

Panthers Must Fight Revisionism (see page 3)

U.S. IMPERIALISM FACING DEFEAT ON ALL FRONTS

INDO-CHINA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE U.S.A. ARE ALL BLOWING UP IN THE FACE OF U. S. IMPERIALISM!

U.S. imperialism, in the throes of its death-bed struggle, is finding itself in an increasingly difficult situation. On all of several fronts the U.S. imperialists are facing defeat. In Indo-China, in the Middle East, and at home in the U.S.A., the U.S. imperialists must retreat under fierce blows of people's war and proletarian revolutionary actions.

INDO-CHINA

On this 25th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (founded on September 3, 1945), the struggle in Indo-China against U.S. aggression has entered a new stage, and victory for the liberation forces is not far off. The plan of the U.S. imperialists to expand the war to all three nations of Indo-China has backfired -- the liberation forces are better organized and coordinated than ever, and they are dealing heavier and more wide-spread defeats to the U.S. imperialists.

Cambodia: Since the reactionary coup d'etat staged by the Lon Nol clique, especially since the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. imperialist and the Saigon puppet troops, up to June 30, the Cambodian liberation armed forces have wiped out 80,000 U.S. imperialist and puppet troops, according to the Information Bureau of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

During this period, the liberation forces put out of action 12,000 U.S. aggressor troops and 18,000 Saigon puppet troops, annihilated or disintegrated 50,000 Lon Nol Rightist troops, destroyed 2,400 enemy military vehicles, most of them tanks and armored cars, shot down 400 enemy aircraft of various kinds and demolished several hundred enemy artillery pieces.

(Continued on Page 20, Column 1)

U.S.A.
PEOPLE'S VOICE

P. O. BOX 622, BELLFLOWER, CALIFORNIA, 90706

VOL. V - NO. 2

SEPTEMBER 1, 1970

PRICE: 25¢

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE marks the 5th anniversary of a number of events: The founding of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist); the first issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE; the heroic Los Angeles (Watts) Uprising; and Lin Piao's historic LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

With this issue, the PEOPLE'S VOICE will consistently be 12 to 20 pages long. Because of the larger number of pages and a larger press run, the price is being raised to 25¢ per copy. If you like what you read in the PEOPLE'S VOICE, please send in money to make sure the PEOPLE'S VOICE continues to appear regularly. The PEOPLE'S VOICE needs money, lots of it, and there is no other source for funds except you, your subscriptions, and your contributions.

ON THE INSIDE

Warmly Hail Chairman Mao's Statement.....	Page 2
Panthers Must Fight Off Revisionists' Kiss of Death.....	Page 3
Dare to Struggle; Dare to Win!.....	Page 3
"Yes" to People's War; "No" to Imperialism.....	Page 4
Draft General Program of C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.).....	Page 5
First Page of First PEOPLE'S VOICE.....	Page 11
Build and Support the PEOPLE'S VOICE.....	Page 12
LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!.....	Page 15
Reference Material on the Black Belt.....	Page 18
Mrs. Du Bois Returns to U.S.A.....	Page 20

Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Great Leader Of the Chinese People, Issues Statement In Support of Struggle of World's People Against U.S. Imperialism

People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!

Mao Tsetung

May 20, 1970

A NEW upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Viet Nam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of north Viet Nam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

(Continued on Page 2, Column 2)



"People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" -- Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the world's revolutionary forces.

PEOPLE'S VOICE



THE VOICE OF ALL THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED

Published by
The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist)

Correspondence and subscription orders should be sent to:
PEOPLE'S VOICE, c/o International Books and Periodicals,
P. O. Box 622, Bellflower, California, 90706, U. S. A.

Price: 10¢ per single copy; Subscription rate: \$ 2.50 per year,
surface mail to anywhere in the world; \$ 5.00 per year, airmail
anywhere in U. S. A., Canada, Mexico; \$ 10.00 per year, airmail
elsewhere in the world.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE is the political organ of the Party of the
proletariat of the U. S. A., the voice of all the oppressed and
exploited people in the U. S. A. today, daring to speak the truth.

VOL. V - NO. 2

SEPTEMBER 1, 1970

DISTRIBUTORS OF THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

PEOPLE'S VOICE, c/o International Books and Periodicals
P. O. Box 622, Bellflower, California, 90706.

PEOPLE'S VOICE, c/o Workers International Book Store, P. O. Box
72116, Watts Station, Los Angeles, California, 90002.

CHAIRMAN MAO'S STATEMENT

(Continued From Page 1, Column 1)

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly 20 countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

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

WARMLY HAIL CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG'S STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party,
U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist)

(Note from the Editorial Board: The following statement, reproduced in full, was issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) on May 22, 1970.)

Chairman Mao Tsetung's May 20, 1970 "Statement in Support of the World's People's Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism" is a statement of world historic importance. In it, Chairman Mao succinctly sums up the present situation in the world and calls for the unity of the revolutionary forces of the world to defeat U.S. imperialism.

The quicksand pool that U.S. imperialism has been sinking into in Indo-China is only one aspect of the troubles facing U.S. imperialism. The growing national liberation movement throughout the world and the domestic problems facing U.S. imperialism are examples of U.S. imperialism's crisis. Chairman Mao correctly points out that "U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle."

Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era of the world-wide collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism. The Nixon administration's escalation of the Vietnam war to all three nations of Indo-China, coupled with the development of revolutionary movements throughout the world, will help to bring about the collapse of U.S. imperialism and its partner in crime, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

The People's Republic of China -- as the leading socialist power in the world, as the strategic rear area for the revolutionary people of Indo-China, and as the ideological strategic leader of the revolutionary forces in the world today -- is the number one obstacle to the plans of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. As the leader of the Chinese people and as the ideological leader of the revolutionary forces throughout the world, Chairman Mao has again shown his proletarian internationalist spirit in giving full support to the revolutionary forces in Indo-China, in the U.S.A., and throughout the world.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) declares its whole-hearted support to the People's Republic of China, led by its Communist Party, headed by Chairman Mao Tsetung, as the leader of the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally as well as of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) also gives its full support to the National United Front of Kampuchea (Cambodia) and to the Joint Declaration of the recently-held Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) rejects the contention of certain Trotskyites and the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.A. that the leadership of the Indo-Chinese struggle is trying to make "dirty deals" and "sell-out" the national liberation struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) condemns as dangerous to the world anti-imperialist movement the sectarian position advanced by those "revolutionary" amateurs and conciliators of revisionism, Progressive Labor Party, which serves to sabotage anti-imperialist struggles.

Such a position as the Progressive Labor Party position on the Indo-Chinese struggle is "Left" in form but Right in essence, for it objectively supports the efforts of U.S. imperialism in trying to smash the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the National United Front of Kampuchea, and the spirit of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. Such a "Left" sectarian position runs directly counter to a Marxist-Leninist position on the national and colonial question, runs counter to Chairman Mao's statements of support for the leadership of the Indo-Chinese struggle, and runs counter to Chairman Mao's call: "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"

A vigorous revolutionary movement is in the formative stage in the United States -- a movement capable of destroying U.S. imperialism by means of proletarian revolution. This will insure the emancipation of the proletariat in the American nation and guarantee the right of self-determination for the peoples of the Black Belt in the South and of Puerto Rico. The contradictions inherent in the struggle against class oppression and in the struggle against national oppression are both expressed in the primary contradiction in the world today, namely the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the world on the one hand, and imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, on the other hand. This primary contradiction links together in common struggle the peoples of Southeast Asia with the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies of American imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, including the peoples of the Black Belt and Puerto Rico, held as direct colonies of American imperialism. Also, the fight against the rise of fascism and for proletarian revolution in the United States gains support from and gives support to the world-wide anti-imperialist movement and is an integral part of the world-wide revolutionary movement.

Like the man who is "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet", U.S. imperialism, by forcing exploitation, oppression, and the plague of war on the world's peoples, will be defeated by the revolutionary forces of the world, including those in the United States.

Chairman Mao's May 20, 1970 statement is an historic call to battle for all revolutionaries to rally to put an end to imperialism and to capitalism in the world. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) whole-heartedly supports Chairman Mao's call: "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"

Down with U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs!
Down with the Nixon-Agnew government of oppression and imperialism!

Down with the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists and their running dogs!

Long live the militant unity of the revolutionary people of the world!

Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world! A long, long life to him!

PANTHERS MUST FIGHT OFF REVISIONISTS' KISS OF DEATH!

Ever since the Black Panther Party was formed in 1966, American imperialism has been searching for a way that it could either destroy the Panthers or render them ineffective. It has finally found its answer, and it has rendered the Panthers ineffective with a co-ordinated two-pronged attack over the last two-and-one-half years.

The attacks have combined physical attacks from the outside by local and state police forces and members of the federally-financed reactionary black nationalist US organization, along with internal ideological attacks aimed at fostering opportunism, reformism, and revisionism in the ideology and organizational actions of the Panthers.

The external attacks against the Panthers have been directed against the most militant and revolutionary members and chapters. The constant external pressure made the internal situation ripe for the advances of opportunists and revisionists. The internal attack featured a take-over of the Panthers by the revisionist "Communist Party", the traitorous Gus Hall revisionist clique.

The revisionist Gus Hall clique began their dirty job on the Panthers in earnest in the Fall of 1968. The members and friends of the revisionist Gus Hall clique opened their houses in "fashionable" bourgeois suburbs to the Panthers for fund-raising events; they contributed money to the Panthers; they sent their bourgeois blood-sucking lawyers from the National Lawyers Guild to handle the legal work of the Panthers. An excellent example of this revisionist involvement was the involvement of Charles Garry, a revisionist, who was a \$100,000-plus business lawyer prior to handling Panther legal affairs. Young revisionist members and friends were encouraged to enter into whatever close political relationship they could with the Panthers.

REVISIONISTS RUN THE "UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE"

The revisionist clique's efforts paid off, and the crowning glory for the revisionists was the "United Front Against Fascism" Conference in Oakland in August, 1969, where Herbert Aptheker, the revisionists' chief theoretician and past editor of their theoretical rag, POLITICAL AFFAIRS, delivered the keynote address; Archie Brown, northern California organizer for the revisionists, and other top revisionists, sat on the rostrum, while revisionist rank and file members filled the conference.

The ideology of the Panthers degenerated tremendously during their downhill slide into the arms of the revisionists. The Panther newspaper, THE BLACK PANTHER, changed from propagandizing on behalf of Mao Tsetung Thought and stressing the need for armed self-defense to printing whole pages of revisionist garbage from the PEOPLE'S WORLD, the West Coast revisionist clique's newspaper. Also during this period, the position of the Panthers on a proper response to the brutality of the cops changed from a position of promoting armed self-defense in the ghettos to a position of passing around petitions

in the ghettos calling for "Police Review Boards" -- a political technique and goal in the worst revisionist tradition.

