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Editorial

THE LESSON OF FEBRUARY AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE
PROLETARIAT VIS À VIS AN IMPENDING NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Writing about the 1905 Russian revolution just one month before the February revolution of 1917, the great architect of the Great October Socialist Revolution said, "The peculiarity of the Russian revolution is that it was a bourgeois democratic revolution in its social content, but a proletarian revolution in its methods of struggle."

In the last two editorials of our bulletin we attempted to give a general frame work regarding the position of our movement vis à vis February, the importance of the theoretical treatment of the overall situation, and the differences on characterizing February Ethiopia. We now treat the questions on the historical vanguard role played by the Ethiopian proletariat, that has hitherto seemed understated, and the immediate tasks of the proletariat. Above all, we will make our appraisals of February and the lesson it has left to the masses in general and the rising proletariat in particular.

The first Ethiopian revolution ushered a new era. For the first time, the masses took part in the struggle of the political make up of their country thereby contributing uneraseable pages in Ethiopia's history. The peculiarities of February that makes it different from the preceding sporadic uprisings and movements are; that the people participated en mass with similar politico-economic demands, that the character of the mass upheaval was in that the oppressed classes were united in opposing the ruling classes thereby making it a vivid and open class struggle, with its subsequent results.

It is an uncompleted revolution when the rising proletariat has gone beyond demanding for its own class interests but makes demands for the whole people in general and for its natural ally, the peasantry in particular. It is a revolution instigated and whose role as a vanguard leading social force was assumed and taken up by the vallant and most consistantly democratic Ethiopian proletariat. It was when each social group realized that the problem it was facing were indissolubly connected with the problems of the others and of the country. It was when, for the first time, the masses of people fully realized that the origins of the social and political ills were the ruling class and state; and therefore they subsequently acted to overthrow the regime as opposed to the fatalist conception that attributed the origins of social problems to natural and spiritual factors. The ever participation of the masses on all corners of the empire attests to that the antagonistic contradictions between the masses of the people and the ruling classes had been sharp.

The February revolution that brought even the sluggish section of the population to politics, has undoubtedly given a tremendous political consciousness to the masses that couldn't have been achieved by a decade of political education. The Ethiopian proletariat vallantly fought against, not only the national and imperialist bourgeoisie, but also against the state that protects the interests of the bourgeoisie. The non-commissioned officers and poor soldiers, who went along the path of the oppressed, directed their actions against the higher echelons of the officers' corps by rounding them up. The vallant peasant masses burned the properties and confiscated the land the landlords. Poor priests condemned the top clergy of the church whose political and economic interest is tied to the ruling class'. Women, led by women factory workers, voiced their determination to fight for equality. Office workers exposed and condemned the higher bureaucrats and demanded their removal. The empty and false propaganda of the autocracy, that if power is not retained in its hands the country will disintegrate and national strife will occur as a result of national and religious antagonisms, was found to be outrageous, calculated to maintain power by sheer harassment. The people, following the vanguard role of the

proletariat realized that the enemy is the ruling class and acted against it. All these attest to, the uplifting of the political consciousness of the masses and most important, firstly; the creation of a sense of unity among the oppressed classes and secondly, that the proletariat is the most effective and persistent revolutionary social force.

It is well remembered that the proletariat ignited the prairie fire in August by the Air Lines crews and bank workers. The victory of the August strikes gave a fine lesson to the proletariat as well as to the other classes so that the ruling class was challenged by series of strikes by December and January, to be followed by the March general strike, mutinies, demonstrations and rebellions. As a result, the proletariat emerged as the most organized and united class to present political demands. The proletariat used its "important weapon of struggle - strike-" on a general scale, thereby bringing the ruling class to its knees; as the general strike meant bringing the life of the material basis of the society to a complete standstill. As such, the proletariat proved that it is the most important class in the society being the functionary of the material basis; which in turn would help the proletariat to agitate that it should be the proletariat and the peasantry, the two classes that function productions, that should control the political and social life. Along with this, mention of the Akaki Textile workers' demonstration carrying high the RED flag of the proletariat and the shootout between the workers of highway authority and police is significant.

If one compares the contents of the petition brought by the Russian proletariat to the Czar on the Bloody-Sunday of 1905 with the demands of the Ethiopian proletariat in March 1974, one can't fail to recognize the matured state in which the Ethiopian proletariat is, as the latter's demand is more matured, class conscious, political and revolutionary. As the Russian proletariat was rightly called the leading social force of the 1905 revolution, the Ethiopian proletariat is also the leading force of the 1974 revolution.

The Ethiopian revolution is the first and not the last great revolution in our history in which the mass political and economic strikes played an important part, whose sequence of political forms cannot be understood without, at least, a short glance at its strike statistics. Generally, the number of strikers in March and April 1974 was more than a hundred times than the whole preceding decades. Moreover, in a period of one month, the number of strikers reached its climax as government workers joined in, a situation called by the imperialist press "disorder".

The mass participation of the Ethiopian proletariat and its vanguard role of the revolution certainly proves that in a revolutionary epoch, the proletariat can generate fighting energy a hundred times greater than in ordinary times. All in all, the first Ethiopian revolution shows that it is the proletariat that fought with the greatest tenacity and the greatest devotion.

Thus, since its immediate aim, which could have been achieved directly and with its own forces had there been a revolutionary organization, is a people's government, - a republic - the enactment of the daily minimum wage, the distribution of land to the tillers, and political liberty - the measures the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 and the Russian bourgeois revolution of 1905 had almost achieved; the February revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution.

Symultaneously, the February revolution in which the proletariat was not only in the sense "the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, but also in the sense that a specifically proletarian weapon of struggle - strike- was the principal means of bringing the masses into motion and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave like rise of decisive events," is also a proletarian revolution "in its method of struggle."

In addition to the uplifting of the political consciousness of the masses, the following have also been achieved: the autocrats' power has been grossly reduced that he could not even guarantee the safety of his running dogs like Yilma Shibeshi whom the autocrat appointed as Bale's governor but arrested by the armed forces in the middle of a "farewell" party the very next day; the crumbling of Akillu's cabinet and the subsequent imprisonments of its members showed that the era of the "divine" right of appointing officials has come to an end; the demands of the people were positively met; the constitution would be amended in such a way that the premier will be responsible to the parliament rather than the emperor; freedom of the press, speech, assembly, organization and strikes will be promulgated; that the government and the ruling class have been exposed; that the regime is a social organization that dangles in the sky high above the society and is fascist because of its attitude towards the famine; the people's political consciousness as well as their fighting spirit have greatly been and will remain uplifted.

However, like all uncompleted revolutions whose typical character is the lack of a strategic objective for the conquest of political power, there did not follow a fundamental social change. The question of political power is still unresolved and the exploiting classes maintain power, the contradictions are unresolved and the method towards their resolution marked by the existence and vanguard role of a revolutionary party with programmes of actions and strategy, has not been laid down. Power rests in the hands bourgeois elements whose class origin is the aristocratic feudallords and who are upholders of the interests of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. These elements are supported by US imperialism and those ranking officers of the 4th division, who executed the usual oath of imperialism, "If you can't fight them join them, if you can't convince them confuse them." Thus, the main task of the new oligarchy is to "contain" the contradiction between the ruling class and the oppressed classes from its final and inevitable resolution.

