

INSTRUCTOR'S OUTLINE  
FOR  
ORIENTATION COURSE

Prepared by:

NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMISSION

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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FOREWORD TO THE TEACHER

- I. In undertaking these New Members' Classes, your object should be:
  1. To develop certain basic knowledge about the Party: its theory and organization; its policy and program;
  2. to instil a respect, devotion and loyalty to the Party;
  3. to lay the foundations; and stimulate the desire, for further continuous study of Party theory and for the regular reading of the Party press.
  4. to help integrate the new members as rapidly as possible into his or her Party club and into the life of the Party.
  
- II. In teaching these classes, your method should aim at:
  1. tying up the content of the discussions with the new members' own experience!
  2. drawing on the present experience and past history of the American people and especially of the working class in America, using current materials from the Daily Worker.
  3. affording the new member experience in active participation in collective discussion;
  4. encouraging the new member to feel responsible for the free expression of his questions, doubts and disagreements, with a view to their clarification.
  
- III. In preparing for these classes, your approach should be:
  1. to master the material, so that you are not bound by the notes you make, but can develop the content as flexibly as possible;
  2. at the same time, not to expect to know all the answers without exception, or to try to make the student think you do; (he will respect you more for admitting your lack of knowledge on a given point, and proposing to have it ready the next time, than for any attempt to bluff);
  3. to familiarize yourself as far as possible with the background and experience of the new members, both as a way of understanding their difficulties, helping them to make their best contributions to the discussion;
  4. to be constantly on the alert for individual problems and achievements in the course of the class, so that these can be handled in such a way as to continually raise the level of the class.
  
- IV. In developing the subject matter of each class you should:
  1. constantly refer to and expose current misconceptions about one or another question. The members will understand the main questions better if they are explained on the basis of refuting wrong ideas which exist -- e.g. "imperialism means owning colonies"; "socialism means dividing everything up"; etc.
  2. All the main points in each lesson should be hammered home by pointing out and exposing the anti-Marxist theories and policies of Browder. For example in Lesson One: the class struggle vs. Browder's revisionist policy of class collaboration; in Lesson Two: the reactionary nature of American imperialism vs. Browder's false theory about the inherently



intelligent and progressive role of American imperialism; in Lesson Three: our ultimate goal of socialism vs. Browder's abandonment of the goal of socialism; in Lesson Four: our Marxist-Leninist conception of the Party vs. Browder's liquidation of the Communist Party; etc.

V. In using the outline please bear in mind that:

1. It will not be possible to cover in each session every point developed in the outline for that session. The instructor should use his judgement, depending on the level of development of the particular class being taught, in deciding how much of the material in the outline is to be developed in each session.
2. It is not intended that these classes for new members should go as deeply and fully into various theoretical questions as would be done, for example, in a longer course on the fundamentals of Marxism. The instructor should aim at developing a general minimum and basic knowledge of the main questions dealt with in each lesson.

#### THE CHARACTER OF PRESENT DAY AMERICA

##### SESSION I.

##### WHY DID YOU JOIN THE PARTY?

1. After a brief introduction, which should serve to introduce the main objects of the class, the above question should be placed before the students:
  - a. It will help "break the ice", and get them involved at once in discussion.
  - b. It will help the teacher to get useful knowledge about them.
2. Two cautions:
  - a. Do not let this part of the lesson drag.
  - b. At the same time, this is a good time to begin establishing the idea of full answers. Guide questions, such as: "What do you mean by . . .?" and "What makes you think that. . .?" will help to draw the student out.
3. The answers to this question will probably deal with one or the other of these main objectives:
  - a. to solve immediate problems: discrimination, economic insecurity, war, etc.
  - b. to bring about the ultimate goal of the transformation of society, through the establishment of Socialism.
4. In summarizing this part of the discussion, the teacher should show that both these goals require, to begin with, a fundamental analysis of the country as it is today, because:
  - a. they will not be reached by the "drawing up of blueprints"; but

- b. they must rest on the knowledge of:
1. what is to be fought against;
  2. what forces are at hand for the fight.

