

**MARXIST STUDY SERIES**

**1**

*Theory  
and  
Practice  
of the  
Communist Party*

**FIRST COURSE**

MARXIST STUDY SERIES: 1

THEORY  
and  
PRACTICE  
of the  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY

First Course

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## LESSON I

# CAPITALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

- I. THE NATURE OF CAPITALISM
- II. CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION
- III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### I. The Nature of Capitalism

#### *The Country We Live In*

1. The United States is one of the largest countries in the world, with a population of about 140,000,000. Its boundaries stretch almost 3,000 miles from coast to coast, and it extends northward from the Rio Grande, bordering Mexico, to the Canadian border. Within this vast territory there is an enormous wealth of natural resources—coal, oil, iron, silver, lead, water power, lumber, wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn, and pasture land for cattle and other livestock.

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

3. With all this natural wealth, productive capacity and productivity of labor, under what conditions do the people of the United States live?

Here are some facts:

#### *Housing*

46 per cent of dwelling units had no baths in 1940.

### N O T E

All of the reference materials cited in this text are published by International Publishers or New Century Publishers, New York City. The student can order them through his class or club or from his local progressive bookshop.

22 per cent had no gas or electricity.

30 per cent of families in urban areas, in 1944, were living in housing of such sub-standard conditions as to threaten health and welfare.

30 per cent lacked refrigeration equipment.

Housing conditions are universally worse in the Jim-Crow ghettos in the North and East. Particularly inhuman are the housing conditions of millions of Negroes in the South.

The 1940 census report showed that conditions in rural areas are worse than in cities.

### *Health Conditions*

The Army rejected one-third of all men for physical or mental defects. Eight of every ten accepted for service had at least one physical defect. 31 per cent, or almost one-third, of the women volunteering for the women's army corps were rejected because of physical unfitness.

Maternal mortality has been reduced below the figure of 59.3 per 10,000 live births in 1934, but it still remains at the disgracefully high figure of 25.9 per 10,000 in 1942. In 1942, 7,000 mothers died in childbirth.

The highest incidence of sickness, the highest death rate, and the highest infant and maternal mortality exist in Negro communities.

The average American family spends 3 per cent of its income on doctors and hospital bills.

### *Education*

Three million adult Americans have never attended any kind of school.

Ten million adults have had so little schooling that they are practically illiterate.

Two million children, aged 6 to 15, did not attend any kind of school in 1940. This number increased during the war, particularly among Negro children.

### *Incomes in 1942, a War Year*

There were 33 million families in the U.S. and 8 million single consumers.

Half of the families in the U.S. had incomes of less than \$2,000 a year; 35 per cent had incomes of less than \$1,500.

About 62 per cent of all families had incomes of less than \$2,500; 70 per cent had incomes of less than \$3,000.

2.3 per cent of all families had incomes of \$10,000 or more in 1942.

Yet, the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics (University of California) stated that at least \$2,900 in that year was required to provide for average standards of health, decency, and moral well-being for a wage earner's family of four.

In the face of incredibly swollen corporation profits in 1945-46 (15 billion dollars), the working class is becoming more and more impoverished:

	<i>Minimum Budget Family of 4 Per Week*</i>	<i>Average Income</i>	<i>Difference</i>
September, 1945 . . . . .	\$62.00	\$40.87	\$21.13
October, 1946 . . . . .	70.52	45.83	24.69

### *Unemployment*

At the peak of "prosperity"—in 1929—there were close to 5 million unemployed. At the beginning of 1947, during a so-called boom, there were more than 3 million unemployed.

*Why is our country so rich and our people so poor? The answer lies in the nature of our social system.*

### *Who Owns the Wealth of the Country?*

1. The 250 largest corporations in the U.S. control American economic life.

2. Relatively few people own these corporations. In 1937, sixty families—Ford, Mellon, Morgan, Rockefeller, Pew, du Pont, Girdler, etc.—and their satellites, fewer than 75,000 persons, or less than one-fifth of 1 per cent of all Americans, received one-half of all dividends paid out by corporations.

\* Heller Committee, as cited in the Nathan Report.

## *The United States Is a Capitalist Country*

The U.S. has an economic system which is based upon the following:

1. The means of production are privately owned by a numerically small capitalist class.
2. Production is for profit and not for the satisfaction of the needs of the people.
3. The working class does not own the means of production; it owns only its labor power. It is compelled to sell its labor power (ability to work) to capitalists for wages in order to live. It is a class of exploited wage workers—the proletariat.
4. Political power in the country rests in the hands of the capitalist class.

The interests of the working class and the capitalist class are diametrically opposed. The capitalist class strives to squeeze more and more profits out of the working class. The working class is compelled to resist capitalist exploitation—to defend its living standards. An irreconcilable class struggle is the consequence.

## II. Capitalist Exploitation

Capitalist production is commodity production. Everything is produced for sale. All products are commodities. Everything people need has to be bought. Nobody, however, can buy without selling something in return.

Food, clothing, shelter, etc., are commodities. They can be obtained only by exchanging other commodities for them. What commodities does the worker possess which he can exchange for the food, clothing, shelter and other things he and his family need?

Being a proletarian (propertyless, without means of production) a shoe worker cannot exchange shoes for means of subsistence. A coal miner cannot exchange coal. A ditch digger cannot exchange ditches. Everybody knows that a worker must have money to buy means of subsistence. The money he uses is the equivalent of the quantity of means of subsistence he can buy with it. But how does a worker get the money

which is the representative of his means of subsistence? It is clear that he must carry out an act of exchange to obtain the money in the first place.

The only money income a worker has is his wages. Wages are the money form of the value of the commodity he sells. Since he doesn't own goods to sell, there is only one thing he can sell and that is his labor power.

By labor power we mean the ability of the worker to exert his physical and mental energy for a certain period of time.

The producer of the labor power (the worker) does not produce it for his own use. To be used labor power must be applied to means of production. But the means of production are the private property of the capitalists. To use his labor power then, the worker must sell it to a capitalist. And that is what happens daily when a worker gets a job. Labor power is bought and sold on the market. It is a commodity.

1. The capitalist is in business only for profit. To make profit he must sell his commodities for more than they cost him to produce. His cost of production consists of his expenditures on machinery, raw materials and labor power.

2. Machinery, tools or raw materials cannot be the source of profit. The capitalist pays for them at their values. He cannot squeeze more out of a machine than its value, for which he has paid an equivalent. The same is true of the raw materials. Their values are merely transferred to the new commodity. They cannot create new values.

3. Labor power, therefore, is the only commodity that is the source of new values. It alone creates surplus value—new values over and above the values the capitalist paid for. Labor power is bought and sold, on the average, at its value like other commodities. When put to use, however, labor power produces a value in excess of its own. Labor power is bought by the hour, day or week to produce commodities.

