

# MID EAST "CRISIS" DIVERSION FROM CLASS OPPRESSION

THE SHAM "NEAR EAST CRISIS"

The present "crisis" between the Zionist state of Israel and the United Arab Republic is essentially a diversionary "crisis", initiated by the United Arab Republic - to attempt to divert the workers and peasants from their oppressive conditions under the ruling bourgeoisie of the U.A.R. The present "crisis" represents an attempt by Pres. Gamal Abdel Nasser to maintain his "militant" Arab "socialist" position in the Near East. The growing anti-imperialist influence throughout the Arab states in the region requires that the anti-imperialist nationalist regimes be more outspoken, especially if the regimes are beset with internal difficulties, as is the case with the U.A.R.

The real source of crisis in the Near East is U.S. imperialism. The Zionist state of Israel is primarily the creation of U.S. and British imperialism. The creation of Israel was an imperialist "solution" to the "Jewish Question" in Europe. Through the deployment of hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe, U.S. imperialism was able to establish a physical base of operation in the Near East from which it could operate militarily, if the need arose, and from which it could spread its influence into Africa. The Jewish nationalists, the Zionists, have placed themselves at the complete disposal of the U.S. imperialists who determine the use of their base of operation against the Arab people. If there will be a war in that region, it will be initiated by the U.S. imperialists through their front Zionist state of Israel.

The basis for the solution of the problems facing the Arabs and Jews of Palestine can be achieved only on the following terms: by the complete destruction of the state of Israel, since it is the creation of U.S. imperialism and is not in the interests of the Arabs or the Jews. We advocate the full right of self-determination for all the oppressed and exploited people of Palestine. This would mean the recognition of the full rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland.

The equal rights of all the people of Palestine must be recognized and guaranteed. The essential interests of the people of Palestine will be served by only the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unity of all the workers in alliance with the peasants.

The working class of the United States must resolutely support the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the struggle of all the Arab peoples

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## PEOPLE'S VOICE



9122 So. Compton Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., 90002

Telephone: (area code 213) 569-2542

Subscription: \$5.00 per year, surface mail

VOL. III, NO. 10-11

MONDAY, MAY 8-28, 1967

Price 5¢

### "HARD SELL" ON U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

WESTMORELAND BID TO SILENCE OPPOSITION TO THE U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM - PART OF THE INCREASING REACTION

General William C. Westmoreland has recently concluded a speaking tour of the U.S.A. to propagandize for further escalation of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and for labelling as treasonous any protest against the U.S. war. Gen. Westmoreland, as field commander of the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam, has been brought here to speak on behalf of "god and country" (in reality on behalf of profits and super-profits) and to label all discontent "unpatriotic".

But even this old war-horse had to admit that a successful end of the Vietnam war was not in sight for U.S. imperialism. Publicly, he admitted the desperation of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, although he placed the blame for the difficulties not upon the unfavorable - and in fact bankrupt - political position of U.S. imperialism, but rather on those Americans who "in any way" aid the Vietnamese people. The General was even giving the revisionists and the pacifists some publicity by making it appear as if their support of Johnson's fraudulent "unconditional negotiations" and Bobby Kennedy's fraudulent "halt the bombing" schemes are giving "aid and comfort" to the Vietnamese people's forces.

The U.S. imperialists are changing their tactics from the "soft sell" to the "hard sell" approach to the American people regarding their propagandization on the Vietnam war. They are even having their "liberal" Senators

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### M.I. LASKI ARRESTED AT PROTEST

GENERAL SECRETARY ARRESTED AT VIETNAM PROTEST RALLY IN L.A. Los Angeles, Calif., May 21 - The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) held a protest rally in MacArthur Park against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. The featured speaker was M.I. Laski, general Secretary of the Party. There were three other scheduled speakers against the U.S. war and in support of the Party's position which supports the DRV and the SVNFL.

The protest rally was attended by over 300 people. The rally was dispersed by the police upon the arrest of M.I. Laski for speaking with a loud speaker on Sunday and for disturbing the peace.

Bail of \$110 was posted. Plea of not guilty to both charges will be entered. Funds are needed to cover the costs of the trial. Send funds care of PEOPLE'S VOICE.

### PROTEST LACKEY CONFERENCE

"BLACK POWER" CONFERENCE IS BOYCOTTED

Los Angeles, Calif., May 26 - The U.S. imperialist Uncle Tom "Black Power" Conference did not take place in Watts - which the imperialist quislings Adam Clayton Powell and Mervyn Dymally had announced this past March - but it took place in the Central district at Jefferson High School. Evidently, they heeded our admonition that people would not tolerate such a conference in Watts.

Over 50 people demonstrated against the U.S. imperialist lackey conference. The demonstrators consisted of class-conscious workers and anti-imperialist forces from many different groups, including many youths from the Watts district. The demonstrators carried copies of QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG and quoting in unison from the QUOTATIONS.

### VIOLENCE AT SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

VIOLENCE ON SOUTHERN CAMPUSES

The recent riots at three southern schools is an indication of the increased oppression and exploitation of the people of the U.S. Within the Negro nation in the South (Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi) and the border cities of the Negro nation (Nashville, Tennessee and Houston, Texas) there is a denial of the most elemental bourgeois democratic rights and little pretext of such rights. Similar to riots and uprisings in other areas of the country, these riots were sparked by increased police harassment added to the usual problems of oppression and exploitation.

The main participants in these riots were sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (even students from working class backgrounds generally express the views and aspirations of the petty-bourgeoisie). Among this section of the population of the Negro nation and surrounding areas, organizations such as SNCC, CORE, and other Uncle Tom "civil rights" organizations have their base and do their agitation. "Integration" and "non-violence" as methods of resolving the problems of capitalism, have been proven to be completely bankrupt.

thus the Uncle Tom organizations put forth "militant" anarchist-reformist slogans as a cover for their bankrupt positions of faith in the capitalist system. CORE and SNCC are playing the same role that they played in the integration tragedy - containment of the oppressed and spreading the view of abiding faith in U.S. imperialism and leading the people to slaughter.

The agitation of SNCC and other petty-bourgeois organizations has recently led to the murder of a worker in Jackson, Mississippi (May 10, 1967 at Jackson State College) and the jailing and beating of several hundred workers and students. There has been and can be no other results obtained.

After the provocations by both the police and SNCC, the students had no choice but to defend themselves against the police attack. Yet in the midst of the defense, the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, who sold out the Deacons for Self-Defense in Jonesboro, Louisiana in 1965, was used by the ruling class to attempt to have the students surrender to the violence of several hundred police who were armed to the teeth. Having failed in his

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# PEOPLE'S VOICE

THE VOICE OF ALL THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED

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

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Telephone: (area code 213) 569-2542  
Price: 5¢      Subscription: \$5.00 per year surface mail  
\$10.00 per year air mail      anywhere in the world

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

## DISTRIBUTORS

National and International: Workers' International Book Store, 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles California, 90002, U.S.A. Telephone (213) 569-2542.  
West Coast: PEOPLE'S VOICE Book Store and Reading Room 9122 S. Compton Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., 90002. Telephone: (area code 213) 569-2542  
East Coast: PEOPLE'S VOICE Book Store and Reading Room 2521 8th Avenue, New York City, New York, 10030 Telephone (212) 281-2283

VOL. III, NO. 10-11

MONDAY, MAY 8-28, 1967

# LACKEY CONFERENCE

## BOYCOTT U.S. IMPERIALISM'S UNCLE TOM CONFERENCE!

U.S. imperialism, the same ruling class that controls the state apparatus and the extra-legal Ku Klux Klan, also employs its Uncle Tom "leaders" to tell the Negro people to have faith in the U.S. government, and its electoral process. The Uncle Toms have called the "California Conference '67" for May 26-28, 1967 to consolidate their position.

