

Tues Given at June 1977 party-building conf as example how writing
PRINCIPLES OF UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF BALTIMORE written
down our political unity even on limited scale helped consolidation. winter
75-76

As a preface, we would like to state that these principles of unity include both lines and orientations. We define a line as a position which is well formulated and definitely agreed upon and studied. An orientation can be defined as a position which represents our opinion based on a limited analysis but without thorough study by SUB as a whole.

Security

1. Democratic Centralism : (a line)

SUB identifies itself as a democratic centralist organization recognizing that developing democratic centralism, especially in a small group, is a process. This means that there is complete internal discussion on all questions of importance such as principles, strategy, etc. Discussions are on a democratic and political basis. If there is a minority and majority position after full discussion then the majority position prevails and is carried out by all members. Leadership is elected on a political and democratic basis. Leadership is followed and criticism is carried out only internally.

All members of SUB are expected to:

- a. be a part of both study and practice groups and to integrate theory and practice. People are also expected to be involved in and support the mass work and the educational work of SUB.
- b. take seriously the process of proletarianization and integration in the working class.
- c. seriously engage in criticism and self-criticism.
- d. practice security and self-discipline.
- e. have a commitment to M-L and the working class movement.
- f. be subject to the discipline of the organization.
- g. agree with the principles of unity.

2. Dialectical Materialism : (a line)

SUB bases its practice and study in dialectical materialism, the philosophy of the working class. The scientific approach to the world using the tools of Marxism-Leninism is our ultimate source of confidence in our ability to grow through study, to analyze our practice, to formulate lines, to recruit new members, and to successfully engage in criticism and self-criticism.

It is this scientific approach that distinguishes us from other groups who recruit on the basis of solidarity with a line formulated outside the concrete conditions of the U.S. In addition, our dialectical approach means that while a small independent organization bears disproportionate responsibility for study and theory, all of its members may become firmly united around the resulting conclusions with an understanding that cannot come from dogma or tailism of splits within the world communist movement.

Concretely this means that in our practice groups we move forward through the correct identifications and understanding of the interconnections. Also it means we apply theory to practice, and following practice we sum up and then strive to clarify theory. We fight against the abstract or mechanical application of principles.

3. Non-sectarianism : (a line)

Sectarianism is defined as isolating or separating oneself from the masses. This often takes the form of not participating in mass struggles. We feel it is important that we take up the struggle of the masses. We believe in uniting with the masses to

win - with whomever can be united around those demands.

Sectarianism can also mean putting the interests of your group above the interests of the working class as a whole. This comes out in practice in communist groups' frequent refusal to work with other communists. SUB believes in working with other communist groups that are willing to work with us on a principled basis (that is, to seriously participate and help build the mass struggle not just act as parasites and to grasp and emphasize the unity around common demands while dealing with political differences in a principled way). We think communist groups should not be attacked publically, but disagreements with their positions should be carried out on a public basis. We try to reach out and encourage communist groups to work together in such a principled way. However, we do not work with so-called communist organizations that are obviously or objectively counter-revolutionary.

4. The World Communist Movement : (an orientation)

Sub sees the U. S. as the principle enemy in the world today. We support national liberation struggles and recognize that they are a primary force against imperialism. We maintain an independent line on the international question as does the Cuban, Korean, and Vietnamese Communist Parties. We study and look at each socialist country in a dialectical materialist way, scientifically studying all the facts, concrete conditions, and the strengths and weaknesses of the development of socialism in that country. We will not take positions which will hurt the world communist movement or promote anti-communism.

SUB disagrees with the theory of two imperialisms or two superpowers. That is, we do not feel the USSR is an imperialist country. We do have differences with, questions about and lack of clarity about some of the policies of the USSR, especially internally. Our orientation is that the USSR is still socialist, based on a limited analysis. This will either be confirmed or rejected through further study. We hold open the possibility that the USSR has made and is making revisionist errors. But we also have differences with and questions about some of China's foreign policy and some of the other lines and policies of other socialist countries. However, we firmly believe that the overall role of the socialist countries in advancing the international proletarian struggle should be stressed and criticism should be carried out mainly internally within the communist movement.

5. Working in the Trade Unions : (an orientation)

SUB strongly adheres to the principle of communists working within trade unions. First, it is critical that communists connect up with and participate in the workers' movement and in organizations where the broad masses of workers are. The primary link with the working class is the trade unions for the following reasons: 1. it is the broadest based organization of just workers; 2. they are the principle form of organization of the working class and inevitable under capitalism; and 3. they predominate as the organization of the industrial proletariat, the vanguard in making a revolution.

Secondly, if we refuse to work within the unions then we abandon the masses to the bourgeois, reactionary ideology of the trade union leadership. Therefore, we strongly disagree with dual unionism, the practice of refusing to work in the existing unions and setting up "new unions" instead.

We see that our role as communists within the trade unions is to oppose the class collaborationist leaders and build class struggle unionism instead. We see doing this by building a rank and file movement mainly through caucuses, with an ideology which reflects our class interests. This can be done by pushing the following three principles:

1. Counterpose class collaboration : show there is not unity with the boss.
2. Develop class unity: most importantly the struggle against racism.
3. Isolate and defeat the trade union bureaucrats : build the rank and file leadership.

These are the main principles rank and file caucuses should work around

6. Party-building: (a line)

SUB adheres to the necessity of a Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S., as elsewhere. A M-L Party is defined in the following way: it is the most highly organized, advanced detachment of the working class; it contains the most class conscious, dedicated elements of the proletariat, who are armed with Marxist theory; it is the body that leads the masses and working class to revolution, guiding them in strategy and tactics while being part of the working class; it operates by unity of will and democratic centralism.

A Leninist Party is needed in the U.S. because the masses will not spontaneously rise to revolution. A communist organization is needed because socialist consciousness is not innate within the masses. In addition, only a very strong, well disciplined and united organization will be able to defeat the U.S. capitalists.

The only pre-condition for building towards a party is an upsurge in a low level class conscious mass movement that involves large sectors of the working class. SUB asserts that such an upsurge exists. This is evidenced by rises in the rank and file union movements, third world struggles (against racism, repression), movements for economic changes, and in the anti-war movements within the last 10-15 years.

There is no M-L Party in the U.S. today that meets the above criteria.

The many pre-conditions for forming a party do not exist today. SUB asserts that due to the present low level of development of the communist movement it is premature to actually form a new Communist Party.

Therefore the principal task for Communists today is to build towards a M-L Party. The principal contradiction in the process of building a Communist Party is: integration of the Communist movement in the working class movement v. s. separation of the Communist movement and the working class movement. There are three component tasks necessary to resolve this contradiction:

1. building a Communist current in the working class (raising the political, socialist consciousness of the masses).
2. developing Communist cadre from the working class.
3. developing Communist ideology for our class, applying M-L theory to the concrete conditions of our time.

In SUB our priority is to recruit advanced workers to Communism in order to bring about the fusion between the workers' and Communist movements.

7. National Question:

SUB is still studying this question. So far, we have concluded that there is not a Black nation in the South at this point in history.