

SPLINTER IT - RED UNION GROUP

NEW WORKER Supplement

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (M-L)

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 U. S. 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 C.P.U.S.A. 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 U. S. 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. However, the Third International under the leadership of Stalin firmly upheld the fight for equal rights and self determination.

Wavering on this point was a manifestation of an opportunist tendency within the Party which then came to be developed under Browder into revisionism and finally, in 1944 the revisionists proceeded to liquidate the Communist Party in the U.S.A. In 1945 the Communist Party in the U.S.A. was reconstituted under the leadership of Comrade Foster. Because U. S. imperialism became the leader of world reaction after World War II, because the basic proletariat in the U.S. had only achieved trade union organization just prior to World War II and had still to digest that great victory and the limitations of that victory, and because of the usurpation of the leadership of the world's leading party by the Krushchov revisionists, the reconstitution of the Party proved to be unstable so that under the management of the Hall clique, the revisionists were able to split the Party and place a large part of the confused membership, which they had carried in tow, under the tutelage of the monopoly capitalist class.

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 U.S.A. (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 C.P.S.U. 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 competition', and 'peaceful transition', was put forth by so-called fraternal parties. As a result of the 22nd Congress, modern revisionism fully exposed its ugly features. The revisionist C.P.U.S.A. fully endorses and supports the revisionist theories put forward by the Khrushchevite revisionists. The consequence is the further exposure of the so-called C.P.U.S.A. 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 C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) moved decisively to carry forward the historic role of the vanguard Party of the proletariat.

Representatives of the U.S. 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 (M.-L.) and the Marxist-Leninists from the P.O.C.

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, world peace, and socialism.

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

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) 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 achieve socialism and communism we should proceed from reality, apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought 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 C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) 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 C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) further recognizes the fundamental class contradictions which exist in the contemporary world. Marxist-Leninists hold that:

At the present time the four major contradictions in the world are: the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other. (from Lin Piao's report to the Ninth National Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, reprinted *Peking Review* No. 18, p. 31)

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) calls for the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) holds that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international Communist movement. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) condemns the counter-revolutionary and splittist activities of the modern revisionists.

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.

DECLARATION - cont'd.

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 the 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 understand that the interests of the Party and those of the people are one and responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people are identical. 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 unit.

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)

as revised August 30-31, 1969, New York City.

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 interests 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 admitted 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 that 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 becomes 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 organization at appropriate levels may, according to each individual case, take disciplinary measures against any member who violates Party discipline, such as 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 a 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. ORGANIZATION 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 the 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 organization 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, then 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 decision 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 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 on 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 sub-committee 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 five full and two alternate Central Committee members.

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 any 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 from its ranks 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 of the committee 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 DIRECTLY 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.

Article 38

Primary Party organizations are formed in factories, mines and other enterprises, in cities, countries, 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 forms:

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 organizations 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 elading core of these organizations.

GENERAL PROGRAM

Adopted at the First National Party Congress and revised September 1, 1969.

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 oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

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. 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. These cannot be prevented from occurring and must be raised to a higher level under the leadership of the proletarian party.

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 and social-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. This is proved by the basic defeat of U. S. imperialism by the Vietnamese people.

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, social-imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

These struggles point out clearly the correctness of proletarian internationalism and of the need for a united front against imperialism. The struggle of oppressed nations against imperialism and its main accomplish, social-imperialism, is an important component of the world proletarian revolutions; they assist such revolutions by weakening imperialism and its ability to maintain

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.

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 comprador 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 imperialists 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 redivision of the world. The international communist movement should seek under certain conditions to utilize the contradictions among the imperialists and social imperialists.

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 imperialist are intent on provoking war with the socialist camp. The war with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by fascist Germany was 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.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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

There also exists a contradiction between United States imperialism and the Negro nation in the South and the Puerto Rican nation as direct colonies of United States imperialism. Further, there exist contradictions between monopoly and other sections of the bourgeoisie and among monopoly groups.

Threat of 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 bourgeois 'democracy' and bourgeois 'freedom' in the United States and reveals the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U. S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

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

The oppression of women is an inevitable social expression of the unequal division of labor based on private property in the means of production.

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 the people of the world. They are the most reactionary and un-democratic. 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 capitalists 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 in 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 operates 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 aligns itself with U. S. 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 last 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 the 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 reliable and unstable as an ally from the point of view of the proletariat. Their instability is due to the two sided nature of the petty bourgeoisie and to their constantly being threatened with annihilation by the monopoly capitalists.