We presume that the question of the tasks of the proletariat and proletarianized intellectuals vis à vis this given situation and an impending national democratic revolution in perspective is a very important one. We say the necessity and urgency of a party is indisputable and indispensable as February Ethiopia has exposed the incorrect assertion that "we cannot accept a proletarian party now" and has even outmoded the issue of the necessity of a proletarian party.

As the ultimate necessity of the peoples' struggle is the conquest of political power, the implementation of the concrete measures towards the advancement of this stage is urgent at this particular period when the proletariat is tested by a revolutionary struggle, the peasantry is more ready than ever for action and the whole people are inspired by the revolutionary spirit. This urgent historical measure is nothing else than uniting the masses under a common political programme, organize, politicize and prepare them for a relentless class struggle that is peaceful or violent, open or underground, military or economic, educational or administrative. And this can only be best fulfilled by the existence and active vanguard role of a revolutionary party. Which social force comes to the fore with this vanguard party will save Ethiopia from the clutches of feudalism and imperialism. As such, this historical task of saving the Motherland falls entirely on the shoulder of that valiant revolutionary class, the vanguard and leader of the February revolution that proved to be the most persistent and democratic class, the Ethiopian proletariat. This is the vanguard class that ignites the prairie fire of the February renaissance, led and carried it through; beyond a shade of doubt, this must and will be the class that can save the Motherland. Therefore, the proletariat must be equipped with its **INDISPENSABLE AND MOST IMPORTANT WEAPON**, the weapon it can't do without; its party - the party of the proletariat. But how can the proletariat have its own party? And how is this carried out?

The entire history of proletarian revolutions has shown that the proletariat develops its socialist revolutionary consciousness from without and from within. That is to say, the proletariat cannot, by itself, develop socialist consciousness. This most important task can only be fulfilled by the proletarianized revolutionary intellectuals that could betray their petty-bourgeois class to integrate with the proletariat and the peasantry, politicize, revolutionize and organize them for a revolution. This is the social force that brings to the proletariat its ideology, socialism; and its vanguard, the party of the proletariat. In our Ethiopian context, these proletarianized revolutionary intellectuals are, almost all, found in the Ethiopian Student Movement. Thus, the task of Ethiopian revolutionaries has to be clearly stated.

As the proletarian party is a revolutionary class party, conscious, militant, disciplined, and always in contact with the masses; and above all whose strategic objective is the reconstitution of the society into a peoples' democratic republic as the immediate task and a socialist society as the ultimate perspective, proletarianized intellectuals should thoroughly realize that the path of the struggle is arduous they should assimilate the required proletarian revolutionary qualities. A revolutionary is a servant of the masses; sacrifices his personal interests and life to the interest of the organization; staunchly opposes liberalism and places practice, hard work, discipline and principled unity at the front; is an internationalist who has thoroughly understood the dialectical relationship of his national duties to his international ones; has the finest human virtues; has iron discipline; is a hard worker, theoretically sound, perseverant, revolutionarily patient, has ingenuity, optimism, honesty, modesty and self respect. It follows then, that the urgent task of Ethiopian proletarianized revolutionaries is solely to prepare themselves in order to endorse these invaluable, yet difficult, qualities. The sooner comrades develop theoretically and qualitatively, the sooner they will assume their historical

responsibilities to organize this proletarian party, and therefore the better it will be for the impending national democratic revolution and as such for the first measures of its inevitable victory.

Apart from the proletarianized revolutionaries, there are also patriotic and democratic revolutionaries, who want a broad united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces and who want to join the ranks of the national democratic revolution. These comrades should realize that, all anti-feudal anti-imperialist forces in the united front should work on the basis of equality, independence and democracy. Democracy is the basis in the united front, united on the basis of the minimum political platform, anti-feudal anti-imperialist, the different social groups make an ideological and political struggle. As revolution is the work of the masses, it should be clear that the parties perform democratic ideological struggle among the masses for the most correct idea and theory that is to say favoured by the masses, leads to correct results. Hence, it must unceasingly be realized that the united front is a unity of the struggle of opposites.

As to the student revolutionaries, these comrades should not fail to uphold the glorious anti-feudal anti-imperialist tradition of the revolutionary Ethiopian Student Movement. They should consistently be vigilant against anti-democratic, opportunist, and fascist petty-bourgeois elements who try to usurp the will and resolutions of the majority, entertain tailist ideas as opposed to the position of the advancing tide of the student movement; and consciously or unconsciously try to "shatter" their opponents by "exposing" them to the enemies through rumours and gossips. The basis of unity, as was upheld particularly by USUAA's former and present leaders, is democracy. Resolutions and political positions accepted by the majority should prevail until they are again dismissed by the ever-ruling majority. The majority can decide whatever political position that it agrees upon. Adopting this or that position, whichever class it may favour, does not change the mass character of our unions as the organizational character of any organization is determined not merely by its resolutions that are not divine, but by its objectives, structural framework and ideology. To this end, our comrade members, the staunch patriotic and democratic revolutionaries - those Tilahun, Wallieligns, Mariyas, mesirins or today - should persistently maintain this democratic principle of our unions to guard our sacred movement against the dangerous opportunist elements be it at home or abroad.

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, struggle," and specially from a revolutionary struggle that is waged by the determined masses who have abhorred their old way of living. Only this great determined struggle educates its motive forces, the masses of exploited. Only struggle proves to itself and to its motive forces the magnitude of its own power, broadens its scope, aggravates its abilities, hammers out its ideas and forges its objectives. Thus, it should be a lesson to the proletariat, that February Ethiopia is not a completed revolution that should have been crowned with a people's republic, that the organized force of the exploiting classes can only be broken by the organized force of the exploited, that the exploited classes urgently need a political organization that unites all revolutionary forces, coordinates their struggle and direct them against the common enemies, feudalism and imperialism, that in order for the revolution to be completed, it should be led by the most consistent and revolutionary class - the proletariat -, and that the proletariat needs its party more urgently than ever.

Thus, the immediate tasks of the proletariat are to create revolutionary study groups so as to eventually create its party, to intensify its linked political and economic struggle, politicize its members as well as the population, establish a natural alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry who are the main forces of the national democratic revolution. As revolution is the trend, to take advantage of it and act accordingly is REVOLUTIONISM while philosophizing and contemplating is TREASON and COWARDICE.

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**PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION
OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.
ON PARTY UNITY¹⁸⁴**

1. The Congress calls the attention of all members of the Party to the fact that the unity and cohesion of the ranks of the Party, the guarantee of complete mutual confidence among Party members and genuine team-work that really embodies the unanimity of will of the vanguard of the proletariat, are particularly essential at the present time, when a number of circumstances are increasing the vacillation among the petty-bourgeois population of the country.