### I. THE COUNTRY WE LIVE IN

a) The United States is one of the largest countries in the world with a population of more than 130,000,000. Its boundaries stretch almost 3,000 miles from coast to coast and extend northward from the Rio Grande bordering Mexico to the Canadian border. Within this vast territory there is an enormous wealth of natural resources — coal, iron, silver, lead, water power, wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn, pasture land for cattle and livestock of all kind, etc.

b) The United States is the greatest industrial nation in the world. It leads all other countries in the output of coal, iron, steel, cotton, automobiles, manufactured goods of various kinds. The enormous capacity of American industry to produce was revealed during the war when almost two hundred billion dollars worth of goods and services were produced or made available.

### II. THE UNITED STATES IS A CAPITALIST COUNTRY

- a) Private ownership of means of production by numerically small capitalist class.
- b) Capitalist production for sale and not for satisfaction of needs of people. It is production for profit and not for use.
- c) Working class completely divorced from ownership of means of production; owns only its own labor power; compelled to sell its labor power to capitalists for wages in order to live. Approximately 45-50 million wage workers in the United States although not all are employed.
- d) The labor power of workers when applied in production creates a surplus value; appropriation of this surplus by capitalists — exploitation of workers — is the source of capitalist profit.
- e) Power in country rests in hands of capitalist class.

### III. CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

- a) The basic contradiction of the capitalist system is that between the social character of production and the private nature of appropriation.
- b) This reflects itself in contradictions between:

Organization of production within the factory and the anarchy, or planlessness, of production in capitalist society as a whole.

Tendencies toward unlimited expansion of production and a constant narrowing down of consuming power in capitalist society.

Constant struggle between two basic classes — bourgeoisie and proletariat.

- c) These contradictions prove not only the desirability but also the inevitability of socialism as the only way in which these contradictions can be solved.

#### IV. MASS UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN INEVITABLE FEATURE OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

- a) Development of capitalist industry and agriculture, accompanied by ever increasing use of machinery and other methods to increase labor productivity, constantly displaces part of working force. Growth of monopoly ruins small industry and throws employees out of work. Ruin of small farms divorces farmers from land.
- b) Capitalist production thus creates an "industrial reserve army" of unemployed workers. Unemployment a permanent feature of capitalism, a necessity for capitalist development. In past, industrial reserve army periodically reabsorbed in industry when production expanded and again thrown out during crisis and depression.
- c) In imperialist era, and especially since capitalism has entered a period of general crisis of entire system, the industrial reserve army of unemployed has been transformed into chronic mass army of unemployed which (except during wartime) is not re-absorbed in industry even when production reaches its highest levels. Two and a half million unemployed at peak of "prosperity" in 1929; 17 million unemployed at lowest point of 1929-32 crisis; average of eight million unemployed during whole period of New Deal.

#### V. CYCLICAL ECONOMIC CRISES ARE INEVITABLE UNDER CAPITALISM

- a) In fierce competitive struggle for profits, capitalists are constantly compelled to introduce more developed methods of production, to increase productivity of worker in order to cut production costs; leads to anarchy of production, i.e., production without plan and without regard to ability of market to absorb everything produced.
- b) Tendencies toward unlimited expansion of production in order to secure maximum profits come into conflict with narrowing market determined in last analysis by low purchasing power of exploited masses.
- c) As total production expands, there is necessarily a constant decrease in the ability of the workers and farmers to buy back the products of industry and agriculture because of their exploitation. This leads to period of relative over-production.
- d) The ability of capitalists to sell their products leads to periodic crises of over-production. In the past such crises took place on an average of every ten to twelve years.
- e) In this period of the general crisis of capitalism, cyclical economic crises occur more frequently and take on exceptional severity and acuteness because of whole series of new factors — existence of chronic mass army of unemployed, existence of chronic agrarian crisis, chronic under-utilization of full productive capacity, policies of trusts and monopolies (super-profits, artificial maintenance of prices, etc.). Crisis of 1929, 1937; maturing elements of inevitable new crisis in next period.

VI. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

- a) The development of capitalist production leads to concentration and centralization of wealth on one side and the growing impoverishment, insecurity of the masses on the other.
- b) Leads to sharpening of class antagonisms and class struggle:

With development of industry, working class grows in numbers, strength, and consciousness. The antagonism and struggle between the two basic classes in modern society -- working class and capitalist class -- grow and become more intense.