INTERNAL CONTRADICTION WITHIN THE PANTHERS

There is a contradiction within the Panther organization now between the revisionists and those people who want revolution.

The recent release of Huey Newton on bail may help this contradiction come to a head. Newton seems to be an honest revolutionary somewhat confused at the present time by the revisionists. Of course, for the past two years his only regular contact with the outside world has been through his attorney, Charles Garry, a firm revisionist. Garry has doubtless helped to give Huey a distorted picture of the outside world. But Huey is out now, and he can observe reality first hand.

Huey can either bring about a showdown between the revisionists and the revolutionaries in the Panthers, or he can let things slide and leave the revisionists in control of the Panther Party apparatus.

To let things slide would spell death for the Panthers as a viable organization. To force a showdown between the revisionists and the revolutionaries would mean renewed life for the Panthers and would bring about a situation where the revisionist scum would be removed from the leading posts and major influence in the Panther apparatus.

Many members of the revisionist Gus Hall clique's "Chelumba Club" have joined the Panthers and quite a few are in posts of responsibility in the Panther apparatus. They have become a foothold for the revisionist clique within the Panther organization.

The revisionists now control the fund raising of the Panthers, and with the trials of various Panther members taking place, the Black Panther Party has found itself becoming primarily a fund raising organization to cover legal expenses. The Black Panther Party has been transformed from a forward moving organization to an inward-directed, retreating organization; from an organization concentrated in working class ghettos of the Negro national minority to an organization concentrated largely around college campuses. Today, the chief bastion of strength outside of Oakland for the Panthers is Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut! The largest rally ever held by the Panthers was held recently at Yale University, where a crowd estimated at 35,000 gathered in support of Bobby Seale. The crowd was almost all composed of white students from the Ivy League colleges of the East -- quite a comedown for an organization that two years ago was beginning to revolutionize and organize black workers.

Right now it is up to Huey Newton -- either to end the marriage of convenience with the revisionists arranged by American imperialism, or die as punks and stooges for the revisionists.

DARE TO STRUGGLE; DARE TO WIN!

This year has witnessed a growing movement among the prisoners in the state prisons of California to oppose the reactionary violence of the ruling class with the revolutionary violence of the people. First at Soledad prison, then at San Quentin prison, the prisoners (who come from mainly the most exploited and oppressed sectors of the American working class) dared to strike back at the fascist guards who have systematically terrorized and brutalized the prisoners.

At Soledad, the prisoners have executed two guards on two separate occasions in recent months as reprisals for the guards brutal and provocative spraying of the prisoners at random with bullets. At San Quentin, there was recently a work stoppage for over three days with the prisoners' leading demand being to free all political prisoners. Furthermore, at the Marin County Civic Center in San Rafael two San Quentin prisoners and a friend were killed and one San Quentin prisoner was wounded while trying to escape by means of armed struggle. In the struggle, a fascist Superior Court judge was killed and an assistant D.A. was wounded. At least one of the escaping San Quentin prisoners, Ruchell McGhee, was active in working to bring charges against the warden and various prison guards at San Quentin for their savage beatings and killings of the prisoners.

Most important about the new militancy among the prisoners is that they are giving up the illusions of "an impartial and fair trial" and "bringing justice upon an unjust warden." They are now coming to the awareness of Mao Tsetung's truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They are now daring to struggle and daring to win!

The Collective of Revolutionary Solidarity of West Greystone, Santa Rita, were correct in their analysis of the San Quentin prisoners' actions in San Rafael as being "a living example of the type of courage necessary to gain the initiative from an oppressor" and as constituting "Another vital and necessary level" that has been reached in the revolutionary struggle in the U.S.A.

The heroic attempt of the San Quentin prisoners serves as an excellent example of courage and determination -- of daring to struggle and daring to win! That revolu-

tionary courage must be combined with a revolutionary style of work -- one that will insure victory for the revolution.

The building of a revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. is based on such fearless courage as was shown by the Soledad and the San Quentin prisoners, to be coupled with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to insure victory for the working class over its enemy, American imperialism.



DARE TO STRUGGLE; DARE TO WIN!

"YES" to People's War; "NO" to Imperialism!

Statement by the Communist Party
U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) on the
Middle East Situation

(Following is the full text of a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) on August 6, 1970 on the attempts at pushing through a Middle East sell-out plan by American imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, with the active cooperation of President G. A. Nasser of the United Arab Republic and King Hussein of Jordan.)

The attempt by American monopoly capital to force a pro-imperialist settlement on the Arab people in their struggle against imperialist aggression in the Middle East has gained strong support from the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists and those lackeys of imperialism and traitors to the Arab people, President G.A. Nasser of the United Arab Republic and King Hussein of Jordan.

This Middle East "Munich" plan, concocted in July under the name of the "Rogers peace plan" reveals again more clearly than ever the overt collaboration between American imperialism and the revisionist ruling clique of the Soviet Union in their attempt to divide the world up between them. Again, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, in accord with their plans, have betrayed and sold out the struggle of the Arab people against American imperialism.

With the degeneration of the Soviet economy from a socialist economy to a capitalist economy, the Soviet Union retrogressed to the imperialist stage of capitalist development. The U.S.S.R. is now an imperialist country, though differing in historical development from the other imperialist countries. It exports capital, seeking markets, sources of cheap raw materials, etc., and, as such is in economic competition with its fellow imperialists, the American, British, and French imperialists, for these vital necessities.

The situation which developed in the Middle East is indicative of this point. The oil reserves of the Middle East, the strategic geographic position of the Middle East, and the international importance of the Suez Canal, all combine to make this area a prize for either American imperialism or Soviet revisionist social imperialism to gain control.

To further its sphere of influence in the Middle East, American imperialism, with the aid of British and French imperialism, set up the Zionist state of Israel in 1948. Under the cover and false pretext of establishing a "national home" for the Jewish people, American imperialism and its allies established a base of operations from which to spread their influence, and, from which, if necessary, they would be able to seize the vital oil reserves and to control the strategic shipping routes and the Suez Canal.

The Zionists of Israel are willing tools of American imperialism, from whom they have received most of their financial support and military support. In issues of international importance for the working class, the Zionist state of Israel has supported and continues to support American imperialism's attempt to extinguish the flames of revolutionary struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

On the other side, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists support militarily and financially the oppressive and exploitative bourgeois nationalist regimes of certain Arab states, such as the Nasser regime in the United Arab Republic, a semi-colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. These Soviet-supported rulers exploit and oppress the workers and peasants who face the same problems of hunger and poverty from their exploitation as do the peoples of other oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America under the thumb of imperialism.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) realizes that the interests of the Arab people lie in defeating both American imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism as well as their "own" oppressors, the imperialist-supported rulers of the imperialist controlled Arab nations.

The action of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists should not have been expected to be of a revolutionary nature. In order that the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists maintain and consolidate their global positions and spheres of influence, they must prevent the waging of revolutionary struggles by the oppressed peoples of the world. The Soviet revisionists' international role, as well as their internal role, is exactly like that of American imperialism -- namely, to oppress and exploit their own workers and peasants internally and to super-exploit and oppress the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, if at all possible.

The sell-out "peace plan" being pushed by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists should be seen as another step in the attempt at a joint division and occupation of the whole world by the two leading imperialist powers in the world today. The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have carved out their respective spheres of influence in the Middle East and now they will do what-



The Palestinian guerrilla fighters are shown wading across a stream to carry on a mission. Adhering to Chairman Mao Tsetung's theory on people's war, the Palestinian fighters have firmly rejected the imperialist plan for a Munich-type Middle East sell-out.

ever they must do to pull the strings they have on their puppets and lackeys in the Middle East in order to make sure their apple cart of oppression of the Arab people for the imperialist dollar or riyale is not upset.

Hard on the heels of the Munich-type "Rogers peace plan" came the announcement that Soviet leader Kosygin would meet with Nixon in the United States, as a continuation of the "talks" and "constructive exchange of ideas" that took place at the 10 hours long Glassboro talks in June, 1967 between L. B. Johnson and Kosygin, following the massive Israeli aggression that had taken place two weeks earlier. Obviously, the Soviet and American imperialist gangsters are not going to let anything like national liberation struggles get in the way of carving up the world.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) points out the sell-out and lackey features of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. As the present leader of the comprador bourgeoisie in the United Arab Republic, Nasser has delivered the U.A.R. into the hands of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists. The present status of U.A.R. will not improve until Nasser is kicked out and the Soviet economic and military presence in the U.A.R. is eliminated.

The situation in Jordan is similar to that in the U.A.R., but the leading imperialists in Jordan are not the Soviets but the American imperialists. Again, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) supports the struggle of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples to remove American imperialism and all other imperialism and the Hussein gang from Jordanian soil.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports the stand of Al Fatah, the leading liberation organization in Palestine, which gave a flat "NO!" in answer to the Munich-type "Rogers peace plan". The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and fully supports the aim of the national liberation struggle to eliminate the religious, capitalist, imperialist, chauvinist, segregated state of Israel with a free, liberated, socialist, integrated Palestinian state in which Arabs and Jews would enjoy equal rights and work side-by-side in socialist construction.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports the struggle of the Arab people against American, British, and French imperialism, and against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Only under the leadership of their respective Marxist-Leninist Parties can the people of the Arab nations displace "their own" ruling class and their imperialist masters. Only under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, can the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including the Arab peoples, cast off the shackles of imperialism once and for all.

Long live the national liberation struggle of the Arab people against imperialism!

HAVE YOU INTRODUCED THE PEOPLE'S VOICE TO A NEW READER TODAY?

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

II. FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on the Next Page)

Quotations From Chairman Mao

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

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

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

(Continued From the Preceding Page)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on the Next Page)

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

DRAFT GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (M.-L.)
(Continued From the Preceding Page)

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

A. THE BOURGEOISIE

1. Monopoly Capitalists:

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

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

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

2. Middle Bourgeoisie:

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

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

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

3. Petty Bourgeoisie:

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. THE WORKING CLASS

1. Aristocracy of Labor:

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

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

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

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

(Continued on the Next Page)

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

(Continued From the Preceding Page)

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

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

2. Middle Level Workers:

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

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

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

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

3. The Proletariat:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on the Next Page)

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

(Continued From the Preceding Page)

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

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

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

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

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

VI. THE WOMAN QUESTION

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

VII. MODERN REVISIONISM, CONCILIATORS OF REVISIONISM, AND TROTSKYITES

A. MODERN REVISIONISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on the Next Page)

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

(Continued From the Preceding Page)

B. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. TROTSKYITES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-- Mao Tsetung.

