

LENINISM CLASSES

LENINISM FIRST CLASS - FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM - JOSEPH STALIN

LENINISM IS THE THEORY AND TACTICS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN GENERAL, THE THEORY AND TACTICS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN PARTICULAR." (Foundations of Leninism, J.V. Stalin; Foreign Languages Press Peking 1965 p. 2)

CHAPTERS ONE THRU FOUR

1. What are the principle contradictions of imperialism? Discuss them in the context of today's international situation.
2. What are the requirements of the method of Leninism?
3. What is theory and why is it important?
4. What is the Leninist and the revisionist line on spontaneity and the Party's relationship to it?
5. Why is imperialism and the "eve of the socialist revolution"?
6. Why is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the instrument of proletarian revolution?

LENINISM SECOND CLASS - FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM

CHAPTERS FIVE THRU NINE

1. What is the correct proletarian policy toward the peasantry and how do we apply it?
2. How has the national question changed since the days of the Second International?
3. What are strategy and tactics?
4. Discuss the features of a party of a new type and how we apply them.

LENINISM THIRD CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 1

1. Describe the dialectical relationship between the dying away of the serf system and the rise of the modern industrial proletariat in Russia. How did the abolition of the serf system come about? Describe the state under Feudalism. What were the forms of robbery and oppression of the peasants by the landlords even after the abolition of serfdom?
2. Explain how tsarist Russia was a "prison of nations". What role did Great Russian Chauvinism play in the oppression of nations? Explain concretely how the USNA is a prison of nations. Compare how non-Russian nationalities are treated in the USNA today.
3. Describe the relationship between the Narodniks and the Emancipation of Labor Group. What were the positive revolutionary and the negative aspects of the group?
4. What is the Marxist conception of Plekanov's view of the role of the individual in history?
5. What lessons can we learn from the League of Struggle? Apply them to the Party.
6. What was the role of Iskra; and the role of the party newspaper?
7. Discuss the following points and their application in the book and in life today:
 - 1) the proletariat must be the leading class in social revolution; 2) the proletarian revolution can only be led by M-L and not by the spontaneous movement; 3) all political ideas and movements represent classes in motion - with a class brand.

LLENINISM FOURTH CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter two

1. What effects does an industrial crisis have on the working class movement?
2. Why are liberals dangerous?
3. What two different methods did the tsarist government use to control the workers? What methods does the USNA bourgeoisie use?
4. How do we make the Tribune not only a collective propagandist and a collective organizer?
5. What is the dialectical unity between decentralization and centralization?
6. Lenin spoke about the ultimate goal of the Party and the immediate tasks of the Party. What is our ultimate goal and immediate task today?
7. How has "economism" manifested itself in the League and in the Left movement today?
8. The main fight at the Second Congress of the RSDLP was on the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Is this still a main fight today and what form does it take?
9. Describe Lenin's and the Mensheviks' views on the Party, as put forth in Lenin's book One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Describe how we apply these six principles in our work
10. What does it mean that once the line is established, organization decides everything?

LLENINISM FIFTH CLASS - WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

CHAPTER 1

1. What does freedom of criticism mean as discussed in the book. Describe the "new" trend which adopts a critical attitude towards "obselete dogmatic" Marxism presented by Bernstein and demonstrated by Millerand.
2. What was the Rabocheye Dyelo. Explain briefly the conclusions drawn from the quotation: "Is it possible to unite the Social Democratic organizations operating abroad" - "in order that unity may be durable there must be freedom of criticism" - (See B - THE NEW ADVOCATES OF "FREEDOM OF CRITICISM" first paragraph)
3. Why was it necessary to form an alliance between the "extreme and extremely moderate views" (legal Marxists and Social Democrats) What were the major differences between these views)
4. What were the two views on theory discussed in the book (as expressed by the Rabocheye Dyelo group and the Emancipation of Labor Group)?
5. For Russian Social Democrats the importance of theory was enhanced by three circumstances - what were they, discuss this in relation to chapter 1, section 4 & 5 of the History of the CPSU (B). Discuss this in relation to our present situation.

CHAPTER 2

1. What is the "spontaneous element"?
2. Where does socialist theory come from?
3. Describe the historical development of Economism.
4. What result does "bowing to spontaneity" have. What are some historical examples of this, why does this result occur?
5. Discuss the quote "and so, we have become convinced.....capable of leading the whole movement. (quote in the third and fourth paragraphs end of chapter 2) Discuss this quotation in relation to conditions in the USNA today and to our work.

CHAPTER 3

1. What does political education of the working class mean?
2. What did Lenin say about Martynov's position "to give the economic struggle itself a political character"? What is the Communist position in regard to the economic struggle.
3. What was the Marxist position on agitation and propaganda. How did Martynov try to improve on Plekanov's views?
4. What do the economist and terrorist have in common? How does this affect the struggle for Socialism?

CHAPTER 4

1. How are economism and primitiveness related? What would be the harmful effects to our organization if we did not fight against these tendencies?
2. How do organizations of workers (unions) differ from organizations of revolutionaries. How did the economists muddle the difference?
3. What was the economist answer to the vast difference in numbers and consciousness of revolutionaries and the spontaneous unurge of the masses?
4. What were the two positions of "conspiratorial organization and Democratism"?
5. Why did the economist resent 'all Russian Work'? Why did Lenin call for both?

CHAPTER 5

1. Discuss Lenin's plan to unite the Marxist circles and organizations into a single group around an all Russian political newspaper?

LENINISM SIXTH CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter three

"It is impossible to defeat the enemy without knowing how to attack properly" "It is impossible to avoid utter rout in the event of defeat without knowing how to retreat properly, to retreat without panic and without confusion."

Section 1

1. What is an agent provocateur? Give examples.
2. Describe the course of events that led to the 1905 revolution in Russia? What role did the Bolsheviks play?

Section 2

1. What is the difference between economic strikes and political strikes? Give examples of each.
2. What was the significance of the Potemkin revolt? Why did it end in defeat?
3. What was the response of the liberal bourgeoisie and the government to the rising revolutionary struggle?

Section 3

1. What were the main points (4) of difference between the Bolsheviks 3rd Party Congress and the Menshevik Conference in their tactical line? Apply to our conditions in the USNA.
2. What did Lenin mean by uninterrupted revolution?
3. Why was it the peasantry and not the liberal bourgeoisie who was the class ally of the proletariat?

Section 4

1. Describe the all Russian mass political strike of October 1905.

Section 4

1. Describe the all Russian mass political strike of October 1905. What did this strike reveal, what were the reactions of the ruling class?
2. Why did the TSar issue the Manifesto of October 17, 1905? What was it?
3. Do we have similar "Black Hundreds today? Describe them and their role in the USNA today.
4. What were the Soviets? What did they represent and how did they arise? What was the role of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the Soviets?

Section 5

1. Explain the Bolshevik and Menshevik positions on the Agrarian question. What class interests did the Mensheviks position serve?
2. What was the significance of the Moscow uprising?

Section 6

1. What were the attitudes of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks to the different Dumas? What can we learn from the Bolsheviks on this question.
2. Why was the 5th Congress considered a big victory to the Bolsheviks. What were the class roots of the tactics of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks as described by Comrade Stalin.
3. What were the causes of the defeat of the 1905 revolution? What lessons were learned from it. Apply these lessons to our situation today.

LENINISM SEVENTH CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter Four

Section 1

1. Describe the policy of the Stolypin reaction.
2. In which class did the Tsar have a base of support? Why?
3. What kind of "criticism" of Marxism do we hear today?
4. What were the characteristic features of modern revisionism in political economy in questions of tactics and in philosophy? in Lenin's time, in ours?

Section 2

(Class on Dialectical and Historical Materialism will be held at a later date)

Section 3

1. How did the Bolsheviks use the dialectics of advance and retreat during the period of reaction.
2. How did the Bolsheviks use legal and illegal work? How do we use it today, and will we in the future?
3. Who were the Liquidators? Who were the Otzovists? Using them as an example, show how "left deviations turn into their opposite - how "right" and "left" deviations are a unity of opposites? Give examples of this today.

Section 4

1. Describe Trotsky's August Bloc and explain how it was counteracted by Lenin.
2. Why is "centrism" an incorrect political concept?
3. Describe the preparation of the Bolsheviks for the Prague Conference - what was the outcome of this conference.

Summary

1. Discuss how the party principle of purging is vital to the development of a revolutionary party.

LENINISM EIGHTH CLASS - ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

Historical Background

The Second Party Congress, which began in 1903, was convened for one specific purpose; The creation of a centralized, all Russian revolutionary Marxist Party, capable of leading the Russian proletariat to the seizure of State power.

The Second Congress was responsible for:

1. Sealing the victory of Marxism over "Economism"
2. Adopting a program and rules, creating a Social Democratic Party and thus building the framework for a single party.
3. Revealing the existence of grave differences over the question of organization which divided the party into two sections, The Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks; the Revolutionary Social Democrats and the opportunists.
4. Demonstrating that the main opposition (opportunists), formerly the Economists, was now the Mensheviks.

It failed, however, to expose the Mensheviks of their opportunism in organizational matters. It was unable to isolate them from the Party.

Following the congress the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks became more acute. The Mensheviks did their best to sabotage the Congress decisions, and seize the Party institutions. Their demand for additional representation on the Iskra editorial board, plus the tunabout that Plekanov made when he switched to the side of the opportunists, forced Lenin to resign from the editorial board in order to spend all his time in the Central Committee to strike at the opportunists from this position. Following this, and starting with the 52nd issue of Iskra, the Mensheviks converted Iskra into their own paper. We refer to the Mensheviks Iskra as the "new Iskra" and Lenin's as the "old Iskra".

Lenin wrote One Step Forward, Two Steps Back during this time in answer to the attack being waged by the Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks revolutionary organizational principles.

Organizational Principles which the book put forth:

1. The Marxist Party is a detachment of the working class but a special detachment. It is the vanguard detachment, the class-conscious detachment armed with knowledge of society, and the laws of class struggle, it is able to lead the working class and direct the struggle. Obviously, then the Party is not the working class, and not every member of the working class, or every striker is in the Party. It is not the task of the Party to lower itself to the level of the masses, but to raise their level to that of the Party.

2. The Party is an organized detachment. It must have discipline which is binding on all its members. Therefore, Party members must belong to a Party organizations. The organizational report submitted at the Merger Conference correctly points out that our League must have this same principle. The Party needs a united will of the members in

order to direct the working class struggle

3. The Party must be the highest form of organization of the working class, and its mission is to guide all other organizations of the working class. The Party must play the leading role in the revolution, not be led by the spontaneous movement.

4. The Party is an embodiment of the connections of the vanguard with the masses. It must have connections with the non-party masses or else it will isolate itself from the masses, lose their confidence and support, flounder and die.

5. The Party must be organized on the principle of Centralism, not ultra-democracy. The minority must be subordinate to the majority, the various organizations to the center. In fact, the correct organizational principle is DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

6. The Party must preserve the unity of its ranks, it must impose a common proletarian discipline, equally binding on all members, leadership and rank and file. There can be no 'chosen few'.

Small Circles (main ones) and various Congress Groupings

1. Iskra Editorial Board - Composed of Lenin, Plekanov, Martov, Zasulich, Axelrod and Potresov. Founded in 1900.

2. The Emancipation of Labor Group - Made up of Plekanov, Axelrod, Deutsch, Zasulich and Ignatov. This group, founded in 1883, had been largely responsible, through translations pamphlets, etc., for bringing Marxism to Russia. In the last years the group resided abroad.

3. The League of Revolutionary Russian Social-Democracy-- The foreign representative of the Iskra organization. In the course of the Congress it was elected the only representative of the RSDLP abroad.

4. Rabocheye Dyelo - The organ of the Economists, represented at the congress by Martynov, Akimov and Brouckere.

5. The Bund - A group which hailed itself as the 'sole representative of the Jewish proletariat in Russia' and demanded 'complete autonomy'.

6. Yuzhny Rabochy - The Southern Worker. This was a newspaper circle which had done much good practical work' and had declared itself Iskra-ist. When it was dissolved at the Congress along with all other circles, however, one of its leaders said that he "did not deem it necessary" to proclaim itself dissolved and thus totally misunderstood the role of the Congress and of democratic centralism.

7. Borba - A group of self-styled Social Democrats abroad having a basically Economist line. They were barred from attending the Congress, but came into prominence in the "Organizing Committee incident".

8. The Centre - These were people who initially had correct politics, but favored conciliation and "unity at any cost" with the opportunists. They thus transformed themselves into what Lenin called "middle opportunists". At times sided with the Bolsheviks, but as the Congress continued they began to side more and more with the Mensheviks.