The laborer can be forced to work far beyond the time necessary to cover the wages advanced him. Let us say that a worker is hired for eight hours. All the values he produces during the full eight hours belong to the capitalist. But the worker reproduces the value of his wages in less than eight hours. If his wages were equal to the full values he produced,

the worker would get back everything he produced. Then there would be no profit, no capitalists, and no capitalism.

All profit, therefore, comes from the unpaid labor of the worker, from surplus value—which is value produced by the worker for which he is not paid. This is the source of the exploitation of the working class. Capitalism is a system of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class.

### III. The Class Struggle

#### A. *Economic Struggle of the Working Class: the Trade Unions*

1. Classes are determined by relations to the means of production.

2. In capitalist society there are two basic classes: the capitalist class and the working class. Their interests are irreconcilable.

3. The development of capitalist production leads to the sharpening of the class struggle. With the development of industry the working class grows in numbers, strength, and consciousness. The struggle between the two basic classes in modern society becomes more intense.

The middle classes tend constantly to be ruined by the development of capitalist production and hurled into the ranks of the proletariat. They vacillate between the working class and the capitalist class.

The working class is the most revolutionary class. It leads all other exploited sections of the people—farmers, Negro people, etc. Created by capitalism, the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism. Its historical mission is to abolish capitalism and establish socialism.

4. With the development of capitalism, the workers learn that they have common interests in the fight against the capitalist class. They form trade unions and fight for their immediate interests—for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work. Their struggle against the capitalist class grows in breadth and intensity.

5. Without trade unions the standard of living of the

workers would be driven even below the bare minimum necessary for existence. The unemployed would be used as a weapon to cut the wages of the employed, and the pauperization of the workers would result. Trade union struggles can raise wages above the minimum needed for existence. They eliminate competition among workers and help develop working-class solidarity. They can check the fierce drive of monopoly capital and win more favorable positions for labor in the struggle against the monopolies and trusts.

#### B. *Political Struggle of the Working Class: the Communist Party*

1. In the course of the trade-union struggle the workers learn that they must use not only economic but political weapons. They find that capitalists dominate the political institutions of capitalism—what we call the state—*i.e.*, legislative, executive, judicial and administrative bodies, the armed forces, police, etc. The workers inevitably enter the arena of political as well as economic struggle. We see this beginning to develop in the United States today on a broad scale.

2. The class struggle also takes place on the theoretical front against the theories and ideology which the capitalists develop in order to justify and perpetuate their system of exploitation.

3. However, by themselves and from their experiences alone, the workers cannot learn the need for socialism. Through their experiences alone they cannot rise above the level of trade-union consciousness.

4. The working class needs a political party to give it socialist consciousness, to make it see the need of socialism in the course of its day-to-day struggles. Such a party is the Communist Party. It is composed of the most advanced workers, and its role is to develop the socialist consciousness of the workers in the course of the leadership which it gives to their daily struggles for their immediate needs.

#### C. *Ideological Struggle Against Revisionism*

The working class cannot improve its position under capi-

talism without rejecting revisionism, *i.e.*, every opportunist attempt to change or water down Marxism-Leninism. Browderism, a variety of revisionism, preached class harmony and renounced the class struggle. Browderism developed a utopian postwar perspective of the monopolies offering voluntary wage increases. Instead of mobilizing the workers for struggle, it subordinated the working class to the interests of monopoly capitalism. Revisionism devitalizes the workers, destroys their militancy, and renders them helpless before the attacks of the class enemy. The ideas of the class enemy must be eliminated from the ranks of the Party and of the working class.

#### READING MATERIAL:

Karl Marx: *Value, Price and Profit*. Parts 6-7-8.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*. Part 1.

#### Additional:

Max Weiss: *What Price Profits?* Pp. 43-47.

#### QUESTIONS:

1. *How does a capitalist make his profits?*
2. *What is the class struggle? Show how the class struggle is becoming sharper in the U.S. Who are the allies of the working class in the struggle against the trusts, and why?*
3. *Why can't capitalist exploitation be eliminated by trade union struggles alone?*
4. *Why is the class struggle a political struggle?*

## LESSON II

# IMPERIALISM

- I. MONOPOLY DOMINATION
- II. EMERGENCE OF FINANCE CAPITAL
- III. EXPORT OF CAPITAL
- IV. ECONOMIC DIVISION OF THE WORLD
- V. TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD COMPLETED

### I. Monopoly Domination

Imperialism is the last stage in the development of capitalism. It is the stage in which free competition between independent capitalists has given way to monopoly. This is the main economic essence of imperialism, that is, of present-day capitalism.

Monopoly grew out of free competition. Small scale production was squeezed out or pushed to the wall by large scale production. As production rapidly expanded, growing accumulations of capital were centralized into ever fewer hands. Large corporations and banks came into existence. By the end of the 19th century, monopoly in banking and industry predominated. National trusts further developed into international combinations, into syndicates and cartels. These tremendous enterprises play the decisive role in the economic life of the capitalist world.

More than in any other capitalist country in the world, industry in the U.S. is monopolized and trustified. It is estimated that decisive control of the industries dominating the economic life of the country is in the hands of *sixty families*—Morgan, Rockefeller, duPont, Fairless, Ford, Pew, etc.

1. 250 corporations dominated American economic life in 1939, owning 65 per cent of the nation's productive facilities. In a number of industries, concentration has reached the point



where one or two companies control nine-tenths of the supply—aluminum, shoe machinery, telephone, nickel, etc.

2. The growth of trusts and monopolies drives small business out:

- a) Between 1900 and 1939, of the sixteen million new businesses which were started, fourteen million failed.
- b) Between 1919 and 1939, 95,000 corporations also disappeared. 9,518 companies were swallowed up by Big Business.

However, monopoly does not eliminate competition. Monopoly sharpens the conflict between small and big capital, and between the monopolies themselves. This is especially true in the international market.

3. The war increased the power of the trusts and monopolies in the economic life of the country:

- a) There are 500,000 fewer businesses than before the war.
- b) Industrial expansion took place mainly in the basic industries.

4. The dominant role of the trusts was strengthened by the use of government funds:

- a) \$17 billion was spent by the government to build and equip new plants. Private corporations operated these plants.
- b) The government gave \$300 billion of its \$400 billion worth of war contracts to very large corporations, many of them linked together under the same ownership through interlocking directorates.
- c) The 250 corporations dominating American economic life controlled 79 per cent of all new, privately-owned plant facilities built with federal funds during the war.
- d) In 1944, these 250 corporations held 78 per cent of active prime war supply contracts.
- e) During the period 1940-1945, seven of the largest steel companies bought up more than 35 smaller concerns. At the beginning of 1945, the four largest steel producers held 62 per cent of the country's steel ingot capacity. Eight of the ten largest steel producers had an

aggregate steel ingot capacity representing 77 per cent of the total for the country.