5th Anniversary of the PEOPLE'S VOICE

FIRST PAGE OF THE FIRST PEOPLE'S VOICE,
ISSUED DURING THE HEROIC 1965 LOS ANGELES UPRISING

Reproduced below are the first page and the first column of the second page of the first issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, Volume 1, Number 1, issued August 23, 1965. The first issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE was printed at 1313 East Firestone Boulevard in Watts while the National Guard of California was still occupying the streets. Two weeks later, following the founding conference of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), the PEOPLE'S VOICE became the agitational newspaper of the Party. Since its first issue, the PEOPLE'S VOICE has been the voice of all the oppressed and exploited in the U.S.A. -- daring to speak the truth!

PEOPLE'S VOICE

THE VOICE OF ALL THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED!

1313 E. FIRESTONE,
VOL. I—No. 1

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90001
MONDAY, AUGUST 23, 1965

subscription: \$5.00 per year
PRICE: 10c

WE CALL ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES

The people of Los Angeles, beginning August 11, 1965, rebelled against the class brutality of the imperialist system—against unemployment, the lack of food, the oppression and the exploitation characteristic of the imperialist system. This was a spontaneous uprising of the most oppressed and the most exploited workers, and it was directed against the authority of the state.

THIS WAS NOT A RACIAL UPRISING. It was an uprising of the most oppressed and the most exploited elements of the working

class. The ruling class seeks to make it appear to be a "racial uprising" or a "race riot." U.S. imperialism is the source of all racism in America—legal and illegal, political, social, and economic. U.S. imperialism fosters racism wherever U.S. imperialism is present—in order to divide the working class and to weaken those forces opposing U.S. imperialism.

The people's immediate demands are:

1. An end to police brutality
 2. Jobs and food immediately
- Police brutality can be ended only by the people organizing into people's defense groups to protect the people and to oppose the violence of the police and of U.S. imperialists everywhere. The uprising of the workers that began in Watts signifies the rejection of "non-violence" as a means of struggle and it signifies the adoption of revolutionary violence by the people as the means of struggle to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of U.S. imperialism.

For the working people of Watts to get jobs and food immediately, the people, likewise, must organize against U.S. imperialism. The only end to police brutality and the only guarantee of food and jobs is for the working people to organize against U.S. imperialism—to destroy the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation. Johnson's so-called "War on Poverty" is really war on the poor—a war against

all the working people. It is really CLASS WAR. For us to end this class war, we must organize to put an end to the imperialist system.

Throughout the world the people are organizing to oppose U.S. imperialism. We are facing the same enemy—U.S. imperialism. Part of this fight against U.S. imperialism is the fight against the Uncle Toms who have sold themselves to the U.S. imperialists and who are traitors to the Negro people.

The Los Angeles uprising is a heroic expression of the working class—and of its most exploited and oppressed section, the Negro and Mexican-American workers who rose together to strike at their immediate enemies—the imperialist state, and its instrument, the police. The rejection of non-violence was also a rejection of the imperialist front men, the Uncle Toms: Martin Luther King, Dick Gregory, H. H. Brooks, F. Douglas Ferrell, and all the other Quislings of U.S. imperialism. Those traitors to the Negro people were rejected by the Negro people in struggle.

The Negro people likewise rejected the chief spokesman for the U.S. imperialists, L. B. Johnson, that fascist who compared the Negro people in Los Angeles to the Ku Klux Klan in the South.

The Negro people likewise are rejecting the U.S. imperialist concept of "integration." The Negro people constitute a nation in the Black Belt of the South (from east

Texas to Virginia) and from part of the world-wide national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Negro people must prepare to launch a struggle for self-determination for the Negro nation in the South and for equal rights outside the Negro nation. For this struggle the people must organize.

In every struggle the people face, they face the same enemy—U.S. imperialism. We have learned from the Los Angeles uprising that the people of Watts who have risen up in struggle are not alone; the revolutionary people throughout the world stand side by side with the Negro people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. United in our struggle against oppression and exploitation, together we will destroy our enemy—U.S. imperialism.

The fight is against our common enemy all around the world—in Vietnam, in the Congo, in the Dominican Republic, in the Negro nation in the South, and in Los Angeles—the fight is against U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the people of the world.

We must organize into people's defense groups to defend the people against the brutality of the U.S. imperialists and their police. We call for the formation of the August 11th Movement as the people's weapon against U.S. imperialism!!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGENTS — THE UNCLE TOMS, THE REVISIONISTS, AND THE TROT-



Awakened
Illustration by Wm. F. ...

SKYITES!
LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE, THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE, THE NEGRO PEOPLE, AND ALL REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, AND ITS CHAIRMAN, MAO TSE-TUNG!

... THE EDITORS

All the people of the U.S. who oppose U.S. imperialism wish to thank the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people for their Pledge of support for the people of Los Angeles in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The People's Voice

★
★ IN MEMORY ...
OF OUR HEROIC DEAD

WE PLEDGE TO CARRY FORWARD THE STRUGGLE THAT OUR DEAD BROTHERS AND COMRADES HAVE BEGUN. WE PLEDGE OUR FIRM SUPPORT TO OUR BROTHERS IN JAIL—ALL 4,000 OF THEM WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' POLICE, OF THE 36 PERSONS WHO WERE KILLED DURING THE UPRISING, 32 WERE NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN WORKERS. MOST OF THEM WERE SHOT DOWN IN COLD BLOOD BY THE POLICE.

Martyred Negro and Mexican-American Workers:

Homer Ellis, 35; Calvin Jones, 31; George Adams, 45; Leon Poey, 21; Charles Shortridge, 18; Thomas Owens, Carrol Shaw, 30; Alfred O'Neal, 23; Carlton Elliot, 17; George Featroy, 21; Andrew Houston Jr.; Leon Cauley, 31; Miller Burroughs, 31; William King, 40; Curtis Gaines, 24; Joe Horn, 20, and Charles Smalley.

Also Willie Hawkins, 35; Fredrick Hendricks, 19; Joseph Wallace, 29; Paul Harbin, 53; Albert Flores, 40; Juan Fuentes, 30; Joseph Maiman, Carlos Cavitt, 18; Neil Love and Aubrey Griffin, 38.

In their Memory we pledge to Destroy U. S. Imperialism!

... The People's Voice

★

SUPPORT AND BUILD THE PEOPLE'S VOICE!

This issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE marks the fifth anniversary of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, first issued on August 23, 1965.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE was founded in Watts and its first issue was prepared during the Los Angeles (Watts) Uprising. The small group of Marxist-Leninists who began the publication of the PEOPLE'S VOICE had rejected the capitulationist policy of the "patriarch" who led the Provisional Organizing Committee (P.O.C.), and after breaking organizationally with the P.O.C. they had determined to give political expression to the meaning of the Los Angeles Uprising for the revolutionary movement. That group of Marxist-Leninists was instrumental in the formation of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), and the PEOPLE'S VOICE was adapted as the agitational organ of the Party.

The first issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, in its lead editorial (reproduced on the previous page), stated clearly:

"The Los Angeles uprising is a heroic expression of the working class and of its most exploited and oppressed section, the Negro and Mexican-American workers who rose together to strike at their immediate enemies -- the imperialist state, and its instrument, the police. The rejection of non-violence was also a rejection of the imperialist front men, the Uncle Toms: Martin Luther King, Dick Gregory, H. H. Brookins, F. Douglas Ferrell, and all the other quislings of U.S. imperialism....

"THIS WAS NOT A RACIAL UPRISING. It was an uprising of the most oppressed and the most exploited elements of the working class. The ruling class seeks to make it appear to be a 'racial uprising' or a 'race riot'....in order to divide the working class and to weaken those forces opposing U.S. imperialism....We must organize into people's defense groups to defend the people against the brutality of the U.S. imperialists and their police." ("We Call Upon the People of the World...", PEOPLE'S VOICE, Vol. 1, No. 1, August 23, 1965, page 1.)

Since the Los Angeles Uprising there have been other spontaneous proletarian uprisings (e.g. in Newark and Detroit) and spontaneous outbursts in virtually every major city in the United States. Workers have shown their indignation toward the capitalist system on a spontaneous level, not on an organized level. The lessons of these uprisings, simply stated, are that: (1) these spontaneous outbursts indicate the rejection of "non-violence" by the most oppressed and the most exploited section of the American proletariat; (2) faced with the workers' rejection of non-violence the ruling class is increasing its repression of the workers in preparation for the institution of a fascist dictatorship; (3) the spontaneous character of the outbursts show that Marxist-Leninist political leadership and revolutionary political organization are sorely needed for the working class to destroy the capitalist system which is responsible for the misery that the working class faces. Without such revolutionary organization and Marxist-Leninist leadership, the spontaneous outbursts and uprisings will take place and be suppressed in an endless cycle.

PEOPLE'S VOICE FIGHTS AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM AND REACTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

The ruling class, American monopoly capital, has in the past five years been refining and implementing its reactionary policies -- seeing its lesson from the Los Angeles Uprising as one of forgetting the carrot and stick routine and using only the stick. It has increased its repression in the working class districts, and it has employed the philosophy of "divide and conquer" on the working class. Concerning the civil rights movement, the ruling class has changed its tune from "integration" to "Black Power" and "Black Capitalism". The purpose, aside from creating many Negro businesses and incorporating some Negroes into the middle bourgeoisie, is to fan the flames of white racism (such as the white racism of George Wallace and the Ku Klux Klan) and of reactionary black nationalism (such as the reactionary black nationalism of LeRoi Jones and Ron Karenga, which is K.K.K.-type racism with the colors reversed).

The federal government -- the administrators for American monopoly capital -- finances Jones, Karenga, and other reactionary nationalists through its local "Poverty" agencies; it pays them to spread their reactionary line among the masses, just as the Klan is subsidized in the South to spread their divisive racist line, so as to pit one section of the working class against another. The PEOPLE'S VOICE has exposed these relations as they have developed over the past five years -- just as it has exposed the revisionists, the trotskyites, and the other opportunists who have



The great V. I. Lenin, who in the period of 1900-1902 advanced the bold plan of employing a political newspaper as an instrument for organizing various scattered revolutionaries on the basis of a consistent theory, program, and tactics into a revolutionary proletarian party. Photo shows Lenin speaking to soldiers in Moscow's Red Square in May, 1919.

supported this reactionary position. The fighting position of the PEOPLE'S VOICE has been for all sections of the American working class to unite and fight against the class enemy, American monopoly capital.

The lessons for Marxist-Leninists are clear: Marxist-Leninists must provide the necessary leadership for the American proletariat, so as to organize the proletariat for revolution and in destroying the capitalist system.

PEOPLE'S VOICE BRINGS INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY NEWS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.A.