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

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.

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 support of the trade union movement 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 labor front.

The trade unions represent the organization of the advanced sections of the proletariat. Revolutionary workers in the 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 cannot emancipate the working class. The essential question is proletarian revolution. The historical experience of the working class shows the need for special organs of struggle such as soviets or workers councils. 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 oppressed by 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 of 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 combating 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 a United Front against U. S. imperialism.

MODERN REVISIONISM

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 policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Revisionism expresses itself in concrete policies and positions. The rejection of the proletariat, the rejection of the dialectical materialist methods of resolving contradictions, 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 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 and to actively disseminate the thought of Mao Tse Tung and to creatively apply it.

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

The General Program of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) as revised by the Second National Party Congress was unanimously adopted.

NEW WORKER

SEMI-OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.
(MARXIST-LENINIST)

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RESOLUTIONS

OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

As issued by the Standing Committee:

The Second Congress of the CPUSA (ML) condemns the surprise attack on and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the aggressor troops of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its followers.

We condemn the contention by both US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism over the small country of Czechoslovakia. We expose the hypocritical outcries but actual acquiescence by US imperialism in the Soviet occupation of that small country. We expose the common revisionist nature of both the Soviet-oriented Novotny clique and the US and West European-oriented Dubcek clique, and condemn their anti-national acquiescence in the occupation.

We call on the Czechoslovak people and first of all on the Czechoslovak working class to make in good time concrete preparations for national and class war to oust Soviet and Czechoslovak revisionist and other bourgeois forces.

This will be complex struggle and significant new-born forms of struggle may appear. Above all, the Czechoslovak people must be motivated by audacity and again audacity.

It is of the utmost importance that the proletariat of West Europe give concrete support to both the preliminary and crucial stages of the rising by the Czechoslovak people led by its working class, and themselves paralyze the hand of the inevitable US and West European intervention.

Our Party shall undertake corresponding work in this country.

The Second Congress congratulates the Albanian Party of Labor on Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. This act is an important political exposure of Soviet social-imperialism.

The Second Congress rejects the "legal system" of the Soviet renegades - their sinister chit-chat about "the defense of the socialist community," "limited sovereignty," "international dictatorship," etc.

"It never occurs to the fascist diplomat that real revolutions, however harsh they may be, do not need justification, because they lift the people that brings about the revolution, and the whole of mankind as a consequence, to a higher stage of human civilization." - Dimitroff. "The Legal System of German Fascism" (1936). The United Front (N.Y., 1938). Page 159.

GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

As issued by the Standing Committee:

The first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought (Lin Piao).

Formerly, one of the main indications that the balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II was that the world had not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming a mighty socialist camp.

But it is precisely the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which, through its obdurate pursuance of Khrushchov revisionism, has long since completely destroyed the socialist camp which once existed (Chou En-lai).

Today the essential indication that the general trend of the world is *The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily* (Mao Tse-tung) is that the wide dissemination of *Mao Tse-tung Thought in a big country with a population of 700 million is the most significant achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (Piao).

This is a great victory of the first proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution to the international communist movement is his systematic summing up of the world-historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For that reason, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution - like the Great October Socialist Revolution - is a revolution of an international order.

When the Soviet revisionist renegades "celebrated" the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, all their phrases boiled down to flatulent trumpery.

They "forgot" Lenin's instruction - "Would it not be better if the salutations addressed to the Soviets and the Bolsheviks were more frequently accompanied by a profound analysis of the reasons why the Bolsheviks have been able to build up the discipline needed by the revolutionary proletariat?"

The international communist movement led by the CPC celebrated the 50th anniversary with a new and profound analysis:

WE MAY NOW SAY THAT ONLY HE IS A GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST WHO EXTENDS THE RECOGNITION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The battle cry of the proletariat must be: *The Revolution in Permanence* (Marx).

The first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has opened the way for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the prevention of capitalist restoration and for the advance of communism.

The first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has opened the way to carry out these tasks to the proletariat of all countries.

Resolutions(Cont'd)

NINTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

As issued by the Standing Committee:

The Second Congress of the CPUSA(ML) hails the Ninth Congress of the CPC.

The Chinese Communist Party is the leading party of the world communist movement. China is the great bastion of world socialism.