The middle classes are constantly being ruined by development of capitalist production and hurled into ranks of proletariat; vacillate between working class and capitalist class.

Working class is most revolutionary class; it is the leader of all exploited sections of people -- Negro people, farmers, etc. Created by capitalism, it is the grave-digger of capitalism.

- c) With the growth of the working class, the workers learn that they have common interests in the fight against the capitalist class. They form trade unions and fight for the immediate interests of the workers -- for better wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work. Their struggle with the capitalist class grows in breadth and sharpness.
- d) In the course of this struggle the workers learn that they must use not only economic but political weapons. They find that the political institutions of capitalism -- what we call the state -- are dominated by the capitalists, i.e., the police, the armed forces, the legislative and administrative bodies. The workers enter the arena of political as well as economic battles. We see this taking place in the United States today.
- e) This class struggle also takes place on the theoretical front against the theories and ideology which the capitalists develop in order to justify their system of exploitation.
- f) However, by themselves and from their experiences alone, the workers cannot learn the need for socialism. Through their experiences alone they cannot rise above the level of a trade union consciousness.
- g) The working class needs a political party to give them this socialist consciousness, to make them see the need of socialism as a result of their day-to-day struggles. This is the role of the Communist Party, which is composed of the most advanced workers, and which develops the socialist consciousness of the workers in the course of the leadership which it gives to the daily struggles of the workers for their immediate needs.

READING MATERIAL

For Student: Communist Manifesto - Chapter 1.

For Instructor: Socialism, Scientific and Utopian, by Engels - Chapter 3.

THE UNITED STATES IS AN IMPERIALIST COUNTRYI. American Economic Life Dominated by Trusts and Monopolies -- The Sixty Families:

- a) More than in any other capitalist country in the world, industry in the United States is monopolized and trustified -- Steel Trust, Aluminum Trust, etc. Estimated that industries dominating economic life of country centered in hands of sixty families -- Rockefellers, Morgans, DuPonts, Fairless, Girdler, Ford, Wilson, Stettinius, Pew, etc. In 1937 there were at least 900 products in production of which four companies accounted for 75% or more.
  - 1) Growth of trusts and monopolies driving small business out; between 1900 and 1939, sixteen million new businesses started of which fourteen million died.
  - 2) War increased power of trusts and monopolies in economic life of country; there are now 500,000 fewer small businesses than before the war.
- b) No longer any separation between control of banks and control of industry:
  - 1) Morgan bank now controls many industries.
  - 2) Rockefeller money (made in oil industry) now controls First National Bank.
- c) Eight groups of financial capitalists (i.e., capitalists who control both banks and industries) dominate economic life of country. They consist of J.P. Morgan and Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Rockefeller interests; Mellon family; duPont family; three regional finance-capitalist groups in Chicago, Boston and Cleveland.
- d) Following First World War, American capitalists stopped borrowing from European capitalists and began lending money abroad and making foreign investments. Today such foreign investments (export of capital) are even larger and more important source of profit for American capitalists than export of manufactured goods.
- e) American trusts and monopolies participate in world cartels with trusts and monopolists of other countries to divide up markets, fix production quotas, set prices, establish spheres of influence, etc. Investigations during war showed tie-up of American trusts in chemical, electrical, rubber, etc., industries with German and Japanese trusts in cartel arrangements.
- f) The United States shares in the possession of colonies which are divided up among the imperialist powers. It has as colonial possessions: the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Virgin Isles. Equally important is the hidden economic and political domination of nominally independent countries by American imperialism, especially the Latin-American countries.

a) "Imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism . . . of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental feature of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five main forms:

1. Cartels, syndicates and trusts; the concentration of production having reached the stage which gives rise to these monopolistic combinations of the capitalists;
2. the monopolistic position of the big banks; three to five gigantic banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany;
3. usurpation of the sources of raw material by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopolistic industrial capital merged with bank capital);
4. the (economic) partition of the world among the international cartels has begun. The international cartels which dominate the whole world market, dividing it "amicably" among themselves -- until war brings about a redistribution -- already numbers over one hundred! The export of capital, a specifically characteristic phenomenon distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism, is closely bound up with the economic and territorial partition of the world.
5. the territorial political partition of the world (colonies) is completed."

-- Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 19, -- "Imperialism and the Split in Socialist Movement," p. 337)

### III. IMPERIALISM AND WAR

- a) Wars are inevitable result of economic and political contradictions of capitalism sharpened and accentuated in imperialist epoch; contradictions between imperialist countries; contradictions between imperialist countries and colonial and dependent countries; contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat.
- b) Communists are not pacifists. They distinguish between two kinds of wars:
  - "1) Just wars; wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and
  - "2) Unjust wars; wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

"Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government," -- History of CPSU, pp. 167-168.
- c) Communists do not adopt a fatalist attitude to the outbreak of war. They mobilize the people to expose and fight against every policy or action making for imperialist war.



#### IV. THE POLITICAL ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM IS REACTION

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"The political superstructure of the new economy, of monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), is the turn from democracy to political reaction. Democracy corresponds to free competition. Political reaction corresponds to monopoly.

"To separate 'foreign politics' from politics in general, or, still worse, to contrast foreign politics to home politics, is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxian and unscientific. Imperialism strives to violate democracy, strives toward reaction both in foreign politics and home politics." (Lenin - Vol.19, p.229)

This striving of imperialism to reaction, when not checked and defeated, results in the establishment of fascism.

#### V. WHAT IS FASCISM?

- a) Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.
- b) Fascism established to realize the policies of imperialism, to maintain the rule of finance capital against threat of people against that rule; attempt to shift burden of crisis upon toiling masses and preparation for imperialist war. Expression of decline of capitalism and inability of bourgeoisie to rule in old way.
- c) In United States danger of fascism stems from reactionary monopoly capitalists spearheaded by NAM -- DuPonts, Morgans, Mellons, Hoover, Hearst-McCormack-Patterson press; their alliance with Southern Bourbons who seek preservation of Southern feudal institutions; activity of fascist organizations.
- d) Reactionary, pre-fascist forces carrying on renewed drive against all popular liberties; to smash unions; rob Negro people of war-time gains; divide labor and veterans; promote anti-Semitism; red-baiting and new anti-Communist legislation.

#### VI. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

- a) Bourgeois democracy a concealed form of dictatorship of bourgeoisie.
- b) Limitations of bourgeois democracy: universal suffrage allowed as long as control of capital assured; deception of masses through corruption of parties, control of press, radio, etc.; lack of material guarantees to enforce rights to free speech, free press, free assembly, etc.; restrictions on franchise -- polltax, residence qualifications, white primaries, etc.
- c) Working class not indifferent to the form of bourgeois rule. Reject Trotskyite position that there is no difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism merely because both are forms of capitalist rule. Fight with all democratic elements of nation to protect and extend democratic rights and liberties.
- d) Communists do not wage struggle against fascism and for democracy in order to perpetuate bourgeois rule but to create better conditions for the fight to establish socialism. Struggle for democracy an indispensable part of struggle for socialism; "It would be fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etcetera. 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, constant and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (Lenin)

#### VII. LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

- a) Working class most resolute, dependable and leading force in struggle for democracy and against fascist reaction; must strengthen independent role and activities, display greater political organizing initiative, forge national and international unity of forces of labor.
- b) Working class must strengthen ties with its natural allies and all democratic forces; working farmers, Negro people, veterans, youth, women, intellectuals, city middle classes and their democratic organizations.
- c) Labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings who, for one or another reason, objectively at times promote democratic aims (Wallace, etc.). But in so doing, labor must rely on its own strength and unity and upon its alliance with the true democratic, anti-fascist forces.

