

# DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 5

MASS PARTY MOVEMENT  
REPLIES TO CRITICS

REPLY TO THE ANTI-PARTY BLOCK

INSERT  
I

The Detroit Local Continuations Committee has the duty to respond to the lies, distortions and opportunistic positions presently being put forward by the petty bourgeois bloc ~~which includes at least the CPUSA, Trotskyists, Revolutionary Union, October League, the Guardian, James Foreman, and others.~~ Numerous attacks have occurred on the call for a Congress to form a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of a new type; these attacks have included a general attack on the Communist League, one of the organizations which has provided important leadership in the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists out of which the National Continuations Committee was formed. This paper is written to outline the political source of these hysterical attacks.

The October League in its December issue of the Call carried an article entitled "The Call for a Sham Congress"; the Revolutionary Union in the May issue of Revolution called the organizations within the Continuations Committees Trotskyists; likewise, Irwin Silber called the Communist League Trotskyists and all associated organizations within the Continuations Committees nothing but fronts for the Communist League. Carl Davidson, somewhat more subdued, accused the Marxist-Leninists organizations and individuals around the Continuation Committees of being sectarian and dogmatic.

These and other attacks (e.g. by James Foreman) necessitate this response- if only to clarify positions and draw lines for those honest Marxist-Leninists who have not come into contact with the Continuations Committees (or any of the groups adhering to them), and have only been exposed to all of these scurrilous, opportunist attacks. It is no accident that these hysterical attacks occur at this time; historically, the Guardian in particular and the "left" in general have attempted to isolate and ignore the Communist League and the other organizations presently uniting with the continuations committees. This attempt has failed. The line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is being precisely drawn as this anti-party building block continues its economist tailing of the spontaneous working class movement and at the same time launches these hysterical attacks upon honest Marxist-Leninists. The differences are sharply clarified. As Lenin has pointed out the first task of Marxist-Leninists is to clarify the lines of differences:

"...first, by the fact that our party is only in the process of formation, its features are only just becoming defined, and it has yet far from settled account with the other trends of revolutionary thought that threaten to divert the movement from the correct path...under these circumstances, what at first appears to be 'unimportant' error may lead to most deplorable consequences, and only short-sighted people can consider factional disputes and a strict differentiation between shades of opinion inopportune or superfluous. The fate of Russian Social Democracy for many years to come may depend on the strengthening of one or the other 'shade'.

Lenin, What Is To Be Done, Peking Ed. p. 25-26.

The fundamental difference is between those who demand first the building of a revolutionary party and adherence to Marxism-Leninism as a science and those who belittle the science of revolution and demand working within the "worker's movement". One manifestation of this difference is the charge that we are "~~ultra~~ leftest intellectuals."

We on the DLCC reject the charge (shamelessly made by many elements who actually know different) that we are library revolutionaries. Most of the comrades united with the Continuations Committees have had years (and, some, decades) of experience struggling in the working class movement in this country. It is, in fact, this experience that has led us to the unshakeable conclusion that without the leadership of a unified, disciplined revolutionary Communist Party armed with the most advanced theory, work in the mass movement is doomed to failure--betraying the honest **workers** attracted to it.

Why do we need a new communist party? Because the CPUSA is not a revolutionary party of a new type. The CPUSA is a revisionist, tailist organization which is entrenched in the working class. It hides the science of Marxism-Leninism. RU, OL, the Guardian, etc., whatever their posturing of being anti-revisionist, function as lackies for the CPUSA.

The primary manifestation of this is the belittling of theoretical work and **scuffing** at Marxist-Leninist education. Let us look at the concrete results of this political position.

Over the last couple of years one of the main slogans of RU and OL (and other similar grouplets) has been: "Build the United Front Against Imperialism". ~~How has this United Front Against Imperialism~~. How has this United Front strategy worked in the absence of a unified, disciplined and theoretically advanced Communist Party? Irwin Silber of the Guardian--himself one of the frogs in this Marsh--lays it out in the May 22nd issue of the Guardian.

First Silber comments on the fact that the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) had left this so-called united front. Silber then goes on to say:

"Differences in line also led to factional clashes, not only among these groups but with other organizations as well. Sharpest of all have been the differences between the RU and the October League (OL) leading to situations where achieving unity within coalitions even on the simplest tactical matters seemed to be virtually impossible." (emphasis added)

This is the kind of United Front that leaves the bourgeoisie laughing (or worse) rather than trembling!

As the Science teaches us, any United Front, without the leadership of the Proletarian Party will inevitably succumb to the leadership of bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois elements.