5. The growth of monopoly is proceeding at an unprecedented pace:

- a) 832 separate acquisitions were made by 430 corporations in the period 1939-1944.
- b) Mergers occurred in dairy concerns, paper mills, textile, metal mining and manufacturing plants, liquor companies, drug and pharmaceutical concerns, iron, steel and machinery. One drug company bought up 31 other companies during the war.
- c) At the present rate, it is estimated that corporations will soon hold 97 per cent of the facilities in basic iron and steel, 89 per cent in shipbuilding, 78 per cent in aircraft, and 77 per cent in fabricated metal products.
- d) In 1937, one out of every four workers was employed in plants with over 1,000 employees. In 1934, plants with more than 1,000 employees accounted for 45 per cent of all workers in industry, a doubling of the concentration of production in big factories, mines, and communication systems. These plants are owned and controlled by big corporations, many of which are owned by a single corporation.
- e) By 1944, firms with 500 or more employees, representing only 2 per cent of the number of manufacturing concerns, accounted for 62 per cent of the total employment. The industrial giants employing 10,000 or more, accounted for 13 per cent of the total employment in 1939, and fully 31 per cent of the total in 1944.

## II. Emergence of Finance Capital

The banks control industry, and combine with and hasten the growth of monopolies. The result is finance capital. *Finance capital is the fusion of industrial and banking capital.*

A small circle of the wealthiest finance capitalists ("Sixty Families" in the U.S.) are the economic and political masters

of the country. Eight groups of finance capitalists in America today dominate its economic life. They consist of J. P. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the Rockefeller interests, the Mellon family, the duPont family, and three regional finance-capitalist groups in Chicago, Boston, and Cleveland.

#### A Few Banks Manipulate Economic Life of the Country

1. *J. P. Morgan and Co.*

Controls 3 big banks; 41 large corporations, 13 industrial corporations including U.S. Steel; 12 utility corporations including Americal Tel. and Tel.; 37 per cent of electrical engineering works; 11 major railroads including 26 per cent of the best railway mileage; capital of 30 billions (direct).

2. *Kuhn-Loeb.*

Controls 1 big bank; 13 major railroads with 22 per cent of the first class railways; Western Union; capital of 10 billion.

3. *Rockefeller Group.*

Controls Chase National Bank; 6 oil firms; capital of 6.6 billion.

4. *Mellon Group.*

Controls 2 banks; 1 railroad, 9 industrial corporations including monopoly of aluminum; capital of 3.5 billion.

5. *DuPont.*

Controls 1 bank; 4 corporations including General Motors; munitions and chemical plants; capital of 2.6 billion.

6. *Chicago Group.*

Centered around meat trusts, farm equipment; capital of 4.2 billion.

7. *Boston Group.*

Centered around shoe, textile and allied industries; capital of 1.4 billions.

8. *Cleveland Group.*

Centered around steel: Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel, Wheeling Steel, etc. Controls 20.1 per cent of total steel output; capital of 1.4 billion.

Thus, a handful of finance capitalists manipulate the economic and political life of the country. This is the chief economic feature of imperialism.

### III. Export of Capital

Prior to the development of imperialism, capitalist countries chiefly exported commodities—manufactured goods, food-stuffs, minerals, etc. Under imperialism, however, the export of capital—as distinct from the export of commodities—becomes the dominant form of export.

Following the first world war, American capitalists stopped borrowing from European capitalists and began lending money abroad and making foreign investments. Today, such foreign investments (export of capital) are even larger and a more important source of profit for American capitalists than the export of manufactured goods. It is the further vast accumulation of capital during World War II that enables U.S. monopoly to invest still more in other countries and to further the expansion of American imperialist interests abroad.

### IV. Economic Division of the World

The giant trusts, monopolies, and cartels divide up the whole world into economic spheres of influence which they distribute among themselves "peacefully," on the basis of their relative economic strength, until new wars force a new distribution. American trusts and monopolies participate in world cartels with trusts and monopolies of other countries. These cartels divide up markets, fix production quotas, set prices, establish spheres of influence, etc.

Investigations during the war showed the tie-up, in cartel arrangements, of American trusts in the chemical, electrical, rubber and other industries, with German and Japanese trusts.

### V. Division of World Among Imperialist Powers Completed

The economic division of the world's markets, raw material resources, by the trusts and cartels is followed by the territorial division of the world by five or six of the industrially advanced countries of finance capital.

Thus by 1900, 90.4 per cent of Africa, 98.9 of Polynesia, 56.6 of Asia, 27.2 of Central and South America, is annexed by imperialist powers. By 1922, 96.6 per cent of Africa (before the rape of Ethiopia by Italy), 100 per cent of Polynesia, 30.4 of Central and South America, are colonies of imperialist states.

The United States today has outright possession of the following colonies: Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake and adjacent islands, the Panama Canal zone, about 100 islands in the Pacific and Atlantic. Besides, the Phillipine Islands received fake formal political independence, with the United States in complete economic and financial control, and its agents, former collaborators with Japan, in power.

U.S. capital has also penetrated almost all countries of the Caribbean, Central and South America. These are semi-colonies, politically nominally independent, but dependent upon the U.S.A., with Wall Street trusts interfering in every phase of life, holding countries in economic strangleholds: This is also true of Kuomintang China, and rapidly expanding penetration of Middle East (oil), and intervention in European countries.

The United States entered late in the struggle for colonies and spheres of influence on a world scale, having a great expanding internal market to exploit. Its imperialist penetration took indirect and less obvious forms. Its enormous strength made possible a combination of Dollar Diplomacy and the mailed fist. In the words of General Smedley Butler:

"I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenue in. . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American Sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American Fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested."

In general, it is not only the colonies and semi-colonies that are divided up by imperialism; all smaller, less developed states are subordinated and made spheres of influence of this or that imperialist power.

By the dawn of the 20th century the world is completely divided up. There are no more unoccupied territories that do not belong to one or another imperialist power as a colony, semi-colony, dependent country, sphere of influence, raw material source, etc. There is no longer free room anywhere for the expansion of this or that imperialist state, developing faster or coming forward from behind, EXCEPT BY THE REDIVISION OF THE WORLD at the expense of other imperialist powers by *means of force*.

When capitalism then, reaches the stage of development "in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed," it is imperialist capitalism.

The U.S.A. reached this stage before the close of the 19th century. The U.S.A. is an imperialist state.

#### READING MATERIAL:

V. I. Lenin: *Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Chapt. 7.

A. B. Magil: *Socialism—What's In It For You*. Pp. 16-24. *Additional:*

Anna Rochester: *The Nature of Capitalism*. Chapt. 8.

