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# ORIGINS OF THE CLASS WAR TENDENCY

a summary of the experience of the  
Red Women's Detachment (R.W.D), the  
Proletarian Revolutionary Party (P.R.P.),  
the Communist Party U.S.A (Marxist-  
Leninist (C.P.U.S.A. (M-L))), and the  
Marxist-Leninist Party (M.L.P.)



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### Part I: The Proletarian Revolutionary Party (April-June 1969)

During the last months of 1968 the Red Women's Detachment emerged on the Lower East-side and began to disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the women's liberation movement in New York City. It was not organized on a formal basis and did not issue literature in its own name. The basic line put forward called for proletarian revolution, support for all national liberation struggles, solidarity of working-women in the U.S. with women in the oppressed nations and socialist countries, demanding that the new women's liberation movement base itself on the leadership of working-class women, and called for a Workingwomen's International. The R.W.D. adopted the Red Star as its symbol and the modern revolutionary dance drama "Red Detachment of Women," created in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as its model. It's strategic perspective was to build a revolutionary women's movement under communist leadership while building the Red Women's Detachment as the U.S. component of the future world-revolutionary workingwomen's International to be led by the Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese and Korean sister-comrades.

At this stage, the R.W.D. could not progress beyond unsystematic agitation. Since it was founded to fight for a proletarian line in the women's liberation movement and made the organization of workingwomen its only task, it necessarily had a one-sided approach that did not provide a comprehensive solution to all the other social questions and contradictions. Though it saw the proletarian revolution and armed struggle as the only road to women's liberation it did not develop a program for proletarian revolution. The Red Women's Detachment did not understand that the workingwomen's movement could not be victorious without the backing of a strong revolutionary movement led by communists. The political level of the R.W.D. remained low and its methods of work amateurish until the basic need for a genuine communist Party presented itself as the primary question. A Marxist-Leninist Party certainly could not base itself on any one sex, even the oppressed, nor on any one nationality.

The Red Women's Detachment was not an isolated phenomena but part of the general revolutionary movement of workingclass youth on the Lower East-side. The years 1968 and 1969 were part of the period of revolutionary upsurge that swept the world during the decade of the sixties that reached its peak in the victory of the Great Proletarian Revolution. The ghetto uprisings which succeeded one another wave upon wave, starting with the Birmingham Rebellion in 1963, were the principal expression of this upsurge in the "U.S.A." The left-wing movement in this country was revitalized by the struggles of the new revolutionary movement among black people that was based on the experience of the ghetto insurrections, better known as "riots." The leading black revolutionary organization of country-wide influence was the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther paper carried a picture of Chairman Mao on its cover and took a position in support of China against soviet social-imperialism when it attacked China's territory Chenpao Island. Mainly due to their vanguard role as the first black group to declare socialism their objective and to recognize Marxism-Leninism as the only consistently revolutionary ideology the Black Panthers had great influence on our thinking; their example overcame any hesitancy about forming a Party ourselves. We knew that a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party must be multinational and based on the leadership of the oppressed nationalities. Following the violent Columbia struggle the student movement suddenly became a strong force. The war between the factions raged on inside S.D.S. and we followed it closely, but we were never part of the student movement. The most important influence on our thinking was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China that gave rise to Mao Tsetung Thought parties and groups throughout the world. It's influence extended itself even into the heartland of imperialist "U.S.A." Self-styled Red Guard groups appeared upholding Mao Tsetung Thought. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution alarmed and shook the bourgeoisie while it inspired the world's people with confidence in the proletariat's ability to overthrow the ruling class and build socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution established the Communist Party of China as the leading party in the International Communist Movement.

The Ninth Party Congress of the C.P.C. lasted from April 1 to 14 and it was during this time that the Proletarian Revolutionary Party was founded, drawing its guidance from the decisions of the Congress. The group was formed out of a Mao Tsetung Thought study circle and the Red Women's Detachment. The leading comrade with the most experience, on behalf of the Central Committee, produced a 10-point program, after the style of the Black Panther Party but radically different in content. The Red Women's Detachment drew up a statement of affiliation and joined the Party while maintaining its own organizational identity.