2. Notwithstanding this, even before the general Party discussion on the trade unions, certain signs of factionalism had been apparent in the Party—the formation of groups with separate platforms, striving to a certain degree to segregate and create their own group discipline. Such symptoms of factionalism were manifested, for example, at a Party conference in Moscow (November 1920) and at a Party conference in Kharkov, by the so-called Workers' Opposition group, and partly by the so-called Democratic Centralism group.

All class-conscious workers must clearly realise that factionalism of any kind is harmful and impermissible, for no matter how members of individual groups may desire to safeguard Party unity, factionalism in practice inevitably leads to the weakening of team-work and to intensified and repeated attempts by the enemies of the governing Party, who have wormed their way into it, to widen the cleavage and to use it for counter-revolutionary purposes.

The way the enemies of the proletariat take advantage of every deviation from a thoroughly consistent communist line was perhaps most strikingly shown in the case of the Kronstadt mutiny,¹⁸⁵ when the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries and whiteguards in all countries of the world immediately expressed their readiness to accept the slogans of the Soviet system, if only they might thereby secure the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, and when the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the bour-

geois counter-revolutionaries in general resorted in Kronstadt to slogans calling for an insurrection against the Soviet Government of Russia ostensibly in the interest of the Soviet power. These facts fully prove that the whiteguards striye, and are able, to disguise themselves as Communists, and even as the most Left-wing Communists, solely for the purpose of weakening and destroying the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Menshevik leaflets distributed in Petrograd on the eve of the Kronstadt mutiny likewise show how the Mensheviks took advantage of the disagreements and certain rudiments of factionalism in the Russian Communist Party actually in order to egg on and support the Kronstadt mutineers, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the whiteguards, while claiming to be opponents of mutiny and supporters of the Soviet power, only with supposedly slight modifications.

3. In this question, propaganda should consist, on the one hand, in a comprehensive explanation of the harmfulness and danger of factionalism from the standpoint of Party unity and of achieving unanimity of will among the vanguard of the proletariat as the fundamental condition for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and, on the other hand, in an explanation of the peculiar features of the latest tactical devices of the enemies of the Soviet power. These enemies, having realised the hopelessness of counter-revolution under an openly whiteguard flag, are now doing their utmost to utilise the disagreements within the Russian Communist Party and to further the counter-revolution in one way or another by transferring power to a political group which is outwardly closest to recognition of the Soviet power.

Propaganda must also teach the lessons of preceding revolutions, in which the counter-revolution made a point of supporting the opposition to the extreme revolutionary party which stood closest to the latter, in order to undermine and overthrow the revolutionary dictatorship and thus pave the way for the subsequent complete victory of the counter-revolution, of the capitalists and landowners.

4. In the practical struggle against factionalism, every organisation of the Party must take strict measures to prevent all factional actions. Criticism of the Party's shortcomings, which is absolutely necessary, must be conducted in such a way that every practical proposal shall be submitted immediately, without any delay, in the most precise form possible, for consideration and decision to the leading local and central bodies of the Party. Moreover, every critic must see to it that the form of his criticism takes account of the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies, and that the content of his criticism is such that, by directly participating in Soviet and Party work, he can

test the rectification of the errors of the Party or of individual Party members in practice. Analyses of the Party's general line, estimates of its practical experience, check-ups of the fulfilment of its decisions, studies of methods of rectifying errors, etc., must under no circumstances be submitted for preliminary discussion to groups formed on the basis of "platforms", etc., but must in all cases be submitted for discussion directly to all the members of the Party. For this purpose, the Congress orders a more regular publication of *Diskussionny Listok*¹⁸⁶ and special symposiums to promote unceasing efforts to ensure that criticism shall be concentrated on essentials and shall not assume a form capable of assisting the class enemies of the proletariat.

5. Rejecting in principle the deviation towards syndicalism and anarchism, which is examined in a special resolution, and instructing the Central Committee to secure the complete elimination of all factionalism, the Congress at the same time declares that every practical proposal concerning questions to which the so-called Workers' Opposition group, for example, has devoted special attention, such as purging the Party of non-proletarian and unreliable elements, combating bureaucratic practices, developing democracy and workers' initiative, etc., must be examined with the greatest care and tested in practice. The Party must know that we have not taken all the necessary measures in regard to these questions because of various obstacles, but that, while ruthlessly rejecting impractical and factional pseudo-criticism, the Party will unceasingly continue—trying out new methods—to fight with all the means at its disposal against the evils of bureaucracy, for the extension of democracy and initiative, for detecting, exposing and expelling from the Party elements that have wormed their way into its ranks, etc.

6. The Congress, therefore, hereby declares dissolved and orders the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception formed on the basis of one platform or another (such as the Workers' Opposition group, the Democratic Centralism group, etc.). Non-observance of this decision of the Congress shall entail unconditional and instant expulsion from the Party.

7. In order to ensure strict discipline within the Party and in all Soviet work and to secure the maximum unanimity in eliminating all factionalism, the Congress authorises the Central Committee, in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of factionalism, to apply all Party penalties, including expulsion, and in regard to members of the Central Committee, reduction to the status of alternate members and, as an extreme measure, expulsion from the Party. A necessary condition for the application of such an extreme measure to members of the Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee and

members of the Control Commission is the convocation of a Preliminary Meeting of the Central Committee, to which all alternate members of the Central Committee and all members of the Control Commission shall be invited. If such a general assembly of the most responsible leaders of the Party deems it necessary by a two-thirds majority to reduce a member of the Central Committee to the status of alternate member, or to expel him from the Party, this measure shall be put into effect immediately.

Report to the Tenth National Congress of The Communist Party of China

(Delivered on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Chou En-lai

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

On the Line of the Ninth National Congress

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, "Unite to win still greater victories." At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat." In addition he predicted: "Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years." Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted

at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society." Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the con-



gress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571"*, and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to **"unite to win still greater victories."**

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of twenty-eight million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither

external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and Government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our cooperation with friendly countries have been further strengthened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored.

On the Victory of Smashing the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling . . . for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive

The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

say." "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4 and 10, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by "their decisive say" is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by "victory of ideas" is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the "road of internationalism" is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that "all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Chairman Mao has made "working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world" one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China's new-democratic revolution. Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Kutien Meeting [December 1929 — *Tr.*], Chairman Mao wrote a long letter "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism

over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a *class* and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out. . . ." (Frederick Engels' letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, re-

fleeing these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piao will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to "have everything under his command and everything at his disposal," but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers

another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated "all struggle, no alliance." The rectification of Wang Ming's "Left" deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, **"Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle."** In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that **"this Party of ours has a bright future."** Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, **"If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China; I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population."** So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience, and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

On the Situation and Our Tasks

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined **"imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism."** Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that **"imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,"** and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, **"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution."** This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated: they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples' struggles

against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples' struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that **"an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony."** Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the "year of Europe" and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the "super-spy" has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west," and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intransquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — find the

going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, "Flowers fall off, do what one may," they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline: it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchev to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds."** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two — for in-

stance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack"** — this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well: **"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."** (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970: **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."** It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a worldwide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian interna-

nationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two super-powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and should **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"** maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies

in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **"read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,"** try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **"the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism."**

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7 cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the gen-

Constitution of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

Chapter I

General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Through more than fifty years of arduous struggle, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this

will have to be carried out many times in the future.