Major Incidents at the Congress

A. Organizing Committee Incident - This committee was a small group formed to bring the Congress together. It was composed of Iskraists, Bundists and Rabocheye Dyelists. The incident revolved around the committee's decision to permit the Borbaist Ryazanov to sit in on the

Congress after they had previously refused to let him do so. Comrade Pavlovich, a Bolshevik, objected saying that the small group (the organizing committee) was acting on its own against the Congress. Comrade Martov asked the committee why they had changed their views on the Borba group. The reason they gave was that possibly "it could have forgotten to nominate someone and so on". This was not the reason. The change of face was the reflection of the "political spinelessness of the unstable group on the Organizing Committee". They wished to bury the issue and were afraid of what people would say. This was Comrade Lenin's compact analysis of the significance of the Org. Committee incident: "...The issue thus came down to this: circles of a Party? Were the rights of delegates to be restricted at the Congress in the name of the imaginary rights or rules of the various bodies and circles, or were all lower bodies and old groups to be completely and not nominally but actually, disbanded in face of the Congress pending the creation of genuine Party official institutions? The reader will already see from this how profoundly important from the standpoint of principle was this dispute at the very outset (the third sitting) of this Congress whose purpose was the actual restoration of the Party. Focused in this dispute, as it were, was the conflict between the old circles and small groups (such as Yuzhny Rabochy) and the nascent Party. And the anti-Iskra groups at once revealed themselves: The Bundists Abramson, Comrade Martynov, that ardent ally of the present Iskra editorial board, and our friend Comrade Makhov all sided with Egrov and the Yuzhny Rabochy group against Pavlovich. Comrade Martynov who now vies with Martov and Axelrod in sporting "democracy" in organization, even cited the example of...the army, where an appeal to a superior authority can only be made through a lower one!! The true meaning of this "compact" anti-Iskra opposition was quite clear to everyone who was present at the Congress or who had carefully followed the internal history of our Party prior to the Congress. It was the purpose of the opposition (perhaps not always realized by all of its representatives, and sometimes pursued by force of inertia) to guard the independence, individualism and parochial interests of the small petty groups from being swallowed up in the broad Party that was being built on the Iskra principles".

B. The Dissolution of the Yuzhny Rabochy. In August of 1902 the Yuzhny Rabochy group conducted negotiations on joint work with Iskra. This resulted in a published statement of solidarity between the two groups. The 2nd Congress noted that "valuable literary and organizational work of the Yuzhny Rabochy group for the unification and re-establishment of the party" and passed a decision to cease publication and dissolve this group along with all other individual independent Social Democratic groups and organizations. The Yuzhny Rabochy group however, didn't fully subscribe and Lenin pointed out that they "verbally recognizing Iskra as the leading organ, actually pursued plans of their own and were unstable in matters of principle". One of the Comrades Popov, hinted during the debate that a compact majority predetermined the fate of the group. This means that after the Iskraists had stated their opinion and moved a resolution everything was clear. The Yuzhny Rabochy group would be dissolved against its own wishes. At this point the group spokesman drew a distinction between the Iskraists and his own supporters as representing different lines of organizational policy.

C. The Agrarian Program. The next major debate centered around

the Agrarian Program. It proved to be a preview of a mofor struggle between the Bolshevik and Menshevik lines, even though at this Congress the Economists took up the banner of the opposition. The debate centered around the question of the relationship of the proletariat to the peasantry. The Opportunists held that the major mistake of the Agrarian Program was that it pushed for an alliance of workers and peasants. This was a mistake, according to the opportunists, because the proletariat is "our only revolutionary class". They took this correct fact and twisted it to mean that none of the other classes could take a revolutionary stand. In fact they went further and stated that the peasantry was reactionary and bourgeois. This is why Lenin charged the Opportunists were Vulgar Marxists.

As if declaring the peasantry an enemy of the proletariat weren't bad enough, the opposition went on to say that the bourgeoisie was a class that "while essentially it is reactionary", it "is often revolutionary - for example, in the struggle against feudalism and its survivals". Makhov, who made thw above statement, went on to say that there were some groups that "are always (!) reactionary - such as handicraftsmen". This is turning things upside-down. What was done by the opportunists was to take known facts - the general class relationships of the proletariat, the peasantry and bourgeoisie, and make them abstract absolutes that were incorrect. The history of the Soviet Union proves the importance of the peasantry.

The debate over the Agrarian Program also clearly showed where the "Centre" stood. On this question Egorov and Makhov, two "Centrists" sided with the anti-Iskraists in opposing the Agrarian program. Needless to say, although the debate was heated at times, the amendments which the opposition attempted to bulldoze through (in an attempt to change the nature of the program) were defeated.

D. Debate over Paragraph ONE of the Rules. This debate centered between Lenin's and Martov's formulation of criteria for Party membership. Lenin's formulation was: A member of the party is one who accepts its program and supports the party both financially and by personal participation in one of the party organizations. Martov's formulation was: A member of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party is one who accepts its program, supports the Party financially, and renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organizations. This difference, between the one which says a member has to be in a party organization and the one that says a member must work under the direction of one of the party organizations is much more important than just a question of semantics.

"It is clearly evident from this juxtaposition that there is no idea in Martov's draft, but only an empty phrase. That Party members must work under the control and direction of the organs of the Party goes without saying; it cannot be otherwise, and only those talk about it who love to talk without saying anything, who love to drown "Rules" in a flood of verbiage and bureaucratic formulas (that is, formulas useless for the work and supposed to be useful for display). The idea of paragraph one appears only when the question is asked: Can the organs of the Party exercise actual direction over Party members who do not belong to any of the Party organizations?"

There is not even a trace of this idea in Comrade Martov's draft. Consequently, I would not have been acquainted with the "views" of Comrade Martov "on this subject" for in Comrade Martov's draft there are no views on this subject. Comrade Martov's statement of fact proves

to be a muddle".

It is obvious that the basis of Martov's formulation is that of the petty-bourgeois intellectual who shrinks from Party discipline. This is obvious when one remembers that throughout this period in history the Mensheviks were continually calling for a party that could be open to every striker, high school student, professor .."

Unfortunately, Martov's formulation was adopted by the Congress, by a vote of 28-22. But Lenin had this to say about the outcome of the vote: "...I by no means consider our difference (over Paragraph 1) so vital as to be a matter of life or death to the Party. We shall certainly not perish because of an unfortunate clause in the Rules' Taken by itself, this difference, although it did reveal shades of principle, could never have called forth that divergence (actually, to speak unreservedly, that split) which took place after the Congress. But every little difference may become a big one if it is insisted on, if it is put into the foreground, if people set about searching for all the roots and branches of the difference. Every little difference may assume tremendous importance if it serves as the starting-point for a swing towards definite mistaken views, and if these mistaken views are combined, by virtue of new and additional divergences, with anarchistic actions which bring the Party to the point of a split".

E. Personal Composition of the Central Committee and the Central Organ. Eventually at the Congress and afterwards, the struggle between the 2 lines of consistently revolutionary Social Democracy" and various shades of opportunism developed into the question of membership in the Central Committee, the majority or the minority (opportunists). A fierce struggle took place around the personal composition of the C.C. and the Editorial Board. The discussion, which was at first characterized as squabbling, later developed into a conflict over different political lines. Thus, shades of opportunism developed into full blossomed opportunism. Comrades like Martov, who originally sided with Lenin, ended up opposing him. Plekhanov, who in the beginning opposed opportunism, stood for "peace" between the groups, and eventually ended up in the Menshevik camp.

The fundamental idea of 'What Should Not Be Done' - a book written by Plekhanov - is that in politics one must not be too stiff-necked, too harsh and unyielding; that it is sometimes necessary, to avoid a split, to yield even to revisionsists (among those moving towards us or among the inconsistent) and to anarchistic individualists".

We must never forget that we must always take a principled stand against revisionsism, and not yield to it, or else we will wind up in the "marsh" just as Comrades like Plekhanov and various Centrists, both in Russia and throughout the world, have done.

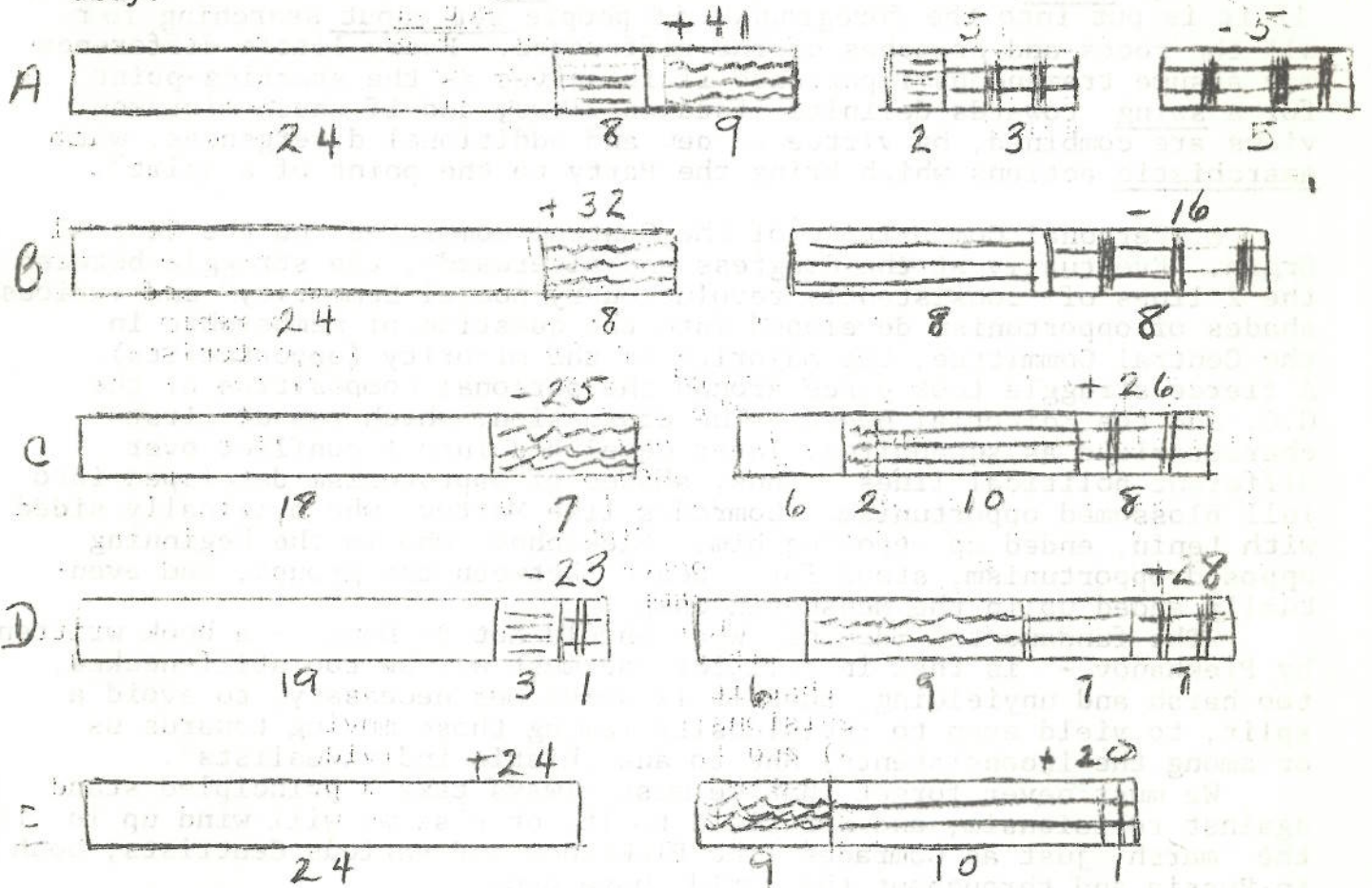
Analysis of the Voting ----- See last page

Summary

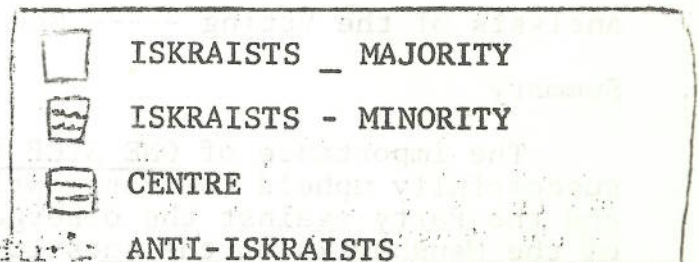
The importance of ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK, IS that it successfully upheld the Party principles against the Circle principles and the Party against the disorganizers; it smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on the question of organization and laid the organi-

zational foundations of the Bolshevik Party. Its historical significance lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of Marxism, Lenin elaborated the "doctrine of the Party" as the leading organization of the proletariat, as the principle weapon of the proletariat, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won.