The Revolutionary Union has recently stated that "for a brief period ahead" it is time to create a new communist party. The RU says they can now form a party because of their work in the mass movement over the past several years. Thus they are not criticizing their tailism and economism but instead raising it to new heights. For them, the party comes out of the spontaneous mass movement and not the unification of honest Marxist-Leninists and bringing the science of Marxism-Leninism to honest proletarian fighters (i.e. Marxist-Leninist education).

Marxism-Leninism is a science. Which means laws, principles and method. They refuse to apply the method of Marxist-Leninist analysis to their own work. As Lenin said:

"But in order to profit from the experience of that movement (1895-1898), and to draw practical lessons from it, we must thoroughly understand the causes and significance of this or that shortcoming....Revolutionary experience and organizational skill are things that can be acquired provided the desire is there to acquire them, provided the shortcomings are recognized--which in revolutionary activity is more than halfway towards removing them. But what was not a great misfortune became a real misfortune when this consciousness began to grow dim...when people--and even Social-Democratic organs--appeared who were prepared to regard shortcomings as virtues, who even tried to invent a theoretical basis for slavish cringing before spontaneity." (What is to Be Done, p. 40- emphasis added)

This is exactly what RU has done. First, they "dive into the fray", that is tail the spontaneous movement, scoff at Marxist-Leninist education, and even hide the science from their own cadre. Then when the bankruptcy of their past position becomes clear, they call for the "creation of a party". They refuse to apply Marxist-Leninist analysis to their own practice. They failed to "create a workers movement" so now they will "create a party". The "foundation" of their "party" is not Marxism-Leninism, but their "roots in the mass struggle". Thus spontaneity is raised to a higher level.

These groups act to hide the CPUSA which is what we should be fighting because it has a base in the class; these groups don't have such a base. It is exactly in the interests of the CPUSA that Marxist-Leninists become embroiled in disputes that can only take them away from the workers and into the petty bourgeois.

Of course, these attacks serve to confuse honest Marxist-Leninists so they must be answered. But we cannot be, nor will we be diverted from our primary task: first the formation of a communist party of a new type and then the bringing the science of Marxist-Leninism to the working class.

For the benefit of those comrades and friends who have received a distorted view of the Continuations Committees and the party building social motion, we will present a brief summary. In May of 1973, Marxist-Leninists united around three basic principles which brought them to the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists in Chicago. The three principles were:

1. adherence to the science of Marxism-Leninism;
2. struggle against revisionism headed by the CPSU and the CPUSA;
3. unite to build a Multinational Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

This Conference was the fruit of extended conversations and polemics among Marxist-Leninists who hold that building a Multinational Communist Party of a New Type is the present primary task of Marxist-Leninist forces.

The Conference unanimously decided to move immediately to build that Party and formed a National Continuations Committee which "...has the task of organizing a Congress in which all serious Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will come together to form a Proletarian Party of a New Type in the U.S." The Conference also passed a series of resolutions to stimulate discussion for a Party program and serve as the basis of unity for the period between the Conference and the Congress. Published in Marxist-Leninists Unite! These resolutions are: 1. the Party of A New Type; 2. The National Question or Racism- minority resolution (the "New Voice"); 3. Negro National Colonial Question; 4. Puerto Rico; 5. the Philippines; 6. the Southwest; 7. Native Americans; 8. Women; 9. Youth; and 10. the Trade Unions.

In the period since the Conference, Local Continuations Committees have been formed in many cities in the USNA, and hundreds of Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries have united with these committees. We urge all serious revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists who unite with the three principles and the Conference resolutions (and who have not yet done so) to join the Continuations Committees.

STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM/ FIGHT REVISIONISM/ BUILD A  
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY

REPLY TO THE ANTI-PARTY TENDENCY

The Detroit Local Continuations Committee has the responsibility and the duty to respond once and for all to the lies, distortions and opportunism of the petty bourgeois anti-party ~~Block~~ <sup>Block</sup>. This grouping which is composed of the Revolutionary Union, the October League, the Guardian, James Foreman and others, has in the last six months launched a number of attacks against the Continuations Committees, the call for a Congress to ~~Build~~ <sup>Build</sup> a Multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, and against the Communist League (one of the original organizations involved in first the Conference of North American ~~Marxist-Leninists~~ and, then, the Continuations Committees.)

We believe that it is necessary for us to show where these attacks come from and what the political standpoint of the groupings within the ~~Block~~ <sup>Block</sup> tendency is. ~~As M-L we do not see the line of demarcation~~ "Use quote from them on clear line of demarcation."