#### QUESTIONS:

1. How do trusts affect competition on a national and international scale?
2. Why is monopoly capitalism unable to make full use of the country's productive capacities?
3. Describe the "Dollar Diplomacy" form of imperialist penetration? Is this the only form used by American monopolists? How is this facilitated by the government?
4. Refute the revisionist theory that the trusts will industrialize the colonies.
5. What Anglo-American imperialist rivalries are developing out of World War II?

## LESSON III

# WAR AND FASCISM

## I. IMPERIALISM BREEDS WAR AND FASCISM

## II. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

### I. Imperialism Breeds War and Fascism

1. Wars do not occur through accidents of history or the mistakes of statesmen. They are the inevitable result of capitalism and its contradictions.

- a) The conflicts between capitalist countries are sharpened and accentuated in the imperialist epoch.

“... the unevenness of the development of the capitalist countries usually leads in time to violent disturbance of equilibrium in the world system of capitalism, that group of capitalist countries which considers itself worse provided than others with raw materials and markets usually making attempts to alter the situation and repartition the ‘spheres of influence’ in its favor by armed force. The result is a splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and war between them.”

—Joseph Stalin: *The Soviet Union and World Peace*.

- b) Contradictions between imperialist countries on one hand and colonial and dependent countries on the other are intensified, leading to colonial liberation and national liberation wars.
- c) Contradictions between the capitalist class and the working class are intensified, leading to the struggle for socialism.

- d) Contradictions between the capitalist world and the world of socialism lead to the danger of imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

e) In an overall sense, the main contradiction today is between the democratic forces of the world at the head of which stands the Soviet Union and the new peoples' democracies, and the anti-democratic forces headed by American imperialism and its imperialist, reactionary and fascist supporters in all countries.

2. Communists are neither militarists nor pacifists. They distinguish between two kinds of wars:

“a) *Just* wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

b) *Unjust* wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.”

—*History of the C.P.S.U.* (p. 167.)

3. The character of the two world wars:

a) World War I (1914-18) was an unjust, imperialist war on both sides. It was waged between the Allied Powers (Britain, France, U.S.A., etc.) and by the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, etc.) for colonies, markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of influence. The Marxist-Leninist attitude toward this war was one of opposition and struggle against it.

b) “. . . the Second World War is radically different from the first in its character. It must be kept in mind that the main fascist states—Germany, Japan and Italy—before attacking the Allied countries had abolished at home the last remnants of bourgeois democratic liberties, had established a cruel, terrorist regime, had trampled under foot the principles of sovereignty and freedom of small nations, declared the policy of seizure of other peoples' lands as their own policy, declared for the whole world to hear that they strove

for world domination and spread of the fascist regime throughout the world. . . .

"In view of this circumstance the Second World War against the Axis powers, as distinct from the First World War, assumed from the very beginning an anti-fascist liberating character, having also as one of its aims the re-establishment of democratic liberties.

"The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis powers could only strengthen and did strengthen the anti-fascist and liberating character of the Second World War."

—Speech by Stalin to his electors, Feb. 10, 1946.

4. Monopoly capitalism is inherently reactionary, and is the breeder of fascism and war.

- a) Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist sections of finance capital. It is not a new stage in the development of capitalism. It does not come suddenly, with one blow. It is generally preceded by the progressive destruction of the democratic and civil rights of the working class and the people generally.
- b) Fascism is not inevitable. It can be prevented if the working class is united, if the influence of fascist demagoguery is effectively overcome, if the influence in the labor movement of Right-wing Social-Democracy and of Trotskyism is destroyed, and if the working class becomes the center of a united people's and democratic front which resists every encroachment upon democratic and civil rights.
- c) In the United States the danger of fascism stems from the reactionary monopolies and trusts, spearheaded by the N.A.M., the duPonts, Morgans, Hoovers, Hearsts, McCormicks, and their Southern Bourbon allies.

## II. The Struggle for Peace and Democracy

### A. *The Struggle for Peace*

1. American imperialism's drive for world domination, its anti-Soviet struggle and incitation, its intervention against the

new European democracies and the people's forces in China, its Truman Doctrine, its gigantic peace-time military establishment, its monopoly of the atom bomb—all this undermines the peace, and, if not checked, will lead to a new world war. The struggle against the Truman Doctrine, the war-breeding policy of American imperialist domination of the world, is a central task of all peace-loving Americans.

Communists do not adopt a fatalistic attitude as to the possibility of preventing the outbreak of war. They mobilize the people to expose, and fight against, every policy or action making for imperialist war. They fight to prevent war. The Communist Party points out that there are forces in America and the world today which, if united, can block the outbreak of a new world war:

- a) The powerful Soviet Union plays the leading peace role in world affairs.
- b) The new European democracies are consolidating themselves and growing stronger.
- c) There is an upsurge of colonial liberation movements taking place in the Near and Far East.
- d) The trade unions united in the World Federation of Trade Unions are playing a new world role.
- e) An increasingly vital role is being played by labor movements in the governments of the West European countries, manifesting itself particularly in the leading role of the Communists in France and Italy.
- f) In the U.S.A., the trade union movement numbers 15 million members, a potentially powerful force capable of leading the masses of American people in the fight for peace.
- g) The masses of people throughout the world want peace and are prepared to fight to prevent the outbreak of a new world war.

2. A fight against revisionism is indispensable in waging an effective struggle for peace and security. Browder tried to liquidate such struggles. He regards monopoly capital as progressive organized capitalism, which frees itself of its contradictions; as peaceful imperialism, which liberates the colonies

and harmonizes the interests of the colonial people and imperialism. *Browderism thus disarms the American people in the struggle against the Truman-Vandenberg imperialist foreign policy and acts as an apologist for the most ruthless imperialism on earth today.*

3. The main slogans of the Party in the struggle for peace today are: Complete the disarmament, demilitarization and democratization of Germany and Japan. Fulfill the Potsdam, Moscow, and Teheran agreements. Restore the F.D.R. policy of Big Three unity, unanimity, and cooperation, especially between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Break diplomatic and economic relations with Franco Spain. Put an end to American imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese people and the European people's democracies. Withhold all credits and war materials from the dictatorial Kuomintang government. Grant the right of full and complete national independence to Puerto Rico. Repeal the Ball Act and withdraw American troops from the Philippines. Defeat the proposed inter-American military defense act. Abolish the Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staff and military pact.

## B. *The Struggle for Democracy*

1. The United States is a bourgeois-democratic republic in which the capitalist class controls the economic and political life of the country. The dictatorship of the capitalist class is veiled. The fact that democratic rights exist, does not change the fundamental class character of the American state as a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

2. The limitations of bourgeois-democracy assume many forms:

- a) The workers lack the material guarantees to enforce their rights to free speech, free press, free assembly, etc.
- b) Universal suffrage is allowed only so long as control by the capitalist class is assured.
- c) Systematic deception of the masses is practiced through control of parties, corruption of the press, radio, and all mediums of mass propaganda.

d) Restrictions on the franchise are enforced through the poll tax, residence qualifications, the white primaries, literacy tests, etc.