Over the past five years, the PEOPLE'S VOICE has reported on the experiences of the Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world. The most notable developments in those five years are: (1) the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and supervised by its Chairman, the greatest Marxist-Leninist in the world today, Comrade Mao Tsetung; (2) the worldwide struggle against revisionism in which the Communist Party of China, led by Chairman Mao, and the Albanian Party of Labor, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, are serving as the leading detachments of the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally, and are making the greatest attacks upon the bankrupt policies of the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique; and (3) the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indo-China in which the revolutionary forces of the three Indo-Chinese peoples are defeating the U.S. and puppet forces, while the U.S. imperialists are trying to win at the bargaining table what they could not win on the battlefield.

BUILD THE PARTY AROUND THE PEOPLE'S VOICE!

To accomplish the tasks of building the Party, organizing the proletariat, and leading the proletariat in revolution, the Party must be built around the Party's agitational organ, the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The February, 1966 Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) made the decision to place prime emphasis on the PEOPLE'S VOICE as the collective organizer in accord with Lenin's emphasis in WHERE TO BEGIN? and WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (see PEOPLE'S VOICE, Vol. II, No. 2, March 7, 1966). This policy has been carried out since then, but not consistently.

It was during the period of a growing spontaneous struggle of the workers against the class enemy and of a fragmented and split revolutionary movement in Russia around 1900 that V. I. Lenin indicated that the role of revolutionaries "...consists precisely in transforming the spontaneous struggle of the workers against the oppressors, by means of the organization of the workers, propaganda and agitation among them, into a struggle of

(Continued on the Next Page)

BUILD AND SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

(Continued From the Previous Page)

the whole class, into the struggle of a definite party for definite political ideals." (V.I. Lenin, "Our Immediate Tasks".)

Today, we are faced with the problems of a growing spontaneous workers struggle, consisting of wildcat strikes and ghetto uprisings, and of a fragmented Marxist-Leninist movement. The objective class contradiction between labor and capital, and its various political and social expressions, are far in advance of the development of the revolutionary organization of the working class that is necessary to transform the present level of the class struggle into a struggle of the working class for proletarian socialist revolution. The chief factor contributing to the present backwardness in the ranks of the revolutionary movement is the confusion within the revolutionary movement on all major theoretical, political, and organizational questions. It is only as this confusion and fragmentation within the movement is being overcome, that a Marxist-Leninist Party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, will be built and will grow.

The fragmentation and ideological confusion within the Russian revolutionary movement in the period of 1900 to 1902 led Lenin to advance his bold plan of employing the political newspaper as an instrument for overcoming the confusion and, at the same time, of organizing the various revolutionaries on the basis of a consistent theory, program, and tactics into a revolutionary party -- what today would be called a Marxist-Leninist party. Lenin fought against the petty-bourgeois radical tendency to tail the spontaneous movement of the working class; and he pointed to the political bankruptcy of their negating of the role of the proletarian revolutionary party as the vanguard of the working class movement. Lenin also struggled against the "economist" tendency within the working class, which ignores the matter of organizing the working class politically for revolution, but instead "organizes" the working class for a few cents economic "gain" within the bourgeois system.

Lenin also fought against the petty-bourgeois anarchist theory of excitative terror; he pointed out the political bankruptcy of their position as (1) cutting the links between the revolutionaries and the broad masses of the working class, instead of seeking to organize the working class as the backbone of the revolutionary movement; and (2) disorganizing the revolutionary movement. And it was in the course of this struggle against these variations of petty bourgeois ideology that Lenin's line on Party building became formulated, and the result was the Leninist party, one of Lenin's basic contributions to Marxism.

Lenin put forth the position that the building of a revolutionary party of the proletariat under the conditions of a fragmented revolutionary movement (such as now exists in the United States) can best be furthered by a country-wide Communist newspaper -- to gather around it all revolutionaries. Lenin said:

"In our opinion, the starting point of our activities, the first practical step towards creating the organization we desire, the thread that will guide us in unswervingly developing, deepening and expanding that organization, is the establishment of an all-Russian political newspaper. A paper is what we need above all; without it we cannot systematically carry on that extensive and theoretically sound propaganda and agitation which is the principal and constant duty of the Social-Democrats (read: "Communists" -- Ed.) in general, and the essential task of the moment in particular, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the widest sections of the population." (V. I. Lenin, "Where To Begin?", SELECTED WORKS, Vol. II, p. 19.)

Further, the newspaper serves to hold the Party together ideologically and assists in its organizational development. Lenin used the term "collective organizer". He said:

"A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this respect, it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor. With the aid of, and around, a paper, there will automatically develop an organization that will engage not only in local activities, but also in regular, general work; it will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods of influencing these events through the revolutionary party." (Ibid., p. 21.)

The Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S.A. today is fragmented and split into many organizations and groupings of individuals, all of which lack unity and co-ordination in their line and in their concrete actions toward the class enemy. This state of affairs may in some respects be comparable to the conditions of the movement in Russia at the beginning of this century.

In WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, Lenin stated then, in 1901, a problem which is prevalent today: "Absolutely everybody now talks about the importance of unity, about the neces-

sity for 'gathering the organizing', but the majority of us lack a definite idea of where to begin and how to bring about this unification." (V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?", SELECTED WORKS, Vol. II, New York, International Publishers, p. 177.)

Unity is certainly a very important problem for all communists today. But how is this all-U.S.A. unity to be achieved? The unity of Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.A. can best be brought about when centered around an all-U.S.A. newspaper. As Lenin so precisely remarked, "...the first step towards removing this defect (the dispersal of social-democratic -- i.e. communist -- force: -- Ed.), and transforming several local movements into a united all-Russian movement, is the establishment of a national all-Russian newspaper." (V. I. Lenin, "Where To Begin", *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.)



With a continuing revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A. it is vitally necessary to connect revolutionaries throughout the whole country through the PEOPLE'S VOICE. Build and Support the PEOPLE'S VOICE! Photo shows a worker heroically defying the cops during the spontaneous uprising in Harlem during the summer of 1964.

Can this need -- the need for an all-U.S.A. newspaper -- be made any clearer? Hardly! Those who say "the majority of us lack a definite idea of where to begin and how to bring about this revolutionary unification," have the answer before them in this newspaper, the PEOPLE'S VOICE. Furthermore, "...a common newspaper...will summarize the results of all the diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate our people to march forward untiringly along all the innumerable paths which lead to revolution in the same way as all roads lead to Rome." (V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done", *op. cit.*, p. 178.)

Individuals who bow to spontaneity -- who say that by some unknown, mystical process local organizations will, of their own accord, come together, and that from this beginning a national organ will appear -- are seeing the entire question turned inside-out. The lessons of the international Communist movement have shown (as in the recent cases of THE VANGUARD of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and ROTE FAHNE of the Austrian Marxist-Leninist Party) the validity and the correctness of establishing a national newspaper and around it drawing together the Marxist-Leninist forces of the country involved; to tie together, as Lenin pointed out, "...the individual agitation in the form of personal influence, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc...." (V. I. Lenin, "Where To Begin", *op. cit.*, p. 19.)

It is precisely the combination of the national newspaper with the national network of cadre doing their political work in the different areas of the country that brings about the proper development of the Party. Lenin characterized the situation as follows:

"Unless we build up strong political organizations in the localities -- even an excellently organized all-Russian newspaper will be of no avail. Absolutely true. But the whole point is that there is no other way of training strong political organizations except through the medium of an all-Russian newspaper.... 'Live political work' can be begun in our time, when (Communist) tasks are being de-

(Continued on the Next Page)

BUILD AND SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE (Continued From the Previous Page)

graded, exclusively by means of live political education, which is impossible unless we have a frequently issued and properly distributed all-Russian newspaper." (V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done", op. cit., pp. 171-172.)

Thus, the need for an all-U.S.A. newspaper is paramount and must proceed if local work is to succeed. Lenin made it clear that a national newspaper is needed to provide communication between revolutionaries, to provide exchanges of views and current happenings, etc., between the comrades in the many areas involved. Although the geographical and technological conditions of Tsarist Russia hardly compare to those in the U.S.A. today, the general level of political consciousness and of organizational development are similar. Concerning the general question of organizational development, Lenin indicated:

"If we had such a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but also (and what is more important) an interchange of experience, of material, of forces and resources. The scope of organizational work would immediately become ever so much wider and the success of a single locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection and a desire to utilize the experience gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is now: political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for the workers of all trades and in all stages of development, would provide material and occasion for talks and readings on the most diverse subjects, which indeed will be suggested by hints in the legal press, by conversations in society and by 'shamefaced' government communications. Every outbreak, every demonstration, would be weighed and discussed in all its respects all over Russia..." (V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done", Ibid., p. 179.)

Here is shown the necessity for placing before the workers an all-U.S.A. press. The workers in one area do not exist isolated in interests from the workers in other areas, just as they do not exist isolated from the workers in the rest of the world. To portray events occurring in one area to the workers of another area, and also to show how these events effect their livelihood,

V. I. Lenin, the Great Revolutionary Teacher of the Proletariat, on the Role of a Working Class Newspaper as a Collective Agitator and Collective Organizer for Revolution.

"...And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act...but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with more or less intense calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our Party organization, the focus of this activity should be, to carry on work that is possible and necessary in the period of the most powerful outbreaks as well as in the period of complete calm, that is to say, work of political agitation linked up over the whole of Russia, that will enlighten all aspects of life and will be carried on among the broadest possible strata of the masses. But this work cannot possibly be carried on in contemporary Russia without an all-Russian newspaper, issued very frequently. An organization that springs up spontaneously around this newspaper, and organization of collaborators of this paper (collaborators in the broad sense of the work, i.e., all those working for it) will be ready for everything, from protecting the honor, the prestige and continuity of the Party in periods of acute revolutionary "depression," to preparing for, commencing and carrying out the national armed insurrection.

"Indeed, picture to yourselves a very ordinary occurrence with us -- the complete discovery and arrest of our organization in one or several localities. In view of the fact that all the local organizations lack a single, common regular task, such raids frequently result in the interruption of our work for many months. If, however, all the local organizations had one common task, then, in the event of a serious raid, two or three energetic persons could in the course of a few weeks establish new youth circles, which, as is well known, spring up very quickly even now, and link them up with the center, and when this common task, which has been interrupted by the raid, is apparent to all, the new circles could spring up and link themselves up with it even more rapidly.



as well as relating international events to their own situation, obviously cannot be done by a local newspaper, but only by a country-wide newspaper which could "... become a part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would blow every spark of class struggle and popular indignation into a general conflagration." (V. I. Lenin, Ibid., p. 180.)

SUPPORT AND BUILD THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

It is our immediate and urgent task to establish a regular and frequent Party press capable of linking the Party with the broad masses of the working class, on the one hand, and of organizing all genuine Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.A. with the Party, on the other hand. The imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and preparations for war against China, the raising of taxes, increasing unemployment, the rising of prices, and the use of the bourgeois state machinery to smash strikes must and is leading to resistance by the working class. As the daily struggle of the workers against their oppressors develops, their need for a political organ representing their fundamental class interests will be felt by them. It is imperative that the Party meet this need, for we are sure that the revisionists, Trotskyites, and other opportunists will do their best to mislead the workers. The victory of the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought line over the revisionist and opportunist line is in the long run inevitable; but not in the short run. In the short run, the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought line may experience temporary defeats if its representatives are not able to organize themselves and ideologically advanced workers so as to be able to give decisive ideological and political leadership.

