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), in the interests of the international proletariat, the working class, the toiling masses, and the oppressed nations and peoples, as well as the working people of the United States of America, has decided to issue a Draft General Program of the Party. This Draft General Program of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is issued in the interests of the proletariat, the working class, the toiling masses, all the oppressed nations and peoples, and the working people of the United States of America. The Draft General Program of the Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) is the expression of the general will of the Party and the working people of the United States of America.

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

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of this basic irreconcilable contradiction. The ever-present struggle and conflicts are an indication of this contradiction in concrete terms; the constant frustrations of the class struggle cannot be prevented from occurring. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) aims at realizing the general struggle of the proletariat to the level of revolutionary struggle -- to the level of war and proletarian revolution.

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

The contradiction among imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries, is a contradiction and an irreconcilable one. The imperialists and social-imperialists are engaged in the struggle for world domination, no matter whether it be the struggle of the imperialist to the level of revolutionary struggle -- to the level of war and proletarian revolution.

The essence of imperialism compels the imperialists and social-imperialists to struggle for the domination and redivision of the world. The power of partners, 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 clashing in conflicts over the division of the world into colonies, semi-colonies, and "spheres of influence." However much the imperialists and social-imperialists may fight among themselves, though, they are united against the proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples.

The leading imperialist and social-imperialist powers in the world today are: American (or United States) imperialism; French imperialism; German imperialism; Italian imperialism; South African imperialism; British imperialism; Russian imperialism; and colonial 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 IMPERIALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST OF THE OTHER HAND

The contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialist and social-imperialist countries on the other hand is an irreconcilable contradiction. The operation of this system -- namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the state is 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 existence of the socialist countries, and they are intent on provoking war with the socialist countries. Thus, the imperialists possess launched joint attacks against the Soviet power following the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Thus, the German imperialists attacked the Soviet Union in 1919 in an imperialist attempt to destroy the then only existing socialist state. Thus, the American imperialists have criminal attacks on socialist Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and along with the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union, they have made repeated invasions 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 five imperialist countries of just one. In spite of the imperialist and social-imperialist counter-offensive on a world scale, the present international situation is developing in favor of socialism. As Lenin pointed out, the era of imperialism is the transitional period following the great socialist revolution; this is the era of the revolutionary socialist and national liberation struggles among the colonized and the contradiction of imperialism is headed for total defeat. If the imperialists and social-imperialists persist in attacking the socialist countries, they will only set their own doom.

FIGHT THE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE OF THE RULING CLASS WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE OF THE PEOPLE!
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 the middle class in the United States, but its influence on any class stratum in the United States. The monopoly capitalists constitute only a few thousand individuals, totaling only a few million dollars in wealth; 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 state capitals, and the 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 control the opposition to their policies and interests in any country, because they are part of the international system of imperialism. They cannot operate outside the national boundaries of any one country, so they are imperialists, and constantly seek to squeeze the labor power of the nation and some other nations under their control. Today, American monopoly capital is the leading imperialist group in the world, eclipsing the traditional imperialist powers that compose Imperialist groups in history. American monopoly capital is the bulwark of imperialist power, 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 movement, with the Cold War, the arms race, and the atomic bomb, and the anti-communist solidarity of the working class. The monopoly capitalists are the most reactionary and undemocratic of all class strata in the United States. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party represent monopoly capital. It is almost impossible to understand American politics as being different in essence. The contradictions between the various monopoly groups should be recognized, but the task of the revolutionary movement is to circumvent those contradictions, as the Party of the proletariat, to discredit and to destroy all monopoly capitalists, 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 monarchism, acting as a coalition of monopoly capitalist groups.

2. Middle Bourgeoisie:

The middle bourgeoisie is that section of the capitalist class that is in a position to manipulate or control whole sections of industry. The middle bourgeoisie is in a position to compete with monopoly capitalists and some of the monopolies are tied to monopoly capital (through monopoly capital's extension of control into the state apparatus). The middle bourgeoisie usually measure their possession of the means of production in terms of millions or billions 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 monopoly capital's 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 directly counteract the concentration of political power and wealth, which monopoly capitalists demand (e.g. public ownership of resources). Sections of the middle bourgeoisie seek a return to free competition and stable prices by increasing 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. The middle bourgeoisie's opposition to foreign state and local governments (especially in the Black Belt) where monopoly capitalists do not dominate, the middle bourgeoisie to be local political administrators (as long as they can continue in control 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 eminence of the working class.

