

NOTES ON CADRE FORMATION



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NOTES ON CADRE FORMATION

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INTRODUCTION

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

- The Revolutionary Militant's Formation
- Ideological Formation
- Political Formation.
- Organic Formation..
- Military Formation
- Technical Formation.
- Moral Formation.

THE PARTY: A REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING SCHOOL

- I. Aspects of the Training Process
- II. Training and Learning Within the Party
- Criticism and Self-Criticism,
- The Role of Practice.
- The Role of Example
- Cadre Formation and the Organizational Structures of the Party

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Introduction

Traditionally in Revolutionary Parties and in our own organization, the problem of cadre formation has not been considered in its entirety. In the past, we developed only isolated instructional activities (political education, special training, etc.) which failed to deal with the problem as a whole.

The importance of cadre formation, especially for the Party today, cannot be underestimated. The situation created by the military coup, including the establishment of the dictatorship, the dispersion of the traditional left, as well as the dispersion and destruction of mass organizations, necessitates tremendous strength on the part of the Party. This strength cannot be attained unless the revolutionary vanguard and each of its members take a sizable leap forward.

It is our intention now to show that the problem of cadre formation is greater and more complicated than mere instruction and its solution demands that the Revolutionary Party function permanently as a true school of revolutionary formation. This objective cannot be accomplished through isolated activities but can be achieved through the daily commitment of all members thus reflected in all party structures and levels.

On the other hand, it is necessary to think and plan our activity and cadre formation in long-range terms while at the same time seeking emergency solutions to immediate problems. It is within this perspective that we present these notes for discussion.

The Tasks of the Revolutionary Party

The Chilean working class, as in all capitalist countries, is comprised of neither a homogeneous mass nor a single class. It is fragmented and separated in hundreds and thousands of factories, mills and workshops which have no major connection with each other. Each of these sectors is forced to struggle to maintain employment and improve working conditions within the limits of a narrow job market. Bourgeois society functions precisely to maintain this division, fragmentation and competition in the heart of the working class. Moreover, capitalist society also functions to internalize bourgeois ideology within the working class itself, so that the class will accept the system of exploitation and its position within it, thereby enabling bourgeois domination of the proletariat to be based not only on coercion but on general assent as well.

The unity of the working class can only come about when this division and fragmentation are eliminated; when all members of the working class understand

that their interests are the same; when capitalism and the capitalist class are identified as irreconcilable enemies and the State as the collective representative of capital; when it is understood that the situation of the working class, and all exploited and oppressed sectors, cannot improve under a capitalist system; when all members of the working class understand the necessity of social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism and communism; when all members have an understanding of the means and forms of struggle necessary for this transformation. It must become clear that revolutionary action does not spring forth spontaneously but is a result of long and arduous struggle, of advances and retreats, and that it is a contradictory process involving the development of levels of homogeneity, self-consciousness and organization which will eventually culminate in the consolidation of the proletariat as a class. The active intervention of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat is necessary because class consciousness is the result of the dialectical blending of the experience and struggles of the proletariat with the educational work, formation and leadership of the Party.

It can be seen, then, that the process of the constitution of the proletariat has the dual purpose of directly involving the working masses themselves while at the same time developing class consciousness. The existence of a revolutionary vanguard, of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat, is necessary for the complete development of both these aspects.

It is imperative that the Revolutionary Party be formed in direct response to working class struggles; otherwise, these struggles will be utilized by factions of the bourgeoisie as pressure points which will prevent the working class from developing an autonomous and independent political activity. The end result would be nothing more than the perpetuation of the working class under the domination of capital.

The experience of the European working class movement and our own movement clearly demonstrated that the struggle of the working masses is inadequate if its objectives are limited to the winning of immediate economic demands or participation in the game of bourgeois politics. Working class movements with extensive experience, for example the British and Chilean movements, have been directed for long periods of time by bourgeois elements (as in the case of the British Labour Party), or have followed a reformist leadership (as was our own situation a short time ago). The absence of the Revolutionary Party prevented the proletariat from acquiring a growing class autonomy and from engaging in independent political struggle, thus remaining solely as a force which operates within the system, using the "pure path" of trade union strength and elections-politics within the parameters of the bourgeoisie. Activity which revolves purely around immediate economic demands is not enough to consolidate the proletariat

as a class, as a revolutionary social force with revolutionary objectives and methods. An element must exist parallel to these struggles and activity to expand the consciousness of the proletariat in the heart of the working class: that is, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard which, linked to the immediate struggles of the working class, directs and orients these immediate struggles, seeking not only satisfaction of urgent needs, but fundamentally elevating the levels of consciousness, combativity and organization of the working class and through it the whole of the exploited and oppressed classes and strata, of which the working class constitutes the leadership. In order for the activity and struggle of the working class to raise objectives beyond the satisfaction of immediate needs, it must be founded on the scientific analysis of the capitalistic mode of production, the existing social formation, the historical objectives of the proletariat and the methods and forms of class struggle in capitalist societies. This scientific analysis of society and class struggle does not arise spontaneously; on the contrary, it is a long and arduous process that cannot result exclusively from the practical experience of class struggle even though such experience is fundamental to the understanding, application and development of this science. As a science of general laws that requires an understanding of class struggle in the capitalistic society, Marxism-Leninism (dialectic materialism, historical materialism, political economy) sets the guidelines for bringing about the change from capitalism to socialism through the proletarian revolution.

Marxism-Leninism is the synthesis of the theory and practice of class struggle. On the one hand, it represents the synthesis, critique, transcendence and development of bourgeois economic, political and philosophical science in its highest expression. On the other hand, it represents the abstraction, generalization and systematization of the practical experience of all class struggles throughout the world. Like any other science, knowledge of Marxism-Leninism demands intensive study and effort. Its creative application within revolutionary activity requires an even greater commitment than other sciences.

The Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat is not only the organizer and coordinator of the struggles of the working class and masses, but it is also the bearer of the science, the collective intellect that learns and applies dialectical and historical materialism and develops it creatively in the analysis of every concrete social formation. At the same time, the Party disseminates and teaches this science to the working class and to the masses.

The Revolutionary Party, therefore, functions as the mediator between theory and practice, the organizational link that allows the working class to recognize its historical interests and to carry out the proletarian revolution.

The Party represents the practical, concrete and living union of revolutionary

theory and action; without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary action; without the Revolutionary Party it is not possible to unite practical theory and action; and finally, without the Party, there can be no proletarian revolution.

The task of the Revolutionary Party is to elevate the levels of consciousness, organization and strength of the struggle of the working class and the masses through the development of its own struggles, which lead ultimately toward the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism. This is by no means an easy task, but one that is extremely complicated, requiring characteristics and conditions on the part of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat that must be formed throughout the course of this long struggle.

While it is true that in previous revolutions some classes gained important positions within the old power structure, the proletarian revolution involves a whole social class which is oppressed and exploited. Its success is contingent upon achieving unity and attracting other oppressed and exploited sectors in the course of a long struggle, a struggle that is at a disadvantage from the point of view of access to the material means of coercion and to the cultural apparatus (or superstructure) that permits the formation and development of its own class consciousness. In the course of this struggle, the proletariat must not only reach unity in its objectives as a class, but must also escape from bourgeois ideological domination. It must escape from the ideological limits of capitalism and all forms of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology (revisionism, reformism, centrism, leftism, etc.) as expressed openly or latently in the heart of the working class. At the same time, the proletariat must develop its own capacity for economic, political and military struggle against the bourgeoisie and its system of domination.

These tasks can only be accomplished to the extent that the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat exists and develops as the consciousness of the working class, formed by the proletarian vanguard whose influence reaches both the proletariat and the masses as well as all other social sectors. The role of the Party, then, is to elevate the levels of consciousness in both advanced and backward sectors of the class, to develop the consciousness of the proletarian class, and to direct the class and the masses in all their daily battles. The fulfillment of these tasks demands an exhaustive preparation which includes not only political and ideological understanding, but also organizational, technical, military and moral development, all of which must be fully taken into account by the Party as a whole and reflected in its structures and in the behavior of its individual members.

As an instrument of revolutionary action, an organizational link between theory and practice and an instrument of subversion, the Revolutionary Party must be able to organize and carry out its objectives. Beyond understanding the political

or theoretical implications of a situation, it is imperative that the Party develop techniques and procedures that relate to the organization of the working class, the masses and other allied sectors, and understand how to carry out the struggle in various political periods.

It can be seen that the tasks of the Revolutionary Party are indeed complicated and even more difficult today than they were in the past. Capitalism itself has kept up with the revolutionary and anti-colonial struggle. Today its domination is even more complex than in the past--from ideological control to material repression and control of economic crises. To this we must add that deviations in the heart of the working class already have a long history, and that various working class generations have been deformed by them.

The revolutionary militant's formation

The militant of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat is a vanguard proletarian who must be capable of carrying out all tasks of the Revolutionary Party by synthesizing theory with practice and intellectual activity with practical revolutionary activity. He/she must unite the daily struggle for the transformation of class society with the gestation and prefiguration of the new man/woman, thereby forging the revolutionary as an integral and combative cadre- a link in the road toward the total man and woman of socialism.

This can only be accomplished through the formation of revolutionary cadre in their totality, that is, he/she must be formed to the maximum of his/her capacity in ideological, political, organizational, military, technical and moral realms.

Ideological Formation

Ideological formation of revolutionary cadre consists of the knowledge and understanding of the general aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory (historical and dialectical materialism, political economy), which is essentially the history of the world and the national working class movements, and the history and structure of Chilean social formation. It is not necessary to be a specialist but only to fundamentally understand the basic rudiments of revolutionary theory and to be able to apply them where appropriate to the study and solution of new situations and problems. But it is important to understand that Marxism-Leninism was not born from just anything; it signifies the absorption, critique, development and transcendence of bourgeois science and culture. But the study of Marxism-Leninism alone is not sufficient; once a certain level of knowledge has been attained, it is necessary to go further

into the study of the particular sciences and different expressions of contemporary bourgeois ideology, especially philosophy, economics, sociology and politics. To the extent that the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat increases the theoretical capacity of its members, elements of a new culture will develop one that will not just accept the cultural heritage of humanity, but will absorb it. In this context, the development of proletarian culture and cultural revolution, initially by revolutionaries and then by the rest of society, does not justify an ignorance of the cultural past on the childish pretext that is it the creation of a class society and the expression of the latter's ideology.

Political Formation

The political formation of a revolutionary cadre presupposes his/her theoretical formation but is more related to knowledge and analysis of concrete reality and the ability to make decisions based on the specific tasks of the class struggle. It involves the capacity to apply theory and experience to the daily activity of the Party and the masses, to plan and appraise strategically and to evaluate.

Political capacity is the capacity to transform theory into action, to utilize theory in order to make practice more conscious, effective and rational and to adequately make use of theory as a guide toward action. The development of political capacity involves the ability to correctly evaluate the correlation of global forces at the local level, and the ability to define an appropriate tactic that will permit a change in this correlation of forces favorable to the proletariat and the Party.

Political aptitude refers to the development of theoretical and practical ability to correctly define the principal enemy and all other enemies, political alliances, the direction of the main thrust of action, etc. In this sense, political capacity is the ability to resolve specific problems of the proletarian class struggle at every level and at all times; the ability to analyze the elements and aspects of the situation and provide possible solutions or courses of action; the ability to carefully weigh the pros and cons of a particular course of action while being fully aware of all possible consequences; the ability to plan the distribution of tasks necessary to carry out an action; the ability to be prepared for possible mishaps in the course of an action by correcting and revising where applicable; and finally, the ability to evaluate the overall effectiveness of an action and extract general criteria and concrete lessons.

Political formation demands theoretical as much as organic formation in the highest degree. It demands the knowledge and capacity to apply creatively the political line of the Party, its history, and its relationship with the working class movement, the masses and all other workers' parties.

Organic Formation

Organic formation of revolutionary cadre is fundamentally related to the theoretical knowledge of the problems of organization. He/she must be able to assign and coordinate various tasks, plan Party functions at all levels in an efficient and safe manner, and organize the masses. In this way, organic formation requires not only theoretical and political knowledge and experience, but also technical skills relevant to Party administration and the harmonious development of military and moral formation.

Organic formation requires knowledge of the organizational theory of the Revolutionary Party and its particular laws, the underlying theory behind the organization of the MIR and the understanding of its history and organic model.

Knowledge of the organizational theory requires an understanding of the laws which govern the relationship between the Party and the working class, the masses, and all the working class parties. This understanding must include the theory of organization of the working class movement and the masses (trade unions, federations, etc.) as well as the political organisms of the working class in pre-revolutionary and revolutionary situations (workers councils).

At the same time, organic formation demands great rigor in the defense and application of revolutionary Leninist principles of Party organization and maximum flexibility in adapting an organic model to the specific conditions of different periods in the class struggle. Organic formation also includes a knowledge of the laws governing the consolidation and expansion of the Party among the working class and the masses and the ability to define the correct tactic for Party-building in different sectors, strata, and situations.

Another aspect of organic development is the understanding of the laws regarding the formation of cadre and leadership, the protection of cadre, replacement of leadership, growth of the Party, recruitment of new members, the promotion of cadre, etc. Finally, organic formation involves understanding the forms of internal democracy and democratic centralism, and the aptitude to uphold these objectives over long periods of time and in different situations against bureaucratic, centrist, ultra-democratic, liberal and anarchic deviations.

Military Formation

The military formation of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat implies the knowledge of proletarian military science and its development through the

worldwide experience of proletarian struggles and triumphant revolutions. It further implies the knowledge of Marxist theory and strategy and political-military techniques.

This type of formation involves: developing the capacity to plan and appraise a military situation, both tactically and strategically; knowing how to combine the use of armed struggle with other forms of struggle, according to each concrete situation; and having the capacity to use and apply military technology. It further implies personal readiness for combat, the administrative ability to manage the Party's military resources and the leadership potential needed to train and organize the working class and the masses in the different periods of the class struggle. To the extent that military formation involves not only the knowledge of military technique and the individual's readiness and capacity for combat in addition to many other aspects, it requires a solid and harmonious ideological, political, organizational (organic), technical and moral formation.

Technical Formation

Technical formation refers to the capacity to utilize various technical means as required by the Party. These include techniques relating to the administration of resources, the tasks of propaganda, and the utilization, repair and construction of combat instruments, leadership qualities, mass work, Party security, etc. The development of the militant's ability in these areas provides the means to carry out these tasks, but only a solid ideological, political, organization, military and moral formation will guide and instruct the militant as to the need and type of technique to be used.

Moral Formation

Finally, we understand moral formation as the need to overcome the vices inflicted on us by bourgeois society. The revolutionary militant is not yet the total man or woman of socialist and communist society; he/she is not even the integral and combative man or woman that the actual struggle requires. But the militant is a chosen cadre who must possess a superior moral character.

The moral formation of the revolutionary militant must of necessity transcend the individualism and egotism of personal ambition that is so prevalent within bourgeois society. Instead, the Party must develop a collective spirit which thrives on solidarity, comradeship, respect and love for the working class and the masses. It must develop the capacity of sacrifice, revolutionary response, initiative, courage and decisiveness in the face of difficulties, and must further develop a dedication to study and work. This moral formation--the prefiguration of the new

man and woman~can only be attained through the harmonious development of the other aspects of cadre formation, providing the necessary instruments for criticism/self-criticism of his/her own development as well as the means to overcome handicaps and attain a higher level of consciousness and action.

From this brief outline of the various aspects of revolutionary cadre development, it is clear that moral formation cannot be confused with either pure abstract knowledge or pure empiricism. It requires both instruction and experience as well as reflection on this experience and its relevance to theory. The revolutionary militant can only be formed within the Party, and the entire Party and each one of its members must work conscientiously towards building his/her necessary moral formation. Previous theoretical, technical or practical knowledge and political experience obtained outside the Party may be advantageous in complementing moral formation; but they do not imply that the militant is already developed as a revolutionary cadre. On the contrary, it may be necessary to point out the limitations, one-sidedness or mistakes of a militant's previous experience.

Moreover, although a militant may acquire vast individual knowledge, information or ability in theoretical or technical areas, the collective application of this knowledge to solve problems raised by the class struggle can only be done within the Revolutionary Party. Without such application, this knowledge remains sterile and useless. On the other hand, vast experience in class struggle which is not guided by revolutionary theory, knowledge and analysis, and which is not reflected upon and submitted to criticism, leads to the subordination of this experience to immediate objectives, to empiricism and pragmatism, and makes it impossible to design a conscious plan for the transformation of reality. It is only the Party itself which is able to effectively synthesize revolutionary theory with the daily needs of the class struggle.

Again, it cannot be overemphasized that the formation of the revolutionary militant demands a combination of theory and practice which is derived from the experience of the Party and the class struggle. It is through the daily activity and work within the Party that the militant not only learns theory, but also discipline, loyalty, rigor, comradeship and the techniques and methods of revolutionary struggle.

Participation in the heart of the class struggle to educate and learn as an activating and organizing force of the Party is but another aspect of the development of the revolutionary militant.

Again it is the role of the Revolutionary Party to prepare militants to be strong yet sensitive and flexible enough to carry out their objectives under diverse and trying situations. The revolutionary militant must be tenacious enough to confront the

temptation of false pleasures within the bourgeois society, such as individualism, personal comfort and gain, and courageous enough to face the forces of repression, persecution and torture. He/she must be strong enough to carry on with full faith the tenets of the proletarian revolution in the face of capitulation on the part of those who appeared to be strong and loyal leaders. Such steadfast dedication can only be fostered through vibrant revolutionary practice within the working class, through the material and moral blows of victory and defeat, through advances and setbacks, desertions and new difficulties. This moral formation is further strengthened and solidified within the Revolutionary Party and through direct practice in the class struggle.

Moral formation, therefore, represents much more than the accumulation of pure knowledge or empirical practice. It implies creativity and initiative-creativity in finding solutions to problems and situations, initiative in carrying out an appropriate course of action that results in solutions. The revolutionary militant must be committed to maximum self-sufficiency in order to develop and implement the politics of the Party in a creative and autonomous way.

The effectiveness of the Revolutionary Party can be measured by the development of its cadre. This development encompasses both the learning and teaching of revolutionary activity, participation in discussion and decision-making, and criticism/self-criticism-all within the framework of internal democracy. This analytical process, combined with concrete measures taken by all Party structures, must be a constant and permanent part of the revolutionary activity of the Party and its members.

It must be clearly understood that political instruction and previous individual knowledge are only one part of revolutionary formation: it is in daily Party activity that the best conditions exist for the development of an integral revolutionary formation.

A revolutionary's formation is not only related to his/her capacity to act upon society and help bring about proletarian revolution, but is also intimately related to the Party's internal democracy.

In fact, one of the distortions that bourgeois society imposes upon all structures existing within it -including the Revolutionary Party--is that it gives a small dominating minority access to all knowledge and information, while the vast majority is forced to co-exist in cultural misery. This control is an instrument of class domination. Should this situation occur within the Revolutionary Party, its internal democracy would become purely formal, given the unequal access to information between leaders and members. (It should be clear that here we are not questioning the need to centralize and compartmentalize certain information

or techniques; we are referring, on the contrary, to that knowledge and information required for the integral formation of the revolutionary.)

It is only when members at all levels of the Party have acquired a homogeneous formation that the danger of bureaucracy can be eliminated and internal democracy can be developed to its fullest. It is undoubtedly a difficult task to insure that every member is sufficiently prepared to carry out Party tasks on all levels and specialties, but this goal in itself constitutes one of the highest objectives of the Party. At the very least, it is necessary that every member be sufficiently prepared to replace cadre at an immediately higher level should it become necessary.

This minimum formative requirement allowing a militant to replace cadre on an immediately higher level fulfills three objectives:

1. It facilitates internal democracy, in the sense that each cadre can be replaced and no one is indispensable (elitism within a party leads to its bureaucratization and to control of the minority over the majority even within a formal democratic framework).
 2. It protects party structures by assuring immediate replacement of leadership at every level, thus preserving the system of collective leadership and increasing the levels of efficiency and security within the Party.
 3. It solves the difficulty of combining internal democracy with the assignment of tasks as it provides an objective basis on which to evaluate members for the purpose of task assignment and promotion.
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The Party: A Revolutionary Training School

I. ASPECTS OF THE TRAINING PROCESS

To clearly visualize the Party's means and methods as a revolutionary training school, we will outline the major elements of this training in broad terms. It is somewhat arbitrary and distorting to separate what is a complex, continuous process into a rather rigid outline. Nonetheless we will present the four basic aspects of party and cadre formation, aware that they must occur together and simultaneously. We will consider the role of instruction, party experience, critical thought and example.

A. Teaching and Instruction

To be successful, teaching and learning- understood as the acquisition of information, skills and understanding - must be both reflective and systematic. Any training process is conditioned by the experience of those involved, whether as members of a family, work group, neighborhood group or social class. A party member's training is based on many indirect, accumulated experiences, as well as on more systematic political instruction and activity. It is essential to remember that self-knowledge and self-teaching form a critical part of the education of any militant.

It is important to emphasize that when we discuss the revolutionary cadre's training, we are specifically thinking of the knowledge, information and skills that have an immediate relation to the Party's daily activities in its historical objective of proletarian and socialist revolution and not of some abstract notion of culture and knowledge. A militant's training must therefore include knowledge of: 1) revolutionary theory - dialectical materialism, historical materialism, political economy, and the history of the labor movement; 2) the political positions and history of the Party and its specific strategies for mass work, military organizing and party building; and 3) the major characteristics of Chilean social formation including history, relations between social classes, political parties and the workers' movement. The militant must also be trained for practical Party work, including techniques of studying, communications, organizing, propaganda, working within groups and administration of Party resources and tasks. In other words, the militant must know how to do things.

B. Party Experience

A militant's experience within the Party is the fundamental aspect of his/her

training. This experience encourages the critical thinking that enables an interpretation of daily experience.

Abstract training or education, from within or outside the Party, cannot really contribute to the formation of a revolutionary cadre unless it is constantly accompanied by practice, by the concrete experience of carrying out tasks and by concrete knowledge of the current situation. Experience is necessary to complement or contradict a theory and to facilitate its further development. The experience of collective Party work and of the attitudes of comrades is the fundamental instrument in the formation of the revolutionary.

Moreover, the Revolutionary Party is fundamentally an instrument in the conscious transformation of reality, not in some speculative sense but rather through organization and action. It is only this experience that furnishes a sense of the Party and encourages its constant improvement. In this sense, the adequate training of a militant requires extended Party experience. This must not be simply accomplishment of tasks but must be complemented by a consciousness and reflection that encourages a practical and permanent questioning of everyday reality in such a way that thought and action are no longer separate.

As the revolutionary militant receives a considerable part of his/her training through the experience of learning from collective action within the Party, it is the task of the Revolutionary Party to understand and organize daily activity in a way that maximizes its educational value.

C. Training by Example

Learning by example is obviously related to learning and training in the Party, but we mention it separately in order to emphasize it. Just as the militant learns by example from those he/she works with, he/she also learns by monitoring his/her own activities and constantly fighting against individualism, self-centeredness and personal ambition. A continual struggle against the personal characteristics conditioned by, and perhaps impossible to overcome in, a class society also contributes to the formation of the kind of militant necessary for a future socialist society.

D. Critical Thinking

The necessity of criticizing and reflecting on past and future actions and understandings is the final major aspect in the integral training of revolutionary cadre. People are uniquely capable of socially transforming their environment through a conscious and planned development that proceeds according to

specific goals and is constantly self-critical. As rational social action and development are blocked in many ways in class society, any strategy to replace class society must be based on the continual development of people's capacity for reflective thought, planning, self-criticism and change. Formal training, Party experience and the examples set by comrades must be continually complemented by individual and collective criticism of these experiences and ideas. This process must take place both in formal conferences and in the daily activity of the Party at all organizational levels. Each militant must acquire the habit of continual individual and collective criticism and self-criticism as a necessary part of his/her daily activity.

I. TRAINING AND LEARNING WITHIN THE PARTY

The successful training of revolutionary cadre requires complete understanding of the many means that the Party possesses to function as a training school. The following outline is only an initial approximation, requiring more systematical analysis in future papers. It serves to indicate some techniques which must be included in a consistent and permanent cadre training plan.

A. Individual Instruction

There are times in the history of the class struggle when open repression of the working class and the workers' parties decreases the possibilities for open party organization and educational activity. We are living in such a period. These situations require extensive individual initiative and sacrifice from all party members if the process of continually increasing concrete skills and understanding is to continue. Although the training and education of a militant always requires extensive individual effort, in times like these self-instruction becomes even more important.

The problems of self-education first require a careful decision concerning the subject matter to be studied. While the choice of subject matter depends somewhat on the previous education and training of the militant, the level of previous education ultimately seems to limit the depth of study more than the actual choice of subject matter. Rather than attempt an abstract educational program, it is crucial to plan study and training that complements the revolutionary task. This implies an attempt to achieve an elementary understanding of Marxism-Leninism, party politics, the national economic and social situation and the skills necessary for the fulfillment of party assignments. As the educational process continues, an appreciation of the diverse and complex political and ideological expressions and policies of the bourgeoisie is essential,

both in itself and to underline the immediate importance and relevance of previous training.

The problem of how to study is the second major problem that must be confronted. Although a complete discussion of study techniques is clearly not possible here, it is important to emphasize that whatever the subject, study should proceed from the simple to the complex, from the immediate and concrete to the more distant and abstract. More than anything else, it is important to emphasize that occasional study seldom brings good results. The study project must be carefully planned and organized in relation to the dominant goals of a particular time period. A successful plan of study helps the militant organize him/herself in terms of objectives, means and limitations and helps develop his/her perseverance and commitment.

Thirdly, a program of self-education requires the cooperation and help of other comrades, both in the choice of subject matter and program of study and in discussing the problems that must come up in the course of any successful study program. It is important that pride and insecurity do not get in the way of admitting problems and confusion and asking for help from the more experienced. Similarly, each Party member must adopt an attitude of helpfulness, understanding and respect toward other Party members.

B. Systematic Teaching

This kind of education has commonly taken place as political, military and technical instruction which the Party believes must be completely integrated into the regular program. The Party must provide its members with an "intellectual" training that is united with the daily experience and activity of the Party in a coherent and integrated way. The ways in which this instruction should take place vary according to the particular conditions of the period and must be analyzed accordingly. Teaching may successfully occur in various ways such as discussions, lectures, talks, the analysis of specific articles, or when conditions require it, through a system similar to correspondence courses that minimize the length of the actual meeting.

C. Continual Education

There are countless possibilities for training and instruction of cadre during the daily activities of the Revolutionary Party which usually are not exploited to the fullest. This type of training requires constant vigilance on the part of all militants and Party leaders. We will touch on three related aspects of this Party activity, aware that our outline is not comprehensive.

First a wide opportunity for cadre formation lies in the discussion of tasks to be accomplished. If the discussion is poor, or if the information is limited to an examination of specific actions to be taken by each comrade, then there will be little creativity or initiative in the fulfillment of tasks, Party instruction will be deficient and the formative value minimal. In order to provide the militant with a much greater volume of knowledge and information and to develop his/her judgment and capacity as a member of a Revolutionary Party, discussion must be oriented towards developing the imagination of the comrades in finding solutions to problems, educating them in the rigorous analysis of possible solutions and at the same time, taking advantage of the opportunity to enlarge their perspective with regard to the task. Each task must be analyzed in relation to the Party's total activity. Previous or similar experiences and/or the experiences of other comrades or groups must be evaluated, using the opportunity to present the general through the particular concrete situation to which the task refers. The task must not be presented as an isolated action but in the context of its total significance and in relation to the Party's activity as a whole.