The present world position of the CPC is closely linked with the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He has developed Marxism-Leninism to a higher and deeper stage, which reflects the new advance of world revolution into the era of socialist offensive.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, the Ninth Congress in a down to earth fashion dealt with the question of a successor - Comrade Lin Piao.

The Congress could do this because the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has established a firm social basis in China for uninterrupted revolutionary leadership.

That is why the Ninth Congress is *a congress of unity and a congress of victory*.

That being so, the Congress could fully manifest the CPC's democratic centralism and mass line in the repeated, full democratic consultation from below and from above that resulted in the election of the Ninth Central Committee of the CPC headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

It is important that all members of the CPUSA(ML) study the communiques and documents of the Ninth Congress with a view to: popularizing Mao Tse-tung Thought among the American peoples, building the CPUSA(ML), solving problems of the American socialist revolution as they arise.

A Report to the Second National Congress

The following is the introduction to the report delivered to the Second National Party Congress in New York City by Comrade Johnathan Leake.

Six months after the glorious Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, a congress of unity and a congress of victory, we are convening the Second National Congress of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist), a congress of Party-building opening a new stage in the development of the Party of the Proletariat in the United States of America.

The First National Congress of the Communist Party of China, more than forty years ago, opened with a handful of delegates, representing fewer than one hundred members of the Communist Party of China. Twenty years later, the Communist Party of China, at the leadership of the People's Liberation Army, and the United Front based on the worker-peasant alliance, declared the founding of the People's Republic of China, and established the people's democratic dictatorship, marching forward to the socialist construction of all of China, the development of China as an advanced industrial nation, and the center of the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples. Twenty years later, in 1966, the Communist Party of China initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and, personally led and directed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, resolutely defeated the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi, and those persons taking the capitalist road, and opened a new era in the world-wide class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle. The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China signaled the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China, and Marxists-Leninists and genuine anti-imperialists of all countries hail this Congress, the excellent and extremely important report submitted by Comrade Lin Piao, and the great and glorious Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who has further developed Marxism-Leninism to an entirely new stage and who remains the undisputed leader of the world's revolutionary peoples.

Since the founding of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist), in September 4-5, 1965, there has been a heightening of the class struggle in the United States of America. Against all the opportunist revisionist Trotskyist and vacillating tendencies, our small party has resolutely put forward the correct Marxist-Leninist political line and organized and agitated amongst the proletariat and working-class in a number of areas, and slowly but surely, built up its forces and its influence both in the United States of America and internationally. Despite certain setbacks, under the correct leadership of the General Secretary, Michael I. Laski, the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) has assessed its negative experience as well as its positive achievements, and, in the light of the overall experience, of the world-wide struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionaries of all countries, moves forward to its historic tasks, to the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, the scientific ideology of the world proletariat, to the concrete conditions of the objective situation in the United States of America, to the development of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) on a national basis and in an all-round way as the party of the proletariat and the political vanguard of the entire working-class in the United States of America, to the resolute struggle against and the destruction of revisionism, trotskyism, and all forms of opportunism and class-collaboration, to the proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism, the building of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist reconstruction of the United States of America.

The Second National Party Congress of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) opens when the all-round situation in the world situation is excellent. This is truly an era when imperialism and modern revisionism are heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

SINO-SOVIET "BORDER CLASHES"

As issued by the Standing Committee:

The Second Congress of the CPUSA(ML) condemns the series of provocative wars waged by Soviet social-imperialism along the Sino-Soviet border.

This aggressive warfare is designed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to:

1. Divert the forces of class struggle in the Soviet Union,
2. Serve the common interest of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in obstructing the revolutionary offensive of the world's peoples and in redividing the world,
3. Keep the attention of US imperialism focused on East Asia and keep large numbers of US troops in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries - awaiting a "target of opportunity,"
4. Test socialist China, the bastion of world socialism.

The task of the Party is to expose the social-fascist nature of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and to clearly explain to the American peoples the need to support the revolutionary movement in the Soviet Union in order to preserve world peace.

The task of the Party is to expose *the two mainsprings* (Lenin) of imperialist and social-imperialist policy: fear of revolution and inter-imperialist rivalry. This contradiction is expressed today in US-Soviet collaboration and contention. We must firmly point to the present main aspect of this contradiction: US-Soviet collaboration against revolution.

The task of the Party is to prepare itself ideologically in order to prepare the American people for the various eventualities and to guide the American people under all circumstances.

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war". Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

MAO TSE-TUNG



"The Communists disdain to conceal their aims and views. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win".

Communist Manifesto.