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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This outline is issued as a first draft, with the intention of later improving it on the basis of experience with its use. It is designed primarily for teachers of the subject, hence the enlarged presentation of the material.

The outline presents both basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism and new material pertaining to present-day capitalism, with particular reference to its application to the United States. We welcome criticism and comment on it from the standpoint of political content, construction, style, etc.

The outline is intended chiefly for classes consisting of students who have already had some Marxist education. It therefore deals with selected subjects and omits others such as Political Economy and The State whose inclusion, it was felt, would make it entirely too large and unwieldy. The ten subjects included can as a rule be covered in twelve weekly sessions or their equivalent. Where it is felt that the amount of material on a given subject is too much for one session, an additional session can be scheduled.

The outline can be used in various ways. Students of an advanced class can lead more elementary classes, using their experience in the class for that purpose. In such cases, however, a smaller number of subjects should be selected as a curriculum, for example: 1) Dialectical Method, 2) Classes and Class Struggle, 3) State-Monopoly Capitalism, 4) Peace and Democracy, 5) United Front, 6) The Party.

The outline can also be used to study selected topics, for example, two weekly sessions on Strategy and Tactics, United Front and the Party; or Imperialism and State-Monopoly Capitalism; or Dialectical Method and Historical Materialism; or other individual topics or combinations.

Where experienced teachers are not available, it may be possible to place one person in charge of the class and assign individual subjects to more advanced students in the class to handle. Even where experienced teachers are available, this approach can be used as a method of developing new teachers.

Where controversial questions arise with which the teacher finds it difficult to deal, these may be sent to the Education Department.

Both required and supplementary readings are given. These are intended not only for the student but also to aid the teacher in preparing the subject. The teacher should select reading assignments in keeping with the students' level of development, available time for reading, etc. To give the student as rounded a knowledge of the subject as time permits, writers are included who may not be Marxist but who make important contributions on one or another aspect of the subject.

In reading classical works, the student should do so creatively -- that is, he should strive to master the substance, not merely the letter of their contents. All basic propositions must be examined dialectically -- in relation to time, place, and conditions. In particular, the student should examine general propositions in relation to their application to the United States. The theoretical material must be treated not as a body of dogmas to be learned by rote, but as a guide to understanding events and helping to influence them in the interests of the working people.

I. THE DIALECTICAL METHOD

I. Dialectical materialism is the integral world outlook of the modern working class. It is the science of the general laws of development of nature, society and thought.

1. Two basic trends in philosophy -- diametrically opposed philosophical outlooks:

- a) Idealism: regards objective reality (matter) as dependent on or product of spirit (mind). Views thought as existing independently of matter. Views material world as existing only in consciousness -- in "our" or "my" consciousness. Inevitably lapses into solipsism -- nothing exists except "my sensations."
- b) Materialism: regards objective reality (matter, nature, being) as existing independently and outside of mind. Thought (mind, spirit, ideas) is a product of definite material processes (matter organized in a special form -- the brain), reflecting objective reality. Being determines consciousness.
- c) "Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature . . . comprise the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of socialism." (Engels)

2. Marxism develops materialist trend in philosophy in opposition to idealist trend in struggle to understand truth about nature and society; to understand things as they really are without superstition and idealist fancies; to understand their inherent nature and laws of development.

3. Difference between mechanical and dialectical materialism.

- a) Mechanical materialism: views all nature, society and thought as fixed and immutable; views all phenomena as isolated, unconnected and independent of each other; sees all things in static and fixed absolutes, as polar opposites which mutually exclude each other; sees development not as a process from lower to higher forms, but as an eternal circle with "nothing new arising under the sun."
- b) Dialectical materialism: Views all nature, society, and human thought not as fixed and immutable, but in constant process of change and development; views all things not as given for all time, but in their movement and change, in their origin, development, and disappearance, in their mutual connection and interaction; sees development as an endless process from lower to higher forms, with something new always arising and developing and something always retrogressing and dying away.

4. Dialectical materialism asserts the world and its laws of development are knowable, and that knowledge of the world is constantly expanding, from ignorance (from that which is not known) to knowledge (to that which is known) in the process of science and human practice.

- a) There is no knowledge without practice. Practice is the source of human knowledge.

- b) Knowledge reacts on practice, becomes a guide to practice. The authenticity of knowledge -- that it is a correct reflection of objective reality -- is confirmed in practice.
- c) Unity and interdependence of theory and practice. There can be no separation of theory from practice or vice versa.

- 5. Dialectical materialism represents unity of materialist interpretation and conception of world with scientific dialectical method of studying world phenomena.
- 6. Dialectical materialism helps man not only to explain the world, but is an indispensable guide to change the world.

II. The materialist dialectical method -- a reflection of the dialectical process in objective reality.

- 1. Materialist dialectics sees the motive force of all change and development in nature, society, and thought, in the contradictory self-movement (in the internal contradiction) inherent in all things and phenomena of nature and society. "In its proper meaning, dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things." (Lenin, "On Dialectics," Selected Works, Vol. XI.)
- 2. Process of development is one of development of internal contradictions, of struggle between opposites, between that which is old and dying and that which is new and rising.
- 3. To understand development of specific phenomena in nature and society, it is necessary to determine which is the dominant contradiction in the given process, stage and form of the struggle.
- 4. In social phenomena, contradictions may be antagonistic (giving rise to irreconcilable class conflicts) or non-antagonistic (capable of being resolved by ideological means -- by criticism and self-criticism).

III. Materialist dialectics regards phenomena in nature and society as a connected and integral whole, as interrelated, dependent on and determined by each other, and not in isolation.

- 1. Need to study phenomena in their causal connections. Law of causality in nature and society provides a "uniform, law-governed universal process of motion" (Lenin).
- 2. Every phenomenon has its own cause of origin. Must find specific cause for each phenomenon in nature or society.
- 3. Relation and interaction of cause and effect in process of development must be studied.
- 4. Relation of internal and external causes in nature and society: "External causes are the conditions of change. Internal causes are the bases of change." (Mao Tse-tung)

IV. Materialist dialectics regards all development as a development from lower to higher, from the simple to the complex where quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes.

1. Development in nature and society includes both evolutionary and revolutionary changes; gradual changes and leaps; transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.
2. Qualitative changes (mutations, revolutions, leaps) are the result of previous gradual quantitative changes. Dialectical connection between them.

V. Materialist dialectics sees all nature and human society as in a continuous movement of change and development, in a constant state of "coming into being and passing away," "of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher."

1. Nothing is eternal, everything is transitory, in a constant process "of becoming and passing away."
2. Development takes place in a spiral "that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them otherwise, on a higher basis ('negation of negation'). (Lenin)
3. Progressive character of development -- from lower to higher forms. Development includes retrogression but the new and progressive always finally asserts itself.
4. "That in life which is born and grows day after day is invincible, its progress cannot be checked That in life which is growing old and advancing to its grave must inevitably sustain defeat, even if today it represents a titanic force." (Stalin)

VI. The science of dialectics must be mastered in order correctly to apply dialectical method to complex political problems presented by today's development.

1. Guard against one-sidedness and superficiality in approaching new phenomena.
 - a) "In order really to know an object we must embrace, study all its sides, all connections and 'mediations.' We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity." (Lenin)
 - b) Study all developments objectively and all-sidedly to avoid both "left" and right errors.
2. Approach and analyze all problems concretely, in light of concrete situation. ". . . there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete." (Lenin)
3. Approach all social phenomena by taking into account the specific conditions, time and place. Without this it is impossible to understand new political problems and work out correct policies.
4. Avoid fitting new developments into preconceived schemes, ideas, and wishes. All new problems must be studied anew.

5. It is necessary to understand present level of struggle in country; the significance of day-to-day work on basis of existing consciousness and issues as precondition for preparing working class and its allies for more advanced issues and forms of struggle, winning them on basis of their own experience for the struggle for socialism.

Reading Material:

Engels, Feuerbach, Ch. II.

Vol. XI,
Lenin, Selected Works, pp. 81-85.

Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, pp. 5-11 and 15-18.

Supplementary Reading:

Mao Tse-tung, On Practice.

Mao Tse-tung, On Contradiction.

Cornforth, Materialism and the Dialectical Method.

Questions:

1. What is the basic difference between the materialist and idealist trends in philosophy?
2. What is meant by contradiction?
3. Why is movement due to inner, not outer contradictions? Give examples.
4. Give examples of non-antagonistic contradictions.
5. What is a "leftist" error in regard to the question of social evolution and revolution? What is right opportunist error?
6. What is meant by "qualitative leap"?
7. What is the source of one-sidedness in the Party? Give examples of one-sidedness.
8. What is meant by Lenin's statement that "all truth is concrete"? Give examples.

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

- I. Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism to the development of society -- the science of the laws of social development.
 1. Change and development in society, as in nature, take place in accordance with objective laws, which can be defined with same scientific precision as laws of development of nature.
 2. Key to social development is found in the study of material life of society (the method of producing and distributing man's material needs) not in man's ideas, political institutions and cultural achievements.
 - a) Idealist conception of history gives primary role to the views and institutions of society, regards the opinions or ideas of men as the ultimate cause of social change.
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 - b) Material/conception of history gives primary role to the conditions of material life as the basic motivating factor in the development of society. Views the opinions or ideas of men as a reflection of the material conditions of life.
 3. Since society is composed of conscious human beings, the operation of objective laws is revealed in the actions of people -- in the class struggle.
 - a) People make history under circumstances and conditions not chosen by themselves but existing independent of their will. Can accomplish only those tasks presented for fulfillment by material conditions of life of society.
 - b) "Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence, but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence." (Engels)
- II. Development of human society is conditioned by development of productive forces -- changes in society are determined by changes in the methods of production.
 1. Production is the prime condition for man's existence. To live man must have food, clothing and shelter. He satisfies these requirements by transforming products of nature for his own use and developing instruments of production with which to act upon nature.
 - a) Productive forces: consist of means of production (raw materials and instruments of production) plus those individuals directly involved in production, with given productive skills and experience.
 - b) Production relations: specific relations between people in the process of production. Man produces not singly but with others, in society. "They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities." (Marx)

- c) State of the productive forces provides the answer to what instruments man uses to produce material needs.
 - d) State of production relations provides the answer to how producers are united with the means of production, who owns them, what are the property relations.
 - e) State of productive forces is a barometer of human progress, of the degree of man's mastery over nature, of what man can produce to satisfy material needs.
2. The level of the productive forces determines the character of the production relations. The correspondence of production relations to the nature of the productive forces is a law of social development.
- a) Development of production begins with changes in productive forces, first of all in the instruments of production.
 - b) As new productive forces are developed, production relations must change in conformity with them.
3. The totality of production relations forms the economic structure of society, characterizing a specific form of society with specific features and laws of development,
- a) Different economic social systems are characterized by different production relations, different forms of property, different classes and class relationships.
 - b) Five main types of production relations, characteristic of five different forms of society, have appeared in the historical development of mankind: primitive communal society, slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, and socialist society.
 - c) Each form of society is transitory -- replaced by a more advanced type of society as development proceeds from lower to higher forms of production relations.
4. Upon a given economic structure there arises a specific superstructure which consists of the state, political, legal, philosophical, religious and other institutions.
- a) The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life.
 - b) The superstructure once established reacts upon the base. It serves to defend, consolidate and expand the base, and to protect and defend the interests of the dominant class of that society.
 - c) The superstructure corresponds to the economic base of society, and changes as the base changes.

III. Contradiction between productive forces and production relations -- the motive force of historical development, expressed in class struggle in class society.

1. Productive forces can have unrestricted development only when relations of production correspond to the nature of the productive forces.
 - a) So long as production relations permit full development of productive forces, the existing form of society plays a progressive role.
 - b) When production relations hold back development of productive forces, the existing social form becomes reactionary and must give way to new production relations.
 - c) Production relations which develop in dependence upon level of productive forces, in turn actively affect their development. They can either advance or retard them.

2. At a certain stage of their development, productive forces come into conflict with the existing relations of production. ". . . from forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution." (Marx)
 - a) Production relations cannot lag too long behind growth of productive forces. Point is reached where the contradiction cannot be solved within the given social form. Old production relations must give way to new ones which conform with the new productive forces.
 - b) Conflict between productive forces and production relations expresses itself in the struggle between opposing classes in societies based on private property.
 - c) Changes in production relations are accomplished by revolutionary transformation of old relations of production and the establishment of the new production relations.
 - d) Slavery, feudalism and capitalism are all based on exploitation of majority by minority, though form of exploitation varies. Development of social productive forces under capitalism provides material foundation for rise of society without class exploitation. Socialism, by abolishing exploitation of man by man, creates material conditions for abolition of all classes.

3. Historical development shows class society is a transitory phase of social development.
 - a) Arises from low development of productive forces. ^{Development} to higher level is objective base for abolition of classes.
 - b) "The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties -- this possibility is not here, but it is here." (Engels)

- c) "The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history -- only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him." (Engels)

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- d) The conscious activity of the people /in the building of socialism and in laying the material foundations for communism.

IV. Role of ideas in shaping course of history.

1. The materialist conception of history does not negate social ideas, views, and theories but shows how they arise and how they influence and inspire the actions of men and of classes.
 - a) Ideas have their origin in the given economic and social conditions and reflect these conditions.
 - b) Different conditions of material life give rise to different ideas, theories and political views.
 - c) Ideas which reflect the needs of development of material life of society play a role in facilitating the development and progress of society.
 - d) Ideas and theories which have outlived their day, and no longer correspond to the needs of material life, hamper the development and progress of society.
2. "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." (Marx)
 - a) "Ideas of each age" reflect the interests of the dominant class in the social system, which strives to control minds of men in order to maintain rule.
 - b) In class society, ideas reflect the divergent interests of different classes. Battle of ideas is an important form of class struggle.
3. New social ideas arise when development of material life has set new tasks before society.
 - a) Once arisen new social ideas play an organizing, mobilizing, and transforming role. "Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses," (Marx)
 - b) The ideas of socialism are transformed from a utopia to a science when historical conditions have matured which present the possibility of realizing freedom from exploitation.
 - c) The liberating and transforming role of scientific socialism: "The socialist dreams were transformed into a socialist struggle of millions when the scientific socialism of Marx had connected the striving for change with a definite class." (Lenin)

V. Role of individuals in influencing history.

1. The Marxist concept that social development is governed by objective laws does not mean that man can do nothing to influence and shape course of history -- that he is a helpless victim of his environment.
 - a) If people understand the objective laws which govern their actions, they can consciously influence events in accordance with the possibilities inherent in the given conditions.
 - b) People make history in conformity with the historical conditions of the epoch -- conditions which are not chosen at random but are developed and transmitted by past generations.
 - c) People through their actions can realize only the tasks presented for solution by the historical conditions of material life of society. They cannot eliminate production relations which conform to development of productive forces. Neither can they bring into being production relations which do not yet correspond to the level of the productive forces.
2. Since people make history, the role and activities of individuals are of great importance in history.
 - a) Individuals of great ability and talent play a significant role in history if they act in accordance with the requirements of social progress and express the interests of that social force which is the bearer of progress.
 - b) "A great man is great not because his personal qualities give individual features to great historical events but because he possesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the great needs of his time, needs which arose as a result of general and particular causes." (Plekhanov)
 - c) Every new class force in history, confronted with the solution of new tasks, gives birth to ideas and leading personalities which reflect these interests and can advance them.
 - d) Close relationship of leaders with the mass of the people is a necessity without which proper role of leadership cannot be effected.
 - e) The harmful effects of "the cult of personality" in the latter period of Stalin's leadership. While Stalin made great contributions to the building of socialism and the development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, he committed serious errors because he disregarded the principle that not individuals but masses make history, that not individuals but collective leadership can correctly determine policy.

Reading:

Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Ch. III.

Burns, What Is Marxism? Ch. I and II, pages 7-18.

Supplementary reading:

Stalin, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, pages 21-42.

Cornforth, Historical Materialism.

Selsam, Philosophy in Revolution.

Questions:

1. On the basis of the laws of social change, why is socialism inevitable? If it is inevitable, why is it necessary to fight for socialism?
2. What is meant by productive forces? Production relations? What are the latter in our society today?
3. Do the Marxists stand for the ideal of social progress? humanism? civilization?
4. Do the Marxists believe that the end justifies the means?
5. Are leaders essential in the working-class movement? What faults must be guarded against?

III, CLASSES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

I. The class struggle is the key to social development.

1. What are classes?

"Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of production, by their relation, by their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently by the dimensions and method of acquiring the share of social wealth they obtain. Classes are groups of people, one of which may appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IX, pp. 432-33.)

2. How did classes arise?

Classes did not always exist. Primitive communal society, such as existed among the Indians in America, did not have classes. Classes arose with the growth of the means of production and the rise of private property.

3. The classes in capitalist society.

- a) The main classes in capitalist society are the capitalists (bourgeoisie) and the wage workers (proletariat).
- b) The capitalist class consists of the owners of the main means of production, who live and accumulate wealth by exploiting the wage workers. It is the dominating class of capitalist society. It is a decaying, reactionary class today.
- c) With the development of capitalism, wealth has been concentrated in ever fewer hands. This has led ultimately to the rise of a small financial oligarchy which exploits not only the overwhelming masses of the people but also the smaller, non-monopolistic capitalists.
- d) With the growth of capitalism the working class has grown in relation to intermediate strata: farmers, artisans, professionals, small businessmen, etc.
- e) The working class has developed a high degree of trade union, political, and other organization. It is the best organized, most disciplined, and most consistently progressive class in capitalist society, destined to lead all exploited in the transformation of capitalist society.
- f) The working class has developed international organizations and ties (trade union, co-operative, political), expressed in acts of international solidarity and brotherhood, which are particularly important in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.
- g) Between the capitalist class and the working class, there are intermediate classes (middle strata) such as small farmers, small traders, handicraftsmen, and other self-employed groups. As small property holders, they feel attached to the capitalist class but since they

are exploited and held down by the capitalist class, they lean to the workers. Hence their vacillating position in the class struggle.

There is also a stratum of professionals and intellectuals. These are not an independent class, but a social stratum which sells its mental labor-power. A section of them, who are well paid, are close to and belong to the capitalist class. But the majority, though influenced ideologically by the capitalist class, belong to the working class, and in increasing numbers they join unions and engage in strikes, demonstrations, etc. The more advanced sections of the intellectuals in time adhere to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and take part in the revolutionary working-class movement.

II. Class struggle takes place on three fronts.

1. Economic struggle. This is a struggle to improve economic conditions, to the extent that this is possible under capitalism. It is also a means of strengthening the organization of the workers and giving the working class education and consciousness. It is of fundamental importance but has its limits because it deals only with the consequences of capitalism, not its cause (exploitation). Also, the capitalist class, possessing economic and political power, uses its dominant position to undermine the gains of the workers. Economic struggle must be supplemented by political struggle.
2. Ideological struggle. Contradictory class interests are reflected in contradictory ideologies, hence the inevitability of the ideological struggle. Its importance lies in the role of ideas as a motivating force. The best school for class consciousness is the class struggle, but correct scientific ideas about society do not arise spontaneously. They must be brought to the working class. That is the task of the Marxist Party.
3. Political struggle. The political struggle is the highest form of class struggle, in which the working class fights against all forms of oppression, not only for itself but also for and with other oppressed classes. The class struggle inevitably develops into a political struggle, which takes on many forms (parliamentary and electoral struggles, demonstrations, meetings, etc.) aimed at improving economic and political conditions, establishing independent political organization, and eventually acquiring political power and carrying through social revolution -- the change of capitalism to socialism.

III. Changes in class composition in the United States.

1. While the industrial working class is still the largest and most important section of the wage-earners, there have been shifts within the working class.
 - a) The number of salaried employees has greatly increased. This is due to an expansion of the state apparatus and of the service trades, as well as of the proportion of white-collar workers in industry. This creates difficulties in the working-class struggle because the capitalists seek to pit the salaried against the industrial wage earners.

- b) In industry, as a result of mechanization, the number of skilled workers has relatively declined as has also the number of unskilled, while the proportion of semi-skilled workers has grown.

(In recent years, the effect of automation has been to counteract this trend, since automation replaces principally the semi-skilled machine operators.)

- c) The number of women workers has risen.
- d) In the ranks of the Negro people the proletarian strata have grown immensely.
2. In agriculture, there has been a decline in the number of independent family farmers and agricultural workers.
3. Important changes have taken place in the ranks of the capitalist class: the number of the capitalists have declined as compared to the working class. Economic power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the financial oligarchy.

These facts refute the revisionist theories of the disappearance of the working class and the levelling of wealth or the ideas of the dominance of the middle class in society. They must, however, be taken into consideration in matters of policy, agitation and tactics, particularly with regard to an anti-monopoly coalition.

Reading:

Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, Ch I.

Foster, History of the CPUSA, pp. 541-549.

Aptheker, Class Consciousness in the United States.

Lumer, The Promise of Automation.

Supplementary reading:

Cheprakov, Classes in Present-Day Society. (Mimeographed)

Budish, People's Capitalism.

Mills, The Power Elite, Ch. 11, 12, and 13.

Grant, Socialism and the Middle Classes.

Questions:

1. Give examples from U. S. history to show that the class struggle is the chief motive force in society.
2. Why do some labor leaders maintain that there is no class struggle in the United States?

3. Why is the class consciousness of the American workers on a relatively low level, as compared to that in other capitalist countries?
4. Are economic struggles more important or less important under present-day conditions in the USA than, say, twenty or thirty years ago?
5. Can the majority of the middle strata be won for the struggle for socialism?
6. What is a doctor -- proletarian or middle class? A teacher? An engineer? A shoe-repair man working for himself?
7. Do economic struggles give rise to class consciousness? What is the relationship between struggle and consciousness?
8. Is social revolution destructive or constructive in nature?

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IV. IMPERIALISM: THE HIGHEST AND LAST STAGE OF CAPITALISM

- I. Monopoly capitalism -- the economic essence of the imperialist stage of capitalist development.
 1. Process of capitalist production leads to concentration of production in ever larger establishments and centralization of capital in ever fewer hands; to the ruin of small-scale production and the rise of large-scale mass production; to huge accumulation of capital in hands of a small group.
 2. Process of concentration and centralization leads to emergence of monopolies -- huge corporate giants or trusts which control and dominate the economy of the country.
 3. Rise of monopoly capitalism means transformation of free competition into its opposite: domination of the market; fixing prices on basis of "what the market will bear"; control of raw material sources, etc., by handful of giant trusts.
 4. Monopoly capitalism does not completely eliminate competition which continues to exist alongside of it. It also gives rise to a new, sharper type of competition among the corporate giants themselves, which employ economic, political, and forceful means to destroy competitors.
 5. Monopoly capitalism drives for maximum profits, secured through exploitation of all other sections of population: working class, farmers, national minorities (particularly the masses of Negro people in the South), small business and non-monopoly sections of capital, as well as the robbery and plunder of other countries. An especially lucrative source of maximum profits is war preparations and war.
- II. Basic features of imperialism.
 1. Monopolies secure a decisive position in the economy of the country, generally by the turn of the century.
 2. Industrial and bank capital merge, giving rise to finance capital -- to emergence of a financial oligarchy which controls both the banks and industrial resources of the country.
 3. Export of capital becomes increasingly more important as compared with export of goods. Export of surplus capital to economically undeveloped countries to secure maximum profits draws the entire world into the orbit of imperialist domination by a handful of monopoly powers.
 4. International monopolies (cartels) are formed, which share world among themselves, dividing production and markets according to strength.
 5. Territorial division of the world among the chief capitalist powers is completed. Underdeveloped lands are held in colonial or semi-colonial bondage by a handful of imperialist powers.

III. Operation of law of uneven development of capitalism under imperialism.

1. "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism." (Lenin)
2. In epoch of free competition uneven development expresses itself in uneven rate of development of individual enterprises and branches of industry.
3. Under imperialism, uneven development of capitalism, in addition, results in great disparity in rate of development of various countries, with less powerful but more rapidly developing countries catching up to and surpassing other countries.
4. Changing of relations of strength among imperialist countries intensifies imperialist contradictions, leads to bitter struggles for markets and colonial expansion, to armed clashes and wars for redivision of the world on the basis of new relationships among rival powers.
5. On the basis of the law of uneven development of capitalism, Lenin concluded that socialism could triumph in a single country; that the simultaneous victory of socialism in all or a majority of countries was impossible owing to the uneven maturing of the conditions for a victory of socialism in the different countries.

IV. Imperialism is decaying, parasitic, dying capitalism.

1. Imperialism gives rise to tendencies to stagnation and decay; to retarding of the development and employment of new technological discoveries (automation, peaceful use of atomic energy). This does not, however, preclude further development of the productive forces, at times even very rapidly.
2. Growth of parasitism takes place with emergence of a group who live off coupon-clipping, with no connection to production; growth of wasteful living, luxury trades; excessive development of non-productive fields (advertising, etc.).
3. High monopoly profits enable the imperialist ruling class to corrupt sections of the working class -- creating a relatively privileged sector -- an "aristocracy of labor" and a labor bureaucracy, which tend toward class collaboration. This privileged sector, and especially the labor leadership, is the source of opportunism in the labor movement.
4. Imperialism represents political reaction all down the line: growth of repression and attacks on democratic rights and institutions; reactionary offensive against labor and civil rights,
5. Imperialism intensifies all capitalist contradictions: between the handful of monopolies and the working class and other sections of the population; between the handful of imperialist powers and the colonial and dependent nations; among the imperialist powers themselves; between the imperialist powers and rising socialism. Hence, imperialism is dying capitalism, the eve of socialist revolution.

6. Imperialism creates the material conditions for socialism: tremendous growth of social productive forces, necessary prerequisite for socialist production. The new social productive forces are increasingly in conflict with the private property production relations.

V. United States imperialism -- chief imperialist power in the world today.

1. United States entered imperialist stage at turn of 20th century. Country was transformed from a source of food supplies and raw materials for Europe into an active competitor in the world market, threatening the hegemony of European imperialist powers.
2. United States emerged from World War I as strongest imperialist nation, chief creditor nation of world. World War II further strengthened dominant economic, military, and political position of U. S. imperialism, providing the base of its drive for world domination. It has become the center of world reaction and imperialist war danger.
3. United States imperialism enters world arena when division of world practically completed. This is the main reason for relatively few colonial possessions and its adoption of "indirect" methods of financial and economic domination of other countries.
 - a) U. S. imperialism exercises its control of other lands through its superior financial and military power. "Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in our economic and international relations that it is capable of subordinating to itself and actually does subordinate to itself even states enjoying political independence." (Lenin, Imperialism, p. 81)
 - b) U. S. imperialism is especially adept in indirect, cunning methods of domination: establishment of puppet regimes accepting dictates of U. S. financial interests; promotion of civil war within and counter-revolution from without (Guatemala); support of reactionary elements in colonial movements through military aid and training; use of anti-Communism, etc.
 - c) U. S. imperialism is the main exploiter of Latin America. It is expanding its economic and political role in Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

VI. The general crisis of capitalism.

1. General crisis of capitalism arose as a result of First World War and Russian Revolution of 1917. Rise of socialist Soviet Union was the indicator of beginning of end of imperialism.
 - a) Basic feature of the general crisis of capitalism is the split of the world into two world systems. Imperialism has ceased to be the sole and all-embracing world system; it exists alongside of the new, rising socialist system.

2. Stages of general crisis of capitalism:
 - a) The first stage developed as a result of World War I with the "falling away of the Soviet Union from the capitalist system" and the beginnings of the crisis of the colonial system.
 - b) The second stage arose as result of World War II with the rise of a world socialist system embracing a number of countries and one billion people, and the disintegration of colonialism with the rise of new sovereign states in the former colonies in Asia and Africa.
3. Existence of two world systems has its reflection in the breakup of the single world market and establishment of two parallel world markets. It aggravates the problem of markets for imperialism and results in chronic under-utilization of productive capacity and in chronic mass unemployment.
4. Growth of economic and political might of the socialist system and the disintegration of the colonial system further aggravates and deepens the crisis of world imperialism.
 - a) Intensified struggle takes place between imperialist powers for remaining markets.
 - b) Makes more difficult imperialist economic strangulation of new sovereign nations, which/countered by the unselfish aid given by the socialist lands. is
 - c) Economic growth of the socialist system, proving the superiority of socialism over capitalism, further undermines imperialism.
6. The present epoch is one of the disintegration of imperialism, of the transition of capitalism to socialism, of the growth, consolidation and final victory of the world socialist system.
7. U. S. imperialism's position in the world faces grave new challenges. Its drive for world domination is meeting increased economic rivalry from Britain, France, Japan, and West Germany.
 - a) Despite the postwar expansion of U. S. capital investments abroad, U. S. monopoly confronts increased competition in the world market from its imperialist rivals. Proportion of the U. S. share of world exports is declining, with a growing unfavorable balance of payments.
 - b) While U. S. production has expanded in the post-war period, its share in world capitalist production is declining. There is a growing gap between productive capacity and output in major industries. Rate of growth lags behind major rivals.
 - c) Instability of U. S. economy expressed in recurring economic crises within short intervals (1948-49; 1953-54; 1957-58); in rise of chronic mass unemployment and chronically depressed areas; in rise of poverty, particularly among Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American workers.
 - d) Agriculture continues in chronic crisis and small businesses are suffering a high rate of bankruptcy.

- e) War production plays a decisive role in the economy, giving rise to huge national indebtedness and inflationary trends. Burden of taxation on population is constantly increasing.
 - f) Cultural and moral decay is reflected in the growth of graft and corruption, rise in crime, etc.
 - g) A monopoly offensive against labor has been launched with the aim of wiping out the gains of past decades and destroying labor's and the people's rights. This in turn has given rise to increased mass resistance on the part of the working people.
8. U. S. imperialist aggressive policies are encountering increasing opposition from the socialist and anti-imperialist worlds; from the people under its own domination (South Korea, Latin America, etc.); from peace forces in all lands.
- a) Cuba is a most important anti-imperialist outpost against U. S. imperialist domination, which is taking measures of economic and political boycott against her and maintaining a threat of military intervention.

Reading:

Lenin, Imperialism, Ch. VII.

Khrushchev, Report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Section 3, Part 1.

Foster, History of the CPUSA, Ch. 32.

Perlo, American Imperialism, Ch. I.

Supplementary reading:

1. Perlo, The Empire of High Finance.
2. Textbook of Political Economy (USSR) Ch. XVIII.
3. Mills, The Power Elite.

Questions:

1. Henry Cabot Lodge said at a banquet given in New York for Khrushchev that capitalism is misnamed, that "economic humanism" rather than monopoly capitalism best describes such a system. Discuss.
2. Why does monopoly capitalism seek maximum profits? Does this strengthen or weaken capitalism?
3. Why is imperialism the highest stage of capitalism? Why the last stage? Is it possible to have still another stage before socialism?
4. John Strachey in Contemporary Capitalism states that a handful of sellers of goods decide what the supply and prices of the products shall be and that such a change of capitalism "nullifies some of the basic principles of capitalism."

5. What are the basic features of the general crisis of capitalism? How does the period of the general crisis differ from that phase of imperialism which existed before World War I?
6. How does the present stage of the general crisis differ from that before World War II? What are the basic features of the present epoch of capitalism?

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V. STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

- I. Growth of state-monopoly capitalism -- new and most significant feature of contemporary capitalist society.
 1. State-monopoly capitalism is the subordination of the state apparatus to monopoly capitalism to guarantee maximum profits, to consolidate and prolong the domination of the financial oligarchy over the economic and political life of the country.
 - a) State-monopoly capitalism is especially a phenomenon of the general crisis of capitalism. Though it existed earlier, its first main expressions occurred during World War I and the grave economic and political crises of the thirties. Fusion of monopoly capitalism and the state apparatus reached a peak in Hitler Germany.
 - b) World War II and the advanced stage of the general crisis accelerated the development of state-monopoly capitalism as the main trend in all imperialist countries.
 - c) State-monopoly measures, formerly adopted as temporary, to be abandoned when "emergency" had passed, are now rendered necessary even during its "normal" periods. Monopoly capitalism can no longer maintain its domination without increasing its direct intervention in and economic utilization of the state apparatus.
 2. State-monopoly capitalism is the outcome of increasingly acute capitalist contradictions; it is the result of an objective process that cannot be reversed, for there can be no return to a pre-monopoly, free competitive stage of capitalism.
 3. State-monopoly capitalism leads to increased power of the biggest monopolies, to the increasing exclusion of other sectors of the capitalist class, from controlling positions.
 - a) Acute struggle takes place for the most profitable posts in the government apparatus; for profitable government orders; for influence upon economic and political policy of government and its agencies (e.g., Eisenhower "Cadillac Cabinet").
 - b) There is a decline in the role of legislative bodies and an increase in the role of the executive: "The Executive Branch of the government . . . is run mainly by the leading lights of high finance, its chief manipulators and managers, all men of wealth and having great fortunes." (Perlo, Empire of High Finance)
 - c) The increased reactionary assault on democratic rights and democratic institutions is a characteristic of state-monopoly capitalism.
- II. State-monopoly measures serve the interests of the financial oligarchy.
 1. State-monopoly capitalism operates as a complex system of government intervention in the economy on behalf of the great corporations through government ownership, regulatory agencies, subsidies, lucrative government orders, tax rebates and concessions, employment of government funds to serve needs of capital investments, nationalization of unprofitable enterprises, etc.

2. State-monopoly capitalism is closely tied with the militarization of the economy. In the United States, armament production is by far its most important development.
 - a) Using the mechanism of a militarized economy, the state creates new spheres of capital investment and huge profits for the giant corporations.
 - b) The state finances new establishments, research, the procuring and developing of rare minerals, etc., which go to the benefit of private monopolists without any risk taken by them.
 - c) Government war orders provide a guaranteed market for products of monopolies at high profit margins, freeing monopolies of the risk of the ups and downs of business activity.
 - d) "The trend in defense buying has made big corporations bigger and small corporations smaller." (Pearson and Anderson: U.S.A -- Second Class Power? p. 166)
 - e) Bulk of cost of armaments is borne by the working people through mounting taxes and inflation.
3. State-monopoly capitalism mobilizes public capital for the needs of the leading trusts through redistribution of a considerable share of the national income in favor of monopoly capital.
 - a) National budget is utilized to redistribute income of workers and other sections of population.
 - b) High interest rates on government loans go into coffers of monopoly capital.
4. Government role in the export of capital nets maximum profits for the corporate giants.
 - a) Government foreign investments and loans to other countries create a favorable atmosphere for private capital investments and purchase of goods from U. S. monopolies.
 - b) Government guarantees are provided to private capital investors against certain losses.
 - c) Foreign aid program serves as a means of intervention in economy of other countries in favor of U. S. monopolies.
5. State property and nationalized industries -- actually joint property of monopolists. Profits in state-owned enterprises are pocketed in one way or the other by the private corporations.
 - a) Monopoly capitalism supports nationalization only when it deems it advantageous -- when it can shift to the state the costs of renovating or operating unprofitable and depressed industries or enterprises.

- b) Monopoly capital is opposed to nationalization when it is forced by people's pressure in the people's interest, and is accompanied by restrictions and curbs on monopolies.
 - c) Main tendency of U. S. has been in the direction not of state ownership, but rather of utilization of the national budget and economic policy to bolster finance capital. In some cases (e.g., atomic energy), facilities are built and owned by the government but operated by private firms at exorbitant profits.
6. State-monopoly measures in imperialist countries must not be confused with state capitalist measures in underdeveloped countries. The latter generally have a progressive character because they are directed against domination of imperialist monopolies and assist the industrialization of the country.

III. Bourgeois and reformist concepts of state-monopoly capitalism.

- 1. Keynesism regards state-monopoly capitalism as a means of "regulating" the economy, giving rise to a "welfare state."
- 2. Other bourgeois reformists see state economic intervention as control of capitalism and keeping monopolies in check. Maintain capitalist class no longer owners but gradually disappearing; levelling off of wealth and rise of vast middle class occurring; etc. See contemporary capitalism as fundamentally different from the past -- as "people's capitalism."
- 3. Social democracy and revisionism see in state intervention a process which regulates the economy, eliminates crises and leads to socialism.
 - a) Yugoslav revisionism sees state intervention not as a subordination of state apparatus to interests of monopoly but as exercising control over monopoly, limiting and restricting role of private ownership and strengthening socialist elements in the economy. Sees these measures as one way to the transition to socialism.
 - b) Bittelman in the United States envisions the transformation of monopoly capitalism into a "welfare state," a form of "free" capitalism without monopolists which would be a "new historic stage of social progress, equivalent to the earlier phases of socialism."

IV. State-monopoly capitalism aggravates all basic contradictions of capitalism.

- 1. Further intensifies contradiction between social character of production and private appropriation. Existing property relations act increasingly as a brake on the further development and utilization of new, advanced productive forces.
 - a) While state-monopoly measures help to maintain monopoly profits even in times of crisis, they do not eliminate cyclical development of capitalist production, the outbreak of crises, chronic unemployment on a mass scale, and growth of poverty.

- b) Gap between huge accumulation of wealth and position of vast majority of people -- workers, farmers, professionals and small business -- constantly widens.
 - c) Increases the intensification of labor and tends to worsen the conditions of the working class. High monopoly prices and high taxes also adversely affect majority of population. Struggles of working people and the advance of socialism on a world scale retards this tendency and has resulted in improving conditions for some sections of workers.
 - d) Undermines the position of the small farmers, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the professionals (who lose their independence and become hired hands) and small business, and affects adversely the conditions of the non-monopolized capitalists.
2. State-monopoly capitalism is the most complete material preparation for socialism, "a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism there are no intermediate stages." (Lenin)
- a) Tremendous expansion of socialization of production provides objective conditions for the replacement of capitalism by socialism.
 - b) Base for recognition by the working class and its allies of the need for socialism is greatly increased.

.V. The anti-monopoly movement.

- 1. Growth of state-monopoly capitalism creates the objective possibility for bringing into being a powerful democratic anti-monopoly movement.
 - a) Exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the population by financial oligarchy, growing political reaction in all spheres of public life demonstrate objective necessity for unified struggles of the working class and all sections of the population victimized by monopoly capitalism -- to defend common interests against monopoly oppression.
 - b) Anti-monopoly struggle for peace, democracy, and economic security helps create more favorable conditions for winning working class and its allies for the establishment of socialism.
- 2. Opposition to monopoly capital develops in all non-monopoly sectors, arising in each group out of the specific nature of its exploitation or oppression.
- 3. All major struggles -- peace, democratic rights, Negro rights, labor, economic welfare, etc. -- are essentially anti-monopoly struggles.
- 4. In these struggles the various groups tend to coalesce into an anti-monopoly coalition seeking to use its political strength to curb the powers of the monopolies.

5. The building of an anti-monopoly coalition and the attainment of a national democratic government headed by it represent a strategic goal entailing the achievement of a new level of democracy.
6. In addition to the fight for peace, Negro rights, economic needs, etc., the struggle can include demands for measures to limit the power of monopoly, nationalization of certain industries, agrarian reform, extension of social security, defense of middle-class sections, restoration and extension of democratic rights and powers of elected representatives at expense of the executive branch, etc. Extremely important is the completion of the democratic revolution in the South. All such measures do not abolish capitalism, but they can curb monopoly, increase the power of the working class, isolate the most reactionary sections, and facilitate the alliance of all progressive non-monopoly forces.

(It is possible that the movement against monopoly may take the form of a democratic revolution against monopoly, with the aim of ousting monopoly from power. This and its relation to socialism will be discussed in Lesson IX on socialism.)

Reading:

"On the Fight for Peace and the Struggle against the Monopolies" (Resolution of the 17th National Convention, CPUSA), Political Affairs, February 1960, Sections III and IV.

Lamer, War Economy and Crisis, Ch. 10.

Kuusinen, World Marxist Review, No. 4, 1960.

Hall, "One Party, One Policy, One Direction," Political Affairs, February 1960.

Supplementary Reading:

Labor Research Association, Monopoly Today, Ch. I.

Labor Research Association, Billionaire Corporations.

Perlo, "State-Monopoly Processes in the U. S. Economy," World Marxist Review, October 1958.

"Scientific Foundations of a Revolutionary Policy," World Marxist Review, December 1959.

Questions:

1. Since capitalism in the United States has been expanding, can we say capitalism is on the decline?
2. Why does state monopoly capitalism arise from the general crisis of capitalism?
3. Give the main features of state monopoly capitalism.
4. Is it possible to have a "welfare state"?
5. Is it possible for state-monopoly capitalism to eliminate economic crises?

VI. STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

I. Cause of war: imperialism.

1. Danger of war today arises from the striving of imperialism, particularly U. S. imperialism, to dominate the world, destroy socialism and restore domination over the colonial peoples. As the Twelve-Party Declaration states: "So long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars."

II. War is no longer inevitable -- threshold of new era of peace.

1. Lenin wrote that war is inevitable if capitalists remain in power. Today, however, world imperialism is no longer the sole or dominant force in the world. There exists a socialist world and a bloc of newly liberated countries, which desires and works for peace. Also a powerful world peace movement and strong working class and Communist parties exist in capitalist countries.
2. The tremendous growth of socialism and the disintegration of colonial system, the further advances resulting from Seven-Year Plan, the technological and scientific accomplishments of the Soviet Union and socialist countries, have reached the point where U. S. imperialism can no longer count on military superiority.
3. The power of the socialist world to hinder the outbreak of war was shown in 1956 when Soviet intervention stopped the imperialist attack in Egypt. Also in 1957 the Soviet Union prevented an attack on Syria by its warning to Turkey, and again in 1958 U. S. imperialism was deterred from an attack on Iraq by the warning issued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

III. Possibility of peaceful co-existence.

1. On the basis of these factors, the possibility has arisen of doing away with war. Peaceful co-existence is a realizable objective.
2. Lenin held that peaceful co-existence was necessary and possible. He set forth the theoretical basis for peaceful co-existence as follows: "The development of capitalism proceeds very unevenly in the various countries. From this it inevitably follows that socialism cannot be victorious simultaneously in all countries. It will be victorious first in one or several countries while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIX, p. 364)
3. The Twelve-Party Declaration stated that the Leninist "principle of peaceful co-existence of the two systems, which has been brought up to date in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among all peoples."

4. By peaceful co-existence is meant a peaceful relationship between capitalist and socialist states, one in which the competition between the two systems takes place without war.
 - a) Today we have cold war between the two systems which has often bordered on the edge of shooting war through such policies as "brinkmanship" and "positions of strength."
 - b) Peaceful co-existence means lessening tensions and ending the cold war. It means also policies which lessen the danger of war such as reduction of arms, increased trade, cultural exchange, and other peaceful relations.
 - c) It means respect for the sovereignty of states and non-interference in their internal affairs.
 - d) It is a long-range policy which goes through different phases, according to the basic relations of forces for a given period. It has its ups and downs, a matter in which the actions of the people are decisive. But the basic trend of events and relationship of forces favor the development of peaceful co-existence and the ending of war.
5. There can be no peaceful co-existence in the realm of ideology, since capitalism and socialism are diametrically opposed social systems. Also the class struggle -- either within particular countries or on a world scale -- will not end until socialism replaces capitalism everywhere. This struggle springs from social sources and it cannot be banned.
6. Revisionists (in the U.S., Browder, Gates, and Bittelman) hold the erroneous view that peaceful co-existence means the suspension or the blunting of the class struggle, the stabilization of capitalism, and the intermingling of capitalist and socialist elements into some new non-antagonistic form of society everywhere. They ignore the underlying class and social relations of both capitalism and socialism, and thereby depart from Marxism-Leninism.

IV. Peace is the central issue.

1. A long-range policy of peaceful co-existence meets the basic requirements of our national interests and social progress in the United States. The opponents of such a policy are in the high monopoly and imperialist circles which seek to advance their own aggressive ambitions.
2. These reactionary aggressive forces of monopoly capital, which are strongly entrenched in the government and military, resist desperately and seek the continuation of the cold war. They cling to the "positions of strength" policy and oppose disarmament. They rebuild militarism in West Germany and Japan, and support reaction throughout the world. They engage in provocations such as the U-2 and RB-47 flights. They engage in double-dealing, lies, and chicanery to deceive the people.

3. These war-minded monopolists can be defeated because the balance of world forces is tipped against them. This requires, however, heightened vigilance of the people and the intensification of struggle against the cold-war monopolists, against the policies of the Administration, the Pentagon, the cold-war imperialist politicians, cold-war labor leaders of the type of Meany, etc. It requires constant exposure of U. S. imperialism before the American people and the world.
4. Peace and peaceful co-existence therefore depend on militant mass struggle. They will not come automatically, or by reliance on the "good will" or "intelligence" of the imperialists. It is essential to bring the utmost pressure to bear on the U. S. government and compel it to retreat from the line of the cold war and to move in the direction of a policy of peaceful co-existence.
5. The struggle for peace must be intensified and efforts must be made to involve the widest masses of the population on such issues as nuclear testing, disarmament, liquidating military bases on foreign soil, recognition of People's China and admission to its rightful place in the U.N.; solution of the German question, expanded East-West trade, non-intervention in Cuba, etc. It is especially essential to expose the fallacy that disarmament means loss of jobs, also to show the harm of big armament programs to the social needs of the people -- education, housing, needs of the aged, etc.

V. Imperialism means reaction all down the line.

1. Imperialism tends to imperil democracy. With the deepening general crisis of capitalism, political reaction is heightened, its extreme expression being fascism.
 - a) "Fascism in power is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (Dimitroff, United Front against Fascism)
 - b) Fascism developed in the period following World War I and especially during the thirties. It received a decisive setback in World War II. Today the danger of fascism still exists. It would be a mistake, however, to identify every form of reaction as fascism.
2. The cold war intensified reaction in the U.S. This was expressed in the Taft-Hartley, Smith, and McCarran Acts, and in the anti-Communist campaign generally.
 - a) Cold-war reaction reached a peak with the development of McCarthyism. As a result of American and world opposition, however, McCarthyism suffered a setback in 1956-58.
 - b) Currently a new drive of reaction is taking place, evidenced in the Landrum-Griffin Act against labor, the retreat of the Supreme Court on anti-Communist legislation, violence against the Negro people, etc.
3. The basic ideological weapon of reaction is anti-Communism. Anti-Communism is a menace to labor, the Negro people, and democracy generally and as such must be resolutely fought.

VI. Struggle for democracy sharpens.

1. While imperialism tends toward reaction, the fight for democracy also sharpens under imperialism. This is shown in the Negro people's struggles for equality, in labor's protests against right to work laws and the Landrum-Griffin law, in the struggle against McCarthyism, etc.
 - a) "Imperialism does not check the development of capitalism and the growth of democratic tendencies among the masses of the population but causes the antagonism between these democratic tendencies and the anti-democratic tendency of the trusts to become more acute." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIX, p. 237)
 - b) "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution or obscure or overshadow it. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. V, p. 268)
2. The fight for democratic rights is essential to defend peace and social progress. It is necessary not only to defend bourgeois-democratic rights won in the past but to extend the rights of the people and curb the power of the monopolies.
3. Extension of rights is possible because monopoly oppresses not only the working class but also the farmers, middle classes, and even sections of the capitalist class. (The relations of the anti-monopoly coalition to democracy and socialism will be dealt with in the lesson on socialism.)

Reading:

"On the Fight for Peace and the Struggle against the Monopolies," Political Affairs, February 1960, pp. 3-10.

Lumer, "Disarmament and the American Economy," Political Affairs, January, 1960.

"On Democratic Struggle Under Capitalism" (Chapter 18, Foundations of Marxism-Leninism), Political Affairs, May 1960.

Supplementary reading:

Mills, The Power Elite, Ch. 8.

"Peaceful Co-existence and the Ideological Struggle," Editorial Board of Communist (USSR), Political Affairs, April 1960.

Questions:

1. What is the basic cause of war?
2. Was it possible to prevent World War II? Discuss.

3. Why is war no longer inevitable?
4. Does the policy of peaceful co-existence do away with the struggle between the two systems? Does it do away with the necessity of ideological struggle? What forms can the struggle take?
5. Can imperialism change its war-like character? If it can't, why is it possible to do away with war in the present epoch?
6. Are there differences in the ranks of monopoly capital regarding policy? What are they? What is their source?
7. How can labor be won for a stronger peace stand?
8. How can anti-Communism be better fought in the unions? In other organizations?

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VII. THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

I. The national question.

1. What is a nation?

- a) The characteristic features of a nation are given in the generally accepted Marxist formulation: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (Stalin, Marxism and the National Question)
 - b) Stalin adds: "It must be emphasized that none of the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation."
2. The national question is the question of national oppression, an out-growth of capitalist exploitation. The national-colonial question in its present form is created by imperialism. At the same time, imperialism sharpens the national question within the nation -- for example, the Negro question in the U. S.
 3. Capitalism is unable to solve the national question, which is due to the capitalist profit motive -- division of peoples is one of the chief bases for maintaining capitalist exploitation.
 4. Socialism fully solves the national question; removes basis of oppression and establishes full equality. In this connection, the deviations in the latter Stalin period were only transient and have been fully corrected.

II. Marxist principles on national question.

1. Marxism is fundamentally and unyieldingly opposed to every form of national oppression.
2. Marxism distinguishes between nationalism of oppressed and oppressing nations.
 - a) Marxism supports nationalism (national liberation struggle) of oppressed nations as an anti-imperialist force. It supports the self-determination of oppressed nations including the right of separation.
 - b) Marxism opposes, in the ranks of national movements, tendencies to national egoism, national selfishness and any effort to subjugate and oppress other peoples.
3. For Marxism, proletarian internationalism is the central guiding principle, with a two-front struggle against national chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism.
4. The national struggle embraces bourgeois classes. Marxism recognizes the need to unite with the national bourgeoisie, at the same time opposing its tendencies to yield to imperialist pressure.

5. Working class is the most reliable fighter and leader in fight for national liberation. Hence the necessity of striving for working-class leadership of the national liberation movement.
6. The fight for national liberation is part of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

III. The Negro question.

1. Concreteness is vital in dealing with the national question. Lenin wrote: "An abstract presentation of nationalism is of no use at all."
2. The Negro question in the United States is a national question but not that of a separate nation. "Though a specially oppressed part of the American nation, the Negroes in the U. S. are not constituted as a separate nation." (17th Convention Resolution)
3. New definition of the Negro question -- "racially distinctive people or nationality -- an historically determined component of the American nation." (17th Convention Resolution)
4. Specific features of the Negro people's struggle in the U.S.:
 - a) Almost a century after the enactment of the Civil War amendments, Negroes are not free and equal citizens. They are the most severely oppressed and exploited of all peoples that constitute the American nation.
 - b) Though deprived of equal rights, Negro people have contributed to and have inseparable stake in American national life.
 - c) As a result of their historical experience, Negro people strive to attain equal status in the life of the American nation.
 - d) Negro people's struggle for equality does not take the path of struggle for national sovereignty and statehood.
 - e) Struggle is therefore one for democratic rights which includes struggle for majority power in government in deep South area.
 - f) Struggle is also one for land reform and wiping out of feudal-slave remnants; for land ownership and decisive change in the social, economic, and political conditions in the South.
5. Therefore the Negro people's struggle in the United States is not a mere civil rights struggle but a revolutionary political struggle for democratic rights; for majority rule in the localities where Negroes are dominant in population in the South; and for equal rights and democratic representation in the North.

IV. Why slogan of self-determina/ is withdrawn.

1. Conditions under which slogan was put forward in 1928-1930:
 - a) Elements of a nation in Black Belt were present and it was considered they would mature because of the general crisis of capitalism.
 - b) Majority of Negro people were peasants (sharecroppers, tenant farmers, etc.).
 - c) The Garvey movement with large following had appeared and favored nationhood in Africa.
 - d) Insufficient regard was given at the time to the fact that Negro people have considered themselves part of American life.
2. The changed conditions in the past thirty years:
 - a) Negro community in the South has not taken the path of further development of nationhood.
 - b) Negro people have moved from land to urban centers.
 - c) Areas of Negro majority have shrunk in the South.
 - d) Negro people are in the main an oppressed urban working people.
 - e) Negro people's movement has not taken the road of separation but that of the struggle for integration. This is particularly the tendency of the working class.

V. Struggle for completion of bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South.

1. The struggle for Negro rights is of great revolutionary significance because it is a movement to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South.
2. Struggle is directed against monopoly capital and its Dixiecrat partners.
3. The advance of this movement is vital to the fight for democracy in the country as a whole.
4. Negro question in the U. S. also has assumed international significance.
 - a) It is the chief struggle for democracy in the center of U. S. imperialism, which operates under the false banner of "freedom."
 - b) The African peoples are in revolt, are winning independence and establishing new states, and the former colonial peoples in Asia and other regions, chiefly colored peoples, are fighting racial and national oppression and have been winning freedom.

5. Hence all democratic forces, particularly labor, must give resolute support to the Negro freedom struggle. Negro-white unity is the key both to victory of the Negro people's struggle and the advance of the white workers in their struggle against capitalist exploitation.

VI. Class forces and trends in the Negro community.

1. The struggle for Negro liberation requires an all-class alliance. Each of the classes and social strata contribute to the struggle for liberation but their roles are not the same.
 - a) The Negro capitalists. They are mostly small capitalists. They are discriminated against and feel the weight of the big white merchants and capitalists socially and economically. It is essential to draw them into the struggle but "to oppose and fight against the conservative, compromising, and reactionary capitalist narrow-mindedness of the Negro capitalist influence within and upon that movement." (17th Convention Resolution)
 - b) Urban middle class. They are numerically a small percentage, but as individuals they play an "uncommonly important role in the Negro people's movement." They are not "uniformly progressive nor consistent and tend to vacillate under the capitalist pressures." (17th Convention Resolution)
 - c) Rural masses are chiefly toiling farmers and farm workers. They are a powerful force in the Negro people's movement and are the main allies of the Negro working class.
 - d) The Negro proletariat -- the working-class stratum of the Negro population -- is the largest and most important of the social forces making up the Negro people's movement. The fight for its leadership in the struggle for Negro freedom is of key importance.
2. The development of the American Negro-labor alliance is a significant step forward for the Negro liberation struggle and also for the trade union movement.

VII. The Communists -- most militant fighters for Negro rights.

1. The Communist Party from its very first years prominently raised the issue of Negro rights.
 - a) It was the first political party to initiate struggles to organize the Negroes in the trade unions and establish equal rights. Toward this end it helped form Negro labor councils.
 - b) The Communists made the oppression of the Negro people in the South a national issue on the basis of the Scottsboro and Horndon cases.
 - c) The Communists were the first to put up a Negro candidate for Vice-President in the 20th century; during the last thirty years they have been militant and resolute in pressing for the election and appointment of Negroes to government posts.

- d) The Communists have energetically worked in the present epoch for the removal of Jim-Crow laws, against discrimination in employment, and for improvement of economic and social conditions.

In all these struggles, the Communists made many sacrifices and suffered imprisonment and death.

2. The tasks of the Communists at the present stage of the struggle are:

- a) To lend every support to the Negro people's just demands, to promote an awareness among white pro-democratic forces of their own self-interest in the fulfillment of the freedom aspirations of the Negro people.
- b) To support the Negro people's organizations and to work for the widest and most militant mass action of the Negro people, together with other pro-democratic forces.
- c) To combat every manifestation of white chauvinism and big nation chauvinism, to patiently and persistently point out that anti-Negro racism is the ideology of the ruling class. This is the primary task. At the same time it is necessary to combat all forms of bourgeois nationalism.
- d) While standing in the forefront of building unity among the Negro people, to maintain independent stand on the issues and their fundamental ideological outlook in the fight for Negro freedom.
- e) To combat ideologically reformist tendencies to limit the movement to merely court action, or other tendencies which restrict mass actions. Similarly, to combat nationalist trends which create hostility between Negro and white and anti-Communist propaganda and actions which divide and weaken the Negro people's movement.
- f) In conducting this ideological struggle, to make clear that Communists support every forward step no matter how provocative and divisive the red-baiting of a part of its leadership, but that they regard anti-Communism as harmful not to Communists alone but mainly and especially to the Negro and democratic movements.

Reading:

"On the Negro Question in the United States" (17th Convention Resolution), Political Affairs, February 1960.

Jackson, "New Features of the Negro Question in the United States," in Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States, pp. 2-18.

Davis, Upsurge in the South.

Lightfoot, "On the 1960 Elections," Political Affairs, May 1960.

Supplementary Reading:

Aptheker, The Negro People in America (a critique of Myrdal).

Foster, The Negro People in American History.

Questions:

1. What is a nation? Are the Jews a nation?
2. What is meant by the statement that the national question is subordinate to the fight for socialism?
3. What is meant by "completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution" in the South? Is this possible under capitalism today?
4. Who is the main enemy of the Negro people's fight for liberation?
5. Is it possible to achieve Negro-labor unity? On what basis?
6. Give examples of white chauvinism in the labor movement. In the Communist Party. How should white chauvinism be fought? What mistakes were made on that in the past?
7. What are the chief tasks of the Communists in relation to the Negro people's struggle today?

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VIII. STRATEGY AND TACTICS

I. Marxist-Leninist politics as art and science.

1. The policies of the Party are based on Marxist-Leninist science.

"The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialist-dialectical outlook. Nothing but an objective account of the sum total of all the mutual relationships of all the classes of a given society without exception, and consequently an account of the objective stage of development of this society as well as an account of the mutual relationship between it and other societies, can serve as the basis for the correct tactics of the class that forms the vanguard. All classes and all countries are at the same time looked upon not statically but dynamically, i.e., not as motionless, but as in motion (the laws of their motion being determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). (Lenin, The Teachings of Karl Marx, pp. 32-33)

2. Policies are based on the fundamental aim of the Party, on its principles and its need at a given stage -- on the strategic goal.

- a) By strategy is meant the general line of the Party aimed at carrying out the most general tasks during a given stage on the basis of the existing relations of class forces. It is generally for a longer period of time -- for an entire phase of development. Strategy determines the direction of the main blow.
- b) By tactics is meant the form and methods of struggle depending on the ebb and flow of the class struggle and generally covers a shorter period of time. It is subordinate to strategic aims.

3. Features determining strategic line.

- a) First: correctly to determine the main goal of the working class at the given stage and the main class enemy against whom the class opposition and striking force of all the working people should be concentrated at the given moment in order to smash his resistance.
- b) Second, correctly to determine the attitude of the Party to the largest intermediate section which, though in opposition to the main enemy, displays, by virtue of the dual character of its class interests, dangerous political vacillations, a tendency to compromise and sometimes to enter into direct collusion with the enemy.
- c) Third, to find the allies of the working class at the given stage of the movement. "It would be wrong to look upon these allies as the 'reserves' of the Party which it could 'use' as it wishes, which it could 'deploy' as freely as the military commander deploys his reserves on the battlefield." ("Scientific Foundations of a Revolutionary Policy," World Marxist Review, December 1959.)

4. Historical examples of strategic line:

- a) In the first stage of the Russian Revolution the main aim of the movement was the overthrow of Czardom. Lenin wrote that the achievement of this aim required two tasks: to break the resistance of Czardom (the main enemy) and to paralyze the stand of the bourgeoisie, which tended toward compromise with Czardom. The Bolsheviks recognized both tasks. The Mensheviks who refused to accept the second task -- i.e., to paralyze the stand of the bourgeoisie -- fell into the swamp of right opportunism. They tended to support the bourgeoisie.
- b) In the second stage of the Russian Revolution, Lenin regarded the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as the main aim and placed before the proletariat two tasks: to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie (the main enemy) and to paralyze the vacillating stand of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks pursued the fulfillment of both tasks. Had they limited themselves to only the first task or regarded only the second task as the direction of the main blow, the revolution would have been seriously harmed.
- c) From these examples, we see that in working out strategy, it is essential as indicated to know the main enemy and the tasks that must be fulfilled in order to accomplish the strategic aim at the given stage.
- d) For the United States, in this stage of struggle, monopoly is main class enemy, and the curbing, weakening, and elimination monopoly power is the key main goal. The allies of the working class for this stage of the struggle are the Negro people, the small farmers and small tradesmen, lower sections of the professionals and intellectuals, etc. The strategic line also includes a correct attitude to the intermediate strata which, in the fight to curb monopoly, include the sections of rural and urban middle-class professionals, and medium and non-monopolistic strata of capital.

II. The struggle for unity.

1. The capitalists strive to keep the working class and the toiling strata divided. Division within the working class is the principal obstacle to the success of its economic and political struggles. Unity of the working class enhances unity of wider strata of the population. The main forces for disunity are the reactionary labor leaders and right-wing social-democrats who pursue a policy of class collaboration. Disunity is also created by the capitalists in utilizing religious differences, differences arising from different social backgrounds, white chauvinism in relation to Negroes, etc.
2. Marxism has always stood for the unity of the working class and its allies. In the struggle for unity the policy of the united front is central.

3. The Communist Party of the United States has fought for unity of the working class and the united front since the early 1920's. It has achieved significant successes in the fight to organize the unorganized; in securing unemployment insurance; in the struggles for democracy, Negro rights, civil liberties, needs of youth and women, etc.
4. One of the major requirements for strengthening the unity of the working class and other democratic forces is the development of the independent political action of the trade union movement, in both the day-to-day legislative struggle and in the election campaign, and the organization of an independent political party of labor, the Negro people and other democratic forces.

III. Lessons from experiences with the united front.

1. The issues on which unity may be established have widened, including not only such traditional demands as wages or the shorter workday, but also peace and general democratic demands. In putting forward demands, consideration must always be given to the needs of the people as they see these needs from the standpoint of their self-interest at a given moment.
2. Anti-Communism is the chief weapon against unity. The cold-war propagandists in the labor movement are the agents of the aggressive imperialist bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working people. Therefore the unity of the working class cannot be achieved by negotiations and agreements alone. It demands an active struggle against the campaign of the reactionary bourgeoisie and against their agents in the workers' movement.
3. Unity will not come spontaneously but must be worked for by the Communist Party. In general, the united front can best be developed from below among the rank and file and leaders of local organizations, and may then come to embrace higher levels of leadership.
4. On a world scale and in the United States, there are differentiations taking place in the labor and the socialist and progressive movements, and in each capitalist country a left wing has emerged.
 - a) The left forces are the most progressive elements but they are not without prejudice with regard to the Communists and are affected by many reformist influences.
 - b) It is essential to co-operate with these forces and overcome their prejudices in the course of common struggle -- not make the elimination of such prejudices a pre-condition for unity.
 - c) In the United States, left forces are not politically so clearly defined as in Europe. They include independent non-Communist left socialists such as the National Guardian and its supporters, and similar forces. It also includes left trade unionists in independent unions, as well as left and progressive forces in the AFL-CIO, and in Negro and people's organizations. Efforts must be made to achieve united action with these forces on various issues and for independent political action, leading to a labor or people's party.

5. In working for unity it is necessary to stress points of agreement and develop action accordingly. Lenin's advice to the Russian delegation to the negotiations with the 2nd and 2½ Internationals in 1922 to show extreme restraint and to advance only the least controversial questions, Lenin considered it necessary to get to the non-Communist masses even if it meant paying a price for it, and not to fear mistakes.

"Communists," said Lenin, "must not stew in their own juice but learn to penetrate into prohibited premises where the representatives of the bourgeoisie exercise influence over the workers; and in this they must not hesitate to make certain sacrifices and not be afraid to make mistakes, which are inevitable, at first, in every new and difficult undertaking. The Communists who do not want to understand this and who do not want to learn how to do this cannot hope to win the majority among the workers; at all events, they hinder and retard the work of winning this majority."

6. Ideological differences are not a hindrance to unity. Communists must not give up their criticism of reformism, but this is no basis for lack of unity since there are many reforms on which they can unite to win concessions from the monopolists and their state.
7. While it is difficult to have unity with the anti-Communist right-wing leaders of the type of Meany, it is possible to have it with the masses of members. It is also possible, by winning the rank and file, to compel the leaders to undertake action in behalf of the workers or become isolated. Toward the rank and file it is essential to have a comradely attitude, avoiding epithets and abusive language which hinders unity. Even when exposing reactionary trade union leaders, which is absolutely essential, hurling abuse and violent epithets will not help but may rather, particularly at times of strikes and mass struggles, lead to the charge of seeking to disunite.
8. It is impossible to pursue a policy of democratic unity without waging a decisive struggle against sectarianism, against tendencies to remain aloof from the mass movement and from potential allies on grounds of differences or fears of mistakes, etc. It is also necessary to carry on a sharp struggle against right opportunism which tends to capitulate to the demands of bourgeois allies, weakens the independent position of the Party and sinks down to positions of bourgeois nationalism.

Reading:

"On the Fight for Peace and against the Monopolies" (17th Convention Resolution), Political Affairs, February 1960, pp. 21-26.

Hall, "Our Sights to the Future," Political Affairs, January 1960.

"Scientific Foundations of a Revolutionary Policy," World Marxist Review, December 1959.

Supplementary reading:

Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. X, pp. 301-305.

"Lenin Documents," World Marxist Review, April 1960.

Togliatti, "History of the Communist International," World Marxist Review, December 1959.

Questions:

1. What is meant by strategy? By tactics?
2. Why are military concepts inapplicable to strategy and tactics of a political party?
3. What is the strategic aim of the Party today?
4. Lenin speaks in Left-Wing Communism about "transient, unreliable allies." What kind are these? Give examples of such in U. S. life.
5. What is meant by the policy of "unity and struggle" in regard to allies? Do we apply such policies? What mistakes may be made?
6. Give examples of sectarian errors in application of the united front. Of right opportunist errors.

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IX. SOCIALISM

I. Socialism as a stage in social development.

1. Socialism is a system in which the means of production are publicly owned; in which exploitation of wage labor for private profit is abolished, and in which production is planned for the maximum benefit of all people.
2. Socialization of ownership of the means of production resolves the basic contradiction of capitalism, between socialized production and private appropriation.
3. The succession of capitalism by socialism is an inevitable stage in human history.
4. Socialism resolves the problems of unemployment, crisis, war, national oppression, etc., growing out of the basic contradiction of capitalism. It opens the door to a new, unparalleled advance in the forces of production.
5. The political foundation of socialism is the working-class state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which serves the interests of the great majority of the people. The working class state is the most democratic state, truly representing the will of the people.
6. Socialism creates the conditions for a great upsurge of science and culture and for unequalled flowering of human personality.
7. Socialism ("to each according to his work") is the first stage on the road to communism ("to each according to his needs").
8. Violations of socialist democracy in the latter Stalin period did great harm. This was due to the Stalin cult and to the extremely difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement and war danger. The violations were exposed and corrected by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself.

II. World status of socialism today.

1. In the Soviet Union socialism was fully established prior to World War II, and today the transition to communism is in progress, based on developing the means of production to a level which makes possible a great abundance of all types of goods.
2. The people's democracies of Eastern Europe are in various stages of establishing socialism.
3. In People's China, development of socialism takes special forms arising out of China's former semi-colonial status and extreme industrial backwardness. Note particularly the role of the national bourgeoisie, use of state capitalist measures, appearance of communes.

4. Other liberated countries are carrying through democratic revolutions with extensive development of state capitalist measures; have not yet embarked on path to socialism. In all such countries, with the aid of socialist countries, socialism can be attained without development of the monopoly stage of capitalism.
5. The co-operation of the socialist states is in the interest of peace and socialism. The attitude of the Yugoslav Communist League that such co-operation menaces the independence of nations is revisionist and harmful, and amounts to "national communism."
6. In the United States where the forces of production are highly developed historically, and where the working class is skilled, socialism would give the working class and people an extremely high standard of living, abundance, culture, leisure, and would solve the basic needs of the people. It would end exploitation of man by man, national oppression, inequality of women, etc. It would establish the widest democracy and the greatest opportunity for personal development.

III. The path to socialism.

1. Common laws of social development: Experience has shown that the process of development to socialism and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries. The requisites are:
 - a) Leadership of the working class.
 - b) A Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.
 - c) Alliance of the working class with the bulk of the farming masses and other sections of the working people.
 - d) The setting up of a socialist state (dictatorship of the proletariat).
 - e) Abolition of capitalist ownership and establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production.
 - f) Gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture and planned development of the national economy.
 - g) Abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between peoples.
 - h) Solidarity of the working class/^{inter}nationally -- proletarian internationalism.
2. These common laws must be applied in accordance with the peculiarities and specific features of each country.

"Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party inevitably leads to its divorce from reality, from the masses, and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism and, conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities or departure, under the pretext of national peculiarities, from the universal Marxist-Leninist truth on the socialist revolution and socialist construction is just as harmful to the socialist cause.

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"The participants in the meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combatted simultaneously." (From Twelve-Party Declaration.)

3. Forms of transition to socialism vary for different countries.
 - a) The precise road to socialism varies for different countries and times (compare the Russian road with those of the people's democracies and with People's China).
 - b) As a result of profound historic changes internationally and the tremendous growth of the ideas of socialism, more favorable conditions have been created for the victory of socialism including the peaceful, parliamentary transfer of power in a number of countries -- given a united working class allied with other sections of the people and the rebuffing of opportunist elements.
 - c) The Communist Party seeks a road to socialism based both on the features of the present world situation and on the peculiarities of historical development in our country (e.g., advanced development of industry, parliamentary and democratic traditions, etc.).

IV. American road to socialism.

1. In the light of the development of state monopoly capitalism, of the dictatorship of monopoly over the lives of the masses of people, the Party seeks to build a broad coalition of the working class, the Negro people, the farming masses, professionals, petty bourgeoisie, and non-monopolist sections of the capitalist class against this dictatorship of monopoly, around the issues of peace, democracy, etc.
2. The present strategic aim therefore is the achievement of a coalition of all anti-monopoly elements, led by the working class and directed toward the establishment of a people's democratic anti-monopoly government -- a democracy of a new type.
3. The objective of an anti-monopoly coalition is through the extension of democratic controls to restrict the power of the monopolies, to raise the weight and authority of the working class, to win basic social reforms within the framework of the continued existence of capitalism.
4. A democratic, anti-monopoly government would represent the attainment of a new level of democracy, but is neither socialist nor is it an "intermediate stage" between capitalism and socialism. Nor is it an inevitable stage in the struggle for socialism.

The democratic anti-monopoly movement of today prepares the ground for the fight for socialism. It is "closely interwoven with the struggle for socialism. It is one of the vital forms of the transition of the masses to the socialist revolution -- either directly or through the stage of the anti-monopoly democratic revolution to which a popular movement of this kind can lead." (Kuusinen, World Marxist Review, April 1960)

5. It is necessary to combat the revisionist concept that the anti-monopoly struggle leads to the establishment of some sort of "welfare state" as an intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism.
6. This path of struggle, based on working-class unity and a popular coalition against monopoly headed by the working class, lays the basis for a peaceful parliamentary transition to a working-class state which will transfer the means of production to the people and establish socialism.
7. It is, however, a path of class struggle involving the widest masses of the people. In this it differs from the reformist way which completely denies the class struggle and the need for a social revolution. The Party seeks to achieve the change from capitalism to socialism by peaceful parliamentary means and in accordance with the United States Constitution. It recognizes that the monopolists will oppose with all their might including undemocratic measures and violence, the formation of an anti-monopoly coalition and the passage to socialism. The Communists will seek by winning the overwhelming majority of the people to prevent and to make ineffective any resort to force by reactionary circles of monopoly capital to balk the will of the people and to prevent the establishment of socialism.

Reading:

"Declaration of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries," Political Affairs, December 1957. (Also available as pamphlet)

Foster, History of the CPUSA, pp. 537-540 and 549-559.

"Scientific Foundations of a Revolutionary Policy," New World Review, December 1959, pages 40-43. (Also available as a pamphlet.)

Supplementary Reading:

Allen, "The 'Welfare State' Theory," Political Affairs, March 1958.

Dolansky, "International Division of Labor under Socialism," World Marxist Review, December 1958.

Green, The Enemy Forgotten, Ch. XIV.

Kuusinen, "Monopoly Capital," World Marxist Review, April 1960.

Questions:

1. What is socialism? Is government ownership of industry socialism? Is government ownership of some industries a step to socialism? Should the Party advocate government ownership of certain industries? Which?
2. In what way has the development to socialism been different in Eastern Europe from that in Russia? In China?
3. Why is it possible to have a "welfare state" between capitalism and socialism?
4. Is a democratic anti-monopoly government an inevitable stage of development to socialism? Give reasons.

5. What new developments create favorable conditions for peaceful transition to socialism?
6. Does that mean that the danger of monopolists using undemocratic means to retain their power no longer exists? How can this danger be overcome?

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X. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

I. Vanguard role of Communist Party -- a new type of party.

1. The Communist Party is a part of the working class, its most advanced, class-conscious, and revolutionary part. It is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class.
2. The Communist Party can play this role because:
 - a) It is based on Marxist-Leninist theory. Only a working-class party which is founded on revolutionary theory can fulfill the role of a vanguard.
 - b) It enlists in its ranks working-class elements that are the most far-seeing, the most willing to sacrifice for the interests of the working class in the struggle for the people's needs and for socialism.
 - c) The Communist Party has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class.
 - d) The Communist Party is distinguished from the mass of the workers in that it defends at all times the historic interests of the working class, it sees the whole road of working-class development, and at each stage of that road it represents not the interests of any one group or section but that of the entire working class.
 - e) The Communist Party is that organizational and political lever with whose aid the advanced elements of the working class lead the entire mass of the working class along the correct road.

"The Communists are on the one hand practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march and the ultimate results of the proletarian movement.

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement." (Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto,)

II. Necessity for a Communist Party.

1. The revisionists opposed the continued existence of the Communist Party. They rejected the principles of a vanguard party, considering that an "association" is adequate for the U. S. They believed it was possible for various parties, including reformist social-democratic type parties, or the trade union movement, to act as a vanguard in the struggle for socialism. They also opposed Marxism-Leninism as the basic principles of the Party, considering that it was possible and necessary to have divergent ideologies within the Party and opposed the concept of ideological unity.

2. Revisionists have been refuted by U. S. and world developments.

- a) Failure of socialist parties on a world scale. The socialist parties were many times in power in Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries but did not introduce socialism. On the other hand, socialism has been established in the world only under the leadership of the Communist Party. It is possible for other parties to collaborate in establishing socialism as happened in East European countries and in China, but this has occurred in collaboration with and under the leading role of the Communist Party.
- b) Socialist Party in the United States which trailed labor officialdom has become a minute sect.
- c) The Communist Party of the United States, following a class struggle policy, developed mass strength in the 1930's and 1940's. It has been the chief left organization for decades.
- d) Situation in the United States. The sharpening of struggles, the increased domination of monopoly capital and the severity of struggles of the Negro people, labor, and other strata, demonstrate more and more clearly the need for a vanguard Party.

3. Reasons for decline of the Communist Party.

- a) Objective conditions. The main reason for the sharp loss of membership was the cold war and intense persecution of the left and the Party for more than twelve years. In addition, the temporary improvement in conditions, the long-term employment due to the especially favorable situation arising from World War II, created illusions among workers.
- b) Subjective reasons. These conditions gave rise to serious "left" and right errors which added to the losses. The severe errors revealed in relation to the latter Stalin period created disorientation and hurt Party membership. Especially harmful was the revisionist tendency which was stimulated by the drive of imperialism and by the illusions which led to concepts of the liquidation of the Party.

4. The revisionists and ultra-left splitters were defeated in the Party. The ideological struggle against them must be continued, however.

III. Vanguard role today -- new conditions of struggle.

- 1. Lenin teaches that the Communist Party acquires and makes fast its position of vanguard only through self-sacrificing struggle for the living interests of the masses at all stages of the working-class movement and in the building of socialism. It is not enough to declare oneself a vanguard. It is essential to act in such a way that the people recognize the Party as standing at the head of the struggles of the people.

2. New conditions exist today, differing from the past in the following respects:
 - a) Large masses of workers and other sections of the people are organized in unions and people's movements which today are almost wholly under reformist leadership.
 - b) There has been an inflow of new millions, chiefly of petty bourgeois background, into the trade unions and other organizations.
 - c) Intense persecution continues of militant left elements, particularly of the Communist Party.
 - d) Anti-Communism continues as the device of the capitalists to undermine labor and people's movements, and is used by reactionary labor and social-democratic leaders.
3. Hence, to achieve a vanguard role requires the application of basic methods in a new way. (This should be discussed in class in the light of the problems and experiences of the students.) These methods are:
 - a) First, Communists must work where the masses are, belong to labor and people's organizations and make these central bases of work, without neglecting the unorganized and poor people in the communities.
 - b) Second, it is necessary to participate to the utmost in struggles of the people -- to initiate, support, and widen these struggles. This requires full attention to the issues of the people, local as well as national, and the timely reaction to them, not a haphazard making up of issues but a study of them. The Party and its leaders must learn to live for the working people, sharing their aspirations, and being wholeheartedly devoted to them.
 - c) Third, the Party must work for united front from the bottom to the top, combatting extreme right-wing elements in leadership, but cooperating with all leaders who take up struggles, irrespective of past policies. The main line is that of united front from below, with membership and lower officials.
 - d) Fourth, while working in closest contact with mass organizations and movements, it is essential to bring forward the position of the Party.

This requires the full utilization of all legal possibilities, above all the spread of our press, use of radio and television, holding of mass meetings, issuance of leaflets, running left and Communist candidates, etc.

It also requires political alliance with the left and progressive forces in electoral struggles, on issues such as peace, etc.

- e) Fifth, while making the fight for immediate needs central, it is essential to propagandize for socialism -- that is, expose the capitalist system and show the superiority of socialism.

IV. Sectarian and right opportunist errors.

1. A major sectarian error in the period 1950-1954 was the underestimation of the public role of the Party and its virtual abandonment of public activity because of the McCarthyite persecution. It was necessary to safeguard the Party, but also to maintain public activity in one form or another.
2. A major right opportunist error was the distorted application of the mainstream concept. It was correct to place the main emphasis on the right-led organizations and to work in them. But it was wrong to trail leadership in these organizations in the name of working in the mainstream -- and to support the abolition of all left organizations, left initiative and independent work and policy of the Party. The wrong use of the mainstream policy and its distorted application contributed to liquidationism and revisionism.

V. Democratic centralism -- basic principle of party organization.

1. Why democratic centralism?
 - a) The Party represents the interests of the whole working class and seeks to unify its action. Only a Party that has a centralized, unified leadership can achieve that. Lenin emphasized that strong central leadership and discipline is one of the main conditions for victory in the struggle against capitalism.
 - b) But unity can be achieved only on the basis of democracy, collective discussion, exchange of opinion and action.
 - c) Hence the guiding organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism -- centralism based on democracy and democracy guided by central leadership.
2. Chief features of democratic centralism.
 - a) Full participation and decisive say of membership in formulation of policy.
 - b) Democratic election of leadership.
 - c) Subordination of minority to majority and lower to higher organizations.
 - d) Freedom of discussion including right of dissent but necessity of disciplined carrying out of decisions.
 - e) Collective methods of work.
 - f) Criticism and self-criticism.
 - g) Impermissibility of factionalism.
3. The club -- basis of mass work and strength of the Party.
 - a) The major organizational weakness today is the fact that the club is not in fact the center of Party work.

- b) Clubs must be built on the basis of communities and shops.
 - c) All levels of leadership should give the clubs major attention to develop them as centers of mass struggle.
 - d) Clubs must give political leadership to members in mass organizations.
 - e) Club organizations must be strengthened in regard to attendance, discipline, dues payments and organized activity.
4. The need to raise the ideological level.
- a) The strengthening of membership and club and all levels of leadership requires the decisive improvement of theoretical work and the organization of education in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism applied to the conditions and problems in the U. S.
 - b) Establishment of classes, seminars, lectures, reading of Party literature, and self-study.
 - c) Better discussions in the clubs on current issues.
 - d) Ideological struggle against deviations from the Party line and against revisionism and sectarianism.

Reading:

"On Party Organization," (17th Convention Resolution) Political Affairs, March 19 60.

Hall, Summary remarks to March N.C. Meeting, Party Affairs Supplement, May 1960.

Gus Hall, "Our Sights to the Future," Political Affairs, January 1960. (Section on the Party.)

Supplementary reading:

Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, Chapter II.

Lenin, Left-Wing Communism.

"Declaration of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries," Political Affairs, December 1957.

Obichev, "Lenin and the Party," World Marxist Review, May 1960.

Questions:

1. Why is it impossible for the trade unions to serve as the vanguard of the proletariat in place of the Communist Party?
2. Why is it necessary to have a political party, not an association?
3. Lenin called the Marxist party the highest form of organization of the working class. Why?

4. In what way does the Communist Party play a vanguard role today?
5. What is sectarianism? Give examples.
6. What is revisionism? Give examples.
7. Why is democratic centralism an essential feature of Party organization? What are the main features of democratic centralism?
8. What distortions of democratic centralism have taken place in the past?
9. What methods are essential to ensure collective work?
10. Describe the features of a well-functioning club?

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