere, are of a braking nature. In this way, they are helping imperialism. With any tinge of revisionism, we could never stand firm on the Viet Nam issue. There would be words but not deeds. We would fall for ideas that lead to negotiation with the U.S. while the U.S. holds its armed forces in a position of strength. The Viet Namese call is clear, and leaves no room for revisionist manoeuvring. It is based on the fact that the U.S. aggressors must get out of Viet Nam.

We think it will be easily recognized now that only a Marxist-Leninist approach to this question can ensure that we give our full support to this correct policy of our Viet Namese comrades in their period of great crisis, facing as they are -- and in the front rank -- the powerful enemy of United States imperialism.

While the implementation of the Geneva Agreements remains our call -- a call that demands that the provisions of those Agreements be carried out where it says that there should be no foreign military alliances, no foreign military bases, troops or military personnel in the respective territories of Viet Nam -- the fact is that, facing U.S. imperialist aggression, military equipment from the socialist world is a necessity now. It in no way contravenes the Geneva Agreements. If further intervention from the U.S. occurs, then it will quickly make the Geneva Agreements a dead letter.

Further U.S. plans to extend the war openly to other parts of South-East Asia, and possibly even to China, demand of us extreme vigilance against the wordy snares of the revisionists. Action against U.S. imperialism in all possible ways, according to local circumstances, is demanded of all Communists. We must not be diverted by words.

THE PROLETARIAN METHOD OF SOLVING THE NATIONAL PROBLEM
from an article entitled
The International Character of the October Revolution
November 6-7, 1927
by J.V. Stalin

The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "metropolises". It has also struck at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution broke the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from it, without exception, all the oppressed peoples of a vast state. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself unless it emancipates the oppressed peoples. It is a characteristic feature of the October Revolution that it accomplished these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national enmity and conflicts among nations, but under the flag of mutual confidence and fraternal rapprochement of the workers and peasants of the various peoples in the U.S.S.R., not in the name of nationalism, but in the name of internationalism.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah peoples, slave peoples, have for the first time in the history of mankind risen to the position of peoples that are really free and really equal, thereby setting a contagious example to the oppressed nations of the whole world.

This means that the October Revolution has ushered in a new era, the era of colonial revolutions which are being carried out in the oppressed countries of the world in alliance with the proletariat and under the leadership of the proletariat.

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilization and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, while the latter are the only bearers of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former.

That legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice that the liberated non-European peoples, drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are not one whit less capable of promoting a really progressive culture and a really progressive civilization than are the European peoples.

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples is the method of bourgeois nationalism, the method of nations drawing apart from one another, the method of disuniting nations, the method of intensifying national enmity among the laboring masses of the various nations.

That legend must now be regarded as refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of the proletarian, internationalist method of liber-

ating the oppressed peoples, as the only correct method; by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a fraternal union of the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of voluntariness and internationalism. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future integration of the working people of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

It need hardly be said that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Such facts as the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples in China, Indonesia, India, etc., and the growing sympathy of these peoples for the U.S.S.R., unquestionably bear this out.

The era of tranquil exploitation and oppression of the colonial and dependent countries has passed away.

The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat in those countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution, has begun.

The following item consists of the first five sections of On New Democracy. We are reprinting this work by Comrade Mao Tse-tung because of its importance with regard to the national-colonial question and the anti-imperialist United Front.

I. Whither China?

A lively atmosphere has prevailed throughout the country ever since the War of Resistance began, there is a general feeling that a way out of the impasse has been found, and people no longer knit their brows in despair. Of late, however, the dust and din of compromise and anti-communism have once again filled the air, and once again the people are thrown into bewilderment. Most susceptible, and the first to be affected, are the intellectuals and the young students. The question once again arises: What is to be done? Whither China? On the occasion of the publication of Chinese Culture, it may therefore be profitable to clarify the political and cultural trends in the country. I am a layman in matters of culture; I would like to study them, but have only just begun to do so. Fortunately, there are many comrades in Yanan who have written at length in this field, so that my rough and ready works may serve the same purpose as the beating of the gongs before a theatrical performance. Our observations may contain a grain of truth for the nation's advanced cultural workers and may serve as a modest spur to induce them to come forward with valuable contributions of their own, and we hope that they will join in the discussion to reach correct conclusions which will meet our national needs. To "seek truth from facts" is the scientific approach, and presumptuously to claim infallibility and lecture people will never settle anything. The troubles that have befallen our nation are extremely serious, and only a scientific approach and a spirit of responsibility can lead it on to the road of liberation. There is but one truth, and the question of whether or not one has arrived at it depends not on subjective boasting but on objective practice. The only yardstick of truth is the revolutionary practice of millions of people. This, I think, can be regarded as the attitude of Chinese Culture.

