

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 18

CONTINUATION COMMITTEE
READING LISTS

Study schedule and suggested reading list

1. June 9th Josh

Party Program

10th Party Congress, Draft and explanation of a Party Program for Russian Social Democracy, Critique of the Gotha Program, Lenin's notes on Plekhanov's Draft Program

2. June 16 John T

Party Resolution

1. CPSU (Short Course) chapters 2,3,4,
2. Foundations of Leninism-chapter on Party
3. Democratic Centralism-Nelson Perry
4. JT's paper

**suggested additional one step forward, two steps back-Lenin

3. June 23 Reggie

National Question

1. Marxism and the National Question-Stalin
2. Foundations of Leninism chapter 6

above suggested as original reading

3. Theses-Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question-Lenin pg. 55-59 Calcutta *P. 432 Vol. 3*

4. Theses on the Immediate Task of the Party in connection with the National Problem Stalin pgs. 121-126 Selected Works

5 Right of Nations to Self Determination pgs. 1-29 suggested

**suggested in addition pgs. 29-54 Calcutta optional 1-54

4. June 30 Marian

Negro Resolution and Racism

* 1. Comintern- Movement in Colonies -Semi-Colonies 6th Congress

→ 2. GCCI- Oct 26 1930

3. Negro National Colonial Question -CL

4. Party School Report on National Question -CL

5. July 7 Jose

Resolution on Puerto Rico

New Democracy

6. July 14 Al

Resolution on Philipines

1. New Democracy

* 4 Articles on Philipines- CPP statement Peoples Tribune vol *Vol 4 # 9/72 11/1973* 5#1, 5#2, 5#3, 5#9

7. July 21 Carolyn

Regional Autonomy, Southwest and Native American Resolutions

1. Regional Autonomy Peoples Tribune *Vol 2 # 9*

2. Stalin Selected Works Pg. 88

X 3 7th April Conference of the RSDLP pg. 94-97 Stalin Selected Works

*4. National Factors in Party state Development *-Calcutta*

5 Peking Review #18 1972

*6. Peoples Tribune Navajo People, Aluet People Vol *5, 9* 5/2, 5/8-6/1, 6/2

8. July 28 John S
Trade Union Resolution

1. Left Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder

2. What is To Be Done chapter 3

X On British Unions- Engels

Suggested Additional *On Fines

9. Aug. 4 John L.

Youth Resolution

1. Lenin on Youth

X 2. Rights of Women and Youth Hoxha

X 3.* Tasks of Youth Stalin Selected Works

10. Aug. 11 Babs

Woman's Question

1. The Woman's Question- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin

2. Rights of Women and Youth

Emancipation of Women- Lenin

11. Aug. 18 Jaime

United Front Against Fascism

1. United Front Against Fascism-D m trov

2 * selectionf from Fascism and Social Revolution -Dutt

Polemics Proposal for the General Line of the Communist Movement-CPC no. 10 pg 18-20
and People's Tribune vol. 6#3 Cl reply to OL.

12 Aug. 25 Lynne

Draft Program

*Certain Slections from Work will be provided at a later date

** Suggested Reading-but only in addition -least priority

Suggested readings CC Political Economy/Leading Force

Note: the order is a suggested order that starts with several over-all general perspectives on political economy and advanced capitalism, is followed by specific selections defining basic concepts necessary for the discussion, and is then followed by a discussion of monopoly and advanced capitalist conditions, including a selection from Baran & Sweezy, neo-Marxists who make an attempt in a partial way to answer the kinds of questions we are raising.