#### VIII. THE FIGHT FOR FULL SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR NEGRO PEOPLE: FOR UNITY OF NEGRO AND WHITE

- a) American imperialism has established and maintains a special oppression of the thirteen million Negro people in the United States. Negro people denied rights which whites have enjoyed for generations. Subjected to special discrimination not directed against any other section of the people. Discrimination affects not only Negro workers but whole Negro people including sharecroppers, farmers, small business men, professionals, and relatively small and weak Negro capitalist class. Whole Negro people deliberately kept in position of economic, social and political subjection by American imperialism.
- b) Forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination: segregation and Jim Crow (in housing, trains, restaurants, schools, theatres, public places, armed forces, etc.); discrimination in employment — first to be fired, last to be hired; limiting employment to hardest and most menial tasks; denial of right to vote in south through poll tax and white primaries; denial of constitutional rights (to serve on juries, etc.); lynching and police terror against individual Negroes and whole Negro communities as in Columbia, Tenn.; continued insults in newspapers, radio, movies, etc.
- c) Therefore, Negro people as a whole — not only Negro working class — are an ally of the working class; working class must take leadership in fight to establish and strengthen this alliance by fighting for Negro rights.
- d) American imperialism maintains special oppression of Negro people as part of its "divide and rule" strategy. Theory of "white supremacy" (white-chauvinism) identical with and serves same ends as racist theories of Hitler. Object is to set white against Negro, prevent united struggle of both against the common enemy — American imperialism, monopoly capital,

- e) Practices and ideas of race supremacy, white chauvinism, harm not only Negroes. They are weapons aimed at white workers also. "Labor in white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." (Marx) Hence, white workers must defeat "divide and rule" strategy of imperialist ruling class by fighting Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination of Negroes; cement Negro and white unity by purging its ranks of all expressions, ideas and practices of white chauvinism; BY JOINT STRUGGLE FOR FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY, FOR NEGRO PEOPLE.
- f) The labor movement has special obligation to open doors of trade unions to Negro workers on basis of full equality; to take leadership in fight for jobs, for equal pay, equal seniority and promotion, for advancing Negroes to leadership in labor movement.
- g) As most advanced and most progressive class, working class must rally people in decisive struggle to wipe out foul crime of lynching; to demand the death penalty for lynchers; to drive poll taxes from political life, to end the poll tax.
- h) As most advanced, vanguard section of working class, Communists deeply conscious of obligation to stand in forefront of struggle for Negro rights; to mercilessly expose and remove every expression, conscious or unconscious, of chauvinism in ranks of Party, to be foremost educators of the people in shops, unions, communities, against prejudice, chauvinism, hate, for unity and solidarity.
- i) In course of the struggle for Negro rights, the Communist Party advances only ultimate program for final and complete solution of Negro question; points to USSR as model and lesson of socialist solution -- only socialism forever banishes national prejudice, race hatred, inequality and oppression; only socialism consolidates and guarantees for all time full and complete equality, voluntary fraternal brotherhood and free union of all nationalities.

READING MATERIAL

For Student: "The Nature of Capitalism" by Anna Rochester;  
Chapter 8 on Monopoly.

For Instructor: "Imperialism" by Lenin; Chapters 7-10.  
"United Front Against Fascism", Dimitroff.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?I. FEATURES OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF ECONOMY

- a) Means of Production owned in common by workers and farmers; basis for exploitation of man by man eliminated.
- b) Production for use and not for profit; social product of labor appropriated by society.
- c) Working class is master of the country; works for itself and not for class exploiters; exploiting class abolished.
- d) Power in the country rests in the hands of the working class which is in alliance with farmers -- dictatorship of proletariat.

II. SOCIALISM IS A REALITY ON ONE-SIXTH OF EARTH'S SURFACE -- IN USSR

- a) Victory of revolution on Nov. 7, 1917 established rule of working class; began task of reconstructing economy on socialist basis.
- b) Victory of socialism eliminates contradictions of capitalism. No contradiction between social production and private appropriation. Means of production owned in common. Production has social<sup>i</sup> character. Social products of labor appropriated by society.

Organized planned economy to improve material conditions of people replaces anarchy of production, planlessness of capitalist production.

Unemployment, insecurity and crises eliminated for all time.

Abolition of poverty of people. Increase in wealth brings rise in material and cultural conditions of people.

Elimination of antagonistic classes by abolition of capitalist class and replacement by fraternal collaboration of workers, farmers, socialist intelligentsia.

III. FINAL AND IRREVOCABLE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

- a) Soviet Union today an advanced industrial power; industrialization necessary as a secure foundation of Soviet power. Establishment of large-scale socialist industry made Soviet Union independent of capitalist powers. Achieved through Five Year Plans which led to unparalleled rise in Soviet production and showed superiority of socialist economic system. Industrialization opposed by Trotskyites and Bukharinites who are today agents of fascism and counter-revolution.
- b) Agriculture reconstructed on socialist basis through collectivization which transformed small peasant economy to large socialist agriculture equipped with modern machinery and destroyed basis for restoration of capitalism.



- a) The present Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1936, goes far beyond any democratic state document in world history because it is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production and the elimination of exploitation of man by man.
- b) It promulgates and guarantees genuine liberty for the people. The Soviet Constitution, as the greatest charter of liberty mankind ever developed, provides:
- right to work -- guaranteed employment and payment
  - right to rest and leisure
  - right to maintenance in old age, in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work
  - right to an education
  - for women, equal rights with men in all spheres
  - freedom of religion and separation of church and state; freedom not to worship
  - freedom of speech, press, assembly; freedom of street demonstrations and processions
  - universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.
- c) No other country in the world establishes such rights and implements them by providing the material means for their realization. Compare with limitations on democracy in U.S. and formal nature of rights without material guarantees.
- d) National oppression abolished; complete equality and harmony of nations within Soviet Union.
- e) New task for Soviet people is to advance from Socialism to Communism. Socialism is first stage of Communist society based on principle; From each according to his ability, to each according to the quantity and quality of his labor. Under Communism, society operates on the principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

V. CONSISTENT ANTI-FASCIST PEACE POLICY OF SOVIET UNION

- a) Role of the Soviet Union in the war against fascism in which it made the greatest sacrifices and the most decisive contributions to the joint war effort of the Big Three and thus played the most outstanding role in saving world civilization from fascist barbarism.
- b) The role of the Soviet Union in realizing the people's aim of an enduring peace is equally decisive; in the fight for a lasting peace the people of the world will find in the Soviet Union their most consistent and firm champion.
- c) The firm and consistent anti-fascist peace policy of the Soviet Union is the historic policy of that country; it is the fundamental aim of foreign policy proclaimed from the very birth of the Soviet Union.
- d) The Soviet Union is the only country in the world which has, or can pursue a consistent anti-fascist peace policy. It does, and can do this, because of its very nature as a socialist country in which the exploiting classes were overthrown and have been completely abolished, where all the means of production are owned by the people, where class antagonisms have been abolished and replaced by the friendly collaboration of the socialist workers, the socialist farmers and the socialist intelligentsia.

- e) As a result of all this, by the living example of the Soviet Union, the idea of socialism as an answer to the problem of the tormented masses gains ever wider popularity and enthusiastic support among the masses in all countries.

VI. RELATION BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR ULTIMATE GOAL

- a) Material objective conditions in America ripe for socialism. The American people are not yet politically conscious of the necessity of replacing capitalism with a Socialist system. However, the victories of the Socialist Soviet Union, and the struggles in this country, make it imperative that we constantly point out the necessity of eventually establishing a Socialist system as the answer to unemployment and crisis, etc.
- b) "In the struggle for the program of peace and democracy, jobs and security, favorable conditions are created for the masses of our people to recognize on the basis of their own experiences, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along socialist lines,"  
-- Resolution.
- c) "We shall assist this process by every available educational means, taking full cognizance of the growing interest of the American people and its working class in the historic experiences of the Soviet people in the building of a new Socialist society, which has played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler Germany and the Axis. We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation." (Resolution of Convention)

READING MATERIAL

For Student: Stalin on New Constitution.

A.B. Magil - "Socialism - What's In It For You?"

For Instructor: Frederick Engels - "Socialism: Scientific and Utopian"

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTYI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY - POLITICAL PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