This is not to say that the whole of Marxist-Leninist theory or the political line of the Party must be brought into the discussion of each particular task. It is important to understand the characteristics of the militants with whom you are working, and to design a plan for their formative development which views tasks from different perspectives and takes into account the specific situations which arise in fulfilling these tasks. To the extent that this attitude is adopted, the Party will become a school of revolutionary development in which each leadership body (Central Committee, Regional Committee, etc.) will assume a formative role that will be fulfilled consciously and systematically.

Second, discussion of actual task fulfillment provides opportunities for the instruction of comrades even when the matter at hand is how to do things. Taking advantage of these possibilities is also a question of adopting as a permanent attitude the recognition that no one learns to do something except by doing it themselves. At the same time, once someone has done something, he/she has also acquired an experience that can be transmitted, making it unnecessary for each comrade to learn the same task by trial and error. There is often a tendency to say "If I did it by myself, the others ought to do the same" without reflecting that any instruction or concrete aid to the comrades in accomplishing the task increases the efficiency of the Party, and speeds up the formative development of those comrades. This accumulated experience should as much as possible serve to avoid the long and unnecessary apprenticeship through trial and error.

Third, there are ample possibilities for the instruction and formation of militants in reflecting on and evaluating tasks. The object of such reflection and evaluation is not only objective control over the activity of the comrades, but also to detect

errors and to extract positive conclusions from accomplished tasks whether they relate to the base and/or structure, to the regional level or to the entire Party, or to each individual militant. The instruments for this evaluation are individual reports by each militant on the given tasks, outlining how they were accomplished, obstacles encountered, new understandings reached, and results obtained. An overall report by the appropriate leader should also cover these questions while at the same time addressing only the rationale for and discussion of the task. Based on such reports a rich criticism/self-criticism session can develop to examine the errors and positive aspects of the preliminary discussion, the planning and implementation of the task, and the attitude and activity of the collective and of each member, and can provide the opportunity to work out the consequences of the completed task, the new tasks and objectives it implies, etc. To the extent that this process ceases to be a simple roll-call of the obligations of each comrade and begins to consider and incorporate the steps outlined above, it will constitute a substantive element of instruction and a fundamental basis for the formative development of the revolutionary cadre.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Although for greater clarity we will consider them separately, criticism and self-criticism form an indissoluble part of the evaluation of the task. Reflection on completed activities is of the utmost importance. We have already drawn attention to the role reflection plays in revolutionary activity conceived as conscious activity at its highest level; it is now necessary to emphasize the role of reflection in the cadre formation.

Criticism/self-criticism is reflection on errors and successes, collectively and by each militant. It is not a list of the defects and virtues of individuals, or a sporadic activity carried out when the list of errors and defects surpasses all permissible limits. The objective of criticism/self-criticism is to correct collective and individual errors and deficiencies, to recognize successes, skills, or virtues and to analyze their causes and consequences. It seeks, therefore, to improve the Party and each individual militant. Criticism/self-criticism is not something that can be accomplished once and for all but must be developed in a permanent way and carried out in relation to all the tasks confronting the Party and its militants.

Given the individualism and egoism implanted in us by bourgeois society, criticism/self-criticism relating to individual militants must be carried out in an ongoing manner and not come up as an occasional explosion. It must be presented in the light of the personal characteristics and level of formative development of each militant. This is not a matter of "sugaring the pill" but of understanding the best form for applying individual criticism/self-criticism.

THE ROLE OF PRACTICE

The Revolutionary Party is an organization for action, and it is through the experience gained by action that the potential and capacity of its members is developed. Through the daily experience of Party work and class struggle, the militant's knowledge will become concrete and part of himself/herself. Only practice will demonstrate the truth of theory and planning, and only practice will provide the militant with the necessary initiative and creativity to accomplish tasks.

But practice, as we have already said, must be understood as critical and reflective practice based on analysis, planning and evaluation. To the extent that these conditions are not fulfilled, practice is reduced to mere reaction to given conditions and is incapable of transforming reality in a revolutionary way.

THE ROLE OF EXAMPLE

Example is the last of the formative activities that we will analyze. It plays two distinct roles. One role is to point out the way of doing things, to increase practical knowledge. In effect, actual demonstration of how to do things makes it possible for comrades to do a better job than does mere explanation.

The other role played by example is in developing the moral formation of cadre. In this sense, it is quite possible to show that a party has the leaders it deserves. Example is fundamental to moral formation even though rational analysis, explanation and theoretical understanding play important roles. Only to the extent that we overcome individualism and personal ambition and demonstrate our collective spirit-comradeship, capacity for sacrifice, courage and decisiveness - can we bring about this same process in our comrades. In this area more than in any other, people's attitudes are determined by what others do, not by what they say.

But it is not only leaders or particular cadre that must serve as examples. Every revolutionary militant is a leader of a group or sector of the working class and of the masses and must struggle to develop that sector. This cannot be done in the moral sphere if he/she does not at the same time develop his/her own moral revolutionary character. On the other hand, only to the extent that a revolutionary morality is developed by the Party as a whole is it possible for such development to take place at all leadership levels.

In this context, example cannot be restricted solely to the framework of Party activity but must relate to the militant's entire social activity. We are fighting to

create a new society and a new type of human being capable of overcoming the separation between public and private life and the hypocrisy and dishonesty characteristic of class societies. It is not enough that the public aspect of the militant's life belongs to the Party if the private life remains outside, subject to other laws, norms and moral values. The revolutionary militant must observe the same standards of behavior in both political and private activity. At all times he must represent a living example of a new morality, pre-figuring the future integral man and woman of socialist society.

CADRE FORMATION AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE PARTY

In conclusion, we will summarize some of the various points raised previously about the role of the Party's different organizational structures in the development of the integral revolutionary cadre, the member of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat.

The base (primary-level Party structure) plays a fundamental part in the formation of cadre in that, within the base, the member acquires experience, learns by example and develops habits of collective work. It is necessary for each Party base to analyze daily the development of its members as well as the goals which they hope to achieve. The base should adopt a realistic plan for the development of its members, a plan in which each task fully exploits its inherent potential for training cadre. The organization of the base's activities, the nature of discussion, the implementation of tasks, political debate and criticism/self-criticism are all elements which should be analyzed in detail, keeping in mind the concrete situation of each base.

Those in charge of Party structure (the Jefaturas de Estructura) have a great responsibility for the formation of Party members. In fact, the plan for cadre development must be elaborated on the basis of information and knowledge of the way in which the structure itself is developing. This can be done by providing the rank and file with the most relevant information possible about the tasks which need to be carried out and especially the reasons for carrying them out; sharing the experiences of other bases and other Party structures; encouraging internal democracy and the correct exercise of democratic centralism; and stressing the evaluation of completed tasks and criticism/ self-criticism. Similarly, the level of development of the members of the Jefatura and the regional leadership (Direccion) should be analyzed and a plan implemented to increase their development.

The Regional Committees have a responsibility to perform further, additional

tasks to those already outlined for the Jefaturas de Estructura. At this level it is both possible and necessary to carry out other formative activities such as the study of documents and the development of short courses and sessions.

The Central Committee and the Political Commission have the responsibility of implementing the political line and the tactics of the Party. In this connection they must remember that their decisions must consist of more than a simple listing of the tasks which must be implemented. Heavy emphasis must be put on explaining the meaning of the Party's political line and tactics, thereby giving the entire Party the greatest possible background in order to facilitate decision-making in regard to these tasks. The Central Committee has many resources which can be used to increase the level of cadre formation including examination of Party documents and the national newspaper, task assignment and learning by example.

Finally, every Party leader, whether the head of a base of Party sympathizers or the Secretary General, must fully recognize the role they can play in encouraging the development of their comrades as full revolutionary militants. They must know their comrades thoroughly, understanding fully their strengths and weaknesses. They must be able to assign the militants to tasks in a way that insures both the efficiency of the Party and the cadre's own development. They must personally guide and orient the cadre in the fulfillment of their assigned tasks, serving as a model of revolutionary morale, and must always be open to learning from the comrades they are leading.

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NOTES ON CADRE FORMATION

Miguel Enriquez Collection No. 2

Documents from Chile on Party Building

In this second issue of the Miguel Enriquez Collection, Resistance Publications continues providing our readers with the most important documents of Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). The documents of this collection outline the MIR's history and explain the tactical and strategic principles on which its action is based. The recent and diverse periods of class struggle in Chile and the MIR's ability to apply correctly Marxist-Leninist theory to them represent an important contribution to the furthering of revolutionary theory and practice.

"True formation"

Lenin said,

"can never be separated from independent political struggle, from the revolutionary struggle of the masses." Thus the militant of the Revolutionary Party must be capable of carrying out all tasks of the Revolutionary Party by synthesizing theory with practice, intellectual activity with practical revolutionary activity. Cadre formation is thus one of the main concerns of revolutionaries and revolutionary parties.

Notes on Cadre Formation, written in June 1974, deals with the problems of cadre formation within the revolutionary party. Cadre formation has not been considered, in traditional parties and organizations, in its entirety. Formation has many times been incorrectly equated with political education, theory, or special training. In Notes on Cadre Formation, integral formation is stressed as the correct approach in forming revolutionary cadre. This integral formation consists of six different areas: ideological, organic, military, technical, political and moral; and diverse methods of instruction and evaluation.