The need is clear: All potentially revolutionary forces must become familiar with the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought analysis of questions and with the program and tactics of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). Local collectives must be formed that take full account of the development of those persons, so that they may raise their ideological and political level step by step, and that they can become propagandizers, agitators, and organizers, serving the interests of the proletarian revolution. The greatest possible effort must be made to insure that the PEOPLE'S VOICE is used to educate and organize the most advanced workers among the industrial proletariat.

THE BUILDING OF THE PEOPLE'S VOICE IS BASIC TO THE SPREADING OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE PARTY. THE LINE AND POSITION OF THE PARTY MUST REACH EVERY ADVANCED WORKER IN THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE GREATEST BASIS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT FOR REVOLUTION. THE PEOPLE'S VOICE IS THE PARTY'S WEAPON IN THIS STRUGGLE.

LET US LEARN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT -- MAKE THE PEOPLE'S VOICE A COLLECTIVE ORGANIZER, IN ACCORDANCE WITH LENIN'S TEACHINGS! SUPPORT AND BUILD THE PEOPLE'S VOICE!

"On the other hand, picture to yourselves a popular uprising. Probably everyone will now agree that we must think of this uprising and prepare for it. But how to prepare for it? Surely the Central Committee cannot appoint agents to go to all the districts for the purpose of preparing for the uprising! Even if we had a Central Committee it could achieve nothing by making such appointments, considering the conditions prevailing in contemporary Russia. But a network of agents that would automatically be created in the course of establishing and distributing a common newspaper would not have to 'sit around and wait' for the call to rebellion, but would carry on the regular work that would guarantee the highest probability of success in the event of a rebellion. Such work would strengthen our contacts with the broadest strata of the masses of the workers and with all those strata who are discontented with the autocracy, which is so important in the event of an uprising. It is precisely such work that would help to cultivate the ability properly to estimate the general political situation and, consequently, the ability to select the proper moment for the uprising. It is precisely such work that would train all local organizations to respond simultaneously to the same political questions, incidents and events that excite the whole of Russia, to react to these 'events' in the most vigorous, uniform and expedient manner possible; for is not rebellion in essence the most vigorous, most uniform and most expedient "reaction" of the whole of the people to the conduct of the government? And finally, such work would train all revolutionary organizations all over

Russia to maintain the most continuous, and at the same time the most secret, contact with each other, which would create real Party unity -- for without such contacts it will be impossible collectively to discuss the plan of rebellion and to take the necessary preparatory measures on the eve of it, which must be kept in the strictest secrecy.

"In a word, the 'plan for an all-Russian political newspaper' does not represent the fruits of the work of armchair workers, infected with the dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who failed to study it properly), on the contrary, it is a practical plan to begin immediately to prepare on all sides for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting the ordinary, every-day work." (V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done", SELECTED WORKS, Vol. II, New York, International Publishers, pages 185-188.)

Long Live the Victory of People's War!

INTRODUCTION FROM THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

September 3, 1970 marks the 5th Anniversary of Lin Piao's historic LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR! Due to space limitations, the PEOPLE'S VOICE can publish only three sections of this essential document which should be studied carefully by every revolutionary.

The first section published, "Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front", sums up the experience of the Chinese National United Front Against Japanese Imperialism from 1937 to 1945, and draws lessons from that experience applicable to the current struggle of the world's peoples against U.S. imperialism.

The second section published, "The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tsetung's Theory of People's War", sums up Mao Tsetung's Marxist-Leninist theory on people's war and delineates the significance of people's war in the current struggle against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism.

The third section published, "Defeat U.S. Imperialism and its Lackeys by People's War", points out that U.S. imperialism is receiving its final death blows from the peoples of the oppressed nations of the world who are implementing Mao Tsetung's line on people's war.

The importance of LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR! is that it pro-

vides a broad blueprint for the world's revolutionary forces, based on the development of people's wars. It is important to study this document carefully, to avoid any "Left" or Right opportunist tendencies regarding the waging of people's wars in oppressed nations -- tendencies such as the "Left" sectarian approach taken by the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.A. toward the Indo-Chinese struggle (where P.L.P. calls for accomplishing both the national liberation revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat "at one stroke", and in the process calls the leadership of the Indo-Chinese struggle "sell-out", thus helping U.S. imperialism's attempt at demolishing the leadership of the Indo-Chinese people's war).

With people's wars against U.S. imperialism developing vigorously throughout the world, the situation looks very favorable for the revolutionary forces throughout the world. The banner of proletarian revolution must be raised ever higher in America, and our proletarian revolutionary support must be given ever more strongly to the people's wars being waged by the oppressed peoples of the world against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

Long live the victory of people's war!



Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the world's revolutionary forces, and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, author of LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

LIN PIAO

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan

(EXCERPTS)

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This article, originally published in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) on September 3, 1965, was written by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently Minister of National Defence, in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the victory won in the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan.

CORRECTLY APPLY THE LINE AND POLICY OF THE UNITED FRONT

In order to win a people's war, it is imperative to build the broadest possible united front and formulate a series of policies which will ensure the fullest mobilization of the basic masses as well as the unity of all the forces that can be united.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front embraced all the anti-Japanese classes and strata. These classes and strata shared a common interest in fighting Japan, an interest which formed the basis of their unity. But they differed in the degree of their firmness in resisting Japan, and there were class contradictions and conflicts of interest among them. Hence the inevitable class struggle within the united front.

In formulating the Party's line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following class analysis of Chinese society.

The workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie firmly demanded that the War of Resistance should be carried through to the end; they were the main force in the fight against Japanese aggression and constituted the basic masses who demanded unity and progress.

The bourgeoisie was divided into the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie formed the majority of the bourgeoisie; it was rather flabby, often vacillated and had contradictions with the workers, but it also had a certain degree of readiness to oppose imperialism and was one of our allies in the War of Resist-

ance. The comprador bourgeoisie was the bureaucrat-capitalist class, which was very small in number but occupied the ruling position in China. Its members attached themselves to different imperialist powers, some of them being pro-Japanese and others pro-British and pro-American. The pro-Japanese section of the comprador bourgeoisie were the capitulators, the overt and covert traitors. The pro-British and pro-American section of this class favoured resistance to Japan to a certain extent, but they were not firm in their resistance and very much wished to compromise with Japan, and by their nature they were opposed to the Communist Party and the people.

The landlords fell into different categories; there were the big, the middle and the small landlords. Some of the big landlords became traitors, while others favoured resistance but vacillated a great deal. Many of the middle and small landlords had the desire to resist, but there were contradictions between them and the peasants.

In the face of these complicated class relationships, our Party's policy regarding work within the united front was one of both alliance and struggle. That is to say, its policy was to unite with all the anti-Japanese classes and strata, try to win over even those who could be only vacillating and temporary allies, and adopt appropriate policies to adjust the relations among these classes and strata so that they all served the general cause of resisting Japan. At the same time, we had to maintain our Party's principle of independence and initiative, make the bold arousing of the masses and expansion of the people's forces the centre of gravity in our work, and wage the necessary struggles against all activities harmful to resistance, unity and progress.

Our Party's Anti-Japanese National United Front policy was different both from Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist policy of all alliance and no struggle, and from Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist policy of all struggle and no alliance. Our Party summed up the lessons of the Right and "Left" opportunist errors and formulated the policy of both alliance and struggle.

Our Party made a series of adjustments in its policies in order to unite all the anti-Japanese parties and groups, including the Kuomintang, and all the anti-Japanese strata in a joint fight against the foe. We pledged ourselves to fight for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles. The government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia revolutionary base area was renamed the Government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Special Region of the Republic of China. Our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was redesignated the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Our land policy, the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, was changed to one of reducing rent and interest. In our own base areas

we carried out the "three thirds system"¹ in our organs of political power, drawing in those representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and those members of the Kuomintang who stood for resistance to Japan and did not oppose the Communist Party. In accordance with the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we also made necessary and appropriate changes in our policies relating to the economy, taxation, labour and wages, anti-espionage, people's rights, culture and education, etc.

While making these policy adjustments, we maintained the independence of the Communist Party, the people's army and the base areas. We also insisted that the Kuomintang should institute a general mobilization, reform the government apparatus, introduce democracy, improve the people's livelihood, arm the people, and carry out a total war of resistance. We waged a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party, against its suppression of the people's resistance movement and its treacherous activities for compromise and capitulation.

Past experience had taught us that "Left" errors were liable to crop up after our Party had corrected Right errors, and that Right errors were liable to crop up after it had corrected "Left" errors. "Left" errors were liable to occur when we broke with the Kuomintang ruling clique, and Right errors were liable to occur when we united with it.

After the overcoming of "Left" opportunism and the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the main danger in our Party was Right opportunism or capitulationism.

Wang Ming, the exponent of "Left" opportunism during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, went to the other extreme in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan and became the exponent of Right opportunism, i.e., capitulationism. He countered Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct line and policies with an out-and-out capitulationist line of his own and a series of ultra-Right policies. He voluntarily abandoned proletarian leadership in the Anti-Japanese National United Front and willingly handed leadership to the Kuomintang. By his advocacy of "everything through the united front" or "everything to be submitted to the united front", he was in effect advocating that everything should go through or be submitted to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. He opposed the bold mobilization of the masses, the carrying out of democratic reforms and the improvement of the

(Continued on the Next Page)

¹The "three thirds system" refers to the organs of the political power which were established according to the principle of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and in which the members of the Communist Party, non-Party progressives and the middle elements each occupied one-third of the places.

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

(Continued From the Previous Page)

livelihood of the workers and peasants, and wanted to undermine the worker-peasant alliance which was the foundation of the united front. He did not want the Communist-led base areas of the people's revolutionary forces but wanted to cut off the people's revolutionary forces from their roots. He rejected a people's army led by the Communist Party and wanted to hand over the people's armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek, which would have meant handing over everything the people had. He did not want the leadership of the Party and advocated an alliance between the youth of the Kuomintang and that of the Communist Party to suit Chiang Kai-shek's design of corroding the Communist Party. He decked himself out and presented himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping to be given some official appointment. All this was revisionism, pure and simple. If we had acted on Wang Ming's revisionist line and his set of policies, the Chinese people would have been unable to win the War of Resistance Against Japan, still less the subsequent nation-wide victory.



"At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America" -- Lin Piao, LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR. Photo shows Mozambique guerrilla fighters undergoing military training to raise their combat skill. The Mozambique people are waging an armed struggle to resist the Portuguese colonialist troops for national liberation. The people's armed forces are growing in strength in the course of struggle.