II. We Want To Build A New China

For many years we Communists have struggled for a cultural revolution as well as for a political and economic revolution, and our aim is to build a new society and a new state for the Chinese nation. That new society and new state will have not only a new politics and a new economy but a new culture. In other words, not only do we want to change a China that is politically oppressed and economically exploited into a China that is politically free and economically prosperous, we also want to change the China which is being kept ignorant and backward under the sway of the old culture into an enlightened and progressive China under the sway of a new culture. In short, we want to build a new China. Our aim in the cultural sphere is to build a new Chinese national culture.

III. China's Historical Characteristics

We want to build a new national culture, but what kind of culture should it be?

Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics. This is our fundamental view of the relation of culture to politics and economics and of the relation of politics to economics. It follows that the form of culture is first determined by the political and economic form, and only then does it operate on and influence the given political and economic form. Marx says, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." He also says, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." For the first time in human history, these scientific formulations correctly solved the problem of the relationship between consciousness and existence, and they are the basic concepts underlying the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality which was later elaborated so profoundly by Lenin. These basic concepts must be kept in mind in our discussion of China's cultural problems.

Thus it is quite clear that the reactionary elements of the old national culture we want to eliminate are inseparable from the old national politics and economics, while the new national culture which we want to build up is inseparable from the new national politics and economics. The old politics and economics of the Chinese nation form the basis of its old culture, just as its new politics and economics will form the basis of its new culture.

What are China's old politics and economics? And what is her old culture?

From the Chou and Chin Dynasties onwards, Chinese society was feudal, as were its politics and its economy. And the dominant culture, reflecting the politics and economy, was feudal culture.

Since the invasion of foreign capitalism and the gradual growth of capitalist elements in Chinese society, the country has changed by degrees into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. China today is colonial in the Japanese-occupied areas and basically semi-colonial in the Kuomintang areas, and it is predominantly feudal or semi-feudal in both. Such, then, is the character of present-day Chinese society and the state of affairs in our country. The politics and the economy of this society are predominantly colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, and the predominant culture, reflecting the politics and economy, is also colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal.

It is precisely against these predominant political, economic and cultural forms that our revolution is directed. What we want to get rid of is the old colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics and economy and the old culture in their service. And what we want to build up is their direct opposite, i.e., the new politics, the new economy and the new culture of the Chinese nation.

What, then, are the new politics and the new economy of the Chinese nation, and what is its new culture?

In the course of its history the Chinese revolution must go through two stages; first, the democratic revolution, and second, the socialist revolution, and by their very nature they are two different revolutionary processes. Here democracy does not belong to the old category - it is not the old democracy, but belongs to the new category - it is New Democracy.

It can thus be affirmed that China's new politics of New Democracy and that China's new economy is the economy of New Democracy and that China's new culture is the culture of New Democracy.

Such are the historical characteristics of the Chinese revolution at the present time. Any political party, group or person taking part in the Chinese revolution that fails to understand this will not be able to direct the revolution and lead it to victory, but will be cast aside by the people and left to grieve out in the cold.

IV. The Chinese Revolution is Part of the World Revolution

The historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution lies in its division into the two stages, democracy and socialism, the first being no longer democracy in general; but democracy of the Chinese type, a new and special type, namely, New Democracy. How, then, has this historical characteristic come into being? Has it been in existence for the past hundred years, or is it of recent origin?

A brief study of the historical development of China and of the world, shows that this characteristic did not emerge immediately after the Opium War, but took shape later, after the first imperialist world war and the October Revolution in Russia. Let us now examine the process of its formation.

Clearly, it follows from the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages. The first step is to change the colonial; semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society. At present the Chinese revolution is taking the first step.

The preparatory period for the first step began with the Opium War in 1840, i.e., when China's feudal society started changing into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one. Then came the Movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement, the Northern Expedition, the War of the Agrarian Revolution and the present War of Resistance Against Japan. Together these have taken up a whole century and in a sense they represent that first step, being struggles waged by the Chinese people, on different occasions and in varying degrees, against imperialism and the feudal forces in order to build up an independent, democratic society and complete the first revolution. The Revolution of 1911 was in a fuller sense the beginning of that revolution. In its social character, this revolution is a bourgeois-democratic and not a proletarian-socialist revolution. It is still unfinished and still demands great efforts, because to this day its enemies are still very strong. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen said, "The revolution is not yet completed, all my comrades must struggle on", he was referring to the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A change, however, occurred in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution after the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 and the founding of a socialist state one-sixth of the globe as a result of the Russian October Revolution of 1917.