These Uncle Toms claim that the main danger to the Negro people is the "ultra-right" which had scored certain gains through the ballot box, and, of course, L.B.J.'s loyal Toms have to use all their influence to win back the seats lost for their "liberal" masters. So, we see the Toms calling for the formation of voting blocks in support of themselves and ultimately in support of L.B.J. and Bobby Kennedy. They are covering up these relations by directing their fire at the "ultra-right" as the main danger, while the main danger remains the "liberal" Johnson administration which is presently in power and which is the leading group of the U.S. imperialists.

Was it the "ultra-right" Reagan administration or the "liberal" Brown administration that sent 20,000 National Guardsmen into Watts in August 1965 to suppress the workers? It was the "liberal" Brown administration. The fact is that there is no difference between the "liberals" and the "conservatives" - they are both acting as representatives of U.S. imperialism in oppressing the people. The "liberals" attack the working people and put on a "friendly" disguise, while the "conservatives" attack the working people and admit it!

The "ultra-right" Lester Maddox has been given the official support of the "liberal" Humphrey. The unseating of Adam Clayton Powell was accomplished by a "liberal" Congress headed by the northern "liberals" McCormack and Ford. The racist policies pursued by the U.S. Congress and local officials is part of U.S. imperialism's political policy - it is applied by both "liberals" and "conservatives" in order to attack and to divide the workers. And this policy has got some results: some workers are supporting "liberals" to avoid the "ultra-right danger", while other workers are supporting the "conservatives" because they are completely dissatisfied with the "liberals" who have shown their inability to stop the rising cost of living, the increased taxes on the workers, the growth of unemployment, and the other problems that workers face in the U.S. today. But neither the "liberals" nor the "conservatives" can solve the problems which are basic to the capitalist system.

The choice between "liberals" and "conservatives" is one big shell game set up by U.S. imperialism to mislead the people into thinking that all their problems could be solved within the framework of the capitalist system. The ruling class uses its Uncle Toms and its many other flunkies to help spread this illusion. The Uncle Toms take a "militant" stand precisely in order to cover for the Johnson administration which is still the main danger to the American working class, because it is the Johnson administration which is in prime control of the bourgeois state apparatus.

In the Negro nation in the South, the Negro people suffer colonial oppression at the hands of U.S. imperialism. In the north, the workers of the Negro national minority are among the most exploited and the most oppressed sections of the American proletariat. This national question - the oppression of the Negro nation in the South - is basically a class

question: the overwhelming majority of the Negro people are workers, and it is mainly the workers who are at the receiving end of the reactionary violence of the ruling class.

The Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro petty-bourgeoisie are exploiters and would-be exploiters of Negro workers; the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements likewise serve as potential Uncle Toms and quislings for U.S. imperialism. They are the representatives and potential representatives for U.S. imperialism among the Negro people. The "Black Power" slogan was coined to mean the election of Negro bourgeois in constituencies of Negro majority, and support of Negro businesses. The "Black Power" Conference is an expression of support for U.S. imperialism - by telling the people to have faith in the present system and to channel their demands through the ballot box.

The interests of the proletariat are not for reform of the present system of exploitation and oppression - U.S. monopoly capitalism - but rather for the abolition of the capitalist system. The need is for organization of the working class for revolution. Only proletarian revolution can put an end to the exploitation and oppression of the American working class by putting an end to the exploiting class - the U.S. imperialists. In the Negro nation in the South, only proletarian revolution and the full implementation of the irrevocable right to self-determination can solve the problem of national and class oppression in favor of the majority of the people of the oppressed nation, i.e., of the working class of the Negro nation. Only the organization of the proletariat for armed revolution will be the basis for ending national and class oppression.

The needs of the working class demand the total rejection of "non-violence". "Non-violence", as advocated by Martin Luther King, Adam Clayton Powell, Floyd McKissick, and Stokely Carmichael's Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, is the position taken by the Negro bourgeoisie, whose interests are served by working within the system and waxing rich off the backs of the Negro workers. Locally, such new exploiters and would-be exploiters are: State Senator Dymally, Assemblymen Greene, Ralph, and Brathwaite, City Councilmen Bradley, Mills, and Lindsay, and the local "cultural" nationalist Keranga.

The Conference on May 26-28 will be the first national conference of all the major quislings and Uncle Toms of U.S. imperialism. Their purpose is to unify their line and to mislead the Negro people into support for U.S. imperialism by proposing various "peaceful" and "non-violent" ways of channelling the dissatisfaction of the exploited and oppressed working masses. The front men for U.S. imperialism are only hastening their own exposure and total rejection.

This Conference is a first-rate provocation on the part of U.S. imperialism. This brazen act is an absolute insult to the heroic workers of Watts and to our 34 working class comrades who were murdered by the U.S. imperialists' armed troops during August 1965. We will mobilize sections of the People's Armed Defense Groups and all class-conscious workers in the Watts district to demonstrate against U.S. imperialism and its front men: Powell, Carmichael, Dymally, and others.

The revisionist Gus Hall-Dorothy Healey clique, on the other hand, has shown its support of these quislings and Uncle Toms for U.S. imperialism. They scream up and down about the "ultra-right" danger, while supporting the "liberal" Johnson administration and the "liberal" Bobby Kennedy, who are directly responsible for the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and for the increased repressive measures against the working people in the U.S.

Likewise, the Trotskyites have joined the Gus Hall clique in their support of Martin Luther King, Adam Clayton Powell, and the other leading imperialist front men. And even the conciliators for revisionism, the Progressive Labor Party, has got into the act by their unconditional support of Stokely Carmichael and their attacks upon our Party in their press for our principled stand in exposing the bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism's "Black Power" line.

But the exposure of this Conference is not enough! Even the exposure of those pseudo "socialists" who support this Conference is not enough! What is most decisive is the organization of the workers for revolution. The People's Armed Defense Groups, being organized by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), are the first step in the organization of the workers for armed proletarian revolution. Basic to the entire question is the concept of "oppose the reactionary violence of the ruling class with the revolutionary violence of the people." Basic to the whole question is the understanding that the only way to put an end to the exploitation and oppression of the working class is not through the ballot box, but through armed proletarian revolution.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLANS ACTIVITY

### REPORT ON SECOND PLENUM

Los Angeles, Calif., May 23 -  
The Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.) completed the Second Plenum of the Second Central Committee of the Party. The topics discussed were 1) The Political Program of the Party 2) The International Communist Movement. 3) The Party's

Program for Building and Expanding the Party Apparatus and the Press, 4) A Review of Positions to be Taken Towards Other Political Organizations and 5) A Plan for the Work of the Party.

A full report of the Second Plenum, held May 2-4, 1967, will be published in the next issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE.

# CPUSA (M-L) COMMENTS ON MAY DAY

MAY DAY 1967 - INTERVIEW WITH THE GENERAL SECRETARY AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.

For May Day 1967, the Communist Party U.S.A. (M.-L.) conducted several public meetings to commemorate that event - both in New York City and in Los Angeles. On April 28, April 30, and May 1, the held public meetings on the theme of "oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam", with the featured speakers being M.L. Laski, General Secretary, and E.W. Simmons, Chairman of the Central Committee.

The following is an interview with the two comrades.

Question: Why is the opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam the thematic question of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) this May Day?

Answer: (M.L. Laski) This question is of decisive importance to the peoples of the world - the question of the defeat of U.S. imperialism and the importance of the national liberation struggles and the support of a socialist state - is of the greatest importance to the international proletariat. The interests of the American proletariat are tied specifically to the victory of our Vietnamese comrades and brothers. We think that May Day 1967 is an appropriate day for the emphasis of the question of Vietnam and proletarian internationalism.

Q.: How does this opposition differ from the revisionists' opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam?

A.: (E.W. Simmons) The revisionists are apologizing for the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and are supporting the imperialists' "peace" hoax. The revisionists utilize the genuine opposition of the bourgeois liberals to stifle the discontent of the people and to channel it into safe support of the imperialists' position through "left" slogans and other such entrapments, whereas the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) is organizing among the most oppressed and most exploited sections of the working class, the proletariat, in opposition to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and calling for the support of the positions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and pointing out that the solution to imperialist wars of aggression is proletarian revolution.

Q.: How does the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) view the current belligerent mood in Congress against any opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam?

A.: (M.L. Laski) We view this belligerence as a natural expression of the U.S. Congress dedicated to the support of U.S. monopoly capital and to the suppression of the American working class - a Congress that is the willing tool of the moneybags. This belligerence is to be expected in an imperialist Congress.

Q.: How does the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) propose to organize the American proletariat for revolution?

A.: (E.W. Simmons) Two points - (1) by building the all-U.S. proletarian newspaper to build the Party and to train forces; and (2) by organizing detachments of the Party throughout the U.S. to organize for revolution - supporting national liberation movements throughout the world, concretely opposing the revisionists, Trotskyites, and other agents of U.S. imperialism.

Q.: What does the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) think of the new "militancy" of Martin Luther King and the Progressive Labor Party?

A.: (M.L. Laski) Martin Luther King's new "militancy" is his tacit support of "Black

Power" and his "opposition" to the Vietnam war. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) maintains that both stances of his are hypocritical frauds - King tied to his perfidious line of "non-violence" the sham "militancy" represented by the reactionary slogan of "Black Power" which serves only to divide and to separate the working class, while at the same time clinging to the absurdity of "integration". We maintain that the working class can no more be integrated with the ruling class than could the exploited and oppressed Negro working class (i.e., the working class of the Negro nation) be given power under U.S. imperialism.

(E.W. Simmons) P.L.P.'s new "militancy" is their new position on the war in Vietnam and their new "opposition" to the revisionists and the Trotskyites within the "peace" movement as a response to the position of the C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) in exposing the P.L.P.'s previous position on this question and in response to the positions taken by the international communist movement.

# PEOPLE'S VOICE: REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) (through The PEOPLE'S VOICE) has stated on previous occasions the importance of developing an all-sided political newspaper. As comrade V.I. Lenin stated in his early writings in dealing with the building of a revolutionary proletarian Party - the newspaper serves not only as a collective agitator but also as a collective organizer. Based on the success of the application of this tactic and the experience of our Party, this important organizational tactic, i.e., producing and distributing a newspaper, has proved to be valid a thousand times over.

How can a newspaper be a collective organizer? We are yet in the formative stage of building a proletarian revolutionary Party within the U.S.A. In order to build an organization of revolutionaries which is necessary to lead the proletarian revolution, we must train our cadre in all-sided political activity. We must develop professional agitators and propagandists, we must have a division of labor within our organization of cadre skilled to carry out specific technical tasks and at the same time to be trained in all-sided political work, we must draw into our ranks workers in the trade unions and at the same time we must lay the basis for the destruction of the imperialist control of the trade unions. We must build armed defense units and lay the basis for the formation of a people's army. All of the above tasks require an organization that can perform and direct these special activities and at the same time guide the proletariat as a whole in the course of successfully completing the initial stages of the revolution, i.e., towards the seizure of state power. How is this to be done?

## THE TRAINING OF CADRE

In order to overthrow the capitalist system, we must build a revolutionary proletarian Party and train cadre with a view of developing as many professional revolutionaries as possible and have an organization capable of recruiting workers of the necessary calibre and developing them; this must be our special political and organizational objective.

## AGITATION

In the struggle to build a militant revolutionary proletarian Party, it is necessary to draw the clearest line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy (U.S. imperialism in this case). We must use every event, every attack on the people and the Party to expose the true nature of the capitalist system and to draw the necessary political conclusions as to what occurred and what must be done.

## POLEMICS

In dealing with the imperialists, we must also expose their lackeys and would-be lackeys and differentiate our political position from theirs. The revisionists and Trotskyites are enemies of the working class; their ideas and views are bourgeois and anti-working class in the disguise of being "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist". Along with the revisionist C.P. and the Trotskyite S.W.P., there exists the opportunist and conciliatorist position of the P.L.P., which must also be exposed, as dangerous to, and against the interests of the working class.

In conducting polemics against the class enemy and every trend of opportunism and revisionism, we not only train our propagandists and agitators to recognize the essence of these erroneous positions and the marsh into which they mislead, we also train our class in general and the advanced revolutionaries specifically as to the correct theoretical and organizational approach to political and tactical problems. Polemics strengthen our Party and class because they help to purge incorrect views and serve as a guide to action regarding other political parties and organizations. We must lay a regular siege to the erroneous positions of the revisionists, the Trotskyites, and the opportunists in order to steel our class forces to be able to defeat U.S. imperialism.

## THE NEWSPAPER AS A GUIDE TO ACTION

The newspaper also serves as a guide to carrying out the Party's program, relating the experience of application of the Party's program, and in explaining the development to new approaches to the work.

Under "legal" circumstances, the general line of the Party as to the approach to certain political work can be stated in the newspaper - thus stating the general line from the center to the membership as a whole, mass organizations, and to the people in general, thus consolidating the Party's uniform approach to practical activity.

The paper also can serve to report to the membership and to the readers' circles various progress reports and the outcome of specific political activity.

## READERS' CIRCLES

We have stated that the readers' circles are to have the following organizational form and relationship to the Party: readers' circles are organized to read, study, comment on and raise funds for the PEOPLE'S VOICE. They are to select nominal leadership, who serves as a Party correspondent. The circles should endorse and support the political positions

(continued on page 5, col. 1)



Cartoon from "Renmin Ribao"

Peking Review, No. 20



## TROTSKY-IMPERIALIST AGENT

(This article has been reprinted from RED FLAG, theoretical organ of the C.P. U.S.A. (M.-L.), issue of May-June, 1966).

The lesson of Trotsky's degeneration from opportunism to outright service for imperialism must be studied. This pattern has been followed by all stripes of renegades including Kautsky, Trotsky, Lovestone, Browder, Tito, Khrushchev, and their followers.

The situation with Trotsky and the Trotskyites took place over a thirty year period. The situation is documented in V.I. Lenin's works entitled "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity", "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation, and the Mistakes of Trotsky", "The Party Crisis", and "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation, and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin". The documentation continues in J.V. Stalin's works entitled "The Fourteenth Congress of the C.P. S.U. (B.)", "The Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party", "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism", and "Mastering Bolshevism". Finally, the collaboration between the Trotskyites and the modern revisionists is fully exposed in the polemics issued by the Communist Party of China against the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, specifically the polemics entitled "On the Question of Stalin", and "The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchev's Revisionism". Selected excerpts follow from the above-mentioned works describing the traitorous actions of Trotsky, the Trotskyites, and the Khrushchevite revisionists.

I. V.I. Lenin, "Violation of Unity Under the Cover of Cries for Unity", SELECTED WORKS, N.Y.C., Vol. IV, 1943

The old participants in the Marxian movement in Russia know Trotsky's personality very well, and it is not worth while talking to them about it. But the young generation of workers do not know him and we must speak of him, for he is typical of all the five grouplets abroad, which in fact are also vacillating between the liquidators and the Party.

During the period of the old ISKRA (1901-03) these waverers who deserted from the "Economists" to the ISKRA-ists and back again were dubbed "Tushino deserters", (such was the name given during the "disturbed times" in old Russ to warriors deserting one camp for another)

The "Tushino deserters" declare themselves to be above factions for the simple reason that they "borrow" ideas from one faction one day and from another faction another day. Trotsky was an ardent ISKRA-ist in 1901-03, and Ryazanov described the part he played at the Congress of 1903 as that of "Lenin's truncheon". At the end of 1903 Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e., one who deserted the ISKRA-ists for the "Economists"; he proclaimed that "there is a deep gulf between the old and the new ISKRA." In 1904-05 he left the Mensheviks and began to vacillate, at one moment collaborating with Martynov (the "Economist"), and at another proclaiming the absurdly "Left" theory of "permanent revolution".

During the period of disintegration, after long "non-factional" vacillations, he again shifted to the Right, and in August 1912 entered into a bloc with the liquidators. Now he is again abandoning them, repeating however, what in essence are their pet ideas. (p. 206-208).

II. J.V. Stalin, "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism", MARXISM AND REVISIONISM, N.Y.C., 1946

Some Bolsheviks think that Trotskyism is a faction of communism - one which makes mistakes, it is true, which does many foolish things, is sometimes even anti-Soviet, but which, nevertheless, is a faction of communism. Hence, there is a somewhat liberal attitude towards the Trotskyites and Trotskyite-thinking people. It need hardly be proved that such a view of Trotskyism is profoundly wrong and pernicious. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism has long since ceased to be a faction of communism. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie which is fighting communism, fighting the Soviet government, fighting the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an ideological weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis that it is impossible to build socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis that the degeneration of the Bolsheviks is inevitable, etc.? Trotskyism gave it that weapon. It is no accident that in their attempts to prove the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet government, all the anti-Soviet groups in the U.S.S.R. have been referring to the well-known thesis of Trotskyism that it is impossible to build socialism in one coun-

try, that the degeneration of the Soviet government is inevitable, that the return to capitalism is probable. (p. 62).

III. J.V. Stalin, "Mastering Bolshevism", N.Y., 1937

In the past, seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism was one of such political trends in the working class, an anti-Leninist trend. It is true, and therefore profoundly mistaken, but nevertheless a political trend. (p. 15).

... Present-day Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence services of foreign states.

Such is the indisputable result of the evolution of Trotskyism in the past seven or eight years.

Such is the difference between Trotskyism in the past and Trotskyism at the present time. (p. 17).

IV. The Communist Party of China, THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, Peking, 1965

The frantic campaign against Stalin by the leadership of the CPSU enabled the Trotskyites, who had long been political corpses to come to life again and clamor for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky.... The Trotskyites made no secret of their joy, declaring that the anti-Stalin campaign started by the leadership of the CPSU had "opened the door for Trotskyism" and would "greatly help the advance of Trotskyism and its organization - the Fourth International". (p. 130).

In fact, it is Khrushchev himself who has succeeded to the mantle of Trotskyism and who stands with the Trotskyites of today.

Trotskyism manifests itself in different ways in different questions and often wears the mask of "ultra-leftism", but its essence is opposition to revolution, repudiation of revolution. (p. 398).

Therefore, the only logical conclusion is that Khrushchev's revisionism is not only cut from the same cloth as Kautskyism, but also converges with Trotskyism to oppose revolution. (p. 399).

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE BIG-WIGS!

I feel this item will be of interest to your readers.

Writing about the 1912 election in the United States V.I. Lenin pointed out: "(Theodore) Roosevelt's Progressive Party, with its 4.5 million votes, is a specimen of the broad bourgeois-reformist trend which has come on the scene in sweeping American fashion."

"What happens to this trend", Lenin continued, "is of general interest because, in one form or another, it exists in all capitalist countries."

"In any bourgeois-reformist trend there are two main streams: the bourgeois big-wigs and politicians, who deceive the masses with promises of reform, and the cheated masses, who feel that they cannot go on living in the old way, and follow the quack with the loudest promises."

And Lenin remarks: "...the less freedom there is in a country...the greater is the importance of backstairs intrigues and private connections in procuring concessions, subsidies, bonanza legal cases (for the lawyers) etc."

Even in 1912 this great communist foresaw the essential features of today's reformist quackery - its two streams: the big-wigs and politicians, and the cheated masses.

P.Z.  
Milwaukee, Wis.

### OH, FOR THE GOOD-OLD DAYS!

In Executive Order 11310 dated October 11, 1966 and titled, "Assigning Emergency Preparedness Functions to the Attorney General", the Hon. Johnson hereby ordered as follows:...

"Sec. 2 Basic Functions. The Attorney General shall: ... (g) Security standards. In consultation with the Department of Defense and with other executive agencies to the extent appropriate, prepare plans for adjustment (emphasis added) of security standards governing the employment of Federal personnel and Federal contractors in an emergency."

To appreciate what "adjustment" means to those who rule let us listen to the Director of Intelligence and Research of the State Department, T.L. Hughes. On June 8, 1964, he addressed a conference of officers of the "Latin American armed forces". The conference took place in the Canal Zone; it was sponsored by the U.S. Southern Command.

"Of course, one man's flexibility is another man's inconsistency. Doubtless there will be those who find elements of inconsistency in a policy (N.B.: a policy) which treats different communists differently.... Indeed the problem of coping with such seeming (?) inconsistencies will be with us more and more... In the day-to-day business of foreign affairs one becomes almost nostalgic for the terror of the cold war. Things were more easily organizable then... We cannot make the world behave the way the words behave. It will be increasingly important for us in our own minds (L) to separate communists from non-

communists at a time when the communists (Hughes has in mind "the Soviet-oriented wings of the communist parties") are trying harder than ever to cloud over that distinction. We must avoid becoming entangled in the very confusions which the communists (that is, the modern revisionists) themselves will be working overtime to cause."

P.S.  
Washington, D.C.

## PEOPLE'S VOICE: REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON

(continued from page 3)

of the Party with which they are in agreement, and carry out those sections of the Party program with which they agree.

Readers' circles may add new members according to their standards; the Party recommends the following minimum requirements: 1) political interest, 2) a willingness to distribute the PEOPLE'S VOICE, 3) persons who essentially agree with the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The circles should attract the most advanced sections of the working class provided they carry out the minimum work of distribution of propaganda.

They are in effect the basis for building Party units. i.e., readers' circles may exist where there are no Party units.

- The correspondent (circle leader) has the following tasks:
1. corresponding on a regular basis with the Party center:
    - a. report on activity
    - b. comments and criticism of the paper
  2. conducting the discussion of specific articles in P.V. as directed by the Party center, referring all unanswerable questions to the center.
  3. distributing the PEOPLE'S VOICE to other members and collecting funds.
  4. meeting with Party representatives to plan work.
  5. collecting newspaper clippings, leaflets, and reports from other members of the circle to convey to the center to give the Party a composite view of what is occurring throughout the country.
  6. conducting the work of the Party at specific political events (covering and attending, etc.).
  7. conducting political work in proletarian districts where there are no Party units - including the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, and the PEOPLE'S VOICE.
  8. meeting with friends and contacts of the Party upon instructions of the Party, to discuss specific questions.
  9. members of the readers' circles are responsible to the Party and the leader of their readers' circle. All members are to have a regular schedule for their work, are to attend regular discussions and meetings, write letters to the editor of the paper concerning specific articles in the PEOPLE'S VOICE, are to secure newspaper clippings, and leaflets of other groups, and to report on the political situation in their district of concentration.

## THE RELATION OF THE NEWSPAPER TO THE TRADE UNIONS

Members of the readers' circles who work in industry are laying the basis for the Party's work in the trade unions. They are to secure the names and addresses of fellow workers who are interested in the newspaper, and to draw together additional groups around the newspaper. Where trade unions are formed, the readers' circles will form the basis for rank-and-file committees within the local unions: to report on union activity to the Party, to put forward the Party's line on trade unions at union meetings, and to point out the need for revolution (upon instruction from the Party). The work of the members employed in industry is not to be confined to trade union politics, but rather to engage in all political activity indicated by the Party, and to conduct an all-sided political agitation for proletarian revolution.

## PEOPLE'S ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS

Members of the People's Armed Defense Groups are also to center their political work around the PEOPLE'S VOICE in the same manner as in the trade unions. Their role will be delineated by the newspaper and their agitation is to reflect the line of the Party as indicated by the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The defense groups serve two functions: 1.) defense of the people, and 2.) agitation.

## STUDENTS

Students (both high school and college students) are to form PEOPLE'S VOICE readers' circles and are to distribute the newspaper in proletarian districts. Thus the PEOPLE'S VOICE is to serve both politically and organizationally as a collective organizer for the Party.

Within the various proletarian districts where there are PEOPLE'S VOICE readers' circles, the circles will serve as the basis for a network of workers' groups which will carry out political agitation on a regular basis. In times of general disturbances, the circles will be mobilized to carry out the work of the Party to give the situation a specific political character and serve to draw the militant advanced elements to the position of the Party.

Within industry, the readers' circles will lay the basis for smashing the traitorous, pro-imperialist leadership of the trade unions. Where there are no trade unions, the circles will lay the basis for revolutionary trade unions.

We must lay the basis for an all-U.S. revolutionary Party through Party units, readers' circles, People's Armed Defense Groups, revolutionary trade unions, and other mass organizations, all of which can respond at a moment's notice to carry out political work and to prepare our class through political instructions and organizational form for proletarian revolution.

The specific function of the readers' circles is to read, discuss, and distribute the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The readers' circles will allow the Party and the members of the circle to gain a further understanding of each other. The Party will recruit only those who have shown through consistent work their ability to sustain a correct ideological stance and revolutionary activity. We are building an organization of professional revolutionaries. The Party requires the highest degree of devotion to our class and discipline: to be a member requires an ability to carry on an all-sided political and ideological struggle against imperialism, its

accomplices, and every trend of opportunism. It would be a political error to recruit persons for such an organization indiscriminately hence the necessity for organizations outside of the Party for the purpose of training and observation, such as PEOPLE'S VOICE readers' circles.

The readers' circles will have the following measures for security: the circles will have 2-5 members each and be organized on the basis of democratic centralism. Hence members of one circle will not necessarily know members of other circles nor information which does not concern them.

The Party serves as the leadership of PEOPLE'S VOICE readers' circles, People's Armed Defense Groups, revolutionary trade unions, etc. The Party has the function of laying a basis to the ruling class by leading the proletariat in revolution. The view of the Party leadership must be conveyed to all Party members, readers' circle members, friends, and contacts of the Party consistently through the newspaper.

## FUNDING

The financing of the work of the PEOPLE'S VOICE must come from our class - the workers, particularly the proletariat. Contributions of whatever size must be secured for each issue of the paper distributed (unless otherwise indicated); it is based on these contributions that the work of the paper is sustained. The source of the funding of the paper is important, since newspapers reflect the class and class strata which support them. If the bourgeoisie finances the paper, the paper will degenerate into a bourgeois newspaper apologizing for and covering for the exploitation and oppression of the working class (for example the revisionist press: the WORKER and the PEOPLE'S WORLD). If the petty-bourgeoisie is the primary source of funding for the paper, then it will reflect their views (i.e., CHALLENGE published by Progressive Labor Party - petty-bourgeois radicals: reformist today and anarchist tomorrow - all in the same issue of CHALLENGE) i.e., the wavering and the inconsistency of the petty-bourgeoisie. Our paper must serve the interests of the proletariat, i.e., proletarian revolution, hence it must have the financial support of our class. By gathering the nickel and dime contributions from the proletariat, those comrades and friends engaged in distributing the paper will gain the support of the proletariat, and convey to the Party the comments and criticisms of the proletariat concerning the PEOPLE'S VOICE.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In order to have a composite view of the political situation throughout the country, it is necessary for the readers of the PEOPLE'S VOICE to write their comments and criticisms of the paper. Such letters assist the Party in emphasizing and commenting on important political situations or clarifying the Party's position on certain concrete points. All readers of the paper are encouraged to and should feel it their duty (to the revolution) to send letters to the editor of the paper. All letters are and will continue to be discussed by the Editorial Board of the paper. Whether the criticisms raised are valid will be determined by the Party in accord with the line and position of the Party and the concrete experiences of the Party.

The expansion of the paper in terms of frequency of publication and number of pages depends on the increased circulation and support of the paper.

The PEOPLE'S VOICE, the voice of all the oppressed and exploited, will continue to raise the banner of proletarian revolution, will fight against the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices - the modern revisionists, the Trotskyites and the centrists. The paper is a most effective weapon in the hands of the Party and advanced workers and revolutionaries, and, as comrade Lenin pointed out, serves as a collective agitator and collective organizer. "Our objectives are proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards that end we bend all efforts" (M.I. Laski) and towards that end we will continue to publish the PEOPLE'S VOICE.

## WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!



## REUTHER'S NEW SELL-OUT

At the convention of the skilled trades section of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Atlantic City (March, 1967) and here at the UAW special convention, UAW President Walter Reuther again reiterated "his" plan for a guaranteed annual wage for all auto workers in the forthcoming contract negotiations with General Motors and the rest of the automobile manufacturers. The "Guaranteed Annual Wage" is a way of laying off workers, but buying off their discontent by paying their salary for the balance of the contractual year.

This "solution" to the problem of automation under capitalism is far less costly to the capitalists than would be work stoppages created by nation-wide strikes of workers in opposition to the job reduction. This new solution, in the guise of the workers' own proposition, is just what the bourgeoisie needs in order to keep the workers under control.

The main strikes over the past few years have been primarily strikes of skilled workers, the aristocracy of labor, in protest to the reduction of jobs - thus the railroad strikes, the long-shore strikes, the airline strikes, the electrical workers' strikes, etc. That is why the UAW is so important to U.S. monopoly capital. If the UAW accepts this "guaranteed annual wage" ruse, as put forth by Reuther, the rising star in U.S. imperialism's labor front, then it means more "labor peace" for the capitalist class in the rise of fascism and the accompanying increased exploitation and oppression of the proletariat.

It is for this purpose that the ruling class has been using all of its propaganda organs to make Reuther look like the new "revolutionary" in the AFL-CIO executive committee who would even go to the extent of bolting the AFL-CIO in order to organize every worker in the U.S.A. Even the revisionist Gus Hall clique in its press supports this new imperialist fraud against the interests of the workers.

This new fraud of U.S. monopoly capital was exposed by the workers at the G.M. auto assembly plant at Mansfield, Ohio. The workers there struck in opposition to G.M. farming out work to non-union shops. Reuther then revealed his true colors when he declared the strike illegal and placed the union's Mansfield local under receivership. This one action of Reuther's shows that while he may say that he is for the organizing of all workers, still he aids and abets General Motors' practice of having more and more work done by non-union firms and, further, of preparing for the reduction of thousands of jobs of the workers in all their operations.

Walter Reuther is serving the U.S. imperialists well; he has a long record of service ranging from leading the fight against the Communists in the industrial unions during and following World War II, to the use of UAW members in Chicago's south side to

oppose the spread of the spontaneous workers' outburst of July 1966, to the "Walter Reuther" contract settlement (if the workers vote-down the bosses' contract recommendations, then have them re-vote on the same proposition until they are beaten into submission and approval) of 1963 at the Kaiser Plant in Fontana, California.

With such qualifications as these, Walter Reuther may be the key labor lieutenant of the capitalist class in bringing about a final consolidation of the labor front - bringing James Hoffa, Harry Bridges, and George Meany together under one tent, under the leadership of Walter Reuther. Further, with Reuther's close connection with the Uncle Tom bourgeois "civil rights" leaders Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, etc., and with the bourgeois pacifists of SANE, Women's Strike for Peace, etc., plus the aid of the revisionist Gus Hall clique, Reuther could well become the leading "left" apologist and front man for U.S. monopoly capital - a position he has long been trained for as the leading capitalist apologist in the Detroit area and in the mid-west generally.

The anti-working class nature of Reuther's actions must be thoroughly exposed as the actions of one of the worst class traitors in the history of the American working class. The Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) calls for the exposure of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, and brands them as class traitors who are covering up for the rise of fascism in the U.S.A. These class traitors, by serving as a fascist labor front for U.S. imperialism, are leading the greatest sell-out in the history of the American working class.

Concerning opposition to the labor front, our Party's General Secretary, M.L. Laski pointed out, "The trade union front of U.S. monopoly capital must be exposed and recognized for what it is before we will be able to solve the problems that such a development poses to the revolutionary movement of the working people in the U.S.A. ... Our strategic objective with regard to the trade union movement is to smash thoroughly and completely the imperialist labor front by organizing from within the existing trade union structure in order to rupture the political connection with imperialism and prepare the way for the overthrow of the imperialist system. ... We must organize political study groups, and rank-and-file committees to fight directly against the trade union leadership which is thoroughly tied to (U.S.) imperialism." ("The Trade Union Question," PEOPLE'S VOICE, Jan. 30, 1967).

The new G.M. - Reuther plan and the increased exploitation and oppression of the American proletariat must be thoroughly exposed and combated. The interests of the American workers are for proletarian revolution, not for the increased profits for G.M. and the rest of U.S. monopoly capital.

## POC-RANK AMATEURS!

P.O.C. IS PLAGIARIZING THE LIES AND SLANDERS OF P.L.P.  
--OR VICE VERSA

There has been a series of attacks on the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) by the press -- both the imperialist press and the so-called "left" press. The Hearst press (see P.V. editorial PEOPLE'S VOICE Vol. 11 No. 20), the local press in the Southern California area and in New York City, the revisionist "PEOPLES WORLD", the opportunist P.L.P. "CHALLENGE", the arm-chair "revolutionaries" "HAMMER AND STEEL" and the opportunist Roman clique (P.O.C.) "VANGUARD" have all had something to say about the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) and its leading comrade, M.L. Laski. Of all of these attacks, there has been only one (vain) attempt to deal with the politics of the Party. That was an incorrect statement by HAMMER AND STEEL (see P.V. Vol 11 No. 18, "Reply to HAMMER AND STEEL" Oct. 10, 1966). The rest of the statements have been one continuous series of lies and distortions concerning our Party and leaders.

The Progressive Labor Party "CHALLENGE" and the P.O.C. "VANGUARD" have made themselves the most notorious liars and slanderers. Their unprincipled attacks have come from the imagination of their "leadership" full-blown. They can neither substantiate their fabrications nor can they deal a decisive blow to our Party and leadership. Such an approach can only lead them further into the quagmire of crass opportunism. These opportunists have surpassed the bourgeois press in their slanderous attacks. To this we say "Where the knife digs deepest, the scream is loudest".

The chiming of both of these groups is becoming louder and louder. We say to both the unprincipled Roman and Rosem-Epton cliques: there is no way out of your dilemma; deal with our politics and we will deal with yours and speed your destruction. A word of advice: the present approach, i.e. lying and slandering, will only show what crass opportunists you are. Of course, to deal with principled differences will be your finish -- what a dilemma!

The Latest System of Lies from the Roman Clique

In the Oct-Nov. 1966 issue of "VANGUARD" the article entitled "Mr Charlie's Mest Coast Kennel's Move East" Messrs Roman & Co. attempt to prove that the political position of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) is the same as that of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD) and the Swiss "L'entencelle" (Spark) without even stating the points which are similar. Instead the Roman clique goes on to state that the U.S. imperialists have conspired with the Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L) and its leadership. (How imaginative!) Roman goes on to state that Comrade Laski is a police agent and provocateur, etc., etc. (We have heard the same lies from the P.L.P.) Either P.O.C. is plagiarizing P.L.P.'s slanderous line, or vice versa. All of this because of the confusion and bewilderment of the provincial A. Roman as to why the bourgeois press deals with our Party.

According to the confused Roman clique (perhaps if Messrs Roman & Co. stopped refusing and sending back the PEOPLE'S VOICE, a number of political questions would become clear to them), the U.S. imperialists are giving favorable treatment to the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) in their press; hence, there is a great conspiracy going on (sic). What are the facts? The imperialist press heaps slander and lies and paints Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China, the Peoples Republic of China in the blackest of colors. According to the imperialists, to be "pro-China", "Marxist-Leninist", "anti-Russia" (the Soviet revisionists are as respectable and as reasonable as can be expected of communists in the eyes of the U.S. imperialist press) is the worst of worse and is terrible. In the same breath of hearing lies and slanders on our comrades in China, the imperialists describe our Party as being "pro-Peking". Of course, as Marxist-Leninists, to be compared with the correct Marxist-Leninist position of the C.P. of China led by Mao Tse-tung is a great compliment. A compliment, however, is not intended by the imperialist press. On the contrary, the imperialists consider this "favorable" treatment as slander. It is the intention of the imperialists to "expose" the correct position of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) to all "good, anti-communist Americans," (read reactionaries), often in hopes of soliciting an attack (such as the two bombings of Party bookstores) or to turn "all good patriots" against our Party, its leadership and revolutionary proletarian ideology. Such "exposures" often have the opposite effect, but that is the problem of the imperialists.

The confused Roman cannot understand this bit of logic and no doubt considers the slanderous statements concerning the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) of L.A. Mayor Yorty and Congressman Ashbrook (Ohio, Member of HUAC) to be part of the great conspiracy, but the Roman clique's problem. The "... Kennel's Move East" article goes on to state that the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) is holding back the struggle of the Negro national minority workers and that the Party is a group of "Trots", etc. because of the advocacy of "People's Armed Defense Groups". What is the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) position on Armed Defense Groups? The formation of such groups and the giving of leadership and direction to such groups has been undertaken by the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) for the purpose of defending the most oppressed and exploited workers from the attacks of the reactionary U.S. imperialists and for the purpose of waging a fit for fit struggle against the Klan in the Negro nation in the South. The Groups in the Negro nation will form part of the National Liberation Forces. This the "heroic" A. Roman (who ordered all P.O.C. members out of Watts during the August 1966 Uprising and all P.O.C. members out of Harlem during the 1964 riots) calls "adventurism". Are we to follow the lead of the Roman clique which has been in existence for almost 10 years and be for all practical purposes unheard of and do nothing but talk about the need for revolution, overthrowing the capitalist system and the right of self-determination, etc., etc. without taking one concrete step in that direction? Are we to stand idly by and watch our working class comrades and brothers slaughtered and 14 months later

call their struggle, which the Roman clique deserted, "heroic"? This is what the P.O.C. has been content with doing for nearly ten years and will do for another ten years!