For a time during the War of Resistance, Wang Ming's revisionist line caused harm to the Chinese people's revolutionary cause. But the leading role of Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already been established in the Central Committee of our Party. Under his leadership, all the Marxist-Leninists in the Party carried out a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's errors and rectified them in time. It was this struggle that prevented Wang Ming's erroneous line from doing greater and more lasting damage to the cause of the Party.

Chiang Kai-shek, our teacher by negative example, helped us to correct Wang Ming's mistakes. He repeatedly lectured us with cannons and machine-guns. The gravest lesson was the Southern Anhwei Incident which took place in January 1941. Because some leaders of the New Fourth Army disobeyed the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and followed Wang Ming's revisionist line, its units in southern Anhwei suffered disastrous losses in the surprise attack launched by Chiang Kai-shek and many heroic revolutionary fighters were slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. The lessons learned at the cost of blood helped to sober many of our comrades and increase their ability to distinguish the correct from the erroneous line.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly summed up the experience gained by the whole Party in implementing the line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and worked out a whole set of policies in good time. They were mainly as follows:

(1) All people favouring resistance (that is, all the anti-Japanese workers, peasants, soldiers, students and intellectuals, and businessmen) were to unite and form the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

(2) Within the united front, our policy was to be one of independence and initiative, i.e., both unity and independence were necessary.

(3) As far as military strategy was concerned, our policy was to be guerrilla warfare waged independently and with the initiative in our own hands, within the framework of a unified strategy; guerrilla warfare was to be basic, but no chance of waging mobile warfare was to be lost when the conditions were favourable.

(4) In the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards headed by Chiang Kai-shek, our policy was to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and destroy our enemies one by one, and to wage struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint.

(5) In the Japanese-occupied and Kuomintang areas our policy was, on the one hand, to develop the united front to the greatest possible extent and, on the other, to have selected cadres working underground. With regard to the forms of organization and struggle, our

policy was to assign selected cadres to work under cover for a long period, so as to accumulate strength and bide our time.

(6) As regards the alignment of the various classes within the country, our basic policy was to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the anti-Communist die-hard forces.

(7) As for the anti-Communist die-hards, we followed a revolutionary dual policy of uniting with them, in so far as they were still capable of bringing themselves to resist Japan, and of struggling against and isolating them, in so far as they were determined to oppose the Communist Party.

(8) With respect to the landlords and the bourgeoisie — even the big landlords and big bourgeoisie — it was necessary to analyse each case and draw distinctions. On the basis of these distinctions we were to formulate different policies so as to achieve our aim of uniting with all the forces that could be united.

The line and the various policies of the Anti-Japanese National United Front formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung stood the test of the War of Resistance and proved to be entirely correct.

History shows that when confronted by ruthless imperialist aggression, a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the united front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people who form more than 90 per cent of a country's population, so as to mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate to the maximum the common enemy of the whole nation. If we abandon the national banner, adopt a line of "closed-doorism" and thus isolate ourselves, it is out of the question to exercise leadership and develop the people's revolutionary cause, and this in reality amounts to helping the enemy and bringing defeat on ourselves.

History shows that within the united front the Communist Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence, adhere to the principle of independence and initiative, and insist on its leading role. Since there are class differences among the various classes in the united front, the Party must have a correct policy in order to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and oppose the die-hard forces. The Party's work must centre on developing the progressive forces and expanding the people's revolutionary forces. This is the only way to maintain and strengthen the united front. "If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish." This is the chief experience gained in our struggle against the die-hard forces.

History shows that during the national-democratic revolution there must be two kinds of alliance within this united front, first, the worker-peasant alliance and, second, the alliance of the working people with the bourgeoisie and other non-working people. The worker-peasant alliance is an alliance of the working class with the peasants and all other working people in town and country. It is the foundation of the united front. Whether the working class can gain leadership of the national-democratic revolution depends on whether it can lead the broad masses of the peasants in struggle and rally them around itself. Only when the working class gains leadership of the peasants, and only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, is it possible to establish the second alliance, form a broad united front and wage a people's war victoriously. Otherwise, everything that is done is unreliable, like castles in the air or so much empty talk.

THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THEORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR (EXCERPTS)

The history of people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings into strong and large forces is a universal law of development of class struggle, a universal law of development of people's war. A people's war inevitably meets with many difficulties, with ups and downs and setbacks in the course of its development, but no force can alter its general trend towards inevitable triumph.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically.

To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a people's war, let alone to achieve victory.

It is also very important for revolutionaries to take full account of the enemy tactically. It is likewise impossible to win victory in a people's war without taking full account of the enemy tactically, and without examining the concrete conditions, without being prudent and giving great attention to the study of the art of struggle, and without adopting appropriate forms of struggle in the concrete practice of the revolution in each country and with regard to each concrete problem of struggle.

Dialectical and historical materialism teaches us that what is important primarily is not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and de-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front", Selected Works, Vol. II.

veloping, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for only that which is arising and developing is invincible.

Why can the apparently weak new-born forces always triumph over the decadent forces which appear so powerful? The reason is that truth is on their side and that the masses are on their side, while the reactionary classes are always divorced from the masses and set themselves against the masses.

This has been borne out by the victory of the Chinese revolution, by the history of all revolutions, the whole history of class struggle and the entire history of mankind.

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers", and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war solves not only the problem of daring to fight a people's war, but also that of how to wage it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions.

It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.



"Viet Nam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war." -- Lin Piao, LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR. Photo shows fighters of the south Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces advancing during attack.

Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In committing aggression against these countries, the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in these regions.

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world", then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world". Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The socialist countries should regard it as their internationalist duty to support the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(Continued on the Next Page)

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

(Continued From the Previous Page)

The October Revolution opened up a new era in the revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the October Revolution built a bridge between the socialist revolution of the proletariat of the West and the national-democratic revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East. The Chinese revolution has successfully solved the problem of how to link up the national-democratic with the socialist revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in the epoch since the October Revolution, anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a complete theory of the new-democratic revolution. He indicated that this revolution, which is different from all others, can only be, nay must be, a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party.

This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats.

This means, finally, that the revolution is directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The new-democratic revolution leads to socialism, and not to capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the new-democratic revolution is the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, i.e., the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions; at the same time he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution. There is no Great Wall between the two revolutionary stages. But the socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be fulfilled only through long and tortuous struggles. In this stage of revolution, imperialism and its lackeys are the principal enemy. In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages. All those patriotic personages from among the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who join the anti-imperialist struggle play a progressive historical role; they are not tolerated by imperialism but welcomed by the proletariat.

It is very harmful to confuse the two stages, that is, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the wrong idea of "accomplishing both at one stroke", and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the most urgent task at that time. The Kuomintang reactionaries and the Trotskyites they hired during the War of Resistance deliberately confused these two stages of the Chinese revolution, proclaiming the "theory of a single revolution" and preaching so-called "socialism" without any Communist Party. With this preposterous theory they attempted to swallow up the Communist Party, wipe out any revolution and prevent the advance of the national-democratic revolution, and they used it as a pretext for their non-resistance and capitulation to imperialism. This reactionary theory was buried long ago by the history of the Chinese revolution.

The Khrushchov revisionists are now actively preaching that socialism can be built without the proletariat and without a genuinely revolutionary party armed with the advanced proletarian ideology, and they have cast the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the four winds. The revisionists' purpose is solely to divert the oppressed nations from their struggle against imperialism and sabotage their national-democratic revolution, all in the service of imperialism.

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat; it likewise provides a successful lesson for the timely transition from the national-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been the guide to the victory of the Chinese revolution. It has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, thus adding new weapons to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Ours is the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and socialism and communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has also the characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's

revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS LACKEYS BY PEOPLE'S WAR

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and has been trying to build a great American empire by dominating and enslaving the whole world. It is actively fostering Japanese and West German militarism as its chief accomplices in unleashing a world war. Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples, plundering their wealth, encroaching upon their countries' sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs. It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world. Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence and peace cannot but direct the spearhead of its struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Just as the Japanese imperialists' policy of subjugating China made it possible for the Chinese people to form the broadest possible united front against them, so the U.S. imperialists' policy of seeking world domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front for a converging attack on U.S. imperialism.

At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world as a whole, this is the area where the people suffer most from imperialist oppression and where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. Since World War II, revolutionary storms have been rising in this area, and today they have become the most important force directly pounding U.S. imperialism. The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II, people's war has increasingly demonstrated its power in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and other countries have waged people's wars against the imperialists and their lackeys and won great victories. The classes leading these people's wars may vary, and so may the breadth and depth of mass mobilization and the extent of victory, but the victories in these people's wars have very much weakened and pinned down the forces of imperialism, upset the U.S. imperialist plan to launch a world war, and become mighty factors defending world peace.

Today, the conditions are more favourable than ever before for the waging of people's wars by the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II and the succeeding years of revolutionary upsurge, there has been a great rise in the level of political consciousness and the degree of organization of the people in all countries, and the resources available to them for mutual support and aid have greatly increased. The whole capitalist-imperialist system has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration. After World War I, the imperialists lacked the power to destroy the new-born socialist Soviet state, but they were still able to suppress the people's revolutionary movements in some countries in the parts of the world under their own rule and so maintain a short period of comparative stability. Since World War II, however, not only have they been unable to stop a number of countries from taking the socialist road, but they are no longer capable of holding back the surging tide of the people's revolutionary movements in the areas under their own rule.

U.S. imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world. U.S. imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."¹

When committing aggression in a foreign country, U.S. imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an unjust war far from their native land and therefore have a low morale, and so U.S. imperialism is beset with great difficulties. The people subjected to its aggression are having a trial of strength with U.S. imperialism neither in Washington nor New York, neither in Honolulu nor Florida, but are fighting for independence and freedom on their own soil. Once they are mobilized on a broad scale, they will have inexhaustible strength. Thus superiority will belong not to the United

¹The Statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in Support of the People of the Congo (Leopoldville) Against U.S. Aggression, November 28, 1964.



"The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb." -- Lin Piao, LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR! Photo shows the people of Quito, Ecuador, holding a series of placards spelling the word "revolution" during a demonstration in the main street of the city while protesting the reactionary armed police who are armed and backed by the U.S. imperialists for killing agricultural workers.

States but to the people subjected to its aggression. The latter, though apparently weak and small, are really more powerful than U.S. imperialism.

The struggles waged by the different peoples against U.S. imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The more successful the development of people's war in a given region, the larger the number of U.S. imperialist forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the U.S. aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. Therefore, the conditions become more favourable for the people elsewhere to wage struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U.S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of U.S. imperialism is that people's wars will be launched in different parts of the world, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and why it regards people's war as a mortal danger.