3. Although bourgeois democracy in the U.S.A. is formal and limited, and fundamentally "democracy for the rich," it is a matter of vital concern to the working class to defend democratic rights and institutions from the attacks of reaction and the forces of fascism.

4. America has rich traditions of struggle for democratic rights. The Bill of Rights, universal suffrage, abolition of slavery, compulsory education and abolition of child labor were all won as a result of the democratic struggle of the people. Our country itself was established in a truly democratic, revolutionary, progressive war. America's democratic traditions are powerful weapons in the continuing struggle for democracy, security, and peace.

5. The working class is not and cannot be indifferent to the form of bourgeois rule. It rejects the position that there is no difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism merely because both are forms of capitalist rule. It fights together with all democratic elements to protect and extend democratic rights and liberties, and to defend democracy from the attacks of fascism.

6. Communists do not wage the struggle against fascism and for democracy in order to perpetuate bourgeois rule but to create better conditions for the fight to establish socialism. The struggle for democracy is an indispensable part of the struggle for socialism.

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, constant and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

—V. I. Lenin.

7. The working class plays the leading role in the struggle for democracy:

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

#### READING MATERIAL:

George Dimitroff: *The United Front Against Fascism*. Part I.  
Joseph Stalin-V. M. Molotov: *The Soviet Union and World Peace*. Pp. 5-7; 20-28.

#### Additional:

A. Leontiev: *Political Economy*. Pp. 190-211.

#### QUESTIONS:

1. *Is a third world war inevitable?*
2. *How can the people's fight for a durable peace curb the instigators of war?*
3. *Why are the Communists the firmest defenders of democracy against fascism?*
4. *What is the difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism?*
5. *Disprove the contention that fascism is inevitable in the U.S.A.*

## LESSON IV

# THE NEGRO QUESTION

- I. STATUS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY
- II. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE TO THE UNITED STATES
- III. THE NEGRO QUESTION AS A SPECIAL QUESTION
- IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS
- V. WHITE CHAUVINISM
- VI. THE NEGRO PEOPLE AS AN ALLY OF THE PROLETARIAT

## I. Status of the Negro People in the U. S. Today

A. American imperialism forcibly maintains fourteen million Negro people in the United States in conditions of special exploitation and oppression. The Negro people are denied the rights which whites have enjoyed for generations. They are subjected to special forms of discrimination which are not directed against any other section of the population.

### *Facts and Figures on the Status of the Negro People in the U.S. Today*

Census figures for 1940 gave the Negro population in the U.S. as 12,865,518, divided as follows:

South—9,904,619, or 77 per cent of the Negro population.  
North—2,790,193, or 22 per cent of the Negro population.  
West—170,706, or 1 per cent of the Negro population.

Seven out of every ten Negro workers were in unskilled occupations in 1940. Three and one-half times more Negroes were in unskilled occupations as compared to white workers. During the war, progress was made toward greater employment of Negroes in skilled clerical and professional jobs in industry and public service. This trend has been sharply reversed since the end of the war.

#### *Incomes*

Two-thirds of all Negro families in the U.S.A. earned less than \$750 a year in 1940.

#### *Housing: Comparison of White and Negro Homes*

	White	Negro
Homes needing major repairs . . . . .	16.3%	35.1%
Homes without running water . . . . .	26.6%	62.0%

About 70 per cent of all Negro homes in the South have neither electricity nor running water. In both North and South, Negro residential areas are the most neglected as regards paving of streets, health and sanitation services, lighting, police protection, etc.

#### *Health*

In 1940, 73 out of every 1,000 Negro children (as compared with 43 out of each 1,000 white children) died before the end of the first year.

#### *Education*

The segregated Negro schools of the South are grossly inferior to even the seriously inadequate schools for white children. In practically all Southern states there are very wide Negro-white differences in regard to length of schooling period, building and equipment, pupil transportation, and availability of facilities for high schools, college and university education, etc.

Approximately 86 per cent of all public libraries in thirteen Southern states refuse to serve Negroes.

B. Some of the forms of special oppression, exploitation, and discrimination are:

- 1) Segregation and Jim Crow in housing, trains, restaurants, schools, theaters, public places, armed forces, etc.
- 2) Discrimination in employment—Negroes are first to be fired, last to be hired. Their employment is limited to the hardest and most menial tasks.
- 3) Denial of the right to vote in the South through the poll tax, "literacy" tests, white primaries, and the use of intimidation and terror.
- 4) Denial of constitutional rights and the benefits of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, disbarment from service on juries, etc.
- 5) Lynching, and police terror and violence against individual Negroes and whole Negro communities, as in Columbia, Tennessee.
- 6) Systematic subjection of the Negro people to daily insult and ridicule in books, newspapers, radio, movies, comics, etc.
- 7) Cultural discrimination through segregation, inferior school accommodations, as well as glaring inequality in education, training for skilled jobs, and professional opportunities.
- 8) Denial of land to the Negro people in the South. The land question lies at the heart of the Negro question in the South.

## II. Contributions of the Negro People to America

A. In the building of America, the Negro people, first as slaves, later as farmers and industrial workers, provided the hardest toil, pouring their sweat and labor into the creation of our country's wealth.

B. In the fight for democracy, great contributions were made by the Negro people.

- 1) Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the first soldier to fall in the Revolutionary War of Independence. Thousands of Negroes fought as soldiers in Washington's Continental Army.



- 2) In the fight to abolish slavery, many slave revolts were led by Negroes, such as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey; and Negroes in the Abolitionist movement, notably Frederick Douglass, stirred the conscience of America and were heroic precursors of the Civil War. Negroes volunteered their services in the Union Army. About 200,000 Negroes served with the Union forces, playing a vital role in winning the war. They sabotaged, led strikes, and conducted espionage in the Confederate Army and throughout the South, to help overthrow the slave power of the Southern Bourbons.
- 3) An increasingly active role is being played by the Negro people and their organizations today in the developing progressive coalition around the issues of peace and the fight against fascist reaction.

C. The cultural contributions of the Negro people are many and varied:

Benjamin Banneker, surveyor and astronomer, made the first clock in America, in 1770.

George Washington Carver made tremendous contributions in the development of dehydration of foods, the utilization of by-products and waste for the manufacture of plastics, and new uses for the sweet potato, the peanut, and dozens of other products.

Great cultural contributions have also been made in the spheres of music, poetry, literature, and other creative arts by Paul Lawrence Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Dean Dixon, Paul Robeson, Contee Cullen, Marian Anderson, Langston Hughes, Theodore Ward, W. E. B. DuBois, and many others.