Before these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution came within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, of which it was a part.

Since these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution has changed, it has come within the new category of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and, as far as the alignment of revolutionary forces is concerned, forms part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Why? Because the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era.

It is an era in which the world capitalist front has collapsed in one part of the globe (one-sixth of the world) and has fully revealed its decadence everywhere else, in which the remaining capitalist parts cannot survive without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies, in which a socialist state has been established and has proclaimed its readiness to give active support to the liberation movement of all colonies and semi-colonies, and in which the proletariat of the capitalist countries is steadily freeing itself from the social-imperialist influence of the social-democratic parties and has proclaimed its support for the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e. against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.

Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy's side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.

Such a revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots; and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favored by socialism and supported by the land of socialism and the socialist international proletariat.

Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

The correct thesis that "the Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution" was put forward as early as 1924-27 during the period of China's First Great Revolution. It was put forward by the Chinese Communists and endorsed by all those taking part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the time. However, the significance of this thesis was not fully expounded in those days, and consequently it was only vaguely understood.

The "world revolution" no longer refers to the old world revolution, for the old bourgeois world revolution has long been a thing of the past; it refers to the new world revolution, the socialist world revolution. Similarly, to form "part of" means to form part not of the old bourgeois but of the new socialist revolution. This is a tremendous change unparalleled in the history of China and of the world.

This correct thesis advanced by the Chinese Communists is based on Stalin's theory.

As early as 1913, in an article commemorating the first anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin wrote:

The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;

2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;

3) IT HAS THEREBY ERECTED A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST WEST AND THE ENSLAVED EAST, having created a new front of revolutions AGAINST world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East.

Since writing this article, Stalin has again and again expounded on the theory that revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies have broken away from the old category and become part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. The clearest and most precise explanation is given in an article published on June 30, 1925, in which Stalin carried on a controversy with the Yugoslav nationalists of the time. Entitled, "The National Question Once Again", it is included in a book translated by Chang Chung-shih and published under the title, "Stalin On The National Question". It contains the following passage:

Senich refers to a passage in Stalin's pamphlet "Marxism And The National Question", written at the end of 1912. There it says that "the national struggle under the conditions of RISING capitalism is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves". Evidently, by this Senich is trying to suggest that his formula defining the social significance of the national movement under the present historical conditions is correct. But Stalin's pamphlet was written before the imperialist war, when the national question was not yet regarded by Marxists as a question of world significance, when the Marxists' fundamental demand for the right to self-determination was regarded not as part of the proletarian revolution, but as part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It would be ridiculous not to see that since then the international situation has radically changed, that the war, on the one hand, and the October Revolution in Russia, on the other, transformed the national question from a part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. As far back as October 1916, in his article, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", Lenin said that the main point of the national question, the right to self-determination, had ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, that it had already become a component part of the general proletarian, socialist revolution. I do not even mention subsequent works on the national question by Lenin and by other representatives of

Russian communism. After all this, what significance can Semich's reference to the passage in Stalin's pamphlet, written in the period of the BOURGEOIS-democratic revolution in Russia, have at the present time, when, as a consequence of the new historical situation, we have entered a new epoch, the epoch of PROLETARIAN revolution? It can only signify that Semich quotes outside of space and time, without reference to the living historical situation, and thereby violates the most elementary requirements of dialectics and ignores the fact that what is right for one historical situation may prove to be wrong in another historical situation.

From this it can be seen that there are two kinds of world revolution, the first belonging to the bourgeois or capitalist category. The era of this kind of world revolution is long past, having come to an end as far back as 1914 when the first imperialist world war broke out, and more particularly in 1917 when the October Revolution took place. The second kind, namely, the proletarian-socialist world revolution, thereupon began. This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies. No matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist revolution and they become its allies.

Today, the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater significance. This is a time when the economic and political crises of capitalism are dragging the world more and more deeply into the Second World War, when the Soviet Union has reached the period of transition from socialism to communism and is capable of leading and helping the proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole world in their fight against imperialist war and capitalist reaction, when the proletariat of the capitalist countries is preparing to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, and when the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie in China have become a mighty independent political force under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Situated as we are in this day and age, should we not make the appraisal that the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater world significance? I think we should. The Chinese revolution has become a very important part of the world revolution.

Although the Chinese revolution in this first stage (with its many sub-stages) is a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution and is not yet itself a proletarian-socialist revolution in its social character, it has long become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution, and is now even a very important part and a great ally of this world revolution. The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new democratic society under the joint-dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.

This is the fundamental characteristic of the Chinese revolution of today, of the new revolutionary process of the past twenty years (counting from May 4th Movement of 1919) and its concrete living essence.

The new historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution is its division into two stages, the first being the new-democratic revolution. How does this manifest itself concretely in internal political and economic relations? Let us consider the question.

Before the May 4th Movement of 1919 (which occurred after the first imperialist world war of 1914 and the Russian October Revolution of 1917), the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie (through their intellectuals) were the political leaders of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Chinese proletariat had not yet appeared on the political scene as an awakened and independent class force, but participated in the revolution only as a follower of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. Such was the case with the proletariat at the time of the Revolution of 1911.

After the May 4th Movement, the political leader of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution was no longer the bourgeoisie but the proletariat, although the national bourgeoisie continued to take part in the revolution. The Chinese proletariat rapidly became an awakened and independent political force as a result of its maturing and of the influence of the Russian Revolution. It was the Chinese Communist Party that put forward the slogan "Down With Imperialism" and the thoroughgoing program for the whole bourgeois-democratic revolution, and it was the Chinese Communist Party alone that carried out the Agrarian Revolution.

Being a bourgeoisie in a colonial and semi-colonial country and oppressed by imperialism, the Chinese national bourgeoisie retains a certain revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree - even in the era of imperialism - in its opposition to the foreign imperialists and the domestic governments of bureaucrats and warlords (instances of opposition to the latter can be found in the periods of the Revolution of 1911 and the Northern Expedition), and it may ally itself with the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie against such enemies as it is ready to oppose. In this respect the Chinese bourgeoisie differs from the bourgeoisie of old tsarist Russia. Since tsarist Russia was a military-feudal imperialism which carried on aggression against other countries, the Russian bourgeoisie was entirely lacking in revolutionary quality. There, the task of the proletariat was to oppose the bourgeoisie, not to unite with it.

But China's national bourgeoisie has a revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree, because China is a colonial and semi-colonial country which is a victim of aggression. Here, the task of the proletariat is to form a united front with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism and the bureaucrat and warlord governments without overlooking its revolutionary quality.

At the same time, however, being a bourgeois class in a colonial and semi-colonial country and so being extremely flabby economically and politically; the Chinese national bourgeoisie also has another quality, namely, a proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution. Even when it takes part in the revolution, it is unwilling to break with imperialism completely and, moreover, it is closely associated with the exploitation of the rural areas through land rent; thus it is neither willing nor able to overthrow imperialism, and much less the feudal forces, in a thorough way. So neither of the two basic problems or tasks of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution can be solved or accomplished by the national bourgeoisie. As for China's big bourgeoisie which is represented by the Kuomintang, all through the long period from 1927 to 1937 it nestled in the arms of the imperialists and formed an alliance with the feudal forces

against the revolutionary people. In 1927 and for some time afterwards, the Chinese national bourgeoisie also followed the counter-revolution. During the present anti-Japanese war, the section of the big bourgeoisie represented by Wang Ching-wei has capitulated to the enemy, which constitutes a fresh betrayal on the part of the big bourgeoisie. In this respect, then, the bourgeoisie in China differs from the earlier bourgeoisie of the European and American countries and especially of France. When the bourgeoisie in those countries, and especially in France, was still in its revolutionary era, the bourgeois revolution was comparatively thorough, whereas the bourgeoisie in China lacks even this degree of thoroughness.

Possible participation in the revolution on the one hand and proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution on the other - such is the dual character of the Chinese bourgeoisie, it faces both ways. Even the bourgeoisie in European and American history had shared this dual character. When confronted by a formidable enemy, they united with the workers and peasants against him, but when the workers and peasants awakened, they turned round to unite with the enemy against the workers and peasants. This is a general rule applicable to the bourgeoisie everywhere in the world, but the trait is more pronounced in the Chinese bourgeoisie.

In China, it is perfectly clear that whoever can lead the people in overthrowing imperialism and the forces of feudalism can win the people's confidence, because these two, and especially imperialism, are the mortal enemies of the people. Today, whoever can lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the saviours of the people. History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfill this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat.