U.S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But these weapons cannot save U.S. imperialism from its doom. Nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly. U.S. imperialism has been condemned by the people of the whole world for its towering crime of dropping two atom bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme. Moreover, the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken; U.S. imperialism has these weapons, but others have them too. If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism will expose its own country to the same threat. For this reason, it will meet with strong opposition not only from the people elsewhere but also inevitably from the people in its own country. Even if U.S. imperialism brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people, who are indomitable.

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

Viet Nam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war. The United States has made South Viet Nam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years, and everybody can now see that the U.S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with people's war. On the other hand, the Vietnamese people have brought the power of people's war into full play in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors. The U.S. aggressors are in danger of being swamped in the people's war in Viet Nam. They are deeply worried that their defeat in Viet Nam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

History has proved and will go on proving that people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging people's war, though they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions.

REFERENCE MATERIAL ON THE BLACK BELT

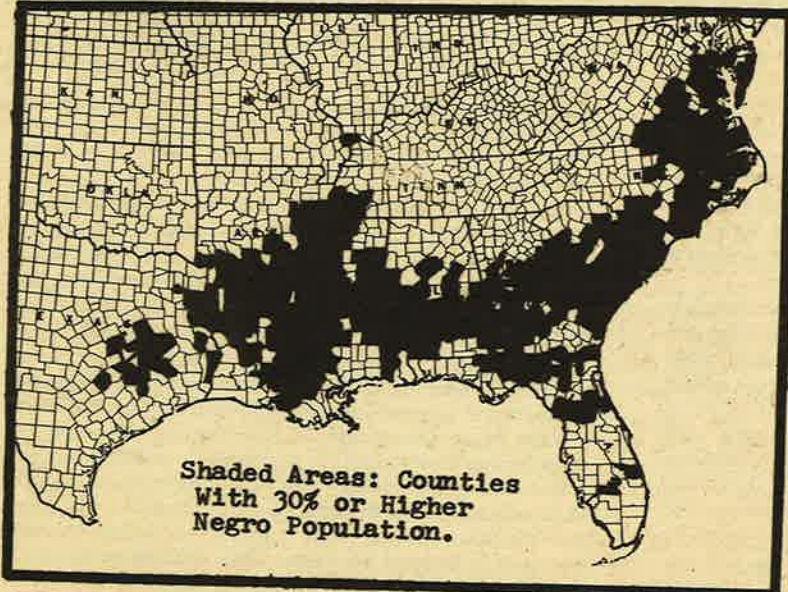
Ever since the international Communist movement at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 adopted a Leninist position on the national and colonial question calling for self-determination for the Black Belt in the South of the U.S.A., the Trotskyites and revisionists have served as willing tools of American imperialism and have denied even the existence of the Black Belt in the South.

Today, the revisionist and Trotskyite groups, including the Gus Hall-Herbert Aptheker revisionist clique, the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and a host of smaller groups, join American imperialism in the promotion of American chauvinism and continued American imperialist control of the Black Belt by

clamoring that the Black Belt no longer exists in the South; that the area of the Black Belt does not have the conditions of a colony; etc., etc., etc.

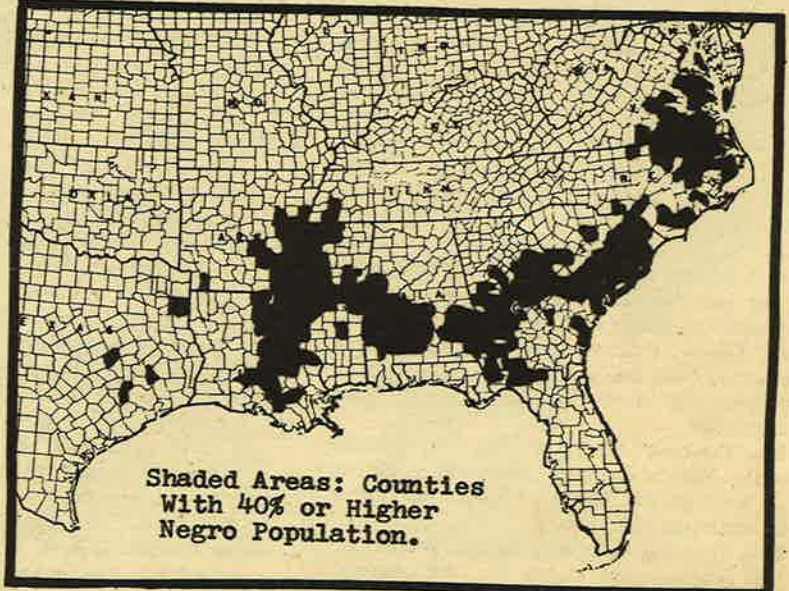
These arguments are based on outright fabrications or, just as bad, on lack of investigation of the question. Interestingly enough, the arguments presented by the apologists for imperialism to disprove the existence of the Black Belt as a colony of American imperialism are never accompanied by statistics or analysis based on fact.

The reference material printed below is designed to provide as much information as possible on the various economic and social characteristics of the Black Belt and its relationship to the American nation.



The shaded counties have 30% or more of their population classified by the Census Bureau as "Negro" (1960 Census). The characteristics of these counties are as follows:

Number of counties: 402
 1960 total population: 15,171,728
 1960 total "non-white" population: 6,398,908
 percentage "non-white" population: 43%
 land area: 210,000 square miles of contiguous territory (larger than the total size of France).



The shaded counties have 40% or more of their population classified by the Census Bureau as "Negro" (1960 Census). The characteristics of these counties are as follows:

Number of counties: 244
 1960 total population: 6,130,502
 1960 total "non-white" population: 3,224,779
 percentage "non-white" population: 53%
 land area: 125,000 square miles of contiguous territory (larger than the combined territory of north and south Vietnam).

DETAILED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 134 NEGRO MAJORITY COUNTIES -- THE HEART OF THE BLACK BELT -- IN COMPARISON WITH THE REMAINDER OF THE U.S.A.

The following statistics compare the 134 Negro majority counties in the U.S.A. in 1960 (all the Negro majority counties being in the Black Belt, forming the heart of the Black Belt) with the remainder of the U.S.A. (i.e. the 2,975 counties in the U.S.A. with non-Negro majority population).

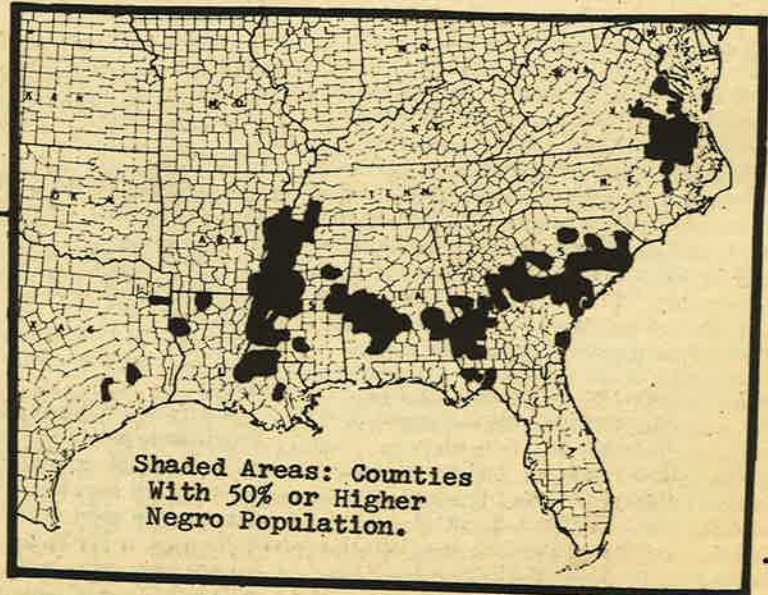
From the map printed to the right, showing the 134 Negro majority counties, it will be noticed that the 134 counties are contiguous to one another, stretching from east Texas up through the heart of the Black Belt into Virginia. From the statistics printed below, one can see in detail the indicators of the Black Belt's existence as a direct colony of American imperialism. Through these figures, one sees the rural, non-urban nature of the Black Belt; its agricultural existence; the high rate of tenant farming still prevalent; the large average size of families in the Black Belt; the high birth rate and the high death rate in the Black Belt; the miserable housing and educational conditions; the restrictions on even the bourgeois right to vote; the dependence of the economy of the Black Belt on cash crops, the low wage rates, low per capita incomes, low family incomes, the low rate of manufacturing compared with the remainder of the United

States (all consistent with the Black Belt's primary colonial function as a supplier of raw materials and cheap labor power); the higher rate of surplus value squeezed from the people (an indicator of super-exploitation).

The people of the Black Belt, who must live under these miserable conditions, challenge the revisionists and Trotskyites -- including those righteous "revolutionaries" of Progressive Labor Party who speak only of racism based on skin color and deny both the existence of the Black Belt and its right to self-determination -- to counter and refute these figures as they attempt to deny the existence of the Black Belt.

Down with American imperialism and all the apologists for American imperialism!

Self-determination for the Black Belt!



Note: All population figures based on 1960 Census

	1960 Number of Counties	1960 Total Population	1960 percentage "Negro" population
Negro Majority Counties	134	2,584,948	60.7%
Remainder of the United States	2975	176,738,227	9.8%
Total of the United States	3109	179,323,175	10.5%

(Statistics continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

	Average population per county	percentage of population classified as "urban" ¹	percentage of population classified as "Negro"	percentage of population classified as "foreign stock" ²	percentage of population voting in the 1964 Presidential Election	percentage of votes cast for Republican ticket of Goldwater-Miller in 1964
Negro Majority Counties	19,291	22.6%	60.7%	0.8%	18.7%	61.5%
Remainder of the United States	59,408	70.6%	9.8%	19.3%	39.7%	38.3%
Total of the United States	57,679	69.9%	10.5%	19.0%	39.4%	38.5%