Phyllis Wheatley was considered the poet of the American Revolution.

Frederick Douglass, titan of the Abolitionist movement, was one of America's greatest fighters for freedom and democracy.

In the field of sports, many of the most notable figures are Negroes, including Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Henry Armstrong, Jackie Robinson, etc.

### III. The Negro Question as a Special Question

A. The Negro working class is doubly exploited and doubly oppressed:

- 1) As Negroes.
- 2) As workers.

B. The Negro middle class is also exploited and oppressed both as Negroes and as members of the middle strata.

C. The Negro capitalists are relatively small and weak, and are systematically prevented by imperialism from developing.

Thus, Negroes are exploited and oppressed *as a people*. Discrimination and denial of rights and opportunities affect the Negro people *as a whole, including all classes*. Thus, the Negro question is not merely a class question; neither is it a national group question in the ordinary sense.

The Negro question in the United States is fundamentally a national question. In the Second Course of this series, we will show that the Negro people in the Black Belt constitute an oppressed nation which is fighting for the right to determine its own destiny.

### IV. The Struggle for Negro Rights

A. The labor movement has the special and urgent tasks:

- 1) To wage an unremitting struggle against all Jim-Crow practices, Lily White clauses, etc.
- 2) To open the doors of the trade unions to Negro workers on the basis of full equality.
- 3) To take the leadership in the fight for jobs, equal pay, and a just seniority and promotion system for Negro workers; to fight for the upgrading of Negro workers and where the apprentice system is involved fight for the employment of Negro apprentices.
- 4) To fight for equal educational facilities and training for all jobs and professions for the Negro people.
- 5) To advance Negroes to positions of leadership in the labor movement.

B. As the most advanced and progressive class, the working class must rally the people in the struggle to wipe out the foul crime of lynching, and must demand the death penalty for lynchers. The poll tax must be ended, and those in public life who incite violence and terror against the Negro people should be arrested and punished.

## V. White Chauvinism

### A. *What Is White Chauvinism?*

Chauvinism consists of any or all actions which are utilized to secure and justify the domination or oppression of one nation over another nation, or over national minorities, or any theory of "superior races."

White chauvinism is a system of ideas based upon the theory of "white superiority." It is utilized as an instrument of national oppression. In this country it is directed primarily against the Negro people.

Expressing itself very often as discrimination or segregation, white chauvinism takes many different forms, ranging from the ravings and actions of a Bilbo, Rankin or Talmadge to actions or words on the part of a worker who is not even conscious of carrying or expressing white chauvinism.

American imperialism maintains the special oppression of the Negro people as part of its "divide and rule" strategy. The theory of "white supremacy" is identical with and serves the same ends as the racist theories of Hitler. Its object is to set white against Negro in order to maintain the oppression of the Negro people, to prevent the united struggle of both against the common enemy, American imperialism. Racism and chauvinism seek to divert the working class from struggle against the real enemy, the monopolies.

The ideas and practices of race supremacy, of white chauvinism, harm not only Negroes; they are weapons aimed at white workers also. "Labor in the white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." (Karl Marx.) Hence, white workers must take the leadership in the fight to defeat the "divide and rule" strategy of the imperialist ruling class.

### B. *How Can White Chauvinism Be Combated?*

The elimination of white chauvinism and its remnants, conscious or unconscious, within the Party, the labor movement, and among the people generally, in all its forms, is the duty of all Communist Party members. It is the *special* responsibility of *white* Party members. Communists must be the educators of the people in the shops and factories, the trade unions and communities, against prejudice, chauvinism, and racial hatred, and for unity and solidarity.

The struggle against white chauvinism is the concrete struggle against all of its manifestations. Some of the most important of these are given in section I. B. of this lesson. Communists, wherever they are, especially white Communists, must take the leadership in rallying the white masses to fight against such white chauvinism.

Communists are also subject to the pressure of chauvinist ideas which capitalism pumps into the very atmosphere. Consequently all Party members must be constantly on guard against all open or hidden forms or expressions of white chauvinism in order to stamp them out wherever and whenever they manifest themselves. Some of the most important hidden forms of white chauvinism to be found in sections of the Party are: failure to mobilize Party organizations or members to fight on issues of direct concern to the Negro people; lack of sensitivity to, or enthusiasm for such struggle; failure to promote Negro members to responsible posts; failure to train and prepare them for such posts; failure to develop personal friendships and relationships with Negro workers and comrades.

## VI. The Negro People as an Ally of the Proletariat

The Negro people, because of their numbers and strength, and because of their social, political, and economic position in society as a doubly exploited and doubly oppressed people, are one of the most powerful allies of the working class in the struggle for democracy, progress, and against reaction and in the ultimate struggle for socialism.

## READING MATERIAL:

Benjamin J. Davis: *The Path of Negro Liberation.*

Bob Thompson: "Basic Aspects of the Negro People's Struggle." (*Political Affairs*, February, 1947.)

Henry Winston: "Party Tasks Among the Negro People." (*Political Affairs*, April, 1946.)

## QUESTIONS:

1. *What is the source of the special exploitation of the Negro people?*
2. *Why is there a need for special demands in the struggle for full equality of the Negro people?*
3. *What are the various forms of white chauvinism?*
4. *How does the struggle for Negro liberation weaken the monopolists in America?*

## LESSON V

# SOCIALISM

- I. FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF ECONOMY
- II. SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.
- III. SOCIALISM A REALITY ON ONE-SIXTH OF THE EARTH'S SURFACE — THE U.S.S.R.
- IV. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY—THE HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY
- V. THE CONSISTENT ANTI-FASCIST PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

## I. Features of the Socialist System of Economy

1. "... the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class." (Constitution of the C.P.U.S.A.) The basis for the exploitation of man by man is eliminated.

2. Production is for use and not for profit. The product of social labor is appropriated by society.

3. The working class is the leader of the country. It works for society and not for exploiters. The exploiting class is abolished.

4. Political power in the country rests in the hands of the people under the leadership of the working class supported by the poor and middle farmers.

## II. Socialism in the U.S.A.

In the U.S.A., socialism is the next inevitable historic stage.

1. The material conditions necessary for socialism are created by capitalism. In the U.S., these conditions are fully ripe. The tremendous concentration of industry and labor power, our great resources, the skill of the working class, etc., would, under socialism, create abundance for the people in a short time.

- a) But we cannot have socialism until the people desire it and are ready to struggle to achieve it. When they do, they will find the proper path for achieving it.
- b) The working class is brought to a realization of the need for socialism by its own experiences in the struggle to defend its economic and political interests. But for this it is essential that the Marxist vanguard carry on the systematic socialist education of the masses in the course of these struggles.