Sources

- Lenin, "Marx's Economic Doctrine" Vol. I (hard cover pp 41-50,
paper pp 15-25)
"Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat"
Vol. I (hard cover, pp 53-57,
paper pp. 23-32)
- Stalin, "The Basic Economic Laws of Modern Capitalism and of Socialism"
The Essential Stalin pp 473-77
- Marx, The German Ideology - Concentration of Manufacture
International, 1968, paper, pp 565-58
- Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Part III
- Marx, The Communist Manifesto, Part I, "Bourgeoisie and Proletarians"
- Marx, Wage, Price and Profit, Parts V-XIII
- Marx, Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. I, Section 1, "Commodities"
Section 4, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof"
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. VIII, "Constant Capital and Variable Capital"
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. X, "Equalization of General Rate of Profit" (pp 195-199 paper) last 4 pages
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. XV, Section 6, "Machinery and Modern Industry"
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. XXIII, "Interest and Profit of Enterprise", last half of chapt. (Begin "Let us now consider profit of enterprise in greater detail".)
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. XXV, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation", Sections 2-3
- Kapital, Vol. I, Chapt. XXVII, "The Role of Credit in Capitalist Production"
- Baran & Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, Chapt. 6, Parts 1-3, "The Absorption of Surplus: Civilian Government"

jobbing in all articles; by the development of finance in general. Again capital lost a great part of the natural character which had elug to it.

The concentration of trade and manufacture in one country, England, developing irresistibly in the seventeenth century, gradually created for this country a relative world-market, and thus a demand for the manufactured products of this country, which could no longer be met by the industrial productive forces hitherto existing. This demand, outgrowing the productive forces, was the motive power which, by producing big industry—the application of elemental forces to industrial ends, machinery and the most complex division of labour—called into existence the third period of private ownership since the Middle Ages. There already existed in England the other pre-conditions of this new phase: freedom of competition inside the nation, the development of theoretical mechanics, etc. Indeed, the science of mechanics perfected by Newton was altogether the most popular science in France and England in the eighteenth century. (Free competition inside the nation itself had everywhere to be conquered by a revolution— → 1640 and 1688 in England, 1789 in France.) Competition soon compelled every country that wished to retain its historical role to protect its manufactures by renewed customs regulations (the old duties were no longer any good against big industry); and soon after to introduce big industry under protective duties.

Big industry universalized competition in spite of these protective measures (it is practical free trade; the duty is only a palliative, a barrier within free trade), established means of communication and the modern world market, subordinated trade to itself, transformed all capital into industrial capital, and thus produced the rapid circulation (the financial system is perfected) and the centralization of the various forms of capital. By

universal competition it forced all individuals to strain their energy to the utmost. It destroyed as far as possible ideology, religion, morality, etc., and where it could not do this, made them into a palpable lie. It produced world-history for the first time, in so far as it made all civilized nations and every individual member of them dependent for the satisfaction of their wants on the whole world, thus destroying the former natural exclusiveness of separate nations. It made natural science subservient to capital and took from the division of labour the last semblance of its natural character. It destroyed natural growth in general, as far as this is possible while labour exists, and resolved all natural relationships into money relationships. In the place of natural towns it created the modern, large industrial cities which have sprung up over-night. Wherever it penetrated, it destroyed the crafts and all earlier stages of industry. It completed the victory of the commercial town over the countryside. Its first premise was the automatic system. Its development produced a mass of productive forces, for which private property became just as much a fetter as the guild had been for manufacture and the small, rural workshop for the developing craft. These productive forces received under the system of private property a one-sided development only, and became for the most part destructive forces; moreover, a great multitude of such forces could find no application at all within this system. Generally speaking, it created everywhere the same relations between the classes of society, and thus destroyed the peculiar individuality of the various nationalities. And finally, while the bourgeoisie of each nation still retained separate national interests, big industry created a class, which in all nations has the same interest and with which nationality is already dead; a class which is really rid of all the old world and at the same time stands pitted against it. For the worker it makes not

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only the relation to the capitalist, but labour itself, unbearable.

It is evident that big industry does not reach the same level of development in all districts of a country. This does not, however, retard the class movement of the proletariat, because the proletarians created by big industry assume leadership of this movement and carry the whole mass along with them, and because the workers excluded from big industry are placed by it in a still worse situation than the workers in big industry themselves. The countries in which big industry is developed act in a similar manner upon the more or less non-industrial countries, in so far as the latter are swept by universal commerce into the universal competitive struggle.* These different forms are just so many forms of the organization of labour, and hence of property. In each period a unification of the existing productive forces takes place, in so far as this has been rendered necessary by needs.

(b) *The