	Birth rate in 1964 per 10,000 population	Death rate in 1964 per 10,000 population	natural increase (birth rate minus death rate) in 1964 per 10,000 population	median school year completed, persons 25 years or older, 1960	percentage of persons 25 yrs. or older who have completed less than 5 years of school, 1960	percentage of persons 25 yrs. or older who have completed high school or more, 1960	1960 number of employed per 10,000 popula.
Negro Majority Counties	257	106	151	7.4	28.6%	22.8%	3001
Remainder of the United States	224	100	124	not available	not available	not available	3613
Total of the United States	226	100	126	10.6	8.4%	41.1%	3605

	employment in manufacturing as percentage of total employment, 1960	employment in manufacturing per 10,000 total population, 1960	per capita income in 1959 of population in 1960	Average family size, 1960	median family income in 1959 of population in 1960	percentage of families in 1960 with incomes in 1959 under \$ 3,000	percentage of families in 1960 with incomes in 1959 over \$ 10,000
Negro Majority Counties	17.6%	529	\$ 770	4.66	\$2330	60.1%	4.1%
Remainder of the United States	27.2%	983	\$1865	3.97	\$5701	20.9%	15.2%
Total of the United States	27.1%	977	\$1850	3.98	\$5660	21.4%	15.1%

	percentage of population receiving public assistance in 1964	number of housing units per 10,000 population in 1960	percentage of housing units sound, with all plumbing facilities in 1960	median value of owner occupied housing units, 1960	median gross monthly rent, renter occupied housing units in 1960	1960 Index of home equipment ³	number of farms, 1964 per 10,000 families in 1960
Negro Majority Counties	33.8%	2799	28.5%	\$5,870	\$ 29	245	2277
Remainder of the United States	15.8	3259	not available	not available	not available	not available	680
Total of the United States	16.0%	3253	74.0%	\$11,900	\$ 71	349	700

	percentage of farms operated by tenants in 1964	percentage of total farm land in 1964	Number of acres in farmland in 1964 per 10,000 inhabitant	percentage increase in number of acres per farm, 1959 to 1964	1960 per capita value of farm products sold in 1964	Value of crops sold as percentage of all farm products sold in 1964	1960 per capita value of crops sold in 1964
Negro Majority Counties	35.5%	59.1%	10.5	up 27.7%	\$ 468	79.4%	\$372
Remainder of the United States	16.3%	48.8%	6.1	up 15.5%	\$ 193	45.3%	\$ 87
Total of the United States	17.1%	49.0%	6.2	up 16.9%	\$ 197	46.3%	\$ 92

	1960 per capita value of livestock & livestock products sold, 1964	percentage of persons in farm operator households in 1964	percentage of employees in manufacturing in 1963	average per capita yearly payroll of employees in manufacturing in 1963	per capita average annual wage for production workers in manufacturing, 1963	per capita average hourly wage for production workers in manufacturing, 1963	per employee rate of surplus value in manufacturing, 1963
Negro Majority Counties	\$ 96	19.6%	15.0%	\$3,427	\$3,096	\$ 1.57	53.8%
Remainder of the United States	\$105	6.1%	26.4%	\$5,905	\$5,087	\$ 2.54	48.1%
Total of the United States	\$105	6.3%	26.2%	\$5,887	\$5,096	\$ 2.53	48.2%

Footnotes: 1 "Urban population" is population in incorporated areas of 2,500 or more.
 2 "foreign stock" refers to people who were born outside of the U.S.A. to parents who were not U.S. citizens, or to people one of whose parents was born outside of the U.S.A. to parents who were not U.S. citizens.
 3 Index of home equipment is obtained by adding the percents of occupied units with clothes washing machine, home freezer, air conditioning, T.V. set, telephone, and automobile. Maximum total possible: 600

Sources: Bureau of the Census, COUNTY AND CITY DATA BOOK, 1967--A STATISTICAL ABSTRACT SUPPLEMENT.
 Bureau of the Census, U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1960, VOLUME 1, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION.
 Bureau of the Census, AREA MEASUREMENT REPORTS, Series GE-20, and records.
 Government Affairs Institute, AMERICA AT THE POLLS, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.
 Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service, VITAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1964, Vols. I and II.
 Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, RECIPIENTS OF OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND TOTAL ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS, BY PROGRAM, STATE, AND COUNTY, JUNE, 1964.
 Bureau of the Census, 1960 CENSUS OF POPULATION, CLASSIFIED INDEX OF OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES.
 Bureau of the Census, U.S. CENSUS OF HOUSING: 1960, VOL. 1, STATES AND SMALL AREAS.
 Bureau of the Census, U.S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE: 1959, VOL. 1, COUNTIES.
 Bureau of the Census, 1964 U.S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, series AC 64-Pl.
 Bureau of the Census, 1963 CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES, Series MC63(3).

U.S. IMPERIALISM FACING DEFEATS

(Continued From Page 1, Column 1)

In addition, the Cambodian liberation forces seized hundreds of enemy military vehicles, about 10,000 weapons of various kinds and several thousand tons of enemy ammunition, food grain and military supplies.

During this period, the Cambodian liberation armed forces liberated half of the Cambodian land with a population of 2.5 million people. The five provinces in the north and northeast have been completely liberated.

Laos: New victories have been won by the Pathet Lao liberation forces in spite of stepped up U.S. aggression in Laos both on the ground and from the air. During the month of July, the liberation forces in Laos shot down 15 U.S. aggressor aircraft.

Vietnam: In south Vietnam, the heroic south Vietnamese armed forces and people have stepped up the war against U.S. aggression. From late June to early July, when U.S. aggressors invading Cambodia were compelled to withdraw to south Vietnam because of their disastrous defeat, the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces (S.V.P.L.A.F.) opened a battlefield on the Vietnam-Cambodian border and hit hard at the U.S. aggressors. In two battles in the area, the S.V.P.L.A.F. wiped out a mechanized field unit of the U.S. 11th Armored Regiment, and killed or wounded more than 300 troops and destroyed nearly 90 tanks and armored cars. On July 15, 21, and 23 the U.S. aggressors were hit in north Tay Ninh Province, one-half mile from the Cambodian border, and the S.V.P.L.A.F. destroyed or damaged 130 enemy vehicles and wiped out more than 600 enemy troops. Again, on July 28, in the same area, the S.V.P.L.A.F. struck again and destroyed 45 more enemy military vehicles and put 180 enemy men out of action and captured many others.

The situation in south Vietnam is going excellently, with the people and their liberation armed forces persevering in a protracted people's war.

THE MIDDLE EAST

In the Middle East, the Palestinian people have firmly rejected the Munich-type "Middle East peace plan" put forward by U.S. imperialism with the cooperation of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. (See the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) statement on the Middle East situation on page 4 of this issue.) This firm rejection has given black eyes to the U.S. imperialists and their partners in crime, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, shattering their dreams of peacefully maintaining their domination over the Middle East.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization, the umbrella organization representing all the Palestinian guerrilla groups, has firmly rejected the imperialist sellout "peace plan". Indeed, the guerrillas have stepped up their attacks on the Israeli aggressors. During the second week in August, 120 attacks were launched against the Israeli aggressors in the occupied areas such as the whole Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and Upper Galilee. The guerrillas inflicted over 100 casualties on the Israeli aggressor troops. This was more than double the number of Israeli casualties during the first week in

August. In the attacks, the Palestinian guerrillas destroyed three enemy tanks, 30 military vehicles and one enemy plane. They also blew up large sections of enemy electronic defenses and destroyed three sections of railway in the Gaza Strip.

In the course of struggle, the guerrillas have begun to wipe out the appeasers to imperialism within the Arab world. As of August 31, fierce fighting was taking place in Amman, Jordan, with the guerrillas controlling the streets of Amman. The pro-imperialist Rightist Jordanian troops under King Hussein were forced to stay within Jordanian government buildings. It is clear that the day is not far off when Hussein, Nasser and the other agents for imperialism and social-imperialism within the Arab world will be swept away from impeding the struggle against Israeli, U.S. and Soviet aggression in the Middle East.

THE U.S.A.

In the U.S.A., the U.S. imperialists have been faced with increasing uprisings and fierce military and political struggle.

For the first time on a widespread basis, the people are fighting back against the imperialist cops and troops. Clearly, the idea of fighting against the reactionary violence of the ruling class is spreading.

Over the weekend of August 29 and 30, for instance, 40 cops were injured and one killed in a half-dozen attacks by the people against the armed forces of the ruling class. In Los Angeles, the cops provoked 25,000 marchers on a Chicano protest march and in the resulting uprising by the people of the area against the ruling class and its armed police a three square mile area of east Los Angeles was hit by attacks on the cops and burning of exploitative capitalist shops and factories. The demonstrators waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the fascist cops, replying with bricks and bottles to the cops gunfire and artillery-like tear gas shells. For the first time in an outburst of this type, over half the injured were cops -- 26 cops hurt in total. This indicates that the level of struggle is advancing, and the people are not taking the brutality of the ruling class lying down.

In Philadelphia, over the same weekend, one cop was killed and 12 injured in three separate ambushes in the ghetto of the Negro national minority. The cops in Philadelphia have been helpless in the face of these attacks and do not know what to do next.

These attacks show the desperate plight of U.S. imperialism right in its own backyard. The attacks also illustrate that if the people are armed and organized -- both materially and with a revolutionary theory -- they can fight back against the brutality of the ruling class.

U.S. imperialism is facing defeat on all fronts. Its hold on the peoples of the world is slipping fast, and we are truly witnessing the death throes of U.S. imperialism. "Revolution is the main trend in the world today," and persisting in struggle, the revolutionary people of the world are winning fresh victories against U.S. imperialism.

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

MRS. DU BOIS RETURNS TO U.S.A.

The Justice Department has lifted a ban on Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, the widow of the late Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, and the U.S. government will allow her once again to visit, travel, and live in the U.S.A. For many years, the American imperialists would not allow Mrs. Du Bois in the U.S.A. because it was not in the "best interests of the United States" (i.e. the American imperialists).

Mrs. Du Bois' late husband, W.E.B. Du Bois, was characterized by Chairman Mao Tsetung in 1963 at the time of Dr. Du Bois death, as follows: "Dr. Du Bois was a great man of our time. His deeds of heroic struggle for the liberation of the Negroes and the whole of mankind, his outstanding achievements in academic fields and his sincere friendship toward the Chinese people will forever remain in the memory of the Chinese people."

The photograph to the right shows Mrs. Du Bois delivering an address at a special Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau meeting in 1968 to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Dr. Du Bois. The meeting was held in Peking, China, where Mrs. Du Bois was visiting at the time of the centennial of her late husband's birth. At the meeting, Mrs. Du Bois said: "Today, the great proletarian cultural revolution, armed with Mao Tsetung's thought lifts revolution to heights never before envisaged by man. I rejoice that we have the privilege of celebrating the birth of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois within the sweep of China's great proletarian cultural revolution."

Mrs. Du Bois is expected to be in New York City during the month of September.



WE NEED MONEY TO PUBLISH SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Money and distributors are needed. Do your part to help the PEOPLE'S VOICE grow in size and frequency. Send in your subscriptions, or your contributions of money or articles.

- I am enclosing \$ 2.50 for a one-year subscription.
- I want _____ copies of this issue and _____ copies of future issues to distribute.
- I am enclosing \$ _____ as a contribution.
- I wish to contribute articles.

Cut this form out with your address (to the right), and send to: PEOPLE'S VOICE, P. O. Box 622, Bellflower, California 90706.

PEOPLE'S VOICE
c/o International Books and Periodicals
P. O. Box 622
Bellflower, California 90706, U.S.A.

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED
FORWARDING AND RETURNED POSTAGE GUARANTEED
THIRD CLASS -- PRINTED MATTER

To: