

# COMMUNIST FORUM



Submitted by MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE

The factory nucleus in large scale basic industry is the organizational foundation of a genuine communist party. In 1926, the Communist International stated "The factory cell is the basic unit for all parties in capitalist countries." It is in industries such as auto, steel and mining that the most oppressed and exploited strata of the working class is found. The work of a revolutionary party must concentrate on winning over and mobilizing this decisive section of the proletariat. Factory nuclei are essential if the party is to carry through this task.

In this pre-party period, what are the transitional forms which communist organizations must establish within basic industry? What are the tasks of communists in the workplace during this period? What is the relationship between party-building and our work within industry?

The Marxist-Leninist Collective erred when we proposed joint work between communist organizations in the form of factory nuclei (see WP V2 #12). Factory nuclei are a form of party organization. All members are under the discipline of the party (or in the case of the US now, the same organization) and adhere to a common political line. What the MLC intended to propose was a call for joint work in the form of communist cores. A core is a communist form of organization required in this period when a party does not exist. A core is composed of members of one or more communist organizations, independent Marxist-Leninists, and advanced workers who have been won to communism. The core is under the leadership of a given organization or organizations. However, within a core, democratic-centralism functions on an internal basis. Unlike the factory nuclei, the core is not subject to the discipline of a party or organization. Similar to a factory nuclei, the core is clandestine and secret. Upholding the science of Marxism-Leninism is the basis of unity for a communist core. Joint work between communist organizations within a core would then exclude oppor-

## THE BUILDING OF CORES

By LPR (M-L)

There are a number of unities between the position advanced by LPR-ML in January and that submitted by the MLC. These are (1) that factory nuclei are the basic organizational unit of a genuine communist party, (2) that cores, just as factory nuclei, are clandestine and based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and that this unity is manifested both in theory and in practice (thus excluding oppor-

Many comrades have sent us their criticisms, commentaries, questions, etc. on our articles "The Building of Cores" (Resistance vol 8#1) and "Investigation Guide for Factory Work" (Resistance vol 8#2). These articles are part of a series on the question of organization which we consider of vital importance for all honest Marxist-Leninists who seriously consider the organization of our class in the most adequate ways.

tunist and revisionist groups such as the CPUSA, OL, PRRWO, RCP, CLP and trotskyite organizations.

Organizations participating in communist cores would conduct regular meetings to take up ideological and political questions with the aim of uniting Marxist-Leninists as well as discussing ongoing work of the core. Independent Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers who are recruited into a core would share this commitment to Marxism-Leninism in both theory and practice. However, they would not need to have unity with all the questions of political line of the organization(s) that initiate and lead the core. We agree with the formulation of the LPR in this point:

"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." (Resistance, Vol 8, #1, p 2)

However, for a communist core to exist, there must be unity at least on the following fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism: recognition of the need for proletarian revolution by armed struggle, the role of the party, the role of the state, the character of national oppression under capitalism.

Party-building is the central task of all Marxist-Leninists in the US today. Our work within communist cores must be seen in this context. As theory is the decisive and principal aspect during the pre-party period, a core can serve as a vehicle for the testing and development of political line which will facilitate the formation of a party. What differences exist between organizations or between organizations and non-organizational members of the core, principled struggle will occur within the core and a majority decision reached. The core will systematically sum-up the application of political line, thereby consolidate the unity of Marxist-Leninists and help cons-

tunists of all hues). All members of the core are not necessarily in unity with all aspects of the line of the organization that initiates and leads the core, (3) that the building of cores should be seen in the context of building the party, that theory is decisive in this pre-party period, and that the core is a vehicle for implementing, verifying and developing the line, and for moving forward the building of the party, (4) that the core functions democratically, waging principled struggle, systematically summing up work, and that its goal is to provide communist leadership to mass struggles and organizations, carrying out communist propaganda and agitation. The training of future cadres must be carried out both in the theory and in the practice of proletarian revolution.

The position of the Marxist-Leninist Collective contains a fundamental error: the liquidation of the factory nucleus. The comrades ask themselves: "In this pre-party period, what are the transitional forms

to effectively fight the capitalist enemy and in particular to facilitate the task of building the Communist Party - the highest form of organization of the working class. By publishing these articles we intend to provide concrete orientation so as to develop the correct line and revolutionary practice on the question. We are publishing below an article submitted by the MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE from San Francisco,

tract the theoretical foundations for the future party. We can concretely see the dialectical relationship between the primary aspect of theory and the secondary aspect of practice. While one is primary, neither aspect can exist independent of the other.

The practical tasks of a core are to conduct communist propaganda and agitation and give communist leadership to the spontaneous struggles and mass organizations. The core must win over the most advanced workers and train them in Marxist-Leninist theory through study circles. Moreover, within the core the discussion of tactical questions, the summation of practice, and criticism and self-criticism will enable the advanced to become practical leaders in the day to day struggles of the proletariat.

We have addressed ourselves to the question of a core within a particular factory or shop. A core is also an appropriate form of communist organization within a trade union or any other mass organization of the working class. The same principles would apply to a core in this context. In a trade union where a broad caucus exists based on the struggle for trade union democracy and opposition to the union bureaucrats, the core will seek to give leadership to the caucus. Careful attention must be paid to the constant exposure of the labor traitors as well as the revisionists and opportunists (who may participate in a caucus). The success of a rank and file caucus is generally dependent on the existence and leadership of a core. As a rule, the formation of a core should precede the organization of a caucus. Yet, where caucuses exist, but it is not possible at the time to form a core, communist organizations and independent Marxist-Leninists must join the caucus, strive to win over the advanced, and form a core as soon as possible.

We believe this question of the formation of communist cores to be most important. We urge all Marxist-Leninists to take up this issue, publish this article and put forward criticisms of it.

which communist organizations must establish within basic industry?" And they answer: "A core is a communist form of organization required in this period when a party does not exist." This is incorrect.

The factory nucleus is the basic form of party organization. In the absence of the party, this form is not eliminated, on the contrary. The development and consolidation of factory nuclei allows Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives to establish deeper ties within the class, to proletarianize their ranks, and thus move forward the party building process.

There is no contradiction in building of cores and factory nuclei. In fact, they complement each other and they work in coordination both in the pre-party period and once the party is built.

In a factory, we can develop the factory nucleus - composed of cadres of the organization, and the core-

. continued on pg. 12

# COMMUNIST FORUM



composed of cadres, other Marxist-Leninists, as well as advanced and intermediate workers, and rank and file caucuses or workers' committees that group together any worker that is in disposition to struggle for a democratic union, against national oppression, women's oppression, etc. All these forms of organization allow us to make out of every factory a fortress for communism.

Of all these forms, the most important is the factory nucleus. It is this form which in the last analysis guarantees that the line of the party (today - of the Marxist-Leninist organization or collective) is implemented in the shops. However, only those who know of factory nucleus because they have read it in a book will mechanically say that the way to develop work in a factory is by first developing a factory nucleus, then the core and finally the rank and file caucus. We agree with the Marxist-Leninist Collective in that this is not a mechanical question of first one then the other, independent of conditions.

In practice this varies from factory to factory. To build a factory nucleus, we need to have a certain amount of cadres in the same factory. So, if we begin with the factory nucleus we would have to build it by placing the necessary cadres in every factory we are to work in. What happens if there is only one or two cadres working in a factory? What happens if there is only one contact? In these cases, which are the rule rather than the exception in this period of gathering forces, we first develop the core which has as its aim the creation of a rank and file caucus, development of communist work within the factory, preparation of shop newsletters, the development of a study circle, etc. (There are cases in which the rank and file caucus already exists previous to our work in the factory, in which case we would incorporate the core, as soon as it is formed into the caucus). Our work within the core, within the rank and file caucus and within the study circle, as well as the communist propaganda and agitation that we put out in the factory allows us to develop, win, train and consolidate the advanced workers that will eventually make up our factory nucleus.

What is important, we repeat, is that the development of factory nuclei is a task for the present moment, not for after the party is formed. In fact, only by organizing ourselves along the lines of factory nuclei, by implementing democratic-centralism and by practising criticism-self-criticism in our organizations in this pre-party period, will we be able to fulfill our central task - the building of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U S.

Further more, we differ with the views of the Marxist-Leninist Collective on (1) the composition of the cores which is limited by the MLC to Marxist-Leninists and "advanced workers who have been won to communism". LPR-ML includes intermediate workers in the cores it develops, as well as advanced workers who are not communists (2) the basis of unity in the core and that "there has to be unity at least on the following fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism: recognition of the need for proletarian revolution by armed struggle, the role of the party, the role of the state, the character of national oppression under capitalism." We believe this is too general a way in which to define the type of unity that has to exist among different organizations, collectives or individuals in order to carry out joint practice. Struggling against the tendency to establish unity exclusively on these terms, we pointed out in our position:

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 1. 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.)

Resistance, Vol 8, No. 1

Overall we it as positive that other comrades are taking up the question of building cores and urge honest Marxist-Leninists to continue this work and to continue to use the Communist Forum to develop the discussion on this and other important matters.