"In the struggle for the program for peace and democracy, jobs and security, favorable conditions are created for the masses of our people to recognize, on the basis of their own experiences, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along socialist lines.

"... We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation."

—Resolution of the National Convention,  
C.P.U.S.A., July, 1945.

2. Browder revisionism completely abandoned the perspective of socialism for the United States.

## III. Socialism Is a Reality on One-sixth of the Earth's Surface — the U.S.S.R.

1. The victory of the Russian Revolution on Nov. 7, 1917, established the rule of the working class which began the task of reconstructing the nation's economy on a socialist basis.

2. Organized, planned economy guarantees the progressive improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the people and forever abolishes anarchy of production, the planlessness of capitalist production.

3. Unemployment, insecurity, and crises are eliminated for all time.

While the cost of living has gone up in capitalist countries, prices of food in the U.S.S.R. have been cut substantially (40 per cent). Recent figures show prices have been cut as follows: bread, 60 per cent; cereals, 53 per cent; sugar, 33 per cent; coffee, 40 per cent.

Hours have been cut from the wartime eleven to eight a day, *with no loss in take-home pay*. Rents, which are adjusted to earning power, are stabilized at prewar levels. The increase of productivity guarantees the simultaneous increase of wages and reduction of prices.

The first postwar budget (1946) cut defense expenditures by nearly half, increased expenditures on housing and social welfare, increased wages, and more than doubled the appropriation for science.

4. Poverty is abolished. The increase in wealth brings a rise in the material and cultural conditions of the people.

5. The antagonism of classes is eliminated and replaced by the friendly collaboration of workers, farmers, and socialist intelligentsia.

## IV. Socialist Democracy Is the Highest Form of Democracy

1. The present Soviet Constitution, adopted in 1936, goes far beyond any democratic state document in world history because it is based on the socialist ownership of the means of

production and the elimination of exploitation of man by man.

2. It promulgates and guarantees genuine liberty for the people. The Soviet Constitution, as the greatest charter of liberty mankind has ever developed, provides:

- a) "The right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.
- b) "The right to rest and leisure is ensured by . . . the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees and the provision of wide networks of sanatoria, rest homes, and clubs for the accommodation of the toilers.
- c) "The right to maintenance in old age, in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work, is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at state expense, free medical service, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the accommodation of the toilers.
- d) "The right to education is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education; by the fact that education, including higher education, is free of charge; by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher schools; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language and the organization of free vocational, technical, and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective farms.
- e) "For women: equal rights with men in all spheres . . . state protection of the interests of mother and child, maternity leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.
- f) "Freedom of speech, press, assembly; freedom of street demonstrations and processions.
- g) "Universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot."

3. No other country in the world has guaranteed such democratic rights by providing the material means for their realization. This is a higher type of democracy than the limited and formal bourgeois democracy of the U. S.

4. National oppression is abolished. Complete equality and harmony of nations exists within the Soviet Union.

5. Between the socialist democracy of the U.S.S.R. and the bourgeois democracies, there exists a new type of democracy in Europe and Asia today. The new European democracies (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Communist-held region of China) are *not yet socialist democracies* but *they are no longer bourgeois democracies*.

- a) The state, in these countries although not a *dictatorship of the proletariat*, is not the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*.
- b) Although not yet the highest type of democracy (socialist democracy), it is a true people's democratic state, vastly more democratic than any bourgeois democracy.
- c) The state is a democratic coalition of the working class, farmers, city middle classes and democratic sections of the small capitalists, under the leadership of the working class.
- d) The power of the monopolies and reactionary (Quisling, pro-fascist) classes is broken; the independence of the countries from imperialist yoke is being consolidated.
- e) Possibilities are thus being established for the peaceful development toward socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## V. The Consistent Anti-Fascist Peace Policy of the Soviet Union

1. The role of the Soviet Union in the war against fascism, in which it made the greatest sacrifices and the most decisive contributions to the joint war effort of the Big Three, was the most outstanding factor in saving world civilization from fascist barbarism.

2. The role of the Soviet Union in realizing the people's aim of an enduring peace is equally decisive. In the fight for a lasting peace the people of the world find in the Soviet Union their most consistent and firm champion.

3. The championing of a firm and consistent policy of peace and freedom for the peoples of all countries is the historic role of the U.S.S.R. It is the fundamental aim of its foreign policy, proclaimed from the very birth of the Soviet Union.

#### READING MATERIAL:

A. B. Magil: *Socialism—What's In It For You*. Pp. 24-64.  
Preamble of the *Constitution, C.P.U.S.A.*  
Articles in the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.  
*Stalin on the New Soviet Constitution*.

#### Additional:

Anna Rochester: *The Nature of Capitalism*. Chapt. 10.  
Frederick Engels: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.  
V. I. Lenin: "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism." *Selected Works*, Vol. XI. Pp. 33-36.

#### QUESTIONS:

1. *How will a socialist United States eliminate the anarchy of production?*
2. *Why can't a socialist country be imperialistic? What are the main contributions of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace?*
3. *Why is socialist democracy the highest form of democracy?*
4. *What is the national policy of the Soviet Union?*

## LESSON VI

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY

## I. A PARTY OF A NEW TYPE II. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

### I. A Party of a New Type

#### A. *The Communist Party Is the Political Party of the Working Class*

1. Without a political party leading the working class, representing both the immediate as well as the historical class interests of the working class, it is impossible for the working class to achieve socialism.

2. The working class is the only consistent, progressive, and revolutionary class.

3. The Communist Party is the most class-conscious section of the working class. It understands the laws of social development and knows the conditions required for the emancipation of the working class. It is the Party of socialism.

#### B. *The Role of the Communist Party Today.*

1. The Communist Party supports all groups and people who enter into the fight against reaction, at the same time criticizing any policies which may weaken that fight.

2. It promotes the coalition of all anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and anti-monopoly labor and progressive forces for independent political action, for the building of a people's party in the U. S.

3. The Communist Party recognizes that:

a) The Republican Party is the main party of the most reactionary, most imperialistic, fascist-minded monopolies.

- b) The Truman Administration has betrayed the policies of Roosevelt and surrendered to Republican reaction. In the field of foreign policy, it is the initiator and promoter of Wall Street's policy of world domination.
  - c) The Democratic Party cannot be the vehicle for democratic, progressive political expression, or an instrument of struggle against monopoly reaction, for it is the second party of monopoly capitalism.
  - d) A new political alignment advancing the interests of the working class and the people generally is urgently needed to stop reaction,
  - e) Such a new political alignment must be based on the labor movement and embrace all democratic forces of the people: Negro people, farmers, veterans, youth, women's organizations, and all progressive independents, Democrats or Republicans; it must take the character of an independent, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist People's Party led by the labor movement.
  - f) *Such an independent party is the next historic step forward in breaking the working class from the parties of capitalism, in promoting the political independence of labor, and advancing its class consciousness.*
4. The Communist Party works in all ways possible to defeat reaction as the immediate historical task and precondition for further social advance.