The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; lead the people in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and lead them in preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The Communist Party of China has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines. Comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practising Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigues and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handling them, must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, and must train millions of suc-

cessors for the cause of proletarian revolution, so as to ensure that the Party's cause will advance for ever along the Marxist line.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Chapter II

Membership

Article 1 Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2 Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3 Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism;

(2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;

(3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;

(4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Article 4 When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures — warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who does not change despite repeated education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

Chapter III

Organizational Principle of the Party

Article 5 The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members

Article 12 The main tasks of the primary organizations of the Party are:

(1) To lead the Party members and non-Party members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and criticizing revisionism;

(2) To give constant education to the Party members and non-Party members concerning the ideological and political line and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution

(Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Wang Hung-wen

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside

the Party and formally submitted 41 drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won great vic-

**Black
Workers
Congress:**

On building a new communist party

The following is the slightly condensed text of the speech by Mike Hamlin of the Black Workers Congress given at the March 23 Guardian Forum in New York City on "What Road to Building a New Communist Party?"

There is fertile ground for communist activity in this country at this time. Thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of workers, youth, students and women have demonstrated their desire for revolutionary change in the United States. In 1970, for example, more than 5600 strikes took place reaching a ten-year high. Over 400,000 auto and 500,000 railroad workers took part in these strikes.

Over the past 12 years we have seen the development of myriad movements, especially among black and other third world peoples. These movements developed independently of what was then calling itself "the Communist party."

I am speaking of the movements of the type like the one around Malcolm X, SNCC in its later years, the Black Panther party, the Republic of New Africa, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Pan-Africanist Movement, the Young Lords party, the Weathermen, etc.

These movements were not anti-communist but considerably anti-CPUSA. This in part was due to the line and the policies of the Communist party, especially the question of the "peaceful transition to socialism." You couldn't peddle the line of "peaceful transition" to the mass of conscious workers and youth in this country in the 60s and you are not going to be able to peddle it to them in the 70s. Also, during the 50s, the bourgeoisie was able to completely sever (separate) the Communist movement and the whole history of working class struggle in this country from the present day struggle of the masses.

NEW COMMUNIST GROUPS

We began the 70s with a proliferation of new "communist" organizations. Some multi-national and others national in form. It becomes our task to build a "new" Communist party of the U.S. and merge the communist movement with the labor movement and the various national movements of the oppressed nations and nationalities. In this period we are presented with a number of roads of building this party and we shall try to answer that one, for the Black Workers Congress and hopefully, for some of you here tonight.

To begin with, let me just run down some roads that we are not going to take:

We are not going to take the road of building the party of

Democratic centralism is the most rigid centralization, firm unity, and collective political leadership, together with far-reaching activity and independence of the lower party organizations. In all normal times all the leading bodies are elected by the membership. Discussion of all problems by the membership is permitted within the framework of principles and decision. After the questions have been decided by the various leading bodies, all decisions must be carried out in a disciplined manner. Factions or unprincipled struggle is never tolerated. Lower bodies are subordinated to higher bodies and the whole organization is subordinated to the central committee.

The party's organizations and units must insure contact with the masses. Only those who are active in the party's organization can be members of the party. This principle will insure the party from becoming a debating club and prevent the passive, the cowardly and the opportunist elements from worming their way into the organization.

The party is the highest form of class organization.

The proletariat has many organizations such as trade unions, cultural groups and sports associations, which represent the particular interest of its various sectors. The communist party, however, if it is a genuine one, represents the entire interest of the working class. And even though it helps build organizations and movements around various other progressive strata, it must never lose sight of the fact that it is primarily the working class it represents. However, mass organizations are important too. Communist leadership in the mass organizations must be secured by conviction and winning the confidence of these masses and not by compulsion, manipulation or commandism.

The party must combine legal with illegal methods of work.

History is full of examples of victories and defeated revolutionary movements. It also shows how as the class struggle becomes sharper and sharper the measures which the bourgeois state uses against the revolutionary movement and revolutionary organizations also intensifies.

Under these dynamics, violence is inevitable (revisionists to the contrary). As capitalism decays more and more, the legal possibilities of political activity

dialectical relationship between policy and organization must be constantly taken into consideration or otherwise another generation will be lost to communist struggle.

This brings us to the key part of our presentation: What is the role of the BWC and why is it a national form of communist organization? We know many of our friends and especially dogmatists on the left in this country like to refer to us and formations like ours as "the Bund" (i.e., a cultural national organization - ed.). Well, we've got news for you, we are not the Bund and we do not wish to speak for all Jewish workers.

We recognize that the proletariat in the United States is multi-national and that we must have and need very desperately a communist party that reflects reality. We are convinced that when such a party comes into being some of our membership will be part of it. We think, however, that it cannot be formed by proclamation and that it will be built out of the efforts of sincere and dedicated organizations and individuals who will prove themselves in theory and practice by participating in building the people's movements and spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas among the masses.

Marxism-Leninism has not been taken into the working class movement in this country and the task of doing that is going to be a very difficult one. Among blacks, the task is going to be complicated by the history of racism and national chauvinism, the past practice of people who called themselves communist, the lack of highly trained, well developed Marxist-Leninists among blacks and the role of the black petit-bourgeoisie.

Cadre in the BWC, if asked the question, do you understand that the only solution to the problems of blacks in the U.S. is a proletarian revolution led by a multi-national communist party, to every man and woman would answer yes. If asked why are you then not a multi-national form, they would tell you that no communist party exists in this country and it must be built out of the struggles of the people and when it comes into being if it is to be genuine it must have some blacks in it who are highly developed theoretically and strongly rooted in the black working masses.

We think that our organization can and will in part fulfill that need. We do not quarrel with the multi-national forms at this time. In fact we feel that it is absolutely essential that black communists like Don Wright and Sherman Miller join organizations like the Revolutionary Union and the October League and participate in the leadership of

struggle. Intellectuals, in isolation from the mass

We are not going to take the road of basing the party on solely students, lumpens or any other unstable elements of the population but rather on the industrial proletariat.

We are not going to help build a party composed of factions, or one that engages in all struggle and no unity or vice versa.

And we are definitely not going to help build a party of the "whole people" or one that negates the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bases itself on the peaceful evolutionary road to socialism.

I could go on and on, but if you want to build a party along these lines, we say: you build in your way and we will build in ours and we will let history and the masses decide which road is correct. For ourselves, we are taking the road and traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. What road is that? You ask.

That is the road that says the party should be based deep within the industrial proletariat as the main leading force for revolutionary struggle. It is the road that says that the party must make every factory, transportation and communication facility a fortress. It is the road that says the party must have the "factory unit" as the predominant form or most basic form of its organization, rather than a party which is based on bourgeois parliamentary districts or geographical units. It is the road to revolution.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The communist movement is over 100 years old. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on organizational questions have been laid long before us. Our task as a new generation of communists is not to "revise" or "recreate" any "new" theories on the question of the party, but to synthesize and develop further that which has already been proven correct by history and the great teachers and leaders of the past and present.

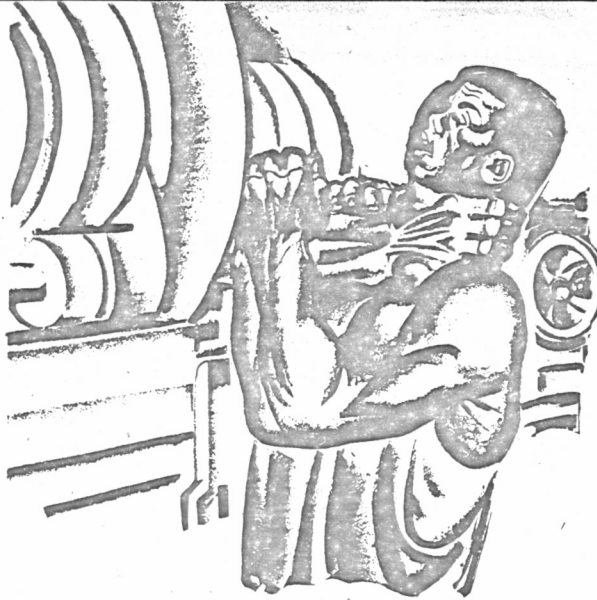
What are these principles?

The party is the most class conscious sector of the working class. The party constitutes the leadership "composed of the best, most conscious, most active, least cowardly and most courageous elements of the proletariat." The leading elements of any class are a part of that class, closely bound up with it, not a sect, separated from the class.

Many of the mass movements and workers struggles were not completed and developed to the end because there was no conscious leadership of those struggles. There was no party. The party is therefore necessary (though not necessarily a prerequisite) for organizing together the most advanced, the most revolutionary sections of the proletariat in order to lead the working class in revolutionary class struggle.

The party's life-blood is democratic centralism.

The Movement



shrink. That is why Lenin said that the party, during the so-called "peaceful periods" cannot limit its activities to the legal framework of the state because that would be abandonment of the organization of the revolution, or legalism.

On the other hand, the role of the party under such conditions is to carry on its work also under illegal methods, and not fail at the same time to organize the broadest base among the masses of the proletariat through politically active factory cells. Strong connections with the masses of the proletariat through politically active factory cells, strong connections of the party with the working class mass organizations through well-functioning cadres, and creation of specific forms of mass work such as unemployed councils, strike committees and above all the application of the proletarian and anti-imperialist united front from below.

FLEXIBLE AND ADAPTABLE

These Bolshevik principles of organization are time-tested. That does not mean that we must build a new communist party in accordance with one scheme for all periods and situations. Any party must be flexible and adaptable.

The main thing is that we must be clear politically, avoiding the evils of opportunism, revisionism, Trotskyism and sectarianism, and adjust our organizational forms and methods of work to our political tasks. Without a good policy we cannot have a powerful organization and without an active party we cannot have any concrete carrying out of our political line in practice. This

those organizations and they struggle toward the party. We believe, however, that if all black Marxist-Leninists were to join multi-national organizations at this time, the reactionary and petty-bourgeois elements in the black community would be able to consolidate their influence among the black masses, which would hold back the communist movement that much more.

We would like to be able to bring thousands of black workers and revolutionaries into the new communist party when it is formed rather than enter into it as a small group, isolated from the black community.

We see our main task in this period as building stable leadership at all levels of the black struggle by building and strengthening mass anti-imperialist and working class organizations. Only by this means can we bring the black people's struggle (at present at a low ebb) forward step by step and finally together with the whole worker's movement, and together lead the mass revolutionary high tide which will certainly come.

A LENINIST PARTY

To build the new communist party as a genuine Marxist-Leninist organization this party must be a Leninist party, a party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and highest form of class organization of the U.S. proletariat, a party with a great historical mission. Whenever it comes into being, and in whatever forms it may appear, it must fulfill the following conditions:

Ideologically: It must be armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and free from sectarianism, opportunism, Trotskyism and modern revisionism.

Politically: It must have a correct program which includes correct answers to the national question, the united front, the woman question and a thorough understanding of the strategy and tactics of the U.S. revolution; masters the main form of struggle as well as other forms of struggle; is capable of establishing a united front of all genuinely anti-imperialist elements and is deeply based among the industrial proletariat and oppressed nations and nationalities.

Organizationally: It must be strong and must consist of the most trusted, experienced and most steeled party members who set an example in the implementation of their tasks.

The task of building a new Marxist-Leninist party like the one we've been talking about tonight is an arduous and protracted task and full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

We of the Black Workers Congress are committed to this task of building such a party, to struggle with our fellow comrades in different organizations and sectors of the movement, to reach a unanimity of will with regard to the mistakes made by the party of the past, as well as concerning the road that must be taken.



1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Series PC(S1)-1
June 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE/Bureau of the Census

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

Distribution of the Negro Population, by County

The two maps presented in this report show the geographic distribution of the Negro population of the United States in 1970. Map 1 shows the number of Negro persons in each county throughout the country, and map 2 shows the corresponding percent Negro for the population of each county. The first map indicates that for the overwhelming majority of counties across the country, the Negro population is less than 2,500. The second map shows that counties with a large proportion of Negro population are still largely concentrated in the Southern States.

Table A presents statistics identifying the number of counties with a Negro population of 50,000 or more in each region, by State. There are 75 counties, including 4 independent cities, in 25 States which have at least 50,000 Negroes. These counties are distributed from California to Massachusetts; however, 35, or about half of them, are found in the Southern States. The five counties in the Nation with the largest Negro population are as follows:

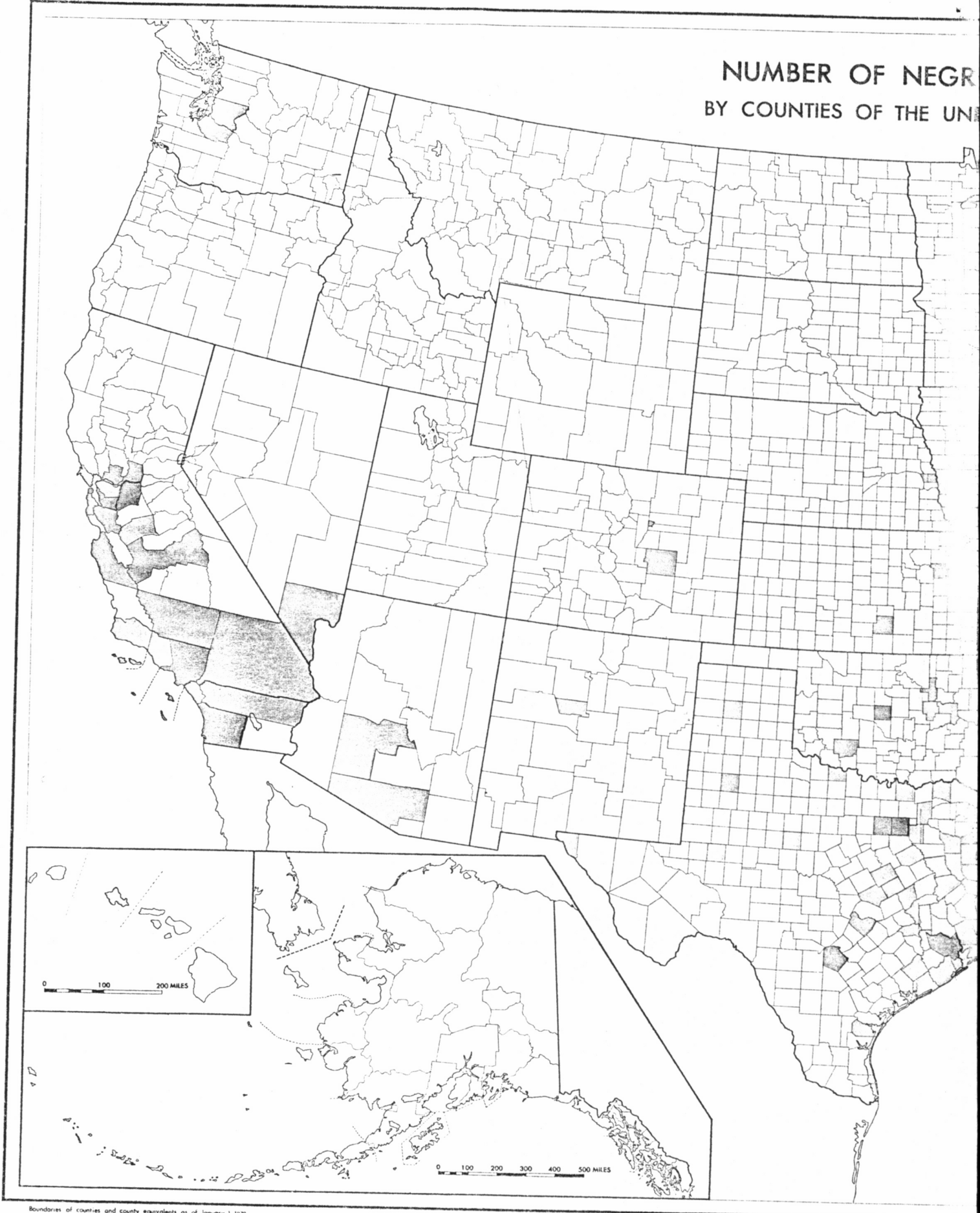
County and State	Negro population
Cook County, Ill.	1,183,475
Los Angeles County, Calif.	762,844
Wayne County, Mich.	721,072
Kings County, N.Y.	654,980
Philadelphia County, Pa.	653,971

Thirty-two counties, including three independent cities, have at least 100,000 Negroes. Most of these counties have large cities with concentrations of Negro population.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and U.S. Department of Commerce Field Offices, 20 cents.

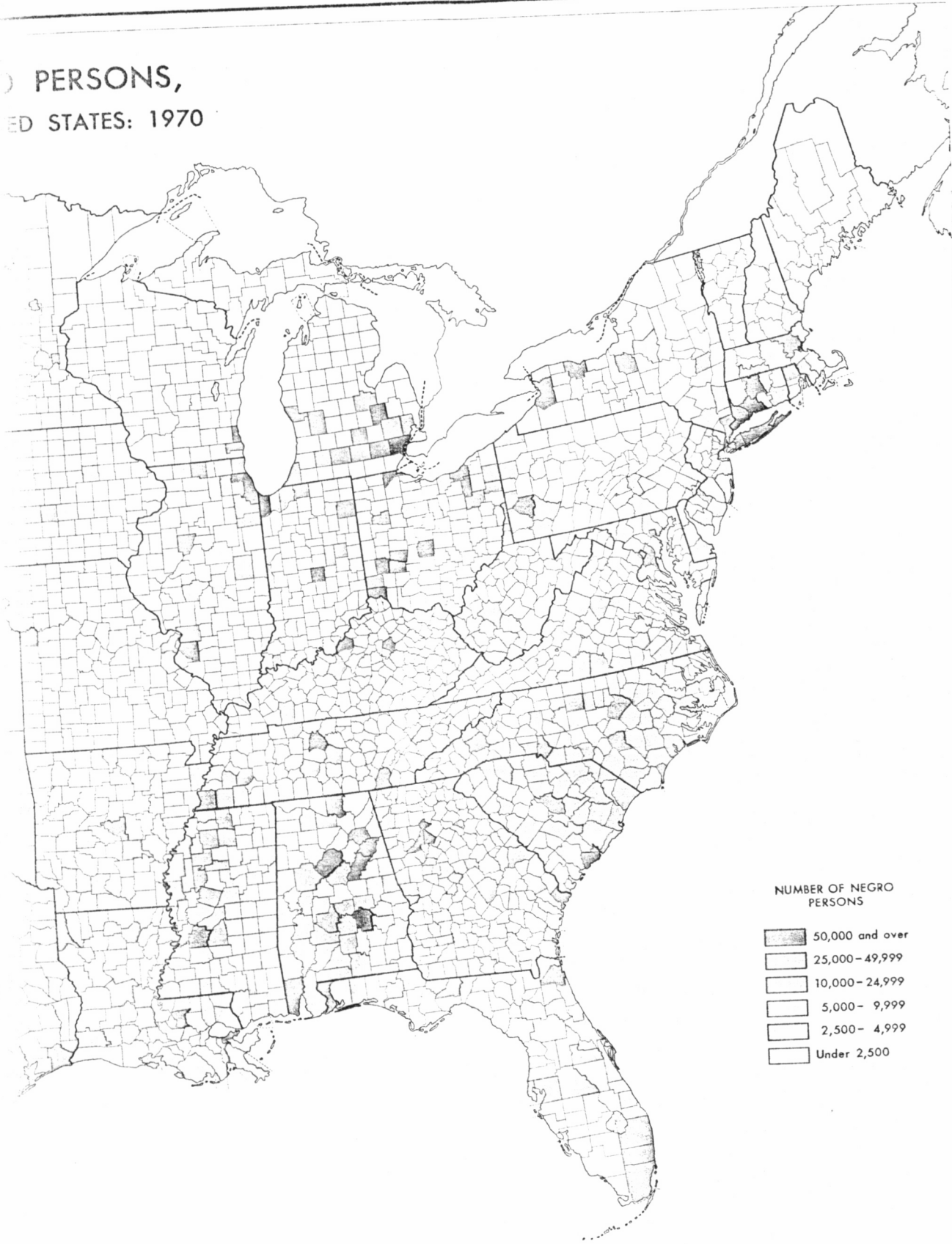
Stock Number 0301-2282

NUMBER OF NEGRO BY COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES



Boundaries of counties and county equivalents as of January 1, 1970

PERSONS, ED STATES: 1970



NUMBER OF NEGRO PERSONS

- 50,000 and over
- 25,000 - 49,999
- 10,000 - 24,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 2,500 - 4,999
- Under 2,500