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The Provisional Program of the Proletarian Revolutionary Party was as follows:

"1. The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labor. We hail the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and defend the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania against imperialist and revisionist attacks. The Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China opens the way for the building of a new Marxist-Leninist Communist International.

"2. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We oppose revisionism, opportunism, and adventurism, and openly declare our aim to build a workers republic—the armed dictatorship of the proletariat—a communist America.

"3. We recognize the Black Panther Party as the proletarian vanguard of Afroamerica and the most advanced section of the entire revolutionary struggle of North America.

"4. We declare unconditional solidarity with the armed struggle for the national-liberation of Puerto Rico, for a socialist Puerto Rico.

"5. We declare unconditional solidarity with the armed struggle of the Chicano nation in the southwest and throughout North America.

"6. We declare unconditional solidarity with the armed struggle of the Native Americans of all tribes, with the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino nationalities, and the peoples of all oppressed nationalities.

"7. We call for the immediate organization of a Workers Militia to defend militant strikes, to seize food, clothing, shelter, and other needs for those cut off from welfare relief, and for the defense of all working class communities against the reactionary violence of the racist mad-dog genocidal U.S. capitalists and their running dogs.

"8. We declare unconditional solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of rank-and-file GIs, sailors, marines, and airmen; for the disintegration of all imperialist armed forces, for turning the guns around against the real enemy, the war profiteers, the capitalist class at home.

"9. We demand workingwomen's liberation, and call for the building of a Working-Women's International. Proletarian and revolutionary women in America are determined to follow the example of their sister-comrades in Vietnam and throughout the world who have taken up arms and fight alongside men against imperialist and capitalist exploitation.

"10. We call for student self-defense against the police occupation of the schools, for the teaching of the true history of the American working class and the history of all oppressed nationalities. We oppose drugs, pornography, exploitation and all other bourgeois garbage used against the youth in the schools and streets."

There are many errors in these ten points but in adopting a program we established our tendency and began developing an entirely new line. We did not delude ourselves by thinking that just by calling ourselves a Party we could magically substitute a handful of individuals for the fully-developed, mass, combatant Party that would be necessary to overthrow U.S. imperialism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The question of the Party we viewed to be the main problem facing the left. It was only principled that we build our own Party since we had investigated the revisionist, anarchist, trotskyite, and so-called "New" left and found no tendency with whom we were in agreement to join.

1. We placed ourselves under the leadership of the C.P.C. and the Party of Labor of Albania, at the same time calling for a new Communist International.

2. "A communist America"—this line we still uphold today is essentially correct, but we now call for "socialist America" until there is a communist world.

3. It was incorrect to call the Black Panther Party the proletarian vanguard of the vaguely defined Afroamerica but despite this lack of clarity we were making it clear that we looked to the black revolutionary movement, at that time led by the B.P.P., for leadership. The black masses had thrown up their own Party because there was, in fact, no genuine communist Party to lead their armed struggle.

4. We recognized the importance of the Puerto Rican national-liberation struggle but should not have placed the condition, "for a socialist Puerto Rico," upon our support. The socialist revolution in Puerto Rico cannot begin until national-liberation has been won through armed struggle. We cannot lead this struggle from the oppressor nation.

5. We recognized the Chicano nation, but our formulation of this point and other related points indicates that the national-colonial question was not clear in our minds.

6. We solidarized with the Native Americans and all peoples of oppressed nationalities in the U.S. Since then this oppression has expressed itself in mass organizations of the oppressed national-minorities that form an important section of the movement.

7. A "Workers Militia," defined as basically defensive in character but no call for the building of a Red Army. We had no understanding of how the principles of Peoples War can be applied in the Class War we have to wage in indignation



8. Solidarity with the GI movement and advocating turning the guns around.
9. Workingwomen's Liberation, a Workingwomen's International. We were the first Marxist-Leninist group in this country to recognize the importance of the Women's Question.
10. Self-defense for students and youth against reactionary authorities and opposition to bourgeois culture.

THE MAJOR WEAKNESS OF THE P.R.P. PROGRAM WAS THAT IT MADE NO CLASS ANALYSIS.

The significance of this program is that in its main points it outlines the main currents which the revolutionary movement assumed in this country and indicated the forms these struggles would take. That is,

- 1) the black revolutionary movement which had already established itself as the most advanced force would soon merge with the proletarian revolutionary movement. Such tendencies emerged as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the United Black Brothers (Workers) in Mahwah, N.J.
- 2) the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement in the U.S. has grown and in the last few years entirely new groups like the Young Lords (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) and El Komite have organized.
- 3) the Chicano national-colonial question is recognized and many Chicano groups and even a mass Chicano reformist party (Raza Unida Party) has appeared.
- 4) the GI movement has become the most potentially revolutionary force in the anti-war movement, and
- 5) the need for workingwomen's leadership has been proven by the failure of the petty-bourgeois women to create a genuine women's liberation movement and the importance of the Women's Question is generally accepted.

The P.R.P. opened a bookstore on E. 5th St. (2-3 Avenues) and called it the Workers and Soldiers Bookstore. Its motto was "Struggle to Learn, Learn through Struggle." Mao Tsetung Thought study groups were held there. Black Panther, Bay Area Revolutionary Union, GI movement, and S.D.S. publications were sold there alongside Chinese, Viet Namese and Albanian literature.

In June, 1969, one issue of Proletarian, "official organ of the Manhattan collective of the Proletarian Revolutionary Party" was published. The slogan of the group was "Power to the Proletariat!" We disagreed with the Panthers that power belonged to the "people" and considered this concept populist.

The R.W.D. issued its first leaflet, also published in Proletarian, which posed the struggle between two lines in the women's liberation movement and called for workingwomen's liberation. It was, however, wrong and due to our lack of understanding of the inter-relation of imperialism and Male Supremacy to call the women's liberation movement "female-chauvinist."

We issue a statement calling for a "League of Solidarity with People's China" which was to publish a newsletter and hold public meetings. We did not succeed in organizing this.

The struggle between two lines broke out over whether or not to sell Trotsky. When we refused to place the works of Trotsky in the bookstore the trotskyite, who controlled the bookstore, split with the P.R.P. and we lost our storefront. The P.R.P. fell into three factions: the trotskyite, the Marxist-Leninists, and those who did not take either side because they felt they did not have enough knowledge upon which to base a decision. These comrades subsequently re-united.

Part II: Merger with the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) (June 1969-February 1970)

Following the split we decided to investigate whether the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) was still active. We possessed several of the first issues of the People's Voice and this seemed to be the only tendency with whom we could reach agreement on the basic questions. We were very excited to learn that the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) was still around.

Briefly, the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) was founded in Watts on September 4-5, 1965, immediately following the uprising. This grouping was actually an ultra"left" split off the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Communist Party in the U.S.A. or P.O.C. The real left-wing in that same split were the forces which eventually joined in the formation of the (California) Communist League. The whole idea behind the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) was that it was supposed to be the reconstitution of the C.P.U.S.A. on a Marxist-Leninist basis. This indeed proved a self-defeating task.

The C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) established a regular Party press, the Peoples Voice, leaflets, and the famous poster that said "Combat the reactionary violence of the ruling class  
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with the revolutionary violence of the people." It maintained the Workers International Bookstore and open Party facilities. The line of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) combatted trotskysm, revisionism, and cultural nationalism, while consistently upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Black Belt theory on the national-colonial question. The Party shortly came under attack by the authorities, who were deranged enough to blame the Watts Insurrection on the Party as an excuse to pass repressive legislation against revolutionary literature.

In 1967 a Watts group called the United Front affiliated with the Party and became the United Front (M-L). Red Guard units were organized. Laski, the leading Party spokesman, initiated contacts with Marxist-Leninist groups and parties internationally. For a brief period the Party opened facilities in Harlem which were bombed out of existence. The C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) became quite well known and attracted many dedicated communists as well as its share of unstable elements.

Internal contradictions split the group in 1968. The Red Guard units attacked the bookstore, stole the press, expelled Laski and began to publish their own People's Voice. But the Lustig-Hoffman clique was incapable of conducting political work for any length of time and soon disappeared taking all the Party's equipment and records with them. This left the field wide open for Michael Laski, who made his return in the spring of 1969 as the General Secretary of the "orthodox group" of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L), with a "national" publication, the New Worker.

At a unification conference on June 21, 1969, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party formally merged with the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L). The P.R.P. became the Eastcoast regional branch and the Red Women's Detachment became an organization within the United Front Against Imperialism under the leadership of the Party. It was decided that the United Front (M-L) should more correctly be the United Front Against Imperialism because it was intended to include the broadest sections of the mass revolutionary movement not just Marxist-Leninists.

We opened a Workers International Bookstore on East 9th St. (Avenues C and D) on the Lower East-side which doubled as open Party headquarters and began our activities, which included study groups, meetings of the United Front Against Imperialism every Wednesday night, and keeping the bookstore open daily. We developed a group of Party members and non-Party supporters. The Party, the U.F.A.I., and the Red Women's Detachment produced each its own literature in the form of leaflets and posters. In addition, comrades here took responsibility for contributing written materials and funding for the New Worker which was edited and printed on the West Coast. We developed excellent relations with the people on the block, the gangs, and the junkie youth of the area largely due to the comrade who lived in the bookstore who integrated himself with the masses and won their trust. The storefront became known as the "library" as it was both a reading room and a meeting place. We distributed not only to individuals but also got large quantities of literature out to study groups.

Many problems arose concerning the United Front Against Imperialism. The primary difficulty being that the U.F.A.I. became an organization itself and thus a perversion of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the United Front as a policy. The sectarian character of the United Front Against Imperialism thwarted its development into a genuine multi-tendencied united front led by the Party. So the only persons or groups organized into such a United Front were those who were drawn to the Party in the first place. Instead of trying to organize these elements into a United Front Against Imperialism we should have brought them directly into the Party. To carry out its work, which was mainly community oriented, the U.F. organized a cumbersome system of committees, including the Red Women's Detachment. The only tendency attracted to the United Front Against Imperialism was a Lower East-side group calling itself the Committee for Self-Defense which subsequently broke away over the questions of male-supremacism and economism.

Altogether four issues of the New Worker appeared. In the "Revisionist-Panther Fraud" issue we exposed the line of the revisionist-led United Front Against Fascism conference. We became openly critical of the Panthers now that we had adopted the Black Belt theory. We also adopted Laski's (and the Black Panthers') methods of work—we made the mistake of exposing the names and photographs of our leading comrades while (unknownst to us 'til we saw the New Worker) Laski perpetrated such uncoolness as actually soliciting guns through advertisements at the same time requesting money to pay off bail bonds on comrades just out of jail! Indeed, Laski was a devious opportunist, as former Party and U.F. members from the west coast warned us.

The Second National Party Congress of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) met in New York City on Labor Day weekend, 1969, in the middle of an unprincipled split in the ranks of our eastcoast group, with no other representation from the west coast than Laski and his apolitical secretary.



We made certain changes in the Party Declaration such as, "In 1945 the C.P.U.S.A. was reconstituted under the leadership of Comrade Foster," to imply that Foster was a Marxist-Leninist not a revisionist. Today we reject this thesis. Following the C.P.'s shameful capitulation to Roosevelt its class collaborationist stand led to the dissolution of the C.P. under the arch-revisionist Browder. In fact, Browderism was the predecessor of Titoism and Khrushchevism. In 1945 when Foster "reconstituted" the C.P. U.S.A. no real anti-revisionist struggle had taken place. Throughout the late '30's and '40's the C.P.U.S.A. lost its workingclass members and when it was "reconstituted" it was on a totally petty-bourgeois basis, and minus its most important theoretical and political positions, including recognition of the Black Belt, the "negro nation" in the south. To this day the C.P.U.S.A. is led by Fosterites.

We adopted the Constitution of the C.P.C. as it stood prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in its entirety with only slight changes, but enough to insure that the General Secretary (i.e., Laski), who was empowered to bypass the Central Committee, remained in complete control. This constitution, composed of 7 sections and 42 articles, was top-heavy and bureaucratic. It was a constitution abandoned by the Chinese, but even so it was a constitution for a Party that had reached the stage of socialist construction and not one for carrying out proletarian revolution in the "U.S.A." It was opportunist for us to adapt it for our own use.

There were several errors in the General Program, in the class analysis, on the trade union question, and the national-colonial question. These mistaken lines only became obvious as we broke from the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). Before we could sever our organizational ties with the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) in a principled manner it was necessary to become aware of, and formulate, our political differences with Laski's line. This will be discussed in Part III dealing with the Marxist-Leninist Party.

As the months went by during the period we operated the bookstore and especially after the 2nd Party Congress we seldom heard from Laski. In the beginning he tried very hard to attract us to L.A. We refused to dissolve our work here and in light of subsequent events, it was a wise decision. Whenever we did hear from "Comrade" Laski it was in the form of telephone calls or short memos. Laski seldom produced anything except grandiose Party "communiques." He was in fact a political charlatan and an opportunist of the worst sort. The position in which Laski was empowered by virtue of a single paragraph in the Constitution created a situation arising from the hierarchical structure of the Party in which we were totally dependent on the General Secretary, to the point where Central Committee members could not contact each other except through Laski. At first Laski would call us on the telephone nearly every week but soon it was impossible to reach him. We had to send in written reports detailing all activities and meetings, with nary a remark from Laski. Eventually we stopped invoking Laski and started solving our own problems. This situation could not go on forever.

The most important position which we developed relying on our own political judgement was on the question of elections. For the mayoralty election of '69 we called an election boycott. Since then we have consistently boycotted every bourgeois electoral farce, never supporting any candidate "left" or right. We oppose voting and petitions as tools of the police-state.

On the west coast Laski set up a "National Mobilization Committee" against the war in Vietnam and co-opted the names of several movement groups, in addition to the Red Women's Detachment and the United Front Against Imperialism. We had no control over or say in any of these decisions, but we agreed with the line being put forward by the proletarian tendency that struggled on alone inside the west coast apparatus, "Bring the War Home!" We supported the Weatherman "Days of Rage" but did not participate.

When the big G.E. strike of '69 broke out we organized the first picket against the G.E. headquarters in New York City in support of the workers.

The bookstore proved a good point for liaison with others but with our small number we found that maintaining a storefront public headquarters limited the scope of our political work. We found ourselves sitting around the bookstore waiting for people to come to us. The nature of our work, if we were to seriously get on with the task of PARTY-BUILDING, demanded mobility and secrecy.

Laski did not carry out his responsibilities to insure that the "semi-official" organ, the New Worker, was published regularly. No yet able to launch our own newspaper and unable to contact Laski, we issued our own mimeo'd publication, Class Struggle, January 1970, one issue.

Quite logically, we had begun to grow suspicious of Laski's unprincipled behavior and wondered if all the accusations we heard that we was a police-agent weren't, after  
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all, true. We soon learned that Laski was a worse pig than we could imagine. To the people of Watts Laski's name stank. He was, and probably still is, the landlord of a building housing black people for exorbitant rents and was also the owner of an advertising agency. He is a member of the ruling class, and needless to say, he hardly maintained a style of plain living. One of the reasons he had been expelled from the previous incarnation of the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) was for approaching a comrade with his homosexual tendencies and another was for threatening comrades with weapons. It so happened that Laski's crimes against the proletariat caught up with him. Unknown persons set an ambush for Laski one day and shot him five times. No one knows how this physical wreck survived such wounds as he suffered. Afterwards the vile dog accused a black youth of attempted murder, had him arrested and prosecuted.