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labor for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit rule of Russian tsardom, not the senile rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army."



Type A - This was when the "centre" joined with Iskraists against the anti-Iskraists, or a part of them. This occurred in the vote on the program. The Centrists voted when a section of the anti-Iskraists were with the Iskraists, or when it was a question of a sort of statement which was not in itself a direct committal to a definite political position - such as the



recognition of Iskra's organizing work was not in itself a committal to carry out its organizational policy.

Type B - This was when the consistent and inconsistent Iskraists voted against the anti-Iskraists and the "Centre". The Organizing Committee incident is an example of this kind of voting.

Types C,D,E, - This was when a small section of the Iskraists broke away and joined with the anti-Iskraists, and thus created a majority as long as they remained in the Congress, such as the vote on Paragraph 1 of the rules.

LENINISM NINTH CLASS QUESTIONS FOR ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

1. What is the relationship between the Party and the whole working class?
2. What are Party organizations? What is the significance of Party members being required to belong to a Party organization?
3. What are the consequences if they are not required to belong even though they support the Party in other ways? Describe how the Party is both an organization and a sum of organizations
4. How does the Party guide all of the other organizations of the working class?
5. How does the dialectical principle of subordinating the minority to the majority and the part to the whole apply to Party organizations? How does the Party preserve unity in its ranks?
6. What is the difference between bureaucracy and centralism?
7. What is the difference between democracy as one of the aspects of democratic centralism and the right error of ultra democracy?
8. In One Step Forward, Two Steps Back it is shown that once the "Centrists" united with the Right on one issue, they tended more and more to unite with them on all issues, until they had abandoned the Left position entirely. Discuss this tendency in light of present work. What are some features common to the Contrists of Lenin's day and the present day?
9. What is Vulgar Marxism? Give current examples.

SUGGESTED READING: HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 2 section 4

LENINISM CLASS NINE - TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY - LENIN

CLASS I

READING: Two Tactics of Social Democracy, Lenin, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965 p. 1-58 Chapters 1-6
History of the CPSU(B) 1939 p. 62-77 Section 3 of Chapter 3
On New Democracy - Mao Tsetung, FLP, Peking 1967 Sections 3-9

Optional: Lecture on the 1905 Revolution Lenin

QUESTIONS

1. Apply the lessons of Two Tactics to the national liberation movements of today (e.g. Negro People's Liberation Movement, the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people's against USNA Imperialism).
2. What are the similarities and what are the differences between China in 1940 and Russia in 1905?

3. Why did Lenin say that the character of the 1905 Revolution in Russia was bourgeois-democratic? What determines the class character of a revolution? Can there be a bourgeois-democratic revolution today?
4. What is the relationship of tactics and program? Use the Bolshevik position Lenin outlines as an example.
5. What is the relation of 'Tactics-as-a-process', syndicalism, and economism?
6. Should the Communist Party participate in a bourgeois government? If so, under what conditions? Discuss in relation to the CPUSA's 'anti-monopoly' coalition program, and to the United Front Anti-Fascist government in Spain (1936-1939 during the Spanish Civil War). Also apply to the conditions in the USNA and our building of a United Front Against Fascism from below.

CLASS II

READING: Two Tactics of Social Democracy - p 59-158 Chapter 7 thru Section 3 of the Postscript.
History of the CPSU(B) p. 62-77 - Section 3 of Chapter 3

QUESTIONS

1. Why was Two Tactics the political preparation of the Bolshevik Party?
2. Discuss the link-up of syndicalism and revisionism in the Menshevik position?
3. What has changed in the tactics of the proletarian revolution since 1905? What has remained the same? Why?
4. Who are the allies of the USNA proletarian revolution? Discuss how both the Mensheviks and the CPUSA say that the liberal bourgeoisie is the main ally of the proletariat?
5. What is the correct position on the question of stages in the proletarian revolution? The opportunist and the left-opportunist positions?
6. Who was the first to raise the slogan of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary classes? What does this mean?

Suggested Reading: Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League - 1850 p. 154 - Karl Marx Selected Works Vol. II - N.Y. Int'l Pub

LENINISM CLASS TEN - DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM - STALIN

1. What are the four principle features of the Marxist Dialectical Method?
2. Why does the dialectical method focus on that which is arising and developing as opposed to that which seems durable and permanent? Why is the proletariat invincible and not the bourgeoisie?
3. What does dialectics say about internal contradictions?
4. Why is the application of the dialectical method to a study of social life and the history of society important to a proletarian party. Illustrate with theoretical examples.
5. How does Marx's philosophical materialism differ from idealism? What are the basic tenets of Marx's philosophical materialism?
6. What according to philosophical materialism is social life? What are the implications for practical political activity?

7. What is the source of social ideas, institutions and political ideas? What are some practical implications of this (tracing the class course of ideas)?
8. How do the developing productive forces shape the relations of production? How did these forces of production change slave relations of production to feudal relations of production? Feudal relations to capitalistic relations?
9. How can the party of the proletariat influence and accelerate the developing material life of society?
10. Explain Marx's formulation of the essence of historical materialism in his Critique of Political Economy. Explain the quotation "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".

LENINISM CLASS ELEVEN - MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM - Lenin

READ: History of the CPSU(B) p. 101-105, for historical background and summary of the book

Study the following quotations. On materialism and idealism:

"In his work, Ludwig Feuerbach, Engels divides philosophers into two great camps - materialists and idealists. Engels sees this fundamental distinction between them: that while to the materialists nature is primary, and spirit secondary, to the idealists, the reverse is the case. Between these two schools of thought Engels places the adherents of Hume and Kant who deny the possibility of knowing the world, or at least of fully knowing it, and calls them agnostics." p. 14

"The basic distinction between the materialist and the idealist is that the materialist takes sensation, perception, and, in general, human consciousness as the copy of objective reality. The world is the movement of this objective reality reflected in our consciousness. To the movement of ideas, perceptions, etc., corresponds the movement of matter outside of us. The notion of matter expresses nothing but objective reality which is given us in sensation... To separate thought from objective reality, to separate sensation from the external world .. is the same as joining the idealist camp." p. 226

"Principles are not the starting points of investigation but the conclusions of it; they are not to be applied to nature and history but are derived from them. Nature and humanity are not steered by principles, but principles are, on the other hand, only correct insofar as they correspond to nature and history. That is just the materialistic conception of matter, and the opposite is the idealistic conception. p.22

"All knowledge is derived from experience, from sensations, from perception; this is true. But the question remains, Is the source of perception objective reality? If you answer yes, then you are a materialist. If not then you inevitably come to subjectivism, or agnosticism, irrespective of whether you deny the knowledge of the thing-in-itself, or the objectivity of time, space, causality (Kant), or whether you reject

the very idea of the thing-in-itself (Hume). The inconsistency of your empiricism, of your philosophy of experience, will lie in the fact that you are denying the objective content of experience, the objective truth of empirical knowledge. p. 100

"The really important epistemological (how-do-we-know-things) question which divides the philosophic schools is not concerning the degree of our exactness of our description of causal connections... but whether the source of our cognition of these connections is natural objective law, or the properties of our own human reason...from the agnostics." p. 129

On idealism:

"For every scientist, who is not led astray by professorial philosophy, as well as for every materialist, sensation is nothing but a direct connection of the mind with the external world; it is the transformation of energy of external excitation into a mental state. This transformation has been observed by each of us a million times. The sophistry of idealist philosophy consists in that it takes sensation not as a connection of the mind with the outer world but as a screen, as a wall which separates the mind from the outer world; in that it is taken not as an image corresponding to the perception of the external phenomenon but as the "only entity". p.31

"Let us regard the external world, or nature as "a combination of sensations" which is caused in our mind by the divinity. Admit this and give up searching for the "ground" of these sensations outside of the mind and man, and I will recognize within the framework of the idealist theory of knowledge all of natural science, the application and certainty of its inferences...Such is Berkeley's idea. It correctly expresses the essence and social significance of idealist philosophy." p. 12

"The agnostic (the follower of Hume) does not go beyond his sensations and asserts that he cannot know anything about their source, their origin, etc...And how does Engels refute their arguments? - Now, this line of reasoning seems undoubtedly hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation there was action. And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it. From the moment we turn objects to our own use, according to the qualities we perceive in them, we put to an infallible test the correctness or otherwise of our sense impressions. If these perceptions have been wrong then our estimate of the use to which an object can be turned must also be wrong, and our attempt must fail. But if we succeed in accomplishing our aim, if we find that the object does agree with our idea of it, and does answer the purpose we intended it for, then that is positive proof that our perceptions of it and of its qualities, so far, agree with reality outside ourselves." p. 81

"A philosophy which teaches that physical nature is derivative (secondary; coming from combinations of thoughts) is a clerical (religious) philosophy pure and simple. If nature is a derivative then it is self-evident that it can be derived only from something that already exists, for in order for nature to be derived from it, it has to exist apart

from it. In plain language this is what is meant by God. The idealists continually try to substitute a different name, to make it appear more abstract, more nebulous, and at the same time, to make it appear more plausible (eg. Universal Will, Absolute Idea etc)... Everybody knows that idea, spirit, will, and the psychical, in general, are the function of a normally operating human brain... To separate this function from a specific structure, organized in a certain way, to convert this function into a universal, general abstraction, to substitute this abstraction for the whole of physical nature - is the delusion of an idealism which secretly scorns science." p. 192-193

"But the substance of idealism can be reduced to this: the mental is taken as the starting-point; from it external nature is inferred or constructed; and in short order the individual consciousness is deduced from nature. This primal mental is always in the last analysis a lifeless abstraction which conceals a diluted theology." p. 190

"It should be noted that an eclectic combination of Kant and Hume, or Hume and Berkeley, is possible, so to speak, in various proportions... emphasis now upon one element in the mixture, and now upon another. p. 172

On Materialism:

"What are the three epistemological (how-do-we-know) inferences which follow from Engels' refutation of the Kantian thing-in-itself?

"(1) Things exist independently of our consciousness, independently of our sensations...

"(2) There is absolutely no difference between the phenomenon (the thing as observed) and the thing-in-itself, and there can be none. The difference is only between what is already known and what is not yet known. And the philosophic fiction which holds that clear-cut distinction can be drawn between one and the other - that the thing-in-itself is on the other side" of the phenomenon (Kant), is...nonsense, together with the notion that we must cut ourselves by a philosophic partition from reality (Hume).

"(3) In the theory of knowledge, as in other branches of science, we must think dialectically, that is, we must not regard our knowledge as ready-made and unchangeable, but must determine how from ignorance knowledge is gradually built up, and how incomplete, inexact knowledge becomes more complete and exact." p. 77

"The destructability of the atom, its inexhaustibility, the mutability of all the forms of matter and the variability of its motion, have been the stronghold of dialectical materialism. All boundaries in nature are arbitrary, movable, and express the gradual approximation of our reason towards the knowledge of matter. But this does not at all prove that that nature itself, is a symbol, - a product of our reason." p. 240

"Materialism generally recognizes the objectively real being (matter) as existing independently of mind, sensation, experience; etc. Historical materialism recognizes social being as existing independently of the social consciousness of humanity. Consciousness here and there is only an image of being, at best an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) image of it. You cannot eliminate even one basic assumption one substantial part of this philosophy of Marxism (it is as if

it were a solid block of steel) without abandoning objective truth, without falling into the arms of the bourgeois-reactionary falsehood. p. 281

"On the class origins and social effects of philosophy:

"Modern fideism (faith-ism, religion) does not reject science. - Oh no! It only rejects the "exaggerated claims" of science, especially its claim to objective truth. If objective truth exists...then every kind of fideism is absolutely false. But if there is no objective truth, if truth (including scientific truth) is only the organized form of human experience (as the idealists including the Machists claim), then a way is left open for the fundamental postulate of clericalism." p. 98

"On the other hand, for the materialists the world is richer, livelier, more varied...for with each scientific step taken in advance, new parts of it are discovered. To the materialist, sensations are images of the ultimate and only objective reality, ultimate not in the sense that it is already explored to the end, but in that there is not and cannot be any other besides it. This viewpoint irrevocably closes the door, not only to fideism, but also to professorial scholasticism." p. 101

"Modern cultural fideism has no desire to regard the conceptions of natural science as anything more than working hypotheses." We shall concede science to you naturalists, provided you surrender epistemology and philosophy to us - such are the terms of concubinage under which the theologians and professors in the advanced capitalist countries live." p. 239

"But what is highly characteristic is how these drowning faiths clutch at a straw, and with what cunning the representatives of the educated bourgeoisie artificially attempt to sustain and find a place for fideism whose hold on the lower strata of the masses is due to ignorance, backwardness, and to the absurd and wild contradictions of capitalist society." p. 265

"For the professors, philosophy is not a science, but a safeguard against social democracy." p. 295

"Taken as a whole, the professors of economics are nothing but scientific salesmen of theology." p. 297

On the genius of Marx and Engels:

"The genius of Marx and Engels expressed itself in that they despised the pseudo-erudite play upon new words, wise terms, and cunning "isms". They simply and explicitly said that there was a materialist and idealist division in philosophy, and between them there are various shades of agnosticism. The desire to find a "new" theory of value, or a "new" theory of rent." p. 117

"The genius of Marx and Engels lay in the fact, that during a long period, for nearly half a century, they developed materialism... They did not lose time in repeating epistemological problems already solved, but consistently developed them, and showed how to carry materialism into the social sciences." p. 291

(All page numbers refer to the 1927 International Publishers edition of Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, V. 13 of the Collected Works of Lenin)

3. Notes for discussion:

In Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Lenin attacks and completely annihilates what then was the "latest" attempt to refute or "improve" materialism, an attempt which not only masqueraded as being scientific, but even, in some cases, Marxist. It was not the first, nor the last, attempt, for we know that the consistent development of science leads to dialectical materialism, and that dialectical materialism is poison to the bourgeoisie. But at the same time that the bourgeoisie must ward off this 'poison', it needs science to help it make more money, build new weapons of war, etc. At the same time as it needs science - and especially the science necessary to destroy feudalism - the bourgeoisie understands that in order to maintain its rule, it must be able to hide away or justify its crimes. And for this it relies on religion, astrology, 'race' theories, the mystification and deification of the state, the fetishism of commodities pushed as economic science, and idealism in philosophy. If the bourgeoisie does not 'dose' and distort its science it becomes our science, the proletariat's science, since it becomes dialectical materialism. How to keep science from becoming dialectical materialism - this is the main problem of bourgeois philosophy - a problem which, of course, is unsolvable, since the proletariat is the rising, and the bourgeoisie the dying, class in the world today.

The bourgeoisie's first attack on science was formulated in 1710 by George Berkeley (later made a bishop for his efforts), and as we shall see hasn't changed much since Berkeley, in his A Treatise, Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge, Wherein the Chief Causes of Errors and Difficulty in the Sciences, with the Grounds of Scepticism, Atheism and Irreligion, are inquired into, (Berkeley's clarity is what makes classical philosophers classic) - took certain errors and vaguenesses of Locke and developed them into a full-blown system. Berkeley says that our only knowledge is of thoughts, ideas; that these thoughts cannot exist without a mind to think them, that matter is a meaningless term since what we call objects are really combinations of sensations or ideas that are in our minds, and that therefore, to believe in the reality of the objective world is to hold, in his terms, a most abstract and incomprehensible idea. These ideas, however, are real things, consistent and orderly - and it is their

sequence and connection that science studies. Berkeley says that all he takes away is the concept of matter or objective reality (ie. having existence independent of our thoughts about them). He does so because matter is 'the cornerstone of Atheism'. He then goes on to say that it is God who is the source of all our ideas. Lenin sums up the implications of what Berkeley says in the second quote cited in the section on Idealism.

But this attempt of the bourgeoisie to disown their child - and former weapon against feudalism - materialism, was too raw and open to last for long against the steady development of science. Hume refines Berkeley, Berkeley, saying that we cannot know anything beyond our ideas, whether God or Matter; that the mind is only a collection of sensations, and that there is nothing we can know besides the sensation we feel at the present moment. The logical end of Humianism is called 'solipsism', which reduces the world to the thoughts of one person, other people etc being only ideas or illusions created by the one person, and which denies cause and effect, saying that ideas are only associated with each other more or less closely, but do not cause each other (the idea of one billiard ball hitting the idea of another billiard ball does not 'cause' it to move). Solipsism also denies space and time, only the present sensation existing. Engels points out that this absurdity is refuted not primarily by argument but by social practice (third quote in section on Idealism) A system based on the premise that knowledge is arrived at by a solitary, passive thinker contemplating in his study, cannot arrive at the real world.

Hume was too raw for the bourgeoisie, too obviously absurd in the face of scientific knowledge, and even of plain everyday life. So along came Kant and built up an eclectic mish-mash of Hume, Berkeley, and materialism. This mish-mash represents the end of the development of bourgeois philosophy to date, other later "systems" being merely endless repetitions of Berkeley, Hume, Kant and materialism in various combinations. Lenin proves this is true of the of the latest philosophy in 1908 and it is still true today. The bourgeoisie cannot develop a consistent idealism, such as Hegelian dialectical idealism, and get by with it - for dialectical materialism, merely by 'standing Hegelianism on its head' springs directly from it. Similarly, they cannot do away with materialism science and scientific knowledge, although they must do away with its implications. This is their predicament. The basic way they try to solve it is by admitting the correctness and usefulness of science but denying its objective reality. Today this is called 'logical positivism'; yesterday it was 'agnosticism', 'pragmatism', 'subjective idealism' etc. etc. As Lenin says, these are all disagreements among people 'one of whom believes in a yellow devil, the other in a green one'. Their systems are all reactionary, backward attempts of the bourgeoisie to prop up their rule. The revisionists are the leading agents of the

bourgeoisie in pushing their line. We must uphold 'the solid block of steel' that is dialectical materialism - a weapon which annihilates the nonsense of the bourgeoisie that is 'not a science, but a defense against communism'.

Appendices

ONE Lenin's Notes on Hegel's Logic Elements of Dialectics:

1. The objectivity of consideration (not examples, not divergences, but the thing-in-itself).
2. The entire totality of the manifold relations of this thing to others.
3. The development of this thing (phenomenon, respectively) its own movement, its own life.
4. The internally contradictory tendencies (and sides) of this thing.
5. The thing (phenomenon etc) as the sum and unity of opposites.
6. The struggle, respectively unfolding of these opposites, contradictory strivings, etc.
7. The union of analysis and synthesis, the break down of the separate parts and the totality, the summation of these parts.
8. The relations of each thing (phenomenon etc.) are not only manifold but general, universal. Each thing (phenomenon, process etc) is connected to every other.
9. Not only the unity of opposites, but the transitions of every determination, quality, feature, side, property, into every other.
10. The endless process of the discovery of new sides, relations etc.
11. The endless process of the deepening of man's knowledge of the something, of phenomena, processes, etc., from appearance to essence, and from less profound to more profound essence.
12. From coexistence to causality and from one form of connection and reciprocal dependence to another, deeper, more general form.
13. The repetition at a higher stage of certain features, properties, etc. of the lower, and
14. The apparent return to the old (negation of the negation).
15. The struggle of content with form and conversely. The throwing off of the form, the transformation of the content.
16. The transition of quantity to quality and vice versa (13 and 16 are examples of 9)

In brief dialectics can be described as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it requires explanations and development.

The division of the one and the knowledge of its contradictory parts is the essence (one of the 'essential' aspects of being, its fundamental, if not the fundamental characteristic) of dialectics.

The unity (the coincidence, identity, resultant force of opposites) is conditional, temporary, transitory, and relative, the struggle of the mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, as movement and evolution are.

TWO

Marx's Theses on Feuerbach (excerpts)

1. The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism - that of Feuerbach included - is that the object, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or contemplation but not as human sensuous activity, practice...
2. The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question. In practice man must prove the truth, i.e. the reality and power, the 'this-sided-ness' of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question.
6. Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the human. But the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble (sum) of the social relations. Feuerbach, who does not attempt the criticism of this real essence, is consequently compelled:
 1. To abstract from the historical process and to fix the religious sentiment as something for itself and to presuppose an abstract - isolated - human individual....
 2. Social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which mislead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.
11. The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe and discuss the following from the point of view of the class struggle: materialism and idealism, mechanical materialism and dialectical materialism, agnosticism.
2. Why does the bourgeoisie have to deny the objective reality of scientific knowledge? On the other hand, why can't it discard science altogether?
3. How are idealism and agnosticism refuted by dialectical materialism?
4. Compare solipsism in philosophy to 'free-enterprise' individualism in economics - the starting points of bourgeois philosophy and bourgeois economics.

LENINISM CLASS TWELVE - ON PRACTICE - MAO TSETUNG

1. Describe the two stages in the process of development of knowledge. How do they differ from each other? How do the different forms of knowledge become linked up? (Give an example of the process) Describe the process in the development of the consciousness of the proletariat.
2. Why is it incorrect when revisionists say that Marxism doesn't apply today in the stage of world-wide imperialism?
3. What is the difference between the dogmatist, empiricist, rationalist school and the Marxist view on practice and knowledge? Give current examples.
4. What is the materialism of the theory of knowledge and the dialectics of the theory of knowledge?
5. Why is dialectical materialism universally true? Is the movement of knowledge ever completed?
6. How does incorrectly applying dialectics lead to right opportunism or left phrase-mongering?

LENINISM CLASS THIRTEEN - ON CONTRADICTION - MAO TSETUNG

Chapter 1

1. What are the two world outlooks? What are the most basic features of each as outlined in the first chapter of On Contradiction?
2. Give an original example of "...external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change and...external causes become operative through internal causes."

Chapter 2

1. Explain "It is precisely in the particularity of contradiction that the universality of contradiction resides." Give an original example. What is the universality and the particularity of contradiction?

Chapter 3

1. What is the difference between the principle contradiction and the principle aspect of a contradiction? How are they related?
2. What are the specific component parts of "understanding each aspect of a contradiction?"
3. What is the fundamental contradiction? What is the difference between it and the principle contradiction? How can the fundamental contradiction remain the same through different stages while the principle contradiction changes? What are concrete examples of this?
4. Explain "All individual character exists conditionally and temporarily and hence is relative".
5. How do we determine which of the contradictions in a given process is the principle contradiction?

3. What is the rule about the development of contradictory aspects of a contradiction? What conclusion can we draw from this about whether we should treat the two aspects of a contradiction as equal?

Chapter 5

1. What is the twofold meaning of identity as defined in On Contradiction?

(Separate class on Antagonism and Contradiction)

LENINISM - CLASS FOURTEEN - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 5

1. What were the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of the LENA strike? Compare this to the Party's tactics as opposed to the CPUSA' in the labor movement?
2. Pravda played an exceptionally important role in the period of 1912-14. Who did Pravda aim to reach? How did Pravda reach the workers? How did it help the Bolshevik Party? What lessons, long and short range can we draw from Pravdas work in relation to our publication of the national press?
3. Why did the Bolsheviks participate in the Dumas of this period (1912-14)? What were their tactics? Compare the Menshevik tactics then and the CPUSA election tactics now? (The lesser of two evils)
4. How did Pravda aid in building both legal forms of agitation and illegal revolutionary activities? Why is it necessary for the Party to prepare for legal and illegal work? How can the Party carry out the principles of the Bolsheviks in its legal and illegal work?
5. In the last chapter we discussed how two opportunist trends - the Liquidators (anti-illegal work) and the Otzovists (anti-legal work) joined forces to oppose the Bolsheviks. What happened to the August Bloc? Why?

LENINISM CLASS FIFTEEN - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 6

1. Describe the imperialist nature of World War I. How did the bourgeoisie deceive the proletariat about the war and what arguments do the bourgeoisie use today to deceive the proletariat about the Viet Nam War, War in the Middle East, and pending World War III? What was Russia's relationship to the other imperialist countries and why was she forced to enter the war?
2. During the period of W.W. I what role did the opportunistic parties of the 2nd International play in relation to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? How did the Bolshevik Party prove its true proletarian internationalism during this war?

3. What are some differences between the imperialist nature of World War I and the imperialist war in the S. E. Asia? What effects do these differences have on the role of the proletariat then and now?
4. What caused the downfall of the 2nd International and how does the conciliatory policy towards opportunism turn into social chauvinism? How did the centrists under the leadership of Trotsky and Kautsky become social chauvinists themselves?
5. What tactics did the Imperialist bourgeoisie use to get sections of of the working class to support them? Discuss this in relation to the tactics used by the bourgeoisie today?
6. What basic reasons did Lenin put forward to show that Socialism is possible in one country? How does this theory aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat?
7. Why was the March 1917 Revolution a "bourgeois-democratic" revolution? What did the different classes want the revolution carried to its conclusion - Why did the proletariat want the revolution carried to its conclusion? What did the peasantry want from the revolution? Why was the Revolution in March of 1917 successful and not in 1905 - what lessons were learned?