0 100 200 300 400 500 MILES
ALBERS EQUAL AREA PROJECTION

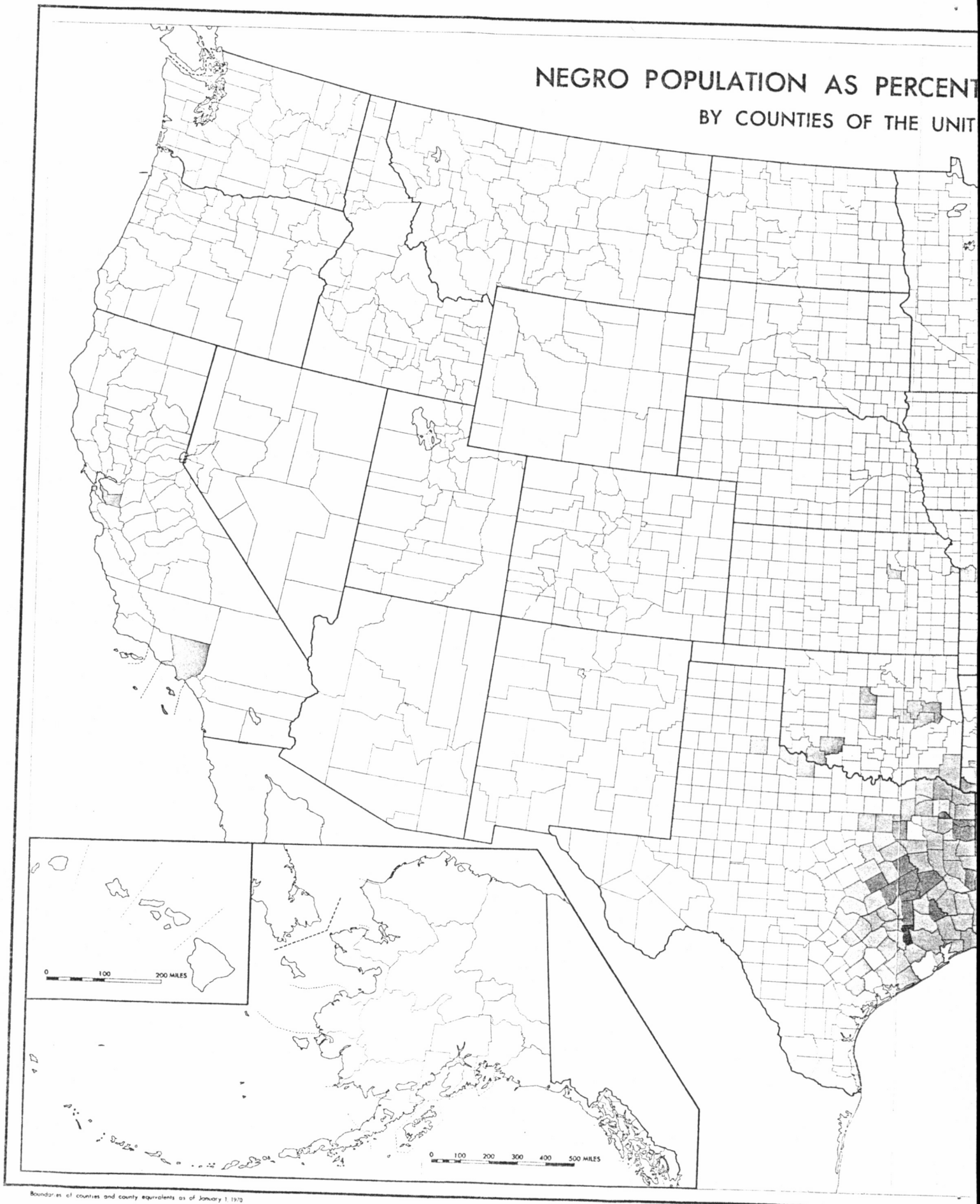
Table 1. Negro and Total Population of the United States: 1970

Regions Divisions States	Negro population	Total population	Percent Negro	Regions Divisions States	Negro population	Total population	Percent Negro
United States.....	22,578,273	203,165,699	11.1	South Atlantic.....	6,388,496	30,671,337	20.8
Regions:				Delaware.....	78,276	548,104	14.3
Northeast.....	4,342,137	48,994,476	8.9	Maryland.....	699,479	3,922,399	17.8
North Central.....	4,571,550	56,571,663	8.1	District of Columbia.....	537,712	756,510	71.1
South.....	11,969,961	62,795,367	19.1	Virginia.....	861,368	4,648,494	18.5
West.....	1,694,625	34,804,193	4.9	West Virginia.....	67,342	1,744,237	3.9
New England.....	388,398	11,841,663	3.3	North Carolina.....	1,126,478	5,082,059	22.2
Maine.....	2,800	992,048	0.3	South Carolina.....	789,041	2,590,516	30.5
New Hampshire.....	2,505	737,681	0.3	Georgia.....	1,187,149	4,589,575	25.9
Vermont.....	761	444,330	0.2	Florida.....	1,041,651	6,789,443	15.3
Massachusetts.....	175,817	5,689,170	3.1	East South Central....	2,571,291	12,803,470	20.1
Rhode Island.....	25,338	946,725	2.7	Kentucky.....	230,793	3,218,706	7.2
Connecticut.....	181,177	3,031,709	6.0	Tennessee.....	621,261	3,923,687	15.8
Middle Atlantic.....	3,953,739	37,152,813	10.6	Alabama.....	903,467	3,444,165	26.2
New York.....	2,166,933	18,190,740	11.9	Mississippi.....	815,770	2,216,912	36.8
New Jersey.....	770,292	7,168,164	10.7	West South Central....	3,010,174	19,320,560	15.6
Pennsylvania.....	1,016,514	11,793,909	8.6	Arkansas.....	352,445	1,923,295	18.3
East North Central...	3,872,905	40,252,476	9.6	Louisiana.....	1,086,832	3,641,306	29.8
Ohio.....	970,477	10,652,017	9.1	Oklahoma.....	171,892	2,559,229	6.7
Indiana.....	357,464	5,193,669	6.9	Texas.....	1,399,005	11,196,730	12.5
Illinois.....	1,425,674	11,113,976	12.8	Mountain.....	180,382	8,281,562	2.2
Michigan.....	991,066	8,875,083	11.2	Montana.....	1,995	694,409	0.3
Wisconsin.....	128,224	4,417,731	2.9	Idaho.....	2,130	712,567	0.3
West North Central...	698,645	16,319,187	4.3	Wyoming.....	2,568	332,416	0.8
Minnesota.....	34,868	3,804,971	0.9	Colorado.....	66,411	2,207,259	3.0
Iowa.....	32,596	2,824,376	1.2	New Mexico.....	19,555	1,016,000	1.9
Missouri.....	480,172	4,676,501	10.3	Arizona.....	53,344	1,770,900	3.0
North Dakota.....	2,494	617,761	0.4	Utah.....	6,617	1,059,273	0.6
South Dakota.....	1,627	665,507	0.2	Nevada.....	27,762	488,738	5.7
Nebraska.....	39,911	1,483,493	2.7	Pacific.....	1,514,243	26,522,631	5.7
Kansas.....	106,977	2,246,578	4.8	Washington.....	71,308	3,409,169	2.1
				Oregon.....	26,308	2,091,385	1.3
				California.....	1,400,143	19,953,134	7.0
				Alaska.....	8,911	300,382	3.0
				Hawaii.....	7,573	768,561	1.0