When we acquired this knowledge we immediately re-grouped, expelled M.I. Laski, and with the majority of the Central Committee present, we formally dissolved the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist). On the basis of an entirely new program and with a plan for correctly combining legal and illegal struggle, we set out to build a party-of-the-new-type, a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party.

### Part III: The Marxist-Leninist Party (March 1970-September 1972)

The Marxist-Leninist Party was founded on March 8, 1970. The Red Women's Detachment joined as a mass organization under the leadership of the Party. On that same day, at the International Workingwomen's Day rally, the first issue of Red Star, organ of the R.W.D., was distributed.

The first task of the M.L.P. was publication of the central organ, Communist. The first issue carried an Open Statement to eleven groups we believed to be anti-revisionist. (Due to the complexity of questions involved we cannot discuss our relations with each tendency here.) These groups were: The American Communist Workers Movement (M-L), California Communist League, Voz Proletaria Group in New York, Causa Proletaria of Puerto Rico, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.A., the Proletarian Party, Hammer and Steel, American Communist Movement, and the American Workers Communist Party. In part, we said, "We know well that serious and basic differences exist between all of these groups, and within these groups as well, and that many previous attempts at even discussion have failed. We propose clarity before unity. We propose unity built in struggle. We propose open ideological and political struggle between the various anti-revisionist groups, with the participation of non-party and non-member masses. We propose that the struggle between the two lines in the various anti-revisionist groups and publications be open to the proletariat, be conducted on a principled basis, and led to concrete proposals and concrete activity."

Some of these groups, like Hammer and Steel, the American Communist Movement, and the American Workers Communist Party, proved not to be anti-revisionist at all, and the Proletarian Party had gone out of existence. We held discussions with four of the eleven: with the ACM (M-L), the Communist League, the Ad Hoc Committee, and the American Communist Movement. As the open statement said then, so we repeat, "These meetings and discussions that have ensued have been very fruitful in our eyes. We strongly believe that further meetings of this kind, involving more groups at a time, would be of greatest usefulness to the proletariat and the struggle to build a party of the proletariat in the American nation."

The (first) Draft Program of the Marxist-Leninist Party based its analysis of world contradictions on those accepted by the Ninth Party Congress of the C.P.C. Carrying this analysis further and applying it to our own conditions, we recognized the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism as the principal contradiction in this country as well as the world. This is a defeat for the revisionist theory of "American exceptionalism." The so-called "U.S.A." is a multi-national state that imprisons within its boundaries three oppressed nations: the Black Belt nation, Puerto Rico, and the Chicano nation. The oppressor nation we called the "American nation" or pignation for short. The C.P.U.S.A. never carried out a Marxist-Leninist policy on the national-colonial question despite their recognition of the Black Belt. If the Black Belt or Puerto Rico, or the Chicano nation are to achieve true national-liberation they must break the chains of U.S. imperialism by establishing their own nation-states, their own Marxist-Leninist Parties and People's Armies. The struggles of these nations require national-liberation strategies and cannot be led from the oppressor American nation, where the only struggle is the class struggle of the proletariat against the state-monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie.

In our class analysis there was still some confusion hung over from the C.P.U.S.A. (M-L). We defined the proletariat (meaning the industrial workers) as a sector of the working class, when in reality the term proletariat is synonymous with working class and can be used interchangeably. The new program did break with the outmoded C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) conception of the lumpen-proletariat as reactionary. "In the era of imperialism the lumpen-proletariat increases enormously, primarily due to the addition of un-



employed and unskilled workers, rather than the remnants of feudal classes as in the early stages of capitalism. The lumpen-proletariat is overwhelmingly comprised of national-minorities and has proved especially in armed and violent struggles that it is the most reliable ally of the proletariat (sic)." And contrary to the old C.P.U.S.A. (M-L), we no longer viewed the workers in trade unions as the most advanced, but saw the labor aristocracy as corrupt, imperialist-bribed and imperialist-minded, bought off with privileges at the expense of the world's people. The labor aristocracy principally composes the trade union bureaucracy. The trade unions are no longer schools for communism which we must fight to lead, but rather, they are obstacles to the development of new organs of struggle for power.