Additional Reading: Problems of Leninism - Chapter 4

LENINISM CLASS - IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM - V.I. Lenin

Class 1 - Chapters 1-5

Chapter 1

1. What effect did the development of monopolies have on capitalism. How does this lay the basis for Socialism?
2. What is the relationship between the process of monopolization and crisis?

Chapter 2

1. What is the new role of the banks under imperialism? How is it different from the way they operated before?

Chapter 3

1. What is finance capital - how does it develop?
2. Describe some of the different techniques used to centralize control over industry, and give some current examples.
3. During periods of depression, how and why are the petite-bourgeoisie put out of business. Give current examples.

Chapter 4

1. Why is uneven development and a semi-starvation level of nations inevitable under the conditions of capitalism? How are these conditions effected by the export of capital? Use Brazil as a current day example.
2. Lenin talks about the ways capital is exported. Give examples showing how the U.S. imperialists export capital.

Chapter 5

1. Describe the dialectic of struggle and unity among the different imperialist groups. Give present day examples.
2. Why is it absurd to argue (as the revisionists do with their theory of ultra-imperialism) that the imperialist powers can reach an agreement and avoid war.?

Class 2 - Chapters 6-10

Chapter 6

1. What is the difference between the colonial policy of pre-monopoly capitalism and that of finance capital?
2. How does the total division of the world among the imperialist countries effect the contradiction between the imperialist countries? - between the imperialist countries and the colonial nations?
3. Why is the struggle for raw materials and colonies so much more intense amongst the imperialist today?

Chapter 7

1. How is the development of imperialism a dialectical process?
2. How does Kautsky's incorrect definition of imperialism lead to bourgeois reformism? Relate to the revisionist line on imperialism today?

Chapter 8

1. Why is there a tendency to stagnation under imperialism - or for example what are the real reasons GM says it would be impossible to have a smog free engine by 1975?
2. Explain how the economic basis of imperialism is responsible for parasitism?
3. How does imperialism give strength to opportunism to create division among the masses?

Chapter 9

1. Explain how bourgeois scholars defended imperialism in Lenin's time/ How is imperialism defended today by the bourgeoisie?

Chapter 10

1. Discuss each of the four principal forms of monopoly as they are manifested today. Give examples.
2. What are some ways that monopoly capital has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism?
3. Why is the fight between imperialism and revisionism inseparable?

LENINISM CLASS SEVENTEEN - WAR AND PEACE - Lenin

Article I Socialism and War

Chapter 1

1. What is the difference in attitudes between Marxist-Leninists and social chauvinists and social pacifists toward war and peace? What kind of war do we support? Discuss this in relation to the peace movement today.

Chapter 2

1. In Russia why was it only the working class that wasn't affected by social chauvinism?

2. How did imperialism change the nature of opportunism? How is this manifested today?

Chapter 3&4

1. What were the three trends of the socialist movement that were shown up distinctly in Germany during WWI? Discuss the trends in the Communist Movement today.
2. How did the Bolsheviks correctly appraise the policy of the Liquidators? Can we see this same opportunist movement in the U.S.N.A. today. If so, in what way?
3. What are the main lessons the RSDLP learned from their experience in WWI?

Article II The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution

1. What did Engels mean when he said that Socialism must wage 'defensive wars'? Why is it important today?
2. How and why does imperialism foster militarism? What is militarism?
3. How is the question of disarmament used by the bourgeoisie to deceive the proletariat?

Article III Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism

1. How do the CPUSA and other opportunists aid the imperialists by pushing pacifism and reformism?

LENINISM CLASSEIGHTEEN - STATE AND REVOLUTION - LENIN

1. How do the opportunists distort the Marxist definition of the state? (Kautsky then and the CPUSA now)
2. What is the public power (force) that Engels refers to in his definition in Section one, chapter one? What importance does it play under imperialism?
3. How does the proletariat use the state under Socialism?
4. Why can the overthrow of bourgeois rule be accomplished only with the proletariat as the vanguard?
5. In what way was the Paris Commune unique in the history of proletarian struggle?
6. What were the main reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune? Why is the smashing and destruction of the bureaucratic military state machine the preliminary condition for the working class revolution?
7. How do Marx and Engels refute the anarchists position on the state?
8. What's the difference between the Marxist-Leninist line and the opportunist line on the withering away of the state?
9. What is the relationship of bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship?
10. Why will full proletarian democracy finally lead to the abolition of democracy?
11. How does evasiveness on the question of the state lead to opportunism? Relate this to the CPUSA.

LENINISM CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) - Chapter 7

Suggested Readings prior to reading Chapter 7 :

1. The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution - Lenin, V. 6 Selected Works
2. Will the Bolsheviki Retain State Power - Lenin, V. 6 S.W.
3. On the Eve of the October Revolution
4. Road to Power - Stalin

Comrades may assign a comrade to read and prepare a report on each book, and then do the reading and answer the questions for Chapter 7 of HCPSU(B).

Chapter 7

1. Why was the PRG incapable of satisfying the needs and demands of the people? Why can't the bourgeoisie and the proletariat share state power (dual power)?
2. What were the main points of Lenin's April Theses?
3. What was the position of the April Conference on the Agrarian and National Question? Discuss the slogan, land, bread and Peace.
4. Why did the Bolsheviki oppose armed action in July? What was meant by "the period of peaceful development of the revolution"? What brought this period to an end?
5. What took place at the 6th Party Congress?
6. What influence did the Kornilov fiasco have on the revolutionary movement?
7. How was the decision to call for the uprising reached? Why was the October Revolution carried out so easily?
8. Discuss the Brest Litovsk Treaty and the struggle around it?
9. Explain the Leninist conception that insurrection is an art and how it was applied in Russia?
10. What were the main problems the Bolsheviki faced as the Party of the ruling class?
11. Describe the role played by the various opportunists during this whole period, April 1917 - July 1918 in specifics.

LENINISM CLASS - TWENTY - THE PARIS COMMUNE

In The State and Revolution, Lenin explained that "Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of the political struggle that the state was bound to disappear and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to non-state) would be the proletariat organized as the ruling class. But Marx did not set out to discover the political forms of this future stage. He limited himself to precisely observing French history, to analyzing it, analyzing it, and to drawing the conclusion to which the year 1851 had led, that matters were moving towards the smashing of the bourgeois

state machine." It was on the basis of the experience of the Paris Commune, the first actual dictatorship of the proletariat, that Marx and Engels were able to sum up and give insight into the 'political forms of the future stage.' Although the Commune was shortlived, its lessons are eternal and are of much value to us. But before we discuss the Commune itself and its lessons and significance, we will give a brief run down on the history of France from 1789 until the founding of the Commune in 1871, so that it may be viewed in a historical perspective.

In 1789, a bourgeois democratic revolution broke out in France which overthrew the reign of Louis XVI. Soon thereafter, the First Republic was proclaimed and from that point on, the bourgeoisie slowly but surely began establishing their rule. In 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte, who rose to prominence shortly after the first revolution, ended the Republic and proclaimed himself emperor and set up the First Empire. During his rule he attempted to extend his empire across Europe, but this campaign ended in defeat. Of particular importance is the July Revolution of 1830. The secret of this revolution is characterized by the words of a prominent banker of the time; "From now on the bankers will rule." What was set up was a bourgeois monarchy. Supposedly ruled by Louis Philippe, the head of the Orleans Dynasty (a royal family), the power was actually in the hands of a section of the bourgeoisie, the 'finance aristocracy'. They were the bankers, stock exchange kings, owners of coal and iron mines and forests, railway kings, and a part of the landed proprietors associated with them. It was they who sat on the throne and dictated the laws and distributed the public offices, but all under the cover of the monarchy.

As the country fell into one economic crisis after another, such as the potato blight and crop failures of 1845-46, and the commercial and industrial crises in England (1847), whose after-shocks were felt all over Europe; the autocracy became unbearable. Slowly but surely there developed discontent and the mood for revolt amongst the industrial bourgeoisie (who was suffering at the hands of the finance aristocracy, the petty bourgeoisie (including the peasants) and the workers.

Finally, in February 1848, an end was put to the rule of the July Monarchy; its fate had been decided at the barricades. The classes which had formed the opposition under the autocracy were not thrown into the air of political power. The Second Republic was established; a Provisional Government was set up as a compromise between the different classes, mainly because of the pressure of the working class. Although the February revolution had been made by the proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie the power was basically in the hands of the latter. The French working class was not yet developed enough to wrest power from them and to accomplish its own revolution. In fact, at this

point, they did not see their interests as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie. They were easily taken in by the bourgeoisie's slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" which completely covered up any class antagonisms.

Thinking that they could fulfill their own interests side by side with those of the bourgeoisie, the workers began to be a burden on the republican bourgeoisie. As the economic crises (which existed since the July monarchy) in the country deepened and the workers were forced to pay for it, they were a constant threat to the bourgeoisie. Even more so because they were armed... It got to the point where they had to be "dealt with once and for all." In June 1848, the workers were forced into an insurrection by the bourgeoisie and objectively were doomed to defeat. The bourgeoisie organized the lumpen proletariat into the Mobile Guard to put down the working class. At this point, the proletariat of Paris were no longer a threat; the republican bourgeoisie were now able to consolidate their rule.

Since the bourgeoisie no longer needed the petty bourgeoisie in their attack on the working class, they were dealt the next blow. They were refused credit, and one tax after another was piled on their backs. There emerged from this very profound anti-republican feelings. At this point the republican bourgeoisie made a serious mistake on their part. Feeling that they were in a very strong position they drew up a constitution which proposed universal suffrage by which the president would be elected. But they were in for a surprise. The peasantry had their own ideas. They wanted somebody up there who would work in their interests, and Louis Bonaparte (Napoleonic Bonaparte's nephew) was their man. On December 10, he won the election with an overwhelming majority.

Bonaparte became President basically by riding on his uncle's reputation amongst the peasantry, who as Marx said, "was the only man who had exhaustively represented the interests and the imagination of the peasant class." He alluded to the interests of the small landowning peasants, who gave him support. He played upon their discontent to get into office by promising these promises which Bonaparte had no intention of fulfilling. Bonaparte had his real base in the lumpen proletariat (thugs, money lenders, thieves, etc.) His program was to build a private army of lumpens (called the Society of December 10) and try to bribe the regular army into accepting his policies (which he fully accomplished on May 31, 1850) so that he could set up his own empire. In order for him to do this he had to struggle against and eliminate his opponents. Bonaparte had to destroy: 1) the republican bourgeoisie who desired the fullest participation within bourgeois rule, 2) the petty bourgeois democrats, and 3) the Legitimist and Orleanists (two royal houses that desired their own monarchy); all this in order to gain control of the army from the Provisional Government and to insure his monarchy. He seized upon the weaknesses of all the political forces and caused them to fight among themselves for

his own political benefit. And when it was needed, he used his private army to destroy them.

What allowed Bonaparte to crown his moves was the economic crises of 1851, in which political and economic chaos was rampant. His slogan, "rather an end to terror than terror without end" convinced the bourgeoisie that he was the way of stabilizing the political situation which they believed caused the economic crises. So on December 2, 1851, the Second Empire was established with Louis Bonaparte as emperor.

For the next 19 years, Bonaparte, who usurped his power by exploiting the war of classes, ruled France, and in this time he embarked on one expansionist campaign after another. On July 19, 1870, he let loose what was to be his final campaign; war with Prussia. In his attempts, Bonaparte failed to get workers to support his chauvinist act. All he could manage were a few demonstration by the Society of December 10. On September 1-2, 1870, a decisive battle was fought in the vicinity of Sedan, a town in northeastern France, in which the Germans won a great victory. The French were beaten very badly with more than 80,000 French soldiers and officers taken prisoner, including Bonaparte who was held for two weeks. Because Bonaparte proved unable to defend what was left of France, mainly Paris, from the advancing Germans. On September 4, 1870, they succeeded in taking power and proclaimed France a republic. The republic, actually a "government of National Defense", was a unity of opposite forces. The Orleanists controlled the army and the police and the bourgeois republicans ran the talking departments. The proletariat, mostly of Paris, was almost unanimously enrolled into the National Guard and was armed.