#### C. *Some Contributions of the Communist Party to the American People and the Working Class*

1. The Communist Party is a profoundly American Party. It arose and grew out of the conditions and struggles of the American working class. The Communist Party in the U. S. has its roots deep in American soil. It was born in 1919, as a climax of decades of struggle of the American people and the American working class.

- 2. The Communist Party initiated:
  - a) The drive to organize the unorganized into industrial unions, which laid the groundwork for the C.I.O.
  - b) The fight for social security and unemployment insurance, the unemployed demonstration of March, 1930, and the Hunger Marches.
  - c) The fight for Negro rights and against anti-Semitism (Scottsboro, etc.).
  - d) The struggle for peace and against fascism, for collective security, for American-Soviet friendship, for Republican Spain, against Munichism, etc.

#### D. *The Trade Unions and the Communist Party*

1. Trade unions are the broadest class organizations of the working class. Fundamentally, they are associations to overcome competition among the workers. They are organs for defending living standards and working conditions.

2. Without trade unions there would be no effective limit to capitalist exploitation; the working class would be degraded to "one level mass of broken-down wretches and paupers" (Marx).

3. In the present period, trade unions are the main bulwarks of democracy, main dikes against fascism.

4. Pure and simple trade unionism, however, historically limits the class struggle to day-to-day bargaining with employers ("a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"), accepts capitalist exploitation and wage slavery, denies the independent political role of the working class, and supports capitalist politics.

5. Complete emancipation from exploitation cannot be accomplished by trade union struggles alone. Trade union struggles do not, in themselves, educate the working class to understand the necessity for, and the knowledge of how to achieve the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism. For that, workers must have Marxist theory, embodied in a Marxist party of socialism—the Communist Party.

## II. The Organization and Structure of the Communist Party

### A. *Who Can Belong to the Communist Party?*

“Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party. . . .

“Any person eligible for membership according to Section I, who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the Party, who reads the Party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member.”

—(Sections 1 and 2, Article III, *Constitution, C.P.U.S.A.*)

The Communist Party, as the political party of the working class—while welcoming into its ranks members of other classes who identify themselves with the working class, accept the program of the Party and participate in its activity—must root itself among workers of basic industries. This is fundamental because of the position of the working class in capitalist society in general, and the decisive role of workers in basic industry in particular.

### B. *The Basic Forms of Communist Organization*

The shop and community clubs are the basic forms of Party organization.

1. The shop club roots the Party in industry. It provides the best method for the Party to keep in constant touch with the most important section of the working class and to defend the economic and political interests of labor and the nation.

2. The community club reacts to every problem, hardship, grievance, and need in the community and provides leadership

in the development of struggles around such issues as: housing, prices, discrimination, veterans' needs, motherhood and childhood protection, Negro rights, school and health conditions, etc., as well as peace and democracy.

In the course of the struggle for the day-to-day needs of the people, the community club has the task of promoting the systematic socialist education of the people.

3. The industrial club is a special form, embracing a number of shops in one industry. It may be a transitional club which can help to form a shop club. However, because of the nature of the industry in which it is established, the industrial club may be organized on a permanent basis.

### C. *Democratic Centralism*

The Party Constitution establishes democratic centralism as the fundamental guiding principle of Communist Party organization.

Democratic centralism combines the conscious and active democratic participation of the membership in the work of the Party, and the best forms of centralized leadership.

#### 1. *Why is it democratic?*

- a) The membership participates in formulating policies and tasks.
- b) The leadership is elected by the membership and is directly responsible to the membership.
- c) Leading committees in all sections of the Party are elected directly by the membership or by its elected representatives.

“All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them.”

—Section 6, Article VI, *Constitution*



## 2. *What is Centralism?*

- a) The Party is one unified whole. Its organization and activity are centralized under the leadership of the National Committee. The convention is the supreme and final authority in the Party. Representing the collective, democratically expressed will of the entire membership, it determines Party policies and elects the National Committee, which is the highest authority between conventions.
- b) Once a decision is made, the minority is subordinate to the majority in its execution.
- c) The lower organizations must carry out the decisions of the higher organizations.

## D. *Communist Discipline*

1. Communist discipline is not imposed from above, but is voluntary and self-imposed. Real discipline is conscious discipline. A fundamental condition for Party discipline is a full understanding of Communist policies, and devotion and loyalty to the cause of the working class.

2. Communist discipline does not exclude expression of criticism or a conflict of opinions. It must be based upon the broadest and freest discussion, upon freedom to express differences and discussion of controversial questions—until decisions are made. Once a decision has been made, it must, however, be carried out by all without reservations. Members have the right to appeal the decisions to a higher body, but are obligated to carry out the decision while the appeal is pending.

3. During the period of revisionism there was a weakening of Communist discipline as a result of the general weakening of our inner Party democracy.

## E. *How the Club Functions*

*The club is the basic organization of the Party.*

The function of the club is to participate in the formulation

of the policies of the Party and to carry out these policies in the daily work of the Party, through mass struggles.

## F. *Communists are Good Americans*

A Communist is first of all a man of the masses, one who is sensitive to every issue, every need, every grievance of the working people. The Communists have no interests apart from the interests of the working class and the people.

The first concern of a Communist organization in a shop or community is the needs and interests of the working people. The Party organization leads the fight against every injustice, every wrong suffered by the people. The Communists, as good Americans, dedicate themselves daily in practice, in action, to promoting the welfare and happiness of the American people—today, while they are committed to socialism, the ultimate liberation of all mankind.

## READING MATERIAL:

*Constitution of the C.P.U.S.A.*

Betty Gannett: *The Communist Party and You*. Pp. 31-48.

Joseph Stalin: *Foundations of Leninism*. Chapt. 8.

## *Additional:*

*What Do Communists Really Want.*

*What You Should Know About the Communists.*

Eugene Dennis: *Let the People Know*.

## QUESTIONS:

1. *Show how the roots of the C.P.U.S.A. stem from the struggles of the working class in America.*
2. *What relation does the Communist Party have to the working class as a whole and to a third party?*
3. *Refute the slander that the Communist Party is a con-*

*spiratorial group and advocates force and violence. How does the Party propose to achieve its present program? How does the Party propose to win the working class for socialism?*

4. *Show how the Party is strengthened by fighting anti-working-class ideology both inside and outside its ranks.*
5. *Why is inner Party democracy essential to the unity of the Party?*
6. *Show how Communist discipline is the opposite of regimented thinking and action.*
7. *Why are Party clubs the decisive forms of mobilization of the people in their every-day struggles?*

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