It is no wonder that the Roman clique is attacking the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L). Roman is trying to cover for his opportunism and trying to justify the amateurishness of the P.O.C. According to the Roman clique, any practical activity is "adventurism". The Roman clique shows its cowardice not only in their "practical activity" (which consists of a retreat at the first sign of open struggle by the proletariat), but also in their press; instead of political differences we hear lies and slanders as an attempt to cover. To this we say: Messrs Roman & Co., unless you change your line of approach, your politics will remain on the level of your imperialist masters.



## PADG: A STUDY IN TACTICS

J. V. Stalin, THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Chapter VII  
"Strategy and Tactics"

From this theme I take six questions:

- strategy and tactics as the science of leadership in the class struggle of the proletariat;
- stages of the revolution, and strategy;
- the flow and ebb of the movement, and tactics;
- strategic leadership;
- tactical leadership;
- reformism and revolutionism.

1.) STRATEGY AND TACTICS AS THE SCIENCE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT. The period of the domination of the Second International was mainly a period of the formation and training of the proletarian political armies under conditions of more or less peaceful development. It was a period of parliamentarism as the predominant form of the class struggle. Questions of great class conflicts, of preparing the proletariat for great clashes, of the means of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, did not seem to be on the order of the day at that time. The task was confined to utilising all means of legal development for the purpose of forming and training the proletarian armies, to utilising parliamentarism in conformity with the conditions under which the status of the proletariat remained, and, as it seemed, had to remain, that of an opposition. It scarcely needs proof that in such a period and with such a conception of the tasks of the proletariat there could be neither an integral strategy nor any elaborated tactics. There were fragmentary and detached ideas about tactics and strategy, but no tactics or strategy as such.

The mortal sin of the Second International was not that it pursued at that time the tactics of utilising parliamentary forms of struggle, but that it overestimated the importance of these forms, that it considered them virtually the only forms, and that when the period of open revolutionary battles set in and the question of extra-parliamentary forms of struggle came to the fore, the parties of the Second International turned their backs on these new tasks, refused to shoulder them.

Only in the subsequent period, the period of direct action by the proletariat, the period of proletarian revolution, when the question of overthrowing the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate practical action; when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy) became one of the most burning questions; when all forms of struggle and of organization, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary (tactics), had quite clearly manifested themselves - only in this period could an integral strategy and elaborated tactics for the struggle of the proletariat be worked out. It was precisely in this period that Lenin brought out into the light of day the brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy that had been suppressed by the opportunists of the Second International. But Lenin did not confine himself to restoring particular tactical propositions of Marx and Engels. He developed them further and supplemented them with new ideas and propositions, combining them all into a system of rules and guiding principles for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin's pamphlets, such as What Is To Be Done?, Two Tactics, Imperialism, The State and Revolution, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, "Left-Wing" Communism, undoubtedly constitute priceless contributions to the general treasury of Marxism, to its revolutionary arsenal. The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. (J. V. Stalin, THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Peking, 1965, p. 82-84).

The section on the People's Armed Defense Groups (P.A.D.G.) will appear as a regular section of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, beginning with this issue. This decision has been made because of the great interest expressed by the readers of the paper and the many requests for information from across the country concerning the P.A.D.G. and the Party's view on armed defense. The P.A.D.G. column will supply information on how to form and direct the activity of armed defense groups at the present time. Information will also be designed to train and to educate politically the various armed defense groups that have been formed and are being formed throughout the country.

## EX-CIA OFFICIAL ADMITS LABOR FRONT

EX-CIA OFFICIAL REVEALS  
U.S. IMPERIALIST LABOR FRONT!

Thomas Braden, formerly the director of the International Organization Division of the Central Intelligence Agency, has publicly revealed the role of the AFL-CIO leadership as direct agents of U.S. imperialism. In an article appearing in the May 20 issue of the SATURDAY EVENING POST, Braden admitted that the CIA put two million dollars a year into the AFL-CIO to further the aims of U.S. imperialism, and a special grant to UAW President Walter Reuther for the German "anti-communist" trade unions.

Braden in his article revealed the role of the labor front as traitors to the American working class. While he wrote the article in the most laudatory terms for the CIA, which he sees as a strong bastion against communism and as a necessary instrument in the state apparatus of U.S. monopoly capital, he has likewise revealed the hand of these class traitors, whom he has employed - George Meany, Jay Lovestone, Walter Reuther, Victor Reuther, etc. Braden's job is that of propagandist for U.S. imperialism - in the course of his work, he must cite examples of that which he supports as vital to the interests of his class (he is now a newspaper publisher in Oceanside, California - a reward for service to U.S. imperialism) and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class are the present persons whom he has chosen to laud as vital to the existence of his class.

We say that all imperialist propagandists should continue in support of the labor front of U.S. imperialism, so that we may more fully document our exposure of these class traitors as absolute agents of U.S. imperialism, and that the workers may be fully armed to throw these agents out. It is worth noting that the revisionist Gus Hall

NEAR EAST (continued from page 1)

against U.S. imperialism and its colonial Zionist regime. The revisionist C.P.U.S.A. must be condemned for their support of U.S. imperialism by failing to support the national liberation struggle, while the Soviet revisionists put forward the pretence of support for the Arab people, while plotting with the U.S. imperialists at this juncture to betray the Arab peoples.

### CORRECTIONS

In the article entitled "On the Failure of the Anti-war Movement" appearing in the PEOPLE'S VOICE, Vol. III, No. 7-8, April 10, 1967 on page 1 the following corrections should be made: paragraph 1, line 31, "...turning it into non-productive channels and dissipating it by useless and energy-consuming marches which never expose their real nature," paragraph 11, line 6, "We must prepare for socialist revolution..."

clique supports Walter Reuther as the "lesser evil" over George Meany because Meany continued to accept CIA funds while Reuther is named in only certain instances. Truly a lesser evil! These pseudo "communists" support someone who is openly anti-communist!

The only position to take with regard to the labor front is to organize the workers into rank and file committees to oppose the fascist labor front and to return the control of the unions to the workers. (see "The Trade Union Question" by M. I. Laski, PEOPLE'S VOICE, January 30, 1967).

SOUTHERN CAMPUSES  
(continued from page 1)

divine mission of "let the ruling class do all the killing, else ye be damned" the "right" Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick (co-chairman of the SNCC chapter at Texas Southern University) ran for cover and the police advanced "infantry style" (NATIONAL OBSERVER, May 22, 1967), stormed the men's dormitory, and beat and

arrested over 450 students.

Lessons to be learned:  
1) It is clear that the struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation must proceed in an organized manner, led by the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) and based firmly on the proletariat, towards the specific goal of overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.  
2) The petty bourgeoisie must side with either the reactionary ruling class or with the revolutionary proletariat. The interests of the petty-bourgeoisie as a whole lies with the proletariat.  
3) With regard to the increased oppression and exploitation of the Negro nation in the South, the only solution is the right of self-determination. Such a right can only be implemented through a revolutionary movement led by the Party of the proletariat.