The October League in its December issue of The Call had an article entitled "Call for a Sham Congress" which put forward the perspective that it was only the Communist League which was calling for the Congress and that, secondly, it was simply a front for the Communist League, and ~~was~~ <sup>thru the</sup> dogmatic and sectarian in its aims. The Revolutionary Union in their latest issue of Revolution compared the Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals which have been struggling for the ~~Building~~ <sup>Building</sup> of a Party, within the context of the Continuations Committees, with the Trotskyites, and their opposition to the policies of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. The Guardian, in an article by Carl Davidson, accused the Bolshevik Tendency of being sectarian and dogmatic--essentially because of its correct understanding of theory and its criticism of the economist practices of the anti-party ~~Block~~ <sup>Block</sup>. Irwin Silber, in a rotten article reminiscent of red-baiting by the agents of the bourgeoisie, accused the Communist League of having a Trotskyist position on the International Situation, perverted the CL position on the ~~indigenous~~ <sup>indigenous</sup> Negro National Colonial Question, and asserted that essentially the Continuations Committees (and the organizations and collectives adhering to it) were little more than fronts for the Communist League.

These and other attacks (particularly by James Foreman) necessitate this response--if only to clarify positions and draw lines for those honest Marxist-Leninists who have not come into contact with the Continuations Committees (or any of the groups adhering to them), and have only been exposed to all of these ~~scurrilous~~ <sup>scurrilous</sup>, opportunist attacks. It is, as Lenin said, necessary to draw lines so that we may see where we are at. ~~Maximism is a revisionist line~~ We must draw the lines between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. These lines are clearly being drawn as the anti-party building ~~Block~~ <sup>Block</sup> continues its economist tailing of the spontaneous working class movement and, at the same time, continues these attacks upon honest ~~proletarian~~ <sup>proletarian</sup> fighters. As Chairman Mao has told us, it is not a bad thing to be attacked by the enemy but a good thing.

These many voices crying out of the Menshevik Marsh harp on one common theme: the forces on the Continuations Committees are ultra-leftist intellectuals trying to build the Party in their studies, isolated from the 'masses' and the 'mass movement'.

We on the Detroit Local Continuations Committee contend that this is the anxious croaking of petty bourgeois opportunists who are having their game of fashionable leftism unmasked by the steady march to ~~build~~ <sup>build</sup> a Multinational Communist Party of a New Type.

We on the DLCC ~~emphatically reject~~ <sup>Dismiss</sup> the charge (shamelessly made by many elements who actually know different) that we are "library" revolutionaries. Most of the comrades united with the Continuations Committees have had years (and, some, decades) of experience struggling in the working class movements in this country. It is, in fact, this experience that has led us to the unshakeable conclusion that without the leadership of a unified, disciplined revolutionary Communist Party armed with the most ~~and~~ advanced theory, work in the mass movement is doomed to failure--betraying the honest rank and file ~~militants~~ <sup>militants</sup> attracted to it.

~~workers~~  
workers

actually use quote from Lenin  
as per quote are  
"dismissing of demarcation"  
Congress was  
M-L ->

PRACTICE these

We must, therefore, examine the concrete (social motion) of these CPUSA left wing forces making the charges. Over the last couple of years one of the main slogans of RU and OL (and other similar grouplets) has been: "Build the United Front Against Imperialism". How has this United Front strategy worked in the absence of a unified, disciplined and theoretically advanced Communist Party? Irwin Silber himself one of the frogs in this Marsh--lays it out in the May 22nd issue of the Guardian.

Silber

First Silber comments on the splitting off of the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) from these comrades--"breaking with right opportunism" as one PRRWO comrade put it--have united with the Continuations Committees. Silber goes on to say:

"Differences in line also led to factional clashes, not only among these groups but with other organizations as well. Sharpest of all have been the differences between the RU and the October League (OL) leading to situations where achieving unity within coalitions even on the simplest tactical matters seemed to be virtually impossible." (emphasis added)

This is the kind of United Front that leaves the bourgeoisie laughing (or worse) rather than trembling! As the Science teaches us, any United Front without the leadership of the Proletarian Party will inevitably succumb to the leadership of a bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois elements. (REVISIONISM OPPORTUNISM) WHICH SHOUTS ANTI-REVISIONIST PHRASES, ARE IN FACT, "CONSCIOUS" FRONTS ON THE CPUSA.

Objectively these forces, whatever their protestations of being anti-revisionist, are attacking more or less ~~consciously~~ consciously, as fronts for the CPUSA. It is in the interests of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the class--in particular the CPUSA--that no real Communist Party of a New Type be formed within the USNA. It is the CPUSA that is entrenched within the working class and that the honest Marxist-Leninist forces must deal with in order to move the working class to political class consciousness. It is exactly in the interests of the CPUSA that Marxist-Leninists become embroiled in disputes that can only take them away from the workers and into the petty bourgeoisie. The continuing attacks by this bloc upon honest Marxist-Leninist comes about as they attempt to drag us down to the level of the economist-reformism and syndicalism that they practice and preach.