The efforts of the new government to stop the Germans were in vain. On January 28, 1871, Paris finally fell, but as Marx described, "with honors unprecedented in the history of war. The forts were surrendered, the city wall stripped of its guns, the weapons of the regiments of the line and of the Mobile Guard were handed over, and they themselves considered prisoners of war. But the National Guard kept its weapons and guns, and only entered into a truce with the victors... who were themselves encircled by the armed workers of Paris..."

With their surrender to the Germans, the government of National Defense lost all legitimacy, and itself realized that "armed Paris meant revolution." On March 18, Thiers, the brutal dwarf who led the bourgeois government, tried to disarm the proletariat by seizing the artillery of the National Guard. The attack which began at 3 o'clock in the morning went well, until the workers of Paris began to wake up. The workers rose up and defeated Thiers whose government had to retreat to Versailles, a suburb of Paris. For the first time in history the proletariat had defeated the bourgeoisie and began to establish their own government; a workers' government.

The Central Committee of the National Guard ruled Paris until the Commune could be elected on March 26. Engels said that, "From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognize that the working class, once come to power, would not go on on managing with the old state machine; that in order to not lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, ...do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself..." In the two and a half months that the Commune ruled Paris, it attempted to do just this and enacted many measures in favor of the working people.

The Paris Commune revealed its nature as a workers' government in the way it set about smashing the old bourgeois state machine and by replacing it with one which really served the broad masses of toilers. Its first decree was the suppression of the standing army and the substitution for it of the armed people. The police were at once stripped of their political attributes and turned into the responsible and revocable agents of the Commune; no longer were they in the service of the bourgeois government to be used against the people. The Commune then went on to proclaim the religious bodies and made popular education not bound up with religious teachings. In this way they broke the 'spiritual force' of repression, (as Lenin said, "parson-power") which had kept the people down.

Having smashed the bourgeois state machine which had enslaved the people, the Commune set up a truly democratic, proletarian government and organized the masses to take an active part in running the state. The state had become a working body, executive and legislative at the same time. Administrative and government officials were to be elected by universal suffrage and subject to recall at all times. The Commune decreed that their salaries would be the same as workers wages and that they would be given no privileges. This was done to make the government officials real servants of the people and concerned about their interests. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism the Commune elected a German to its leading body and also it ordered the dismantling of the Vendome Column, a symbol of French chauvinism and militarism which was built from captured artillery pieces by Napoleon Bonaparte in his wars of aggression.

To safeguard the interests of the working class and other laboring people, the Commune took these steps. It decreed that all factories and workshops that were abandoned or shut down by the capitalists were to be turned over to associations of workers. It abolished the system of fines and deductions which the employers used to rob the working class of their wages. It ordered the toiling people's property in the pawnshops to be returned to the owners and issued a decree postponing payments and remitting parts of house-rents. These are only a few examples of what the Commune did for the workers; the list goes on.

The Paris Commune, the first great attempt of the proletariat

to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, lasted only 72 days. But in this short period of time, we have seen how the Commune worked entirely in the interests of the Paris working class. From the very beginning, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt on their part to overthrow the government would be doomed to defeat, that they were not prepared. But when the working men and women of Paris took to arms in March anyway, Marx did not condemn them, but in fact greeted the revolution with great enthusiasm.

Why did Marx feel that the workers were doomed to defeat? We can find this answer in In Memory of the Commune. Lenin stated that, "Two conditions, at least, are necessary for a victorious social revolution--highly developed productive forces and a proletariat adequately prepared for it. But in 1871 both of these conditions were lacking. French capitalism was still poorly developed and France was at that time mainly a petty bourgeois country (artisans, peasants, shopkeepers, etc.) On the other hand, there was no workers' party; the working class had not gone through a long school of struggle and was unprepared and for the most part did not even clearly visualize its tasks and the methods of fulfilling them. There was no serious political organization of the proletariat, nor were there strong trade unions and co-operative societies...:

Thus, the proletariat as a class still was developing and it lacked the proper leadership to guide it. Engels said in the introduction to the Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850 (written by Marx) that, "the Commune was consumed in unfruitful strife between the two parties which split it, Blanquists (the majority) and the Proudhonists (the minority), neither of which knew what was to be done." Peking Review #13 gives a clear understanding of these two parties. "The Blanquists stood for political revolution and the overthrow of bourgeois rule. But they negated the theory of class struggle. Instead of relying on the broad masses of the people to carry out the revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, they tried to rely on the conspiratorial activities of a small number of people to seize political power for the realization of Socialism. The Proudhonists took the position that the method of eliminating capitalist exploitation was not to carry out proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat but to use peaceful economic reforms so as to get rid of the 'bad' aspect of capitalism and build up 'good' capitalism (small private ownership). Opposing every form of state power and authority, it represents an anarchist trend."

The lack of leadership by a proletarian political party guided by the theory of Marxism was the fundamental reason for the failure of the Paris Commune. The Commune also made serious mistakes on some questions because of its lack of understanding of the

tasks it had to carry out. On the whole, the workers throughout France were not organized in their actions. Workers in several different cities aside from Paris staged uprisings at the same time but were unable to carry them through. Basically, workers of Paris fought by themselves, because the various struggles were not tied together and systematized. The Commune also failed to form an alliance with the peasantry and to confiscate the Bank of France. The revolutionaries made a terrible mistake which ended in their defeat when they failed to take advantage of their success to march on Versailles (the Headquarters of the reactionary government) and to suppress the counter-revolutionaries firmly and decisively. Because of this, Thiers (the head of the bourgeois government) was able to get together his reactionary forces to attack the Commune. Bismark, Prime Minister of Prussia, came to his aid by transferring 100,000 Bonapartist troops captured during the Franco-Prussian war to the Versailles government to be used in the counter-revolution. Thiers was also able to rouse up the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie and use them against the working class. Thus the proletariat was without allies and had to stand on its own feet. On May 28, the counter-revolutionary forces which had slowly been working their way to Paris, finally occupied the whole of the city and started a massive slaughtering of the people. About 30,000 Parisians were shot down, 45,000 were arrested, many of whom were later executed and thousands were exiled. Paris was again in the hands of the bourgeoisie; the Commune had been defeated.

The Paris Commune was the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind. Although it had lasted only 72 days and had made some serious mistakes, its historical significance and the lessons to be learned from this experience are very important.

In referring to the heavy sacrifices of the Commune, Lenin said in Lessons of the Commune that they were more than "made up for by its significance for the general struggle of the proletariat: it stirred the socialist movement throughout Europe, it demonstrated the strength of civil war, it dispelled patriotic illusions and destroyed the naive belief in any efforts of the bourgeoisie for common national aims. The Commune taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution. We can also see from the Commune that a revolution is the cause of the masses and that we must rely on their revolutionary enthusiasm and really see them as the motive force in the making of world history. As Engels said, "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions, carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for body and soul...."

Only two days after the fall of the Commune, Marx presented his work, The Civil War in France, to the First International. Within such a short time he had summed up the contributions of the first dictatorship of the proletariat, its lessons and experience. Marx pointed out that, "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." The proletariat must use revolutionary violence to "break" and "smash" the old bourgeois state machine. Both Marx and Engels regarded this one principle of the Commune as being of such great importance that they added it as a correction to the Communist Manifesto. They made it clear that the proletariat had to smash the democratic, proletarian government. It is obvious that this cannot be done peacefully. The proletariat can overthrow the rule of the bourgeois class only by relying on armed force. What is needed is an "army of the proletariat." For the working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battle field." History has shown that the bourgeoisie will not remain passive while the proletariat threatens its rule. It would be nice if they would lay down their arms and submit to the dictatorship of the working class, but that is not the way it is in reality. The Commune shows how necessary it is for the proletariat to take up arms against the ruling class and it also demonstrated the strength it will have in doing so.

In summing up the experience of the Commune, Marx and Engels stated that, "In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes." It was mentioned earlier that no such party existed at the time of the Commune and that the leadership was basically in the hands of the Blanquists and the Proudhonists. It was owing to the historical condition at the time that Marxism had not yet achieved a dominant position in the workers' movement while Blanquism and Proudhonism had. In no way could these theories lead the proletarian revolution to victory. Thus, we can see the necessity of building a working class party which is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and built in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style. The objective conditions may exist for a revolution, but without this strong, disciplined core of leadership, the working class will never be able to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

QUESTIONS

1. Prior to the Paris Commune, what role historically did the workers in France play and why? The peasantry? The bourgeoisie?
2. What was Marx's attitude towards the workers in France attempting revolution prior to the Commune and why?

3. What was the Paris Commune? What type of leadership was there?
4. What was the significance of the Commune and what lessons can we learn from it?
5. What is the revisionists' line on the state and the assumption of power by the proletariat? How does the Paris Commune disprove it?

Reading:

1. Introduction to The Civil War in France - Marx
2. In The Paris Commune by Lenin - "Lessons of the Commune" and "In Memory of the Commune"

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY ONE - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B)

Chapter 8

Section 1

1. What is war Communism and why was it necessary?
2. What was the effect of the Bolsheviks proletarian internationalism on the German and Austrian soldiers?

Section 2

1. What effect did peace with Germany have on the U.S.S.R.?
2. What was the importance of the 3rd International?
3. What was the importance of Lenin's slogan around the middle peasants? How did it help consolidate Soviet power?
4. Describe the struggle around Peace, the military and the national question at the 8th Party Congress?

Section 3

1. What role did these men play in the events of Spring 1919 to January 1920? Kolchak, Yudenick, Denikin, Trotsky, Stalin. Give a full explanation.
2. Why did the interventionists call off the blockade?
3. What were the highlights of the Ninth Party Congress of March 1920?

Section 4

1. How did Trotsky sabotage the counter-offensive against the Polish people?

Section 5

1. How did the Soviet Republic defeat the counter-revolution and the interventionists? People not things are the decisive factor.

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY TWO - "LEFT - WING COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER"

1. Explain the quote, "it would also be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that after the victory of the proletariat revolution in at least one of the advanced countries things will in

- all probability take a sharp turn, viz, Russia will soon after cease to be the model country and once again become a backward country (in the "Soviet" and the Socialist sense.) Discuss it in relationship to the world situation today.
2. What ingredients are needed to build a steeled disciplined party? Discuss interdependence of theory and discipline.
 3. Describe in the main the strategy and tactics of the development of Bolshevism from 1903 to the October Revolution and the corresponding development of opportunism.
 4. What do we mean by "compromise"? Why are we willing to compromise on some occasions but not on others? What was the necessity of compromise in the historical experience of the Bolsheviks?
 5. What is the role of Trade Unions in relationship to our communist work?
 6. Why does Lenin call the 'Dictatorship of Leaders' and the 'Dictatorship of the Masses' leftish childishness?
 7. What are the negative and positive aspects of the Trade Unions under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?
 8. Why is parliamentarianism historically obsolete? Is parliamentarianism obsolete politically in the U.S.? - or will there come a time to utilize it? How do we judge if political forms of struggle are politically obsolete?
 9. Why do Communists have to compromise with the masses?
 10. What is the mass line? Why is there a mass line?

Suggested Reading : Problems of Leninism - Chapter 5

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY THREE - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B)
Chapter 9

1. How did the long years of war effect the classes in Russia?
2. What were the two lines concerning the role of the trade unions in the building of Socialism?
3. Why must we continue to fight against factionalism? How did Trotsky and his ilk try to split the party? How did the Bolsheviks fight against it?
4. What was the New Economic Policy? What was the dialectics of NEP (orderly retreat-offensive on capital)?
5. What is the role of the "purge"? Can we use this tactic in the Party today?
6. What was Trotsky's line on the NEP? What was his attitude towards the peasants?
7. What were the results of the 13th Congress?
8. How does the proletariat firstly defeat the bourgeoisie politically and then economically? Why is it not possible for it to be the other way around?
9. What is the difference between the Bolsheviks line of building Socialism in one country and Trotsky's line on permanent revolu-

tion?
10. What was the historical significance of the 14th Congress?

LENINISM CLASS - TWENTY FOUR - NEW-ECONOMIC POLICY

The October Russian Revolution was the most important event in history. For the first time, the proletariat took state power and smashed the bourgeoisie politically. This gave inspiration and leadership to the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. However, the proletariat's task was not yet completed.