4) In our advocacy of proletarian socialist revolution and the right of self-determination for the Negro nation in the South and for Puerto Rico, we point out, "There can be no successful revolution in this country if the masses are not accustomed to the view that they must be armed to defend their interests, for if they can not understand that they must be armed, how can they accomplish a revolution which requires the highest degree of political consciousness?" ("The Nature of the State and the View of the Party on Violence" by M. I. Laski, PEOPLE'S VOICE, February 13, 1967).

We are conducting agitation for the formation of Party units and People's Armed Defense Groups. Only on this basis can the proletariat and the rest of the oppressed and exploited conduct any type of struggle against U.S. imperialism and their henchmen and survive the attacks of the ruling class.

# CHINA FEATURES

## RED GUARDS ON EXTENSIVE DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

by Cheng Chih

In the great era of Mao Tse-tung, democracy on the broadest scale ever practiced in human society is now being enjoyed by the revolutionary masses throughout China.

What is this extensive democracy? Why is it necessary to practice extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and what effect will it have on China's future?

Today in China, the young Red Guards dare to think and to speak out. This is what they say.

Recently, Li Kuan-Chang of the Peking Mining Institute wrote:

"The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is a movement of extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our respected leader, Chairman Mao trusts the masses, relies on them, boldly arouses them and respects their initiative. He encourages the revolutionary people to launch a general offensive against the enemy, using the weapons of extensive democracy: full and frank airing of views, big-character posters, great debate, and free exchange of revolutionary experience; he empowers ordinary people to criticize and supervise the leading organs and leading cadres at all levels.

"And among the masses and their organizations, extensive democracy is applied to enable them to unify their thinking, come to a common understanding, and raise their level of consciousness, so that they may master Marxism-Leninism, master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"The movement of extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought has been sweeping through the length and breadth of the country with the momentum of an avalanche. Together with the revolutionary young people, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers are being aroused. The handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road and the monsters and demons in society are being dragged out one by one into the light of day and being exposed for all to see."

After reviewing the achievements of the Red Guards as the shock force in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Li Kuan-chang went on to draw the distinction between the democracy of the exploiting classes and the extensive democracy now being practiced in China.

"Chairman Mao has told us, 'Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people.'

"The democracy of the exploiting classes is sham democracy. It is hypocritical, for it is democracy enjoyed by only a handful in society — the ruling class, a minority which oppresses the majority. Under the magnificent signboard of 'democracy', the broad masses of the working people enjoy no rights in life and no freedom until death, while the exploiting classes build their paradise on the corpses of the poor.

"The extensive democracy we practice today is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is true proletarian democracy on a scale never practiced before. This is the latest development of Chairman Mao's mass line and a new manifestation of the mastery of Mao Tse-tung's thought by hundreds of millions of people.

"Revolutionary practice tells us that without extensive democracy, a genuine Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which affects people to the very depths of their being is impossible to prevent the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state by the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

"Without extensive proletarian democracy, tens of millions of working people will be dragged back into the foul abyss of the old society.

"Our extensive democracy is democracy under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. When the masses hold differing views, it is necessary for both sides to present the facts and reason things out in debate in order to come to agreement. One side must not force its views on the other.

"Among the ranks of the people, if someone claims the right to express his own views, but does not allow others to express different views, he is going against the principle of extensive proletarian democracy.

"Our extensive democracy is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is obvious that without the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no extensive democracy.

"Every revolutionary among us must become skilled in observing and studying the trends in different classes and different phenomena. We must see through the intrigues and tricks of our class enemies, must cut off the monstrous counter-revolutionary claws by which our class enemies snatch at the revolutionary people, and must enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Another Red Guard, Tan Hou-lan of the Peking Teachers' College, deals with the aim of extensive democracy, saying, "Chairman Mao teaches us: 'Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means.' We practice the means of extensive democracy in order to reach the great aim of carrying through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consolidating

the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the cause of socialism."

Today, a system of general elections, modelled on the Paris Commune, has been introduced for all organs of power leading the cultural revolution without any exceptions. The masses have the power to replace or recall any elected member at any time.

Since the beginning of 1967, a mighty storm is sweeping the whole of China, a storm in which the proletarian revolutionary rebels are forming a great alliance to struggle to seize power from those within the Party in

authority taking the capitalist road. Seizing power from below, the masses of workers and peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres are acting together as masters of their own affairs and are establishing a brand new proletarian order in China.

As has been advocated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a vigorous and lively political situation is taking shape throughout the country, a situation in which, as anticipated, there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

## NEWS AROUND THE WORLD

D. R. V.

Hanoi, May 22 (Hsinhua) --

The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in a statement protested strongly against the massive invasion of the demilitarized zone by the U. S. and puppet troops since May 18. It pointed out that the invasion is a grave escalation of the war.

"This is clearly a new step of 'escalation' which proves that the U.S. is undermining the provisions for the demilitarized zone, feverishly stepping up its aggressive war in Vietnam in the hope of recovering from their defeats and predicament in south Vietnam. The roundabout denials and the so-called 'peace efforts' of the U.S. administration are but impudent deceitful maneuvers."

HONG KONG

Hong Kong, May 22 (Hsinhua) --

The British authorities in Hong Kong staged a new bloody suppression of Chinese in Hong Kong on May 21. The British Hong Kong authorities sent more than 1000 police and "riot police" to create a new bloody incident in the Chung Wan district, the Sheung Wan district, north point, and mid-levels district in the center of Hong Kong city. Many Chinese workers and others were beaten up, and at least 44 people were unreasonably arrested. This was done in utter disregard of the May 15 statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the strong protest issued by Chinese compatriots.

Enraged by these fresh atrocities, tens of thousands of Chinese compatriots in Hong Kong fought against the enemy on the streets for almost nine hours.

The Chinese compatriots are closely watching the British fascist thugs. They consider that, since the British Hong Kong authorities have escalated their persecution, the Chinese compatriots will also escalate their struggle. The compatriots warned the British Hong Kong authorities: "You must immediately and unconditionally accept the five-point demand in the statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and the four demands put forth by the Hong Kong-Kowloon compatriots of all circles. Otherwise, you face even more disastrous defeat than the Portuguese imperialists suffered in Macao."

WESTMORELAND

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issue a "disclaimer" statement, saying that they "...remain steadfastly opposed to any unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam.... Perhaps in some other way this information may help to contribute to a negotiated peace, which is the last and only remaining alternative to a prolonged and intensified war." These "liberal" Senators were forced to tip their hand publicly: that they have only tactical differences with the Johnson administration on the prosecution of the war in Vietnam, and that they are definitely not "unpatriotic" to U.S. monopoly capital. This tipping of the hand of the "liberals" is part of the increasing reaction in the U.S.

We stated in our General Program, "Fascism is developing in the United States of America as a direct result of United States monopoly capital being threatened and deprived of its sources of raw materials and its spheres of influence." (PEOPLE'S VOICE, Sept. 12, 1966). This war in Vietnam is forcing this development owing to the utter political bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism.

The revisionist Gus Hall clique, on the other hand, bury their heads and identify the main danger as the "hawks" Westmoreland and L. B. Johnson, while they support the 15 "liberal" Senators and Bobby Kennedy as the "lesser evils". But those dear little "lesser evils" are just as dedicated to the prosecution of imperialist wars of aggression, they even said so - regardless of how the revisionists may cover for them. Let the revisionists deny the statement that we reprinted in the third paragraph of this article! No revisionist apologues can cover for U.S. imperialism's anti-popular and anti-working class nature.

The effect of the new imperialist reaction upon the proletariat is increased oppression, which can be opposed only by revolution. The role of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is to lead the proletariat in revolution, to smash the bourgeois state apparatus, and to organize the proletariat for the making of revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.