In terms of the working class, the middle bourgeoisie in general is entirely dominated by monopoly capital, limited tactical alliances can be made with the more democratic and anti-empirealist petty 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 includes small businessmen in position with the bourgeoisie and comprises the largest section of the bourgeoisie. They do not operate as one or two dozen workers. The value of the productive forces they own may be thousands or even millions of dollars, or thousands or tens of thousands of dollars, going up to as high as a few million dollars. Beyond that point, a petty bourgeoisie enters the ranks of the middle bourgeoisie.

Quite often, petty bourgeoisie 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, those highly oppressed petty bourgeoisie may be exploiting a number of workers under their control.

These "cookable 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, the petty bourgeoisie has a particularly rough time of it, finding it hard to get loans and credit to expand, or even to keep in business.

The main political expression of the petty bourgeoisie is to support 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 the孫孙imalities of the working class. Such a united front would gain strength from the contradiction between the petty bourgeoisie and monopoly capital and the middle bourgeoisie. However, the petty bourgeoisie is unsafe and unstable because they are aspiring capitalists, anti-working class in essence, carrying bourgeois ideology. The petty bourgeoisie are a part of the revolutionary movement; they are an important part of the revolutionary movement against the influence of petty bourgeoisie 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 working class, they are highly paid, they are highly skilled, and they have higher social status as compared to their best interests.

The aristocracy of labor includes those who are non-owning managers and officials; high-level professional workers (research workers, doctors, lawyers, college professors); upper-level managers of large corporations; unionized (unionized) skilled tradesmen, such as mechanics, plumbers, and certain other building tradesmen; middle-level professional workers (the more highly paid social workers, teachers, etc.); and certain other occupational groups who are highly paid and perhaps untrained (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 makes up about 20% of the working class -- that is, about 15,000,000 workers in 1970. Ideologically, many of these aristocrats of labor carry petty bourgeois ideology, although 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 petty bourgeoisie (petty bourgeoisie) and the upper levels of the working class.

Because of the general crisis which has hit American monopoly capital, including trade unions of national liberation overseas and the Arab oil crisis, and the increased rate of surplus value there is less and less money available in the hands of the ruling classes in the working class in an effort to turn workers into aristocracy of labor, because these more profits from the working class, the ruling class has tightened the screws on the aristocracy of labor as well as on the middle section of the working class.

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Within the aristocracy of labor, this means less in real wages, worse working conditions, and less opportunity for the masses. It is a petty bourgeoisie. Thus, the aristocracy of labor, which traditionally has been the most reactionary section within the working class, has been subject to a constant internal level of struggle among the aristocracy of labor has yet to go beyond the stage of internal reaction.

Because the aristocracy of labor is an integral part of the working class, and because it has in the past been a great source of weakness for the working class, efforts should be made to win the aristocracy of labor to the side of the proletariat. This has meant the section of the working class, and to raise the level of struggle among the aristocracy of labor from the level of purely economic struggles up 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 over 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 for the present, and for middle level workers there is a constant struggle just to keep on 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 possibility 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, as hopeless 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 shaken some of the existing illusions about the "American way of life."

The middle level workers are already close to the most highly exploited section of the working class, economically and ideologically, and the political bond between the two sections 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 proletarian 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 the revolutionary movement which is to be successful in America. The proletariat has nothing to lose but is gaining. They seek revolution, and they lead the working class, which is the only class capable of revolutionary 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 concentrated 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 work for only $2.50 per hour and often work for $1.50 or $1.00 and hour or less and on only a day-to-day 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, also 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 treatment, of being forced from one location to another to look for work or a better job, of overcrowding, of begging for inadequate "welfare" payments which do not even begin to meet the basic needs of the poorest of the poor, and of all the other degradations.

The proletariat includes both "blue collar" and "white collar" workers. It includes some unorganized workers (although the bulk of the unionized workers are middle level workers). It includes this most highly exploited and oppressed section of the working class -- workers over 90% of the working class, or about 15,000,000 workers over half, or more than 20,000,000 workers are constantly hounded and oppressed.

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 -- the oppression of the workers and the oppression of the Negro national minority, the Puerto Rican national minority, the Mexican-American national minority, and the Indians who are from oppression.