The Revolutionary Union has just recently (laid) that they now believe it to be the time to "create" the new Communist Party. This comes after their "diving into the frey", their dependency upon the spontaneous struggle of the class and their continuous downgrading of the role of theory. The RU says that they can now form a party because of their work in the mass movement over the past several years. Thus they are not criticizing their tailism and economism but instead raising it to new heights. For them, the Party comes out of the spontaneous mass movement and not from the unification of Marxist-Leninists.

In concrete practice around Detroit, comrades have observed the RU (the part of the Marsh most active in Detroit) cadre vacillating between an aimless tailing of the mass movement (see On The Line, The Peoples Voice) and occasional episodes of ultra-left adventurism. These elements (mostly petty bourgeois, anglo-american ex-students) have shown diligent activity ~~in the mass movement~~ in the mass movement around Detroit over the past couple of years; it is unfortunate that this dedication has not been guided by a correct application of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin makes clear the inevitable results of such social motion:

"And yet, with only a little reflection it (Rabocheye Dyelo) would have understood why any subservience to the spontaneity of the mass movement and any degrading of Social-Democratic politics to the level of trade unionist politics mean preparing the ground for converting the working-class movement into an instrument of bourgeois democracy. The spontaneous working-class movement is by itself able to create (and inevitably does create) only trade unionism, and working class trade-unionist politics is precisely working-class bourgeois politics." (What is To Be Done, p. 94)

1

5

6

7

7

the RU-OL

Handwritten initials

The RU is in fact calling for a conference in the immediate future because they realize that a real party will be formed shortly, and they do not want this real party to take the science of M-L to the class. Thus RU will probably call a bogus congress shortly before the real genuine congress and attempt to convince those revolutionary forces now present that this is the real party. We have several things to tell the RU about this. The new Communist Party will be moving into the working class in full force and will not be detoured or bothered by the continued baying of these dogs as they bark and bite at our heels. We merely wish to ~~here~~ inform honest Marxist-Leninists that they should study and examine the lines and then make their choice: with the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism or with the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology.

As we see the social motion of RU and the Guardian, they will bring together around them many of the opportunists that now call themselves Marxist-Leninists and who have long histories of spontaneous practice. This has its good and bad side. It is good that the opportunists pull together; thus the real Congress and Party will have less to worry about as far fewer opportunists will flock around them. On the other hand this social motion will set up an organized center of revisionism and opportunism which will objectively serve the CPUSA in every way it can. The QL is a larger question. Will it move to this new grouping which hides its revisionism and opportunism behind its stated anti-revisionism and pro-Chinese stance? Or will it move directly to the CPUSA and thus lose most of its honest cadre? Anyway these forces move, they will be supporting the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology; but we must be clear that it is the CPUSA that is the real arm of the bourgeoisie and the enemy we must fight within the working class.

For the benefit of those comrades and friends who have received a distorted view of the Continuations Committees and their ~~work~~ party building ~~social~~ <sup>process</sup> motion, we will present a brief summary. In May of 1973, Marxist-Leninists united around three basic principles held the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists in Chicago. The three principles are: 1. adherence to the science of Marxism-Leninism; struggle against revisionism headed by the CPSU and the CPUSA; unite to build a Multinational Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. This Conference was the fruit of extended conversations and polemics among Marxist-Leninists who hold that building a Multinational Communist Party of A New Type is the present primary task of Marxist-Leninist forces.

The Conference unanimously decided to move immediately to build that Party and formed a National Continuations Committee which "...has the task of organizing a Congress in which all serious Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will come together to form a proletarian Party of a New Type in the U.S." The Conference also passed a series of resolutions to serve to stimulate discussion for a Party program and as the basis of unity for the period between the Conference and the Congress. Published in Marxist-Leninists Unite!, these resolutions are on: 1. the Party of A New Type; 2. The National Question or Racism - minority resolution (the "New Voice"); 3. Negro National Colonial Question; 4. Puerto Rico; 5. the Philippines; 6. the Southwest; 7. Native Americans; 8. Women; 9. Youth; and 10. the Trade Unions.

In the period since the Conference, Local Continuations Committees have been formed in many cities in the USNA, and hundreds of Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries have united with these committees. We urge all serious revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists who unite with the three principles and the Conference resolutions (and who have not yet done so) to join the Continuations Committees.

STUDY MARXISM\*-LENINISM/ FIGHT REVISIONISM/ BUILD A MULTINATIONAL  
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY



mainstays <sup>Theme</sup> Negro Nat -

2nd Topic - Relations of Negro people struggle to Nat. Col. struggle

3) Joint struggle of Negro peoples

4) A.A support of the Negro struggle - Negro Nation -

June 18th 5:00 - Come with speech papers or

~~speech papers~~

Bring a set of Clow B reading to Reg.

5:30 Ken Bell's celebrity show room.