"The aim of all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces in the world," we declared, "must be to re-build the Communist International, to re-build the world party of the proletariat based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

The M.L.P. called for new methods of work: "The party must strive everywhere to build a parallel exposed and unexposed structure, including leadership, publications, and activities. We must carry out the policy of exposing the least number of forces to carry out the most effective open work, arousing the broadest sections of the masses!"

But once again we adapted the Constitution of the C.P.C., this time the newly revised one adopted at the Ninth Party Congress. It too is imminently unsuited to our conditions. No party will ever be built by such formalistic and bureaucratic methods. The Red Women's Detachment likewise developed a constitution outlining a multi-level organization, essentially a creation on paper alone, but which seemed to be the skeleton which required only flesh-and-blood women to carry out its tasks.

Altogether 6 issues of Communist and 6 issues of Red Star were issued at irregular intervals. In between, tens of thousands of leaflets were produced and distributed. In the main our work has centered on the political, ideological, and theoretical questions. We strove to produce literature of a high theoretical quality, since at this time it is a correct theory the movement needs more than numbers. For us, organizational questions have fallen into secondary consideration.

In November, 1971, we released the 2nd Draft Program of the Marxist-Leninist Party, enlarging on the first to include sections on strategy, on tactics, on the Women's Question, tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this time we correctly defined the proletariat. We still did not succeed in posing an analysis of American fascism. During the period up to and including the U.S. presidential elections we conducted an effective election boycott campaign. One of the lessons of experience in boycotting the elections was learning that U.S. imperialism is fascism.

#### Part IV: The Turning Point

When we first decided to call ourselves a Party we did so in order to bring the demand for a genuine party of the proletariat closer to reality. The question of primary and immediate importance was then, as it is today, the question of the Party, what is it and how is it to be built. We understood that the only way to begin building a Party is to build it now, without delay. No one doubts that this country is ripe and over-ripe for revolution. All the objective factors are present. Revolutionary situations have come and gone but there was no staunch genuinely Marxist-Leninist anti-revisionist Party. The C.P.U.S.A. was never capable of leading the armed struggle requisite for the proletarian seizure of political power. We were tired of hearing about the need for a Party and seeing it put off 'til some indefinite time in the future. Now was and now is the time to prepare and consolidate the subjective factors, meaning the principled unity of the genuinely anti-revisionist tendencies on the basis of the correct political line and the most advanced theory hammered out in struggle.

There was a time when it was correct for us to call ourselves a Party but since our first attempt to build a Proletarian Revolutionary Party the movement has reached a new stage and a higher level of consciousness of its tasks. A real Marxist-Leninist movement has emerged and the party of the proletariat is its outspoken goal. The time has come when it is no longer necessary for us to call ourselves a Party in order to impress upon people the need for the Party, or to try to be a Party unto ourselves. Today it is sectarian. The Party of the proletariat must represent the broadest experience of the working class, which our small tendency anchored in New York City with only four years of struggle cannot claim to represent.

We have tried, as briefly as possible, to sum up our experience in order to correct our mistakes, so that others can learn from them, and to contribute our experience in PARTY-BUILDING to the new Marxist-Leninist movement in order that a real Party can be built.

We are announcing the dissolution of the Marxist-Leninist Party and (for the time being) the Red Women's Detachment in order to launch the newspaper Class War which will

(cont'd)



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continue the work of Communist and Red Star on a new basis. We will no longer approach the movement from the standpoint of a Party-Sect but from the understanding of what we really are—one of many tendencies of the proletarian revolutionary movement struggling for the correct political line on which to found the Party.

issued by: CLASS WAR

November 14, 1972

# ORIGINS OF THE CLASS WAR TENDENCY

a Summary of the experience of the Red Women's Detachment (R.W.D.) the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (P.R.P.), the Communist Party U.S.A (Marxist-Leninist (C.P.U.S.A. (M-L)), and the Marxist-Leninist Party (M.L.P.)

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