Therefore, the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie undoubtedly constitute the basic forces determining China's fate. These classes, some already awakened and others in the process of awakening, will necessarily become the basic components of the state and governmental structure in the democratic republic of China, with the proletariat as the leading force. The Chinese democratic republic which we desire to establish now must be a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat, that is, a new-democratic republic, a republic of the genuinely revolutionary new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies.

This new-democratic republic will be different from the old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, which is the old democratic form and already out of date. On the other hand, it will also be different from the socialist republic of the Soviet type under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is already flourishing in the U.S.S.R., and which, moreover, will be established in all the capitalist countries and will undoubtedly become the dominant form of state and governmental structure in all the industrially advanced countries. During this period - therefore, a third form of state must be adopted in the revolutions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, namely, the new-democratic republic. This form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional; nevertheless, it is a form which is necessary and cannot be dispensed with.

Thus the numerous types of state system in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power: (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) re-

publics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes.

The first kind comprises the old democratic states. Today, after the outbreak of the second imperialist war, there is hardly a trace of democracy in many of the capitalist countries, which have come or are coming under the bloody militarist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Certain countries under the joint dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie can be grouped with this kind.

The second kind exists in the Soviet Union, and the conditions for its birth are ripening in capitalist countries. In the future, it will be the dominant form throughout the world for a certain period.

The third kind is the transitional form of state to be adopted in the revolutions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Each of these revolutions will necessarily have specific characteristics of its own, but these will be minor variations on a general theme. So long as they are revolutions in colonial or semi-colonial countries, their state and governmental structure will of necessity be basically the same, i.e., a new-democratic state under the joint dictatorship of several anti-imperialist classes. In present-day China, the anti-Japanese united front represents the new-democratic form of state. It is anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist; it is also a united front, an alliance of several revolutionary classes. But unfortunately, despite the fact that the war has been going on for so long, the work of introducing democracy has hardly started in most of the country outside the democratic anti-Japanese base areas under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the Japanese imperialists have exploited this fundamental weakness to stride into our country. If nothing is done about it, our national future will be gravely imperiled.

The question under discussion here is that of the "state system". After several decades of wrangling since the last years of the Ching Dynasty, it has still not been cleared up. Actually it is simply a question of the status of the various social classes within the state. The bourgeoisie, as a rule, conceals the problem of class status and carries out its one-class dictatorship under the "national" label. Such concealment is of no advantage to the revolutionary people and the matter should be clearly explained to them. The term "national" is all right, but it must not include counter-revolutionaries and traitors. The kind of state we need today is a dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes over the counter-revolutionaries and traitors.

The so-called democratic system in modern states is usually monopolized by the bourgeoisie and has become simply an instrument for oppressing the common people. On the other hand, the Kuomintang's Principle of Democracy means a democratic system shared by all the common people and not privately owned by the few. Such was the solemn declaration made in the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in 1924 during the period of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. For sixteen years the Kuomintang has violated this declaration and as a result it has created the present grave national crisis. This is a gross blunder, which we hope the Kuomintang will correct in the cleansing flames of the anti-Japanese war.

As for the question of "the system of government", this is a matter of how political power is organized, the form in which one social class or another chooses to arrange its apparatus of political power to oppose its enemies and protect itself. There is no state which does not have an appropriate apparatus of political power to

represent it. China may now adopt a system of people's congresses from the national people's congress down to the provincial, county, district and township people's congresses, with all levels electing their respective governmental bodies. But if there is to be a proper representation for each revolutionary class according to its status in the state, a proper expression of the people's will, a proper direction for revolutionary struggles and a proper manifestation of the spirit of New Democracy, then a system of really universal and equal suffrage, irrespective of sex, creed, property or education, must be introduced. Such is the system of democratic centralism. Only a government based on democratic centralism can fully express the will of all the revolutionary people and fight the enemies of the revolution most effectively. There must be a spirit of refusal to be "privately owned by a few" in the government and the army; without a genuinely democratic system this cannot be attained and the system of government and the state system will be out of harmony.

The state system, a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes and the system of government, democratic centralism - these constitute the politics of New Democracy, the republic of New Democracy, the republic of the anti-Japanese united front, the republic of the new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies, the Republic of China in reality as well as in name. Today, we have a Republic of China in name but not in reality, and our present task is to create the reality that will fit the name.

Such are the internal political relations which a revolutionary China, a China fighting Japanese aggression, should and must establish without fail; such is the orientation, the only correct orientation, for our present work of national reconstruction.

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