

Sorry this is so late in coming: but we just got the addresses of new organizations coming Feb 11th.

received Feb. 10th
K.M.

Feb. 1, 1978

Dear Comrades,

SUB was going to give a verbal presentation^{on Feb 11th} on how we 4 organizations (DMLO, PSO, PWOC, and SUB) perceived the level of unity and disunity among the organizational responses to the 5 questions. However, we all came to agree that it would be best to send the summary out beforehand even if organizations didn't get it much in advance of Feb. 11th. The reason for this is twofold: it would give organizations more time to think about whether this is an accurate perception of the level of unity (since that's what the concrete proposal is based on); and it will save a lot of time at the meeting. In hindsight, of course, it would have been better to send this summary out before or with our concrete proposal.

Therefore, our agenda will ~~start~~ have a discussion of the extent to which comrades agree or disagree in essence with our characterization ~~with~~ the stated level of unity and disunity. Then we can move on to concrete proposals. We should first focus on basic objections to the essence of concrete proposals that reflect the broad unity. Afterwards we can discuss more minor changes and additions to the basic proposal we agree upon.

Comradely,
Toni Vlasits
Toni Vlasits for
SUB
DMLO
PSO
PWOC

** El Comite is not included here because they were unable to attend last 2 meetings of committee of 5. So we do not know to what extent they agree or disagree with this perceived level of unity and disunity.

The following is a list of organizations that wrote responses to 5 questions (on which this summary is based): LA workgroup; Mayday, WUO; WSOC; BPO; PSO; PWOC; DMLO; El Comite (of last summer); BWM; SOC; BOC

PROPOSAL SUMMARY

In order to help focus discussion at the Feb. meeting, we thought it would be useful to briefly outline:

- A. the broad unity reflected in the answers to the questions
- B. basic differences certain groups seem to have with that broad unity
- C. important areas of difference within the broad unity

We make this presentation for the following reasons:

a. Any step forward which we take as a result of the Feb. meeting should be based on our broad unity. We want to put out our estimation of that unity which serves as the basis for our proposal for moving forward. This will allow us all to focus discussion on whether or not we assessed this unity correctly.

b. It is essential that we struggle around basic differences groups have with the broad unity. For that reason, we want to isolate key differences which we can detect from the answers and from past debates. This will aid us in focusing struggle.

c. While recognizing the broad unity that does exist, it is also necessary to recognize important differences which exist within that unity among the groups. We list main areas of difference - as reflected in the answers - so we can all acknowledge that these differences exist and that over time we need to overcome them.

A. Broad unity

We are breaking this section down into three areas for the sake of clarity. The three areas are as follows:

1. beliefs which almost all groups explicitly agreed with
2. beliefs which a number of groups voiced yet which other groups did not express a clear opinion on.
3. beliefs which we feel were generally implied although not stated explicitly very often.

Obviously, we are most certain of the unity on beliefs in area 1. We are pointing out the beliefs in areas 2 and 3 to surmise just how far the broad unity might extend.

Area 1 - (almost all groups seem to agree)

- a. Local work presently predominates in our embryonic trend.
 - b. It is essential that eventually our emerging trend take a national approach to local work.
 - c. Presently, it is possible to take a step forward towards overcoming our localism by centralizing the ideological struggle on a national level. (The majority of organizations referred to this as building an ideological or national center.)
 - d. We must proceed cautiously and slowly in centralizing the ideological struggle-progressing in accord with the objective realities of the emerging trend.
 - e. We are incapable of establishing a leading ideological center at this time. Any center formed would have to earn and prove its leading character over time - in relation to trend and whole Communist movement.
 - f. At this time, local groups will maintain their autonomy and will go through no changes in structure upon joining an ideological center.
- *(From here on, we'll refer to an ideological center as a form to centralize the ideological struggle nationally as "the Center.")

Area 2 - (a number of groups voiced yet others did not express an opinion)

- a. The first topic to focus centralized struggle around should be the nature of "left" opportunism in the party-building movement and the significance of this for party building.

- b. A deeper investigation as to the objective state of the trend needs to be undertaken and then shared with all the groups working to build the Center.
- c. We must recognize that many differences exist within the embryonic trend and must work to clarify and struggle over essential differences using the method unity-struggle-unity.
- d. The Center will facilitate as much as possible the development of local organizations; local orgs learning from the advanced experience of other organizations is an important way the Center can further local development.

Area 3 - (generally implied views yet not stated often)

- a. The Center - in its beginning phase - will mainly direct its attention to the emerging trend as opposed to the ~~M-L~~ M-L movement as a whole -- trying to help consolidate and unify the embryonic trend on a sound basis.
- b. By focusing the ideological struggle, in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity, the Center will work to achieve unity on the nature of the main danger in the party-building movement as well as on basic party-building strategy. This struggle will lay the basis for the ideological and political unity necessary to further clarify and define the nature of the Center's tasks, goals, and purpose.
- c. It is important to self-consciously try to build the multinational character of the forces participating in building the Center.

B.

Basic Differences Outside of Broad Unity

1. El Comité and the WSOC believe we are not ready to form a national center to centralize the ideological struggle.

2. The BPO still disagrees with point 18 as a line of demarcation. Given the decision at last August's meeting we do not think it is appropriate to struggle around this disagreement. However, apart from this, BPO seems to object to forming a national center to centralize the ideological struggle.

3. The BOC discussed preconditions for forming a LIC. We are not sure if the BOC would agree that those preconditions should be met partially by the Organizing Committee for an IC but also during the beginning phase of the IC's existence.

4. WAO, as expressed in their latest writing, seems to have some basic differences.

C.

Important Areas of Difference Within the Broad Unity

1. Groups have varying conceptions of the nature and activities of the developing Center.

- a. Some groups put more emphasis on the need for ideological struggle while others put more emphasis on the need for common practical work.
- b. Some groups see the Center more in a coordinating role and others see it more in terms of centralizing the ideological struggle.
- c. Some groups talk to regional formations within the national center while others appear to see little role for regional activity.
- d. Groups have varying approaches to building unity within the trend and varying views on the relationship between building ideological and political unity.
- e. Groups have different conceptions about who would be members of the Center and its relation to the trend as a whole.

2. Obviously groups have different analyses of the nature of the ultra-left line.

3. Underlying these differences-as well as others - are differing party-

building lines. Even those groups who unite around the primary of fusion in party-building put forth differing ways of viewing the Center and its relation to the party-building process.

4. Groups define the embryonic trend differently in terms of who is in it and why, in terms of its actual level of unity and development. These differences exist within those forces who agree with the 18 points as appropriate principles of unity.
 - a. Some groups use the term "trend" to apply to just groups and individuals that agree with the 18 points.
 - b. Others use the term to include a broader number of groups and individuals - such as PUL - who see ultra-leftism as the main danger.
 - c. Others use the term "tendency" to reflect that the trend is not yet developed enough to call itself a trend.
 - d. And others talk as if the trend is consolidated around certain positions like "fusion is the essence of party-building."
5. Differences exist on the projected rate of change from a local to a national approach.
6. Differences exist on how groups see coordination and centralization - the process of moving towards more centralization.

In our process of moving forward, some of the above areas of difference will have to be clarified during the life of the Organizing Committee and others in the first phase of the IC's development.