

## ON THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATION :

# THE BUILDING OF CORES

One of the areas in which little discussion has taken place among Marxists-Leninists has been on the question of organization. Basic questions, such as what is a factory nucleus, how is it built, how does it work, what is a mass organization and how do communists work within them, what is a rank and file caucus and how do communists work within it, what is a factory newsletter, how is it organized and what topics does it deal with, how is it distributed and many others that have not been openly and concretely discussed by the communist movement.

When we say concretely, we are talking about going beyond the definitions of these concepts found in the classics. Forms of organization, like everything in society, are subject to the laws of dialectics - all things develop according to time, place and conditions.

To avoid confusion and prevent the opportunists from using what has been said to confuse people we must make clear that although it is true that all things change according to the laws of dialectical and historical materialism it is also true that there are universal truths of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought which apply at all times, in all places and under all conditions (e.g., the law of contradictions, the law of class struggle in class society). Thus, we can see that the communist party has a series of universal characteristics (e.g., they are based on the ideology of the proletariat, adhere to democratic centralism, apply the principle of criticism and self-criticism, etc.). However, they also have a series of particularities, such as being legal, illegal or semi-legal, depending upon the society in which they exist. For example, the communist press can be legal, semi-legal or clandestine, and congresses can be open or secret. Furthermore, parties have different programs, they differ in their strategy and tactics depending upon their concrete conditions.

As the Communist International said in its Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes, the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the equality of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the international communist movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis, it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties, but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

Reprint from Communist International (send for your copy)

The party - the highest form of organization of the proletariat - contains within it the general, the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, as well as the particular, based on a "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" e.g., the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions we are confronted with. We have used the party as an example because it illustrates well the point we are raising.

It must be understood that forms of organization are determined by ideology and political line. The relation between theory and practice, between the solution given to a particular problem and the concrete manner in which we deal with it is what will determine the forms of organization. We must struggle in this regard with the revisionists and right opportunists -

who are the main danger - who deny the universality of some forms of organization, such as the party, the united front, the army, factory nucleus as the basic unit of party organization, etc. We must also struggle against the dogmatists, who spout half-learned quotes from books and demand that each organizational form in the U.S. today conform to the organizational forms developed by Lenin in Tsarist Russia or those developed by Stalin in the socialist Soviet Union.

It is in the spirit of initiating more serious debate on this question that we are publishing the following internal document on an aspect of organization - cores. We are beginning this debate on this important question in these pages and we will maintain our pages open to continue this debate.

We hope that comrades throughout the country will soon express their views and criticisms of this document, and their agreements, disagreements, doubts and experiences on this question.

### THE BUILDING OF CORES - A NECESSARY STEP TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY WORK AMONG THE MASSES -

What is a core?

A core is a communist form of organization. Its members are both "party" (in the case of the U.S., today "party" means a specific Marxist-Leninist organization) and non-party members. It is important that this be clearly understood. The core is not a "party" organization, but it is a communist form of organization.

What is the difference between these two?

A party organization is composed only of cadres of a given Marxist-Leninist organization. The party organization is subject to the democratic centralism of the organization. The basic form of party organization is the factory nucleus. Other forms of organization are the school units, the community areas, etc. Cores are definitely not part of our organization, but they receive leadership from our organization. And, in fact, the core works under the leadership of our organization.

What is the purpose of the core?

A core is established with the purpose of providing communist leadership in a particular area, give communist leadership to established mass organizations, or to establish and lead such organizations. The core, acting under the leadership of our organization, is responsible for bringing the line of the organization to that particular struggle, mass organization, etc.

Who can be recruited as members of the core?

The core is open to our cadres and to other Marxist-Leninist, advanced and intermediate elements who have fundamental unity with our line. Membership in the core is based on the existence of that fundamental unity shown both in theory and in practice - in the unity with the objectives, tactical plan, etc. under which the core is operating.

What we mean by "fundamental unity"

Let's establish first what we don't mean. Members of the core do not have to agree with every position of our organization. That would be equivalent (complete unity) to placing non-organization members under the democratic centralism (which in practice would turn out to be only centralism) of the organization! This would be in fact an error. Neither do we mean unity on a series of general formulations or abstractions. Fundamental unity is determined not only in terms of issues but more importantly, in terms of how we achieve this unity, how we deepen it and how it is manifested in our common revolutionary practice. Thus, core members not only have unity with the line of the organization on key questions - e.g. need for a Party, proletarian revolution, armed struggle, role of the state, etc. - but also they have been tested in practice in terms of their disposition to (a) struggle for that line, (b) participate in its further development (through implementation of

the line and sum-up of the work, 2 study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought and 3 criticism and self-criticism.) In a nutshell, members of our cores are individuals that have been tested in the heat of the class struggle. Individuals that come forward in different struggles that are led by our cores. This "fundamental unity" will be tested not only by the propaganda carried out with them on a one to one basis, but also by the stand and viewpoint they show towards our propaganda and agitation as well as towards the mass work we are involved in. Recruitment to the core is then based on whether in practice they show in fact that fundamental unity with the line of the organization. (Each core should discuss this question based on particular examples of individuals that the core is in contact with or relating to, in order to deepen our understanding of this. But, remember that unity that has not been tested, is no unity.)

What are the functions of the core?

In providing communist leadership and direction to these struggles, mass organizations, etc. the core is responsible for the preparation and distribution of communist propaganda and agitation in its particular area of work. (The particulars under what name the propaganda is put out, how and who is to distribute it, etc. have to be determined by each core according to the place, time and conditions under which it is operating.) Besides producing the propaganda, the core is also responsible for oral propaganda and must carry out political education and training within the mass organization and the participants of the particular struggle in which it is involved. This political education can take various forms. Study circles at all levels, meeting to discuss different questions, visits to the contacts in their homes to discuss the struggle, the plan of work, etc. Film showings, forums, etc. are other forms to carry it out. It is important not to lose track of the fact that it will be in the course of providing communist direction and leadership to the mass struggle that the core will be able to develop this political education.

Who should know of the existence of the core?

The core is a closed organization. It is an illegal organization that works without making itself known to the enemy (the State, the Trotskyites, revisionists, labor bureaucrats, poverty pimps, etc.) Also the core maintains its secrecy in relation to the other members of the particular mass organization or struggle in which it is involved. The core and our organization have to avoid all types of social-democratic errors that can lead to the discovery of our cores. We are doing our work because we want to make proletarian revolution, not because we want to be "recognized."

How are decisions taken in the core?

The core functions democratically. This means that everybody in the core has the right and obligation to participate both in the formulation and implementation of the line. The hegemony of the line of our organization in the core is based in the correctness of that line and the fundamental unity that all the members of the core have with it. In cases of disagreements, the only possible way of solving the contradiction with the core will be the method of persuasion, unity-struggle-unity. Those who do not investigate do not have the right to speak, those who do not carry out the agreements of the core cannot be part of it. And the final decision is based on majority rule in cases in which unity cannot be reached among all members of the core.

Does the core adopt positions that are in contradiction with those of our organization?

The composition of the core; our members, Marxist-Leninists, advanced and intermediate elements who have fundamental unity with our line; the rules adopted by the core, principles of unity that exist in the particular mass organization (if that's the case) in which the core operates, etc. are the only guarantee that we have so that no fundamentally different positions can exist between the core that works under our leadership and ourselves. But in the same way that there always exists two line struggle within the organization, there will be two

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line struggle in the cores. If at any time fundamental disagreements arise between the core and the organization we should call for a special meeting in which the disagreements, and the basis of the disagreements will be discussed in order to achieve principled unity. The core, however, cannot continue to exist in the absence of fundamental unity with the line of the organization from which it receives leadership (It is important that we deepen our understanding of this question to avoid falling into right or "left" errors. It would be a right error to allow the core to become an organization in itself. It would be a "left" error to impose democratic centralism to the core, or using other methods than persuasion and principled struggle to solve contradictions in the core.) To sum-up, our organization exercises leadership in the core by our cadres in it and by the fact of the existing fundamental unity among members of the core with the political line of the organization.

How is the core established?

The core is initiated by the organization. Originally it is composed only of cadres of the organization and close contacts. The core meets regularly to plan its work and study Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. The formation of any core will respond to either a particular struggle that we feel we should

be involved with or a particular area of work that we have to develop (e.g. student work, work in the national movement, etc.). These areas are determined according to how they facilitate our central task and of course all work in the cores are placed in the context of party building.

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To get a better understanding, we recommend that the comrades read the following selections.

1. Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China, especially Chapter 11 - The tasks of the primary organization of the Party (pages 126-36)
2. On Organization - J. Stalin
3. Principles of Party Organization - Communist International
4. Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks - V.I. Lenin
5. Oppose Bookworship - Mao Tse-tung
6. Bolshevization of the Communist Parties in the Capitalist Countries by Means of Overcoming Social-democratic Tendencies - O. Piatnitsky
7. The Organizational Construction of the Communist Parties and Methods and Scope of Their Activities - Communist International



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