"Now the main task was to proceed to build a new, Socialist economic system all over the country and thus smash capitalism economically as well. . . All our practical work, all our actions must be made to serve this main purpose. The working class could do it, and would do it." (History of the CPSU(B) Chapter 9)

The building of a new Socialist economic system was delayed by three years of civil war and foreign intervention. During this time extraordinary economic measures were called for in order to insure a stable rear area for the Red Army and to provide for the workers and soldiers. At the heart of these measures, under a program called War Communism, were the Food Quotas, or the surplus appropriation system, by which all grain not needed by the peasants for their own consumption was turned over to the state. In the cities bread was rationed and workers received it in payment for their work. The policy was "everything for the front". It was called War Communism because, for the purpose of winning the war, it called for everyone to contribute according to his ability. This policy was possible only during the civil war. During the war the vacillations of the less advanced sections of the working class and its allies were at a minimum. The peasantry understood clearly that they had to suffer hardships and support the Bolsheviks in order to defeat the landlords and capitalists.

With the end of the civil war (the principal forces of intervention were defeated by 1921) it became obvious that War Communism was no longer an appropriate policy. The crucial bond between the proletariat and the peasantry was beginning to weaken. Because of the surplus appropriation system, many peasant families had no incentive to increase the land they tilled or to increase its yield. There were no industrial products for them to trade their products for. Agricultural production was about one-half of its pre-war level and production of raw materials needed for industry (flax, cotton, tobacco, etc.) was almost entirely neglected. Sections of the peasantry began to lose faith in the Soviet government. The basis of a socialist economy is large-scale industry but there

was no way to build it up without first stimulating agricultural production and trade between agriculture and industry. There was no stable currency with which to carry on this trade. The proletariat had to learn a great deal about management, technique, organization and trade.

At this time the Bolsheviks hoped for and expected a wave of proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries, especially in Germany. Had this occurred the new Soviet state would have been able to build up a Socialist economy with the assistance of fraternal proletarian states. But the revolutions in the West were crushed and the workers movement there began to ebb.

The Soviet state had to be almost entirely self-reliant in building up the economy. The alliance between the workers and peasants, so crucial in carrying out the revolution, would also be the cornerstone in building a Socialist economy. It was necessary to make certain temporary concessions to the peasantry to get agricultural production going again and to stimulate trade. Because industry was all but totally destroyed and the government lacked the technical equipment and personnel to get it moving again, concessions to the domestic and foreign capitalists were also necessary. Lenin's grasp of the problem, his mastery of dialectics and the laws of economic development are nowhere better revealed than in the New Economic Policy which restored the economy and laid the groundwork for Socialist construction. Trotsky and others denied the possibility of building Socialism in one country. When the western revolutions did not come immediately they doomed the Soviet Republic to collapse, or at best to becoming completely dependent on and dominated by the advanced capitalist countries. Within a few years, these alarms were proven to be defeatist nonsense.

We can see the success of the NEP by these figures quoted by Stalin at the 15th Party Congress on December 3, 1927:

Agricultural output	108.3% of pre-war level
Industrial output	100.9 of pre-war level
Railway freight transport	99.1% of pre-war level
Total state budget	111% of prewar level
Gross output of the Socialist sector reached 86% of the total output	

The total national income for that year increased 11.4% (a phenomenal figure)

This great progress completed the restoration of the economy. It prepared the way for the five-year plans and the actual building of Socialism. It showed the utter foolishness of the Trotskyite and the other squawking about the impossibility of building Socialism in one country.

In order to get a deeper understanding of the New Economic Policy (NEP) let us examine the basic policies and how they worked.

The first measure of NEP was to replace the Food Quotas by a tax in kind. A minimum of grain required by the workers and soldiers

would be collected from the peasants as a tax. The rest of the grain which the peasants produced would be left in their hands, to trade with, to exchange for manufactured goods. This measure would improve conditions for the peasantry and provide incentive to increase production. It would also stimulate trade between agriculture and industry and strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

In opposition to Lenin's line was that of the Trotskyites who called for exploiting the peasants, compelling them to produce and hand over the grain needed by the workers and soldiers. Application of this line would obviously result in the alienation of the peasantry--the overwhelming majority of the population--from the working class, and destroy the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, as well as the possibility of building Socialism in the Soviet state.

Introduction of state capitalism was the core of NEP. It took several forms, primarily, leasing concessions and enterprises to capitalists and allowing private traders to circulate commodities between state industry and the small peasant producers.

Opposition to the policy to state capitalism stated as far back as 1918 when the "left Communists" called for a "most determined policy of socialization". They called for more confiscation and nationalization of the capitalists' holdings and condemned any practice of capitalism in the country as a step backward from Socialism. What they wanted was to move directly from backward, pre-capitalist conditions, with small scale production and petty bourgeois economic relations directly to Socialism, without the necessary material and economic base, that is, planned, large-scale production employing the most advanced techniques. Of course, this is impossible.

Land had been nationalized; large-scale industry (what remained of it) had been confiscated. The Soviet government controlled the means of production. The problem now was what to do with it. How to get it functioning, organized efficiently, how to obtain technical equipment and personnel, how to get rid of anarchic petty-bourgeois economic relations and build up the large scale methods of production and exchange that were required for Socialism. This could only be done by utilizing the methods of capitalism, even allowing the capitalists to make profits, so that the proletarian state could learn methods of production and trade and build up the material base for the transition to Socialism.

In "Left-Wing" Childishness and the Petty Bourgeois Mentality, Lenin wrote:

"State capitalism would be a gigantic step forward even if we paid more than we are paying at present...because it is worth while paying for 'tuition', because it is useful for the workers, because victory over disorder, economic ruin and laxity is the most

important thing; because the continuation of the anarchy of small ownership is the greatest, the most serious danger, and it will certainly be our ruin (unless we overcome it) whereas not only will the payment of a heavier tribute to state capitalism not ruin us, it will lead us to Socialism by the surest road. When the working class has learned how to defend the state system against the anarchy of small ownership, when it has learned to organize large-scale production on a national scale, along state capitalist lines, it will hold, if I may use the expression, all the trump cards, and the consolidation of Socialism will be assured." (Vol. 27, Collected Works)

Why was the continuation of the anarchy of small ownership the greatest danger to socialist construction? Because the petty bourgeoisie was hoarding its wealth, waiting for the proletarian storm to blow over so that they could use their wealth to profiteer and build up private capitalism again. Lenin said of them (in "Left-Wing Childishness"):

"Either we subordinate the petty bourgeoisie to our control and accounting (we can do this if we organize the poor, that is the majority of the population, or semi-proletarians, around the politically conscious proletarian vanguard), or they will overthrow our workers' power..." The petty bourgeois who hoards his thousands is an enemy of state capitalism. He wants to employ his thousands just for himself, against the poor, poor, in opposition to any kind of state control. An the sum total of these thousands, amounting to many thousands of millions, forms the base for profiteering, which undermines our socialist construction."

The 'Left Communists' also failed to understand the difference between state capitalism under the rule of the bourgeoisie and state capitalism under the proletarian state. In a bourgeois state, state capitalism is an attempt to regulate capitalism and place the entire resources of the country at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. For instance, in Britain, the railroads are periodically nationalized in order to use state-collected taxes to bail them out of financial difficulty and save the capitalists' profits. Under the proletarian state, the entire apparatus of state capitalism is subordinated to the proletariat and operates for the benefit of the toilers. Lenin explained this in "Left-Wing 'Childishness'":

"To make things even clearer, let us first of all take the most concrete example of state capitalism. Everybody knows what this example is. It is Germany. Here we have "the last word" in modern large-scale capitalist engineering and planned

organization, subordinated to Junker-bourgeois imperialism. Cross out the words in italics, and in place of the militarist, Junker, bourgeois, imperialist state put also a state, but of a different social type, of a different class content - a Soviet state, that is a proletarian state, and you will have the sum total of the conditions necessary for Socialism."

"Socialism is inconceivable without large-scale capitalism engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science. It is inconceivable without planned state organization, which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observances of a unified standard in production and distribution. We Marxists have always spoken of this, and it is not worth while wasting two seconds talking to people who do not understand even this (anarchists and a good half of the Left-Socialist-Revolutionaries)."

"At the same time Socialism is inconceivable unless the proletariat is the ruler of the state. This is also ABC, and history (which nobody, except Menshevik blockheads of the first order, ever expected to bring about 'complete' Socialism smoothly, gently, easily and simply) has taken such a peculiar course that it has given birth in 1918 to two unconnected halves of Socialism existing side by side, like two future chickens in the single shell of international imperialism. In 1918, Germany and Russia have become the most striking embodiment of the material realization of the economic, the productive and the socio-economic conditions for Socialism, on the one hand, and the political conditions, on the other."

Opposition to the Boldheviks' policy of state capitalism also came from the right. The right oppostunists argued that since the October Revolution was not really a Socialist revolution (by their muddle-headed definition), since the party was fostering capitalism in the country, the only way for the Soviet government to succeed in rebuilding industry and the economy was by granting more rights and concessions to the capitalists, by not only allowing them to develop economically but to give them more political rights as well. It was advocated that the Soviet governemnt recognize the old debts of the tsarist government to the capitalist states. It was argued that key positions in the Soviet economic apparatus be handed over to capitalists, that the capitalists be allowed to develop industry while the masses of the population, the peasantry, be confined to agrarian production and kept in a state of backwardness.

The misconception that NEP was basically capitalism was corrected by Stalin at the 14th Congress of the CPSU(B):

"The question of NEP. I have in mind Comrade Krupskaya and the speech she delivered on NEP. She says: 'In essence NEP is capitalism permitted under certain conditions, capitalism that the proletarian state keeps on a chain...' Is that true? Yes, and no. That we are keeping capitalism on a chain, and will keep it so long as it exists, is a fact, that is true. But to say that NEP is capitalism--that is nonsense, utter nonsense. NEP is a special policy of the proletarian state aimed at permitting capitalism while the commanding positions are held by the proletarian state, aimed at the struggle between the capitalist and socialist elements, aimed at increasing the role of the socialist elements to the detriment of the capitalist elements, aimed at the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements, aimed at the abolition of classes and the building of the foundations of a socialist economy. Whoever fails to understand this transitional, dual nature of NEP departs from Leninism. If NEP were capitalism, then NEP Russia that Lenin spoke about would be capitalist Russia. But is present-day Russia a capitalist country and not a country that is in transition from capitalism to socialism? Why then, did Lenin not say simply 'Capitalist Russia will be socialist Russia', but preferred a different formula: 'NEP Russia will become socialist Russia'? Comrade Krupskaya (may she forgive me for saying so) talked utter nonsense about NEP. One cannot come out here in defence of Lenin against Bukharin with nonsense like that." (Vol. 7, C.W.)

That NEP was not capitalism, but a policy in which socialist and capitalist elements exist side by side, with the proletarian state at the helm, was further explained by Lenin:

"We cannot under any circumstances forget what we very often observe, namely, the socialist attitude of the workers in factories belonging to the state, where they themselves collect fuel, raw materials and produce, or when the workers try properly to distribute the products of industry among the peasantry and to deliver them by means of the transport system. That is Socialism. But side by side with it there is small economy, which very often exists independently of it. Why can it exist independently of it? Because large-scale industry has not been restored, because the socialist factories can receive only one-tenth, perhaps, of what they should, small economy remains independent of the socialist factories. The incredible ruin of the country, and the shortage of fuel, raw materials and trans-

port facilities, lead to small production existing separately from Socialism. And I say: Under these circumstances, what is state capitalism? It will mean the amalgamation of small production, Capital amalgamates small production, capital grows out of small production. It is no closing our eyes to this fact. Of course, freedom of trade means the growth of capitalism; one cannot get away from it. And whoever thinks of getting away from it and brushing it aside is only consoling himself with words. If small economy exists, if there is freedom of exchange, capitalism will appear. But has this capitalism any terrors for us if we hold the factories, works, transport, and foreign trade in our hands? And so I said then, and will say now, and I think it is incontrovertible, that this capitalism has no terrors for us. Concessions are capitalism of that kind." (quoted by Stalin in 14th Congress of CPSU(B) Vol. 7 C.W.)