The heroic historical uprisings and more than 1,000 spontaneous proletarian outbursts in over 200 American cities since 1966 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 consciousness 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 to build a new society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) develops more fully as the vanguard of the proletariat of the United States, it will consider revolutionary action on its own.

The national 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 Rican nation. 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 irremediable contradiction. The struggle against the oppression of the Black Belt and Puerto Rico is a struggle for national liberation. The end to national oppression can only come by national liberation, by national self-determination, by national self-determination 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 Puerto Rico is a struggle for national liberation, for national self-determination, and for social revolution -- a struggle against the Black Belt and Puerto Rican oppression, a struggle for national liberation and for national self-determination, a struggle against American imperialism.

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By the right of self-determination for the Black Belt and for Puerto Rico, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) means the right of the people of those nations to determine completely for themselves their own destiny as a nation. The right of self-determination includes the right to secede and form an independent national state, or the right to autonomy within the framework of the relationship with the American nation, or the assimilation 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 be a meaningful unity between the workers of the same race. Furthermore, the Communists within the Black Belt and Puerto Rico must be to right for the fight for self-determination - 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 combating 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 of the Communist and the revolutionary class-conscious workers of the oppressed nations must be to oppose bourgeois nationalism by fighting fakers 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 any form of ideology which seeks to split workers along lines of nationality, national origin, or skin color.

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) calls for an Imperialistided 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 doubly and trebled exploitation and oppression. The average working woman earns far less in that women are expected to be unpaid domestics servants (housekeepers, cooks, nannies, etc.) for men. The very existence of the wife of the menial tasks of the household has been the typical situation throughout class society, from the very petty capitalistism. And the family is used by the ruling class as the vehicle for the oppression of the woman. The discrimination and added exploitation against women comes from the women's conditions of greater oppression in this capitalist society. The bourgeoisie, in general, has never thought of, or, if necessity, served to reinforce the domination of the man over the woman in the relations free relationships. The double-exploitation of women workers, and the triple-exploitation of women workers from the oppressed nations, is one of the most important reasons for the capitalist society. This is not to say that we must wait for the ending of class society to come for the social and legal rights for women. It is through the fight for the proletarian revolution that the revolutionaries must advance both the struggle for the equality of women with the working men, and the fight for both to join in the struggle, since they can be实现ed only in the participation of all the working people.

It has been clearly seen that the revolutionary movement develops, women are brought into the movement in increasing numbers, thus undercutting the base of male supremacy within the proletariat. The struggle, however, is a necessary changes taking place -- with the growth of the revolutionary movement, the women in the working women in the revolutionary movement; with the triumph of the proletariat, the number of women 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 Tse-tung 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.

VI. MODERN REVISIONISM, CONCILIATORS OF REVISIONISM, AND TRÖSKYITES

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 bourgeois parties. The modem revisionism of the old Communist Party had its origins with the opportunists of the 1920's, particularly with Earl Browder and the "centrist" William Z. Foster. The basis 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 to the middle class 1930's to being a membership of the aristocracy of labor, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie. Revisionism arose as a result of the extreme need for a new base, and as a symptomatic response of the bourgeoisie elements within the Party to the bourgeoisie.

The revisionists systematized their political opportunism and capitulation within the Roosevelt administration, with the revisionists liquidating the National Alliance, and with the Roosevelt administration, with the revisionists liquidating it as the "Communist Political Association" with the sole purpose of re-electing Roosevelt as President in 1944. Although the Roosevelt administration "acted" as a "Communist Party" in 1965, and Browder was expelled, the revisionism which was widespread within the organization was not broken. The revisionism which was widespread within the organization was not broken. The only clue to the collapse of the collaborationist nature of the modern revisionists.

There can be no compromise with the modern revisionists, since there can be no principle basis for such unity. The revisionists have always had to be destroyed.

The modern revisionists and their collaborators are anachronistic and the latest traitors in a history of traitorous opportunists within the working class. Today is not the right for proletarian revolution. The fight against revisionism is a part of the struggle against the modern revisionists but also against their conciliators (particularly against the opportunists leading the Progressive Labor Party) that fight against all other opportunists who wish to scuttle the fight against imperialism for their own particular expediency.

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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 workers of the United States of America. They, like the revisionist "Communist Party," express their class base and outlook in their concrete activities and organizations -- in particular, their rejection of the Black Belt in the South and its struggle against the depression, their Marxist-Stalinist struggle against the "indio-Chinese" struggle under the guise of "experts" on how people's war "really" should be conducted.

The Progressive Labor Party has a long history of opportunism. Revisionism, factions, and ideology and organization. Their leadership grew to political maturity in the late 1950's and early 1960's within the revisionist "Communist Party," long after that group had exposed itself as a bunch of traitors. Rather than openly oppose the revisionists, while in the revisionist "Communist Party," the Progressive Labor Party was appointed to an "empty chair" (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 some 400 members) in 1958.

Ever since the formation of Progressive Labor in 1962, the Progressive Labor leadership has sought new recruits from the camps, and P.L.'s membership has long been infamous as a pool of opportunist students and professors. This is not to say that a revolutionary party should shun such, rather it should consider its efforts on the working class in more than a dilapidated manner.

Progressive Labor's leadership has also led its membership in following in the wake of the spontaneous movement of the proletariat in the United States of America. For several years, Progressive Labor has failed, after reactionizing itself as an artifact of Khrushchev and LBJ, Jones, playing the American imperialist game of trying to split up workers along skin color lines, or racism, in 1967, when the Panthers had become more proletarian internationalist than Progressive Labor. The leadership of the party in 1968 voted to become "internationalist" and "proletarian" -- when the rest of the movement was more "internationalist-and-proletarian-than-thou" -- they decided to reclassify their activities and designate areas of struggle and international contradictions within the United States except that between bourgeois and proletariat, that between black and white, in the world of bourgeois liberalism, 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 nationalization of the means of production, which runs directly counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The current refusal of Progressive Labor's leaders to recognize the class struggle, or to understand the revolutionary class struggle, their refusal to support the leadership of the indio-Chinese struggle, to hinder the spreading of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and a truly proletarian internationalist position on the national and colonial question, by closing the understanding of Progressive Labor's members and friends.

The Progressive Labor Party is incapable of leading the proletariat anywhere, while it can never be a force for change, while its petty-bourgeoisie and aristocracy of labor -- especially petty-bourgeoisie -- is so small that its positions are not accepted by the revolutionary proletariat. The leadership of the Progressive Labor Party are overtly pro-imperialist and erroneous revisionist line from a "left" stance, which, in its essentials, is imperialist. In other words, P.L.'s leadership seeks international support by claiming to support the struggle of the proletariat, and revisionists, as the class of opposition to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but the opposition of the P.L.'s leadership to Marxist-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in an increasingly isolated position, as exemplified by their conversion to the People's Republic of China for the ideological and material support China has given them to continue to give life to and defend the struggle against American imperialism.

C. TROTSKYITES

The Trotskyites have long been exposed as agents of imperialism and reaction. The largest Trotskyite group, the Socialist Party-Young Socialists Alliance, promotes policies which support corrupt, bourgeois politics, and the liberal wing of American monopoly capital. Another Trotskyite group, the Workers' Party, has the same "left" opportunist position as does the Progressive Labor Party. Though not as much a danger today as the modern revisionists and their Trotskyite front, they are a danger and must be thoroughly exposed and destroyed.

VIII. THE ASK 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, leading the proletariat in revolution, overthrowing the capitalist system, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the working class. In order to do this, it is necessary to continue to build the Party's newspaper, its study club, and to be an active agitator and a collective organizer for revolution, and continue to recruit the most advanced sections of the proletariat to its ranks.

Once the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, all other classes and all other workers will be united under the leadership of the proletariat, the working class. The working class is the only class that can accomplish this task. 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 the working class. These changes mean that the necessities of life -- which are so difficult to obtain under capitalist rule -- will be achieved for the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the current exploiters and oppressors -- the whole capitalist class -- will be removed from the society. Their wealth (which has been socially produced and robbed from the workers) will be redistributed, with compensation, and this wealth which the working class has produced over the decades will finally be enjoyed by the working class.

To accomplish the task of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the Party of the proletariat, a large, highly disciplined, highly skilled, highly trained, large, 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 perform effectively the task of leading the working class to social revolution. The most vital task at this point is to build the Party to an effective fighting force, a driving force for the leading role of the working class in America's socialist revolution.

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 make our historical experiences differ in form from those of the past.

-- Mao Tsetung.