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NEGRO POPULATION AS PERCENT BY COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES



Boundaries of counties and county equivalents as of January 1, 1970

PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, UNITED STATES: 1970

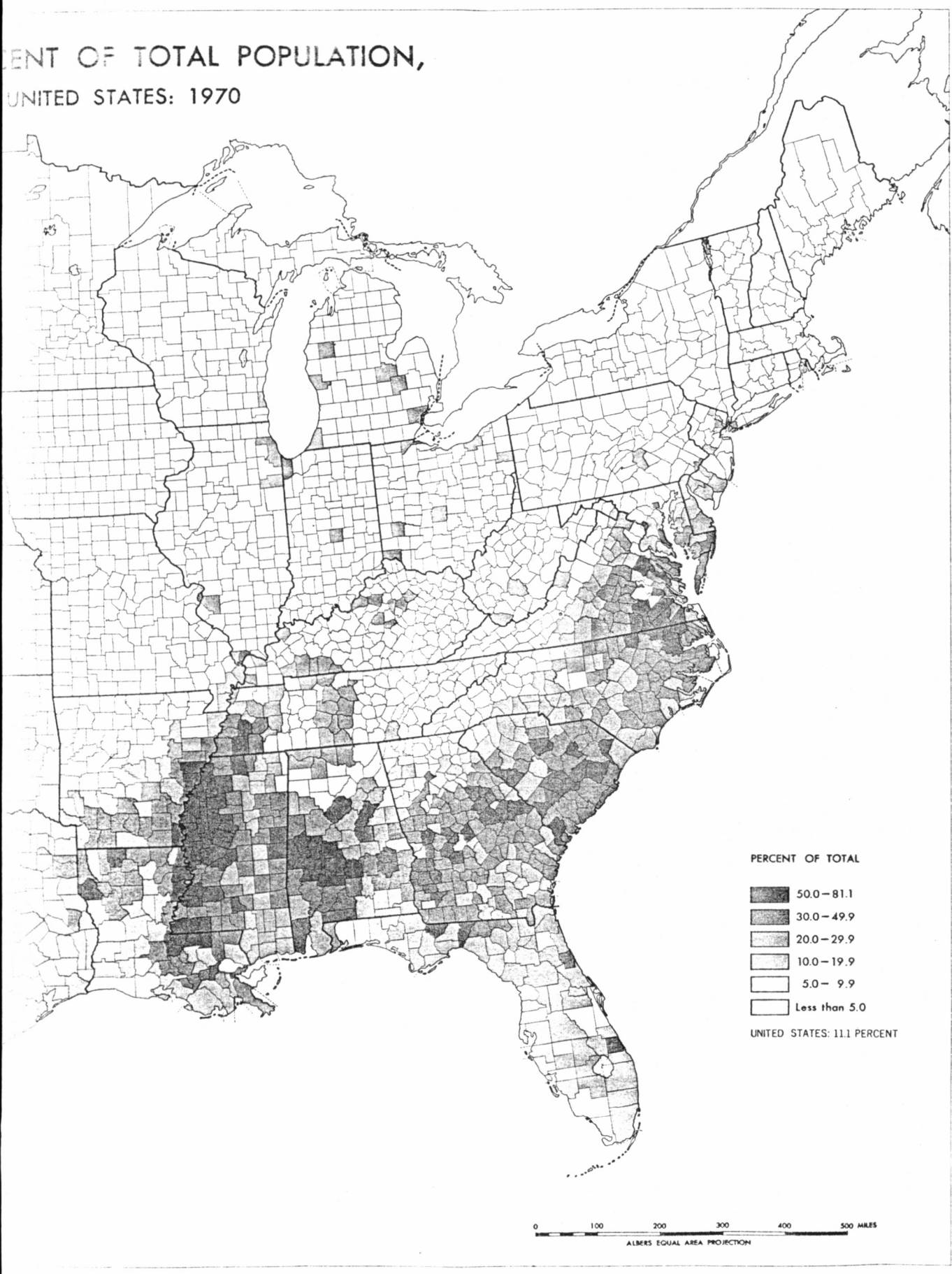


Table A. Number of Counties With a Negro Population of 50,000 or More, and 100,000 or More in the United States: 1970

Regions Divisions States	50,000 or more	100,000 or more	Regions Divisions States	50,000 or more	100,000 or more
United States...	75	32	South Atlantic....	19	6
Regions:			Maryland.....	2*	1*
Northeast.....	20	8	District of Columbia.	1	1
North Central.....	15	10	Virginia ¹	2*	1*
South.....	36	12	North Carolina.....	4	-
West.....	4	2	South Carolina.....	2	-
New England.....	4	1	Georgia.....	3	1
Massachusetts.....	1	1	Florida.....	5	2
Connecticut.....	3	-	East South Central	7	3
Middle Atlantic...	16	7	Kentucky.....	1	-
New York.....	9	4	Tennessee.....	2	1
New Jersey.....	5	1	Alabama.....	3	2
Pennsylvania.....	2	2	Mississippi.....	1	-
East North Central	13	8	West South Central	10	3
Ohio.....	6	3	Arkansas.....	1	-
Indiana.....	2	2	Louisiana.....	3	1
Illinois.....	2	1	Oklahoma.....	1	-
Michigan.....	2	1	Texas.....	5	2
Wisconsin.....	1	1	Pacific.....	4	2
West North Central	2	2	California.....	4	2
Missouri.....	2*	2*			

*Includes independent cities shown separately on map. - Represents zero.

¹Nine independent cities are considered separately; 29 independent cities are combined with surrounding counties.

In 1970, Negroes comprised 11.1 percent of the total population. The corresponding proportion was larger than the national average in less than one-fourth of the approximately 3,100 counties. Table B presents the number of counties in which Negroes comprise at least half of the total population. All of the 103 counties with a Negro population of at least 50 percent are in the South, with Macon County, Alabama, having

the highest percentage (81.1). The five counties with the largest proportion of Negroes are as follows:

- Macon County, Ala. 81.1 percent
- Lowndes County, Ala. 76.9 percent
- Greene County, Ala. 75.4 percent
- Jefferson County, Miss. 75.3 percent
- Claiborne County, Miss. 74.6 percent