We can see that both the "left" and the right attacked NEP by arguing that the Soviet state was not a social, but a capitalist state and could not develop socialism at the present time. Later this position was systematized by Trotsky, who put forth the theory that it was impossible to build socialism in one country and that socialism had to wait for the world revolution, for a "permanent revolution". Basically none of these muddle-heads understood dialectics or the laws of economic development, that the only way to move forward to socialism at the time when the NEP was introduced was the move "backward" using the forces of capitalism to develop the material conditions necessary for socialist construction. In order to get production going again, to get exchange between agriculture and industry going, to assure a durable alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry which would be the backbone for socialist construction, and most importantly, to defeat the petty-bourgeois economic relations which were the main barrier to building socialism, it was absolutely essential that the Soviet government introduce state capitalism. If one stopped declaiming and uttering panic-stricken cries, as Lenin advised, and set to work soberly calculating the forces, the proletarian state could begin to lay the groundwork for building socialism, without waiting for the world revolution. In New Times, Old Mistakes in a New Guise, Lenin wrote:

"We need a bloc, or alliance between the proletarian state and state capitalism against the petty-bourgeois element. We must achieve this alliance skillfully, following the

rule; 'measure your cloth seven times before you cut',...** We shall concentrate the enfeebled forces of the working class on something less, but we shall dig ourselves in all the more and put ourselves not once or twice, but many times to the test of practical experience. (Insert at top of page at **... "We shall leave to ourselves a smaller field of work, only what is absolutely necessary.... ED.) Step by step, inch by inch--for on the difficult road we have to travel, in the stern conditions in which we are living and amidst the dangers we have to face the "troops" we have at our command cannot advance in any other way now. Those who find this work dull", 'uninteresting' and 'unintelligible', those who turn up their noses, or become panic stricken, or who intoxicate themselves with declamations about the absence of the 'previous elation', the 'previous enthusiasm', etc., had better be 'relieved of their work' and put in the archives, so as to prevent them from causing harm, for they are unwilling to ponder or are incapable of pondering, over the peculiar features of the present stage of the struggle."

"In the midst of the tremendous ruin in the country and the exhaustion of the forces of the proletariat by a series of almost superhuman efforts, we are setting to work on the most difficult task of laying the foundation for really Socialist economy, for proper commodity exchange (or more correctly, exchange of products) between industry and agriculture. The enemy is still far stronger than we are; anarchic, petty-trader, individual commodity exchange is undermining our work at every step. We clearly see the difficulties and will systematically and persistently overcome them." (Vol. 33, C.W.)

CONCLUSION

Finally we must ask, what is the importance of the question of NEP in general? Why is it particularly important for us to have have a firm grasp on the meaning of NEP? The principle answer is that the brilliant Leninist solution to the problems of the post-Civil War period represents one of the highest uses of dialectical materialism in the history of the communist covmemnt. It is because the line of Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolshevik core around them was so difficult, so complex, so successful, that it was viciously attacked and is still attacked to this day, by the rats of both the left and right.

What is the content of this attack? That NEP represented a retreat that gave in to the elemental capitalist forces within

the country, and to the forces of world imperialism. Because Russia was a backward nation of small producers, of peasants; because the Bolsheviks were too isolated and lacking in technique--for these reasons, say the deviators, NEP simply reflected the imminent defeat of the revolution. From this thesis they moved on to say that the LENINIST policies of NEP, brilliantly applied and expanded by Stalin after Lenin's death, were responsible for the eventual deterioration of the USSR into a revisionist, social-imperialist state. Thus, if you dig deep enough, you find that the "left", Trotskyite and right revisionist "analysis" of the counter-revolution in the USSR boils down to an attack on Lenin and NEP. And what do you find at the basis of this "analysis"? The same petty-bourgeois fear and panic-mongering that the Leninist Central Committee termed "a petty-bourgeois deviation" during the NEP period itself. What does this analysis have in common with the optimistic (despite difficulties), forward-looking (despite appearances of moving backward) line of Lenin? Nothing. Lenin said specifically time and time again that the USSR had all the prerequisites for building a fully socialist society. How to get to it? By compromise, by maneuvering. Lenin said, instead of losing 20% of what is produced by embezzlement, hoarding and waste, we will give to the capitalists 30%. And then what will we do? When we get strong enough we'll grab the 30% away and keep the whole 100% ourselves. How can we do this? Because we, the proletariat in alliance with the peasants, have state power.

The deviators, on the other hand, either had no confidence in the worker-peasant alliance, had no confidence in Marxism, or else were paid agents of international imperialism. The right and "left" positions, different in form, deviated in defeatism and counter-revolution. But socialism was built for thirty years in the USSR on the rock-solid foundation of NEP. Denying this, the rats of various colors merely look like the fools and bourgeois agents that they are.

In short, NEP is used by the counter-revolution to discredit Lenin, Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat--in fact, to discredit Marxism as a whole. We must use our understanding of NEP to discredit the counter-revolution. Also we must master the brilliant dialectics of NEP in order to raise our work of Party building and fighting for socialism to a higher level.

READING

1. History of the CPSU(B) - Chapters 9 & 10
2. The Tax in Kind (Vol. 32, C.W. or Vol. IX S.W. Lenin, -
The Food Tax p. 164-202)

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SUGGESTED READING

1. Left Wing Childishness and the Petty Bourgeois Mentality - C.W. Lenin Vol. 27
2. Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU(B) (Vol. 7 C.W.) Stalin

QUESTIONS

1. Why couldn't War Communism be continued after the end of the Civil War? Why was NEP necessary?
2. Why were petty-bourgeois economic conditions the main barrier to building Socialism? How would NEP fight them?
3. What is the difference between state capitalism in a bourgeois and in a proletariat state?
4. What did Lenin mean when he said that in Germany and in Russia in 1918 there were the two unconnected halves of Socialism existing side by side?
5. What was the "left" opposition to NEP? How did the right-opportunists attack it? How do these two positions come down to the same thing? What was the class basis of the opposition? Discuss the theory of permanent revolution.
6. Why is it not true that NEP was "capitalism permitted under certain conditions"?
7. How is an attack on NEP an attempt to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat?
8. Why was NEP not a compromise on the basic principles of M-L?

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY FIVE - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 10

Section 1-2

1. What did Socialist construction entail? What was essential for the victory of socialism in the countryside?
2. Where did the capital for socialist construction come from? How did the Trots try to hold back socialist construction?
3. Discuss the grain crisis in farming. How did it come about? How was the problem solved?
4. What was the situation in industry in 1927 in the USSR? What was the situation in agriculture? How did the Soviet Union deal with this problem?
5. Describe the struggle of the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU(B) against the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Bloc?
6. What would have been the results of coercion instead of persuasion in the collectivization of farming?
7. When does a political trend stop being a political trend and become outright counter-revolution?

Section 3

1. Who were the wreckers? What was their aim? How did Stalin fight them?
2. What forced the Bukharinite-Rykov group to show their hand as Kulak agents? Discuss the Bolshevik struggle against the Bukharin-Rykov group.
3. What was the First Five-Year Plan? What was its main purpose? How well did the proletariat and peasantry respond to it? What was socialist emulation and what was its importance?
4. How and what did the imperialists do to thwart the Socialist construction in the USSR?
5. What was the mass collective farm movement? How did Stalin and the Party fight and eliminate the Kulaks as a class?

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY SIX - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 11

Section 1

1. Describe the developing international situation in the early 1930's from the point of view of the politics being a reflection of the economics.

Section 2

1. How and why were the Kulaks eliminated as a class? What kind of a base was necessary before this could take place? What was meant by solid collectivization?
2. Discuss "the profound revolution" that took place in 1929.
3. Discuss the collective farm movement - its positive and negative aspects. What were the distortions or violations of policy? How and why were these errors made, and how were they rectified?
4. Discuss the process of Soviet industrialization and how it was accomplished.
5. How did the advances in Soviet agriculture and industry react upon each other?

Section 3

1. How was the Soviet Union transformed from an agrarian to an industrial country?
2. What were the features of the 5 year plan?
3. Why was it so important for Communists to master technique - How have the Chinese done so?
4. Why must a Communist always lead the working class? Discuss this in relationship to collectivization.
5. Discuss the 17th Party Congress and the new rules adopted. What led to the adoption of these rules?

6. What were the results of the First Five-Year Plan?
7. What were the organizational questions that had to be dealt with at the 17th Congress?

Section 4

1. How and why did the Bukharinites and Trotskyites surface again? What was revealed by the trials of the "Leningrad Center" and "Moscow Center"?
2. What lessons did the CPSU learn from the exposure of these counter-revolutionaries within the party? How were these lessons put into practice?
3. Why is it important - essential, to study the History of the CPSU(B) ?

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY SEVEN - HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) Chapter 12

Section 1

1. What was the international situation in 1935-37 in the capitalist world? What was the comparative situation in the Soviet Union?
2. What is meant by the one sided character of the war? Why did the USSR join the League of Nations - relate this to China and the United Nations today.

Section 2

1. Why was the old slogan of "technique decides everything" changed to "cadres decide everything"? Apply to today.
2. What was the importance of the Stakhanov movement in all aspects of the economy in the USSR?
3. Why was the state able to prohibit abortion in a progressive way?
4. How were real wages raised in the Soviet Union?
5. What was the cultural revolution in these years 1936, 1937?
6. What was the weakness of revolutions before the October revolution? What or wherein lies the strength of the Soviet Revisionists?

Section 3

1. What is the difference between "From each according to his ability to each according to his work" and "From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs"? Why are there different guiding principles for Socialism and Communism?
2. What is meant by "broad inner democracy as the course of the party".
3. Why was it necessary to change the Constitution - how was it revised?
4. What was the political and economic situation when the 1924

Constitution was written? Contrast the U.S. Constitution - clearly show the class roots of each, and which class each Constitution benefits.

5. What is the role of the Party in a Socialist state?

Section 4

1. How and why were the Trotskyite Bukharin gang liquidated?
2. Why were there certain restrictions on the voting before 1936? Give examples.
3. Why was it necessary to reorganize the party?
4. What is the importance of the Communist blocing with non-party people in elections?

Conclusion

1. Sum up the chief lessons learned in the study of the History of the CPSU(B) and apply to our immediate tasks today.

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY EIGHT - THEORY OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Readings:

1. Lenin - Selected Works Volume XII "New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture" Part I Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America p. 190-282
2. Leontiev - Political Economy - Chapter 7
3. Reprint - "Factories and the Fields"

QUESTIONS

1. What type of farms were found in the South in the year 1910? How and why did they develop? How is the form of farming in the South a part of the oppression of the Negro Nation?
2. Why is the term "toiler" farming scientifically incorrect?
3. Explain "Extensive farming has given way to intensive farming" (page 214 of New Data) Where does capitalism develop the most, in extensive farming regions or intensive farming regions? Why?
4. In what way are small farms being converted into "big farms"?
5. How were the bourgeoisie's statistics on the area of farms misleading? How are these statistics part of the bourgeois superstructure?
6. Describe the transition from natural agriculture. Explain the connection between the flight of the population from the rural districts and the ruin of the small producers. What is the effect of the ruin of the small producers?

7. What is the contradiction between industry and agriculture under capitalism?
8. Under capitalism what role does the small farmer play? Describe the similarities and differences between him and the proletarian.
9. What is the feudal character of agriculture - be concrete using historical examples. What is the capitalist character of agriculture?
10. What are the ways that latifundia and large scale capitalist farming are different ? p. 226

CLASS 2 of THEORY OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

QUESTIONS

1. What is the source of ground rent, differential rent, absolute rent? What is monopoly of private ownership of land? How did it come about? How are taxes and mortgages a form of ground rent?
2. Does land have value? When does it have value, when doesn't it have value?
3. How is the price of land arrived at?
4. How is it possible to do away with absolute rent but not differential rent under Capitalism?
5. Why did the CPSU put forward the demand for nationalization of the land?
6. Give other examples of nationalization land. Show how it aids capitalism - show how it aids the fight for Socialism.
7. How do capitalists make their profit in agriculture production?
8. Why is the general price of production in agriculture determined by the conditions of production on the worst soil? How is this different from industry?

LENINISM CLASS TWENTY NINE - THE I.W.A. -- THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

READING MATERIAL

1. CL Report on the First International
2. Address and Provisional Rules of the Workingmen's Association Selected Works of Marx and Engels p.

Questions

1. What were the concrete conditions of the working class movement around the time of the founding of the I.W.A. and how did Marx and Engels deal with them?
2. Discuss each of the sects that joined the I.W.A. from

the point of view of their theory and political programs. Describe the struggle of the Marxists against these sects. What were the good and bad effects of having them in the I.W.A. Point out concrete manifestations of the theory and politics of these sects in the U.S. today? Try to show how these tendencies got into the political movement in the U.S. today.

3. How did the I.W.A. and the European working class r fight against Negro slavery in the U.S?
4. Why did Marx write Value, Price and Profit, and how did it serve the class struggle at that time?
5. What was the interrelationship between the I.W.A. and the Paris Commune?
6. How was the I.W.A.'s position on the Irish National Question similar to our position on the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico?
7. Can the First International be considered a success? Why did it come to an end when it did?
8. What can we learn from Marx's work in the I.W.A. about working in mass organizations?
9. What was the main contradiction in the I.W.A.?