- a) Without a political party representing both immediate and historical class interests of the working class impossible to achieve socialism.
- b) Under capitalism working class only consistent progressive and revolutionary class. Historic mission: elimination of capitalism and building classless socialist society.
  - 1. Capitalist class - exploiting and ruling class - owner of means of production, controlling economic and political life of country.
  - 2. Working class - exploited class, compelled to hire out to owners of means of production. Specific class created by capitalism; constantly increasing in size; trained, organized and disciplined by capitalist production itself.
  - 3. Middle class not homogeneous class, represents diverse social groups - farmers, small businessmen, professionals, etc. - constantly vacillating between capitalist class and working class. Can become revolutionary force only under leadership of working class.
- c) History of rise and development of working class emphasizes working class cannot arrive at Socialist consciousness without Communist Party.
  - 1. Working class by itself can achieve only level of trade union consciousness - necessity of combination to overcome division in own ranks in competition for jobs, wresting concessions from employers, attempting to put a limit to capitalist exploitation. Struggles for improved working conditions, shorter hours, higher wages, labor legislation, etc., trade union struggles for better terms in sale of labor power.
  - 2. Working class under capitalism has historic mission to emancipate mankind from all exploitation through abolition of capitalist system and building of socialism. Cannot be achieved by trade union struggle. Trade union struggles do not in themselves educate working class to understanding necessity for, and how to abolish capitalist system, to achieve socialism.
  - 3. Socialist consciousness, understanding of conditions for emancipation of working class, does not arise spontaneously in day to day struggle against capitalism. Only Communist Party, embodiment of socialist ideology, can imbue working class with understanding of its real position, and historic tasks.
  - 4. Task of Communist Party to imbue working class with socialist consciousness. Merging of struggles of working class with science of socialism through leadership of Communist Party.

II. COMMUNIST PARTY - MARXIST VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS

- a) Communist Party - class conscious advanced section of the working class, conscious element in all working class struggles. Understands laws of capitalist development and conditions for emancipation of working class.

1. Role: To facilitate political and organizational development of working class; defend interests of workers in all phases of social life; help develop most effective forms of struggle to defend working class interests; strengthen organizational and fighting capacity of the working class; strengthen unity of working class and its allies; expose and defeat ideologies which penetrate ranks of working class; prepare working class for fulfillment of historical objectives.
  2. Party performs role of vanguard not by just reflecting and recording existing conditions and trends among working class; not by lagging behind spontaneous struggles or ideology of backward sections; but by indicating solution of important theoretical, political, economic, tactical and organizational questions at each stage in struggles of working class.
  3. Communist Party must learn to combine defense of immediate interests with systematic propaganda for socialism in day to day struggles.
- b) Role of vanguard can be performed only by a Party guided by an advanced social science. Communist Party bases all its policies and actions on only scientific theory of working class -- Marxism-Leninism.
1. Theory as a guide to action. Without mastery of Marxism-Leninism and its systematic application to concrete historical conditions in country and to changing events, impossible to give leadership to complex problems facing working class and nation, impossible to achieve socialism.
  2. Communist practice helps to further advance and develop Marxist-Leninist theory "in accordance with the substance of the theory."

III. CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY ESTABLISHES LENINIST CONCEPTS OF MARXIST VANGUARD IN PROGRAM, PRINCIPLES AND RULES WHICH GOVERN LIFE AND FUNCTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY.

- a) Concept of Communist Party Membership: Acceptance of program, membership in a club, attendance at meetings, reading of press, regular payment of dues, activity on behalf of program and policies of Party.
1. Necessity to conduct a consistent struggle to develop a Communist membership in keeping with historical tasks of Party. Importance of transforming present membership into active Communists understanding Party policies and tasks, and ready to assume responsibilities in carrying out tasks of Communist organizations.
  2. Rights and duties of member explained in Constitution, of CP USA.
- b. Basic Forms of Communist Organization: Constitution establishes shop and community clubs as basic forms of Party organization.
1. Necessary to establish shop clubs in all key shops - means of strengthening roots of Party in basic industries, improving mass work of Communist shop workers, influencing and winning workers for correct policies and actions.



2. Necessary to build Community clubs as mobile community organizations, able to know membership, to involve them in working out policies and tasks, supervising mass activity of every member, developing independent mass activity/Working class communities as part of winning accepted role in anti-fascist coalition movements in neighborhoods.
  3. Establish industrial form of club organization as transitional forms in industries where Party too weak to establish shop clubs, and in industries under reactionary and social democratic leadership.
- c) Democratic Centralism - Constitution establishes democratic centralism as fundamental guiding principle of Communist organization.
1. Democratic centralism represents a system of Party organization which combines the conscious and active participation of the membership in the life of the Party and the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class.
  2. Weakening of inner Party democracy and development of bureaucratism in the C.P.A. Democratic centralism not centralization of "power" in hands of Party bureaucracy dominating membership - but stable Communist leadership which centralizes all Communist activity and guarantees unity of action of organization - rests upon broadest inner democracy.
  3. Relation of inner democracy to principle of democratic centralism. Membership participation in formulating policies and tasks. Election of leadership by membership and responsibility of leadership to membership. Subordination of minority to majority in executing tasks once decision made.
  4. Unification and centralization of communist activity under control and guidance of highest Party organs (National Convention - and National Committee between conventions) indispensable condition for performing vanguard role.
- d) Communist Discipline - an integral part of democratic centralism, guarantees unity of will and action of Marxist vanguard.
1. Essence of Communist discipline - subordination of will of individual or minority to majority decision. Weakening of Communist discipline during period of revisionism part of weakening of inner democracy.
  2. Communist discipline does not exclude criticism and conflict of opinions. Must be based upon broadest and freest discussion, freedom to express differences and discussion of controversial questions - until questions decided. Once decision made must be carried out by all without reservations. Right to appeal decision to higher body, but obligation to carry out decision while appeal is pending.
  3. Impermissibility of factions and groupings in Party. Importance of unity in Communist ranks. Monolithic character of Communist Party.
  4. Communist discipline not imposed from above, is voluntary and self-imposed. Fundamental condition for maintenance and preservation of discipline -- full understanding of Communist policies, confidence in correctness of Communist policies, devotion and loyalty to cause of working class.

- e) Criticism and Self-Criticism - indispensable principle for training and developing condition for maturity and progress of Marxist vanguard.
1. Disclosure of mistakes, their causes and means of correction, criteria of mature Communist Party, helps to strengthen confidence of working class in Party, helps to steel Communist vanguard. Most important means by which to train and develop Communist cadres.
  2. Complete absence of criticism and self-criticism during revisionist period - led to glossing over of mistakes and weaknesses, to bureaucratic methods of work and leadership, to obvious difficulties in training and steeling Communist personnel.

#### IV. COMMUNIST PARTY BECOMES STRONG IN STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

1. Party not only instrument of working class to help it more effectively combat capitalist offensive, but main instrument through which to undermine and combat all bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences and ideologies which penetrate working class.
  - a. Working class living in capitalist environment - subject to the influence of capitalist and petty bourgeois and other non-proletarian sections which surround working class.
  - b. Working class cannot be won for socialism without undermining and defeating capitalist and petty bourgeois ideological influences in ranks of working class.
2. History of Communist movement - history of the struggle against alien class influences which penetrate the working class and through it into the Communist Party.
  - a. Communist Party must conduct consistent struggle against all opportunist expressions and trends of both right and left variety within Communist Party.
  - b. Struggle on two fronts in American Communist Party - a struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and influences which infiltrate into ranks of Communist Party (Struggle against Lovestoneism, Trotskyism and Browder).
  - c. Failure to conduct struggle on two fronts - weakens Marxist vanguard; its ability to undermine bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences in working class, its ability to perform role of vanguard of working class.

#### READING MATERIAL

For Student: Constitution of CP USA

For Instructor: Stalin-"Foundations of Leninism" -  
Chapter on the Party

History of CPSU - pages 353-363.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF COMMUNIST PARTY

This entire session should be devoted to a discussion of the present policies of the Party as outlined in the main reports to the National Committee by William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis. These reports are available in pamphlet form and can be supplemented by leading articles and editorials in the Daily and Sunday Worker. These policies should be discussed and analyzed in relation to the main tasks of the District, Section or Club.

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E R R A T A

PLEASE TAKE SPECIAL NOTE OF CORRECTIONS LISTED BELOW AND MAKE YOUR PENCILLED INSERTIONS IN THE OUTLINE.

Page 4 - Section IV - b) "In past, industrial reserve army periodically absorbed . . ." should read "partly absorbed".

Section V - d) should read "the inability, etc."

Section V - a) After "productivity of workers in order to" add, "to increase the rate of exploitation".

Page 5 - Reading Material

2nd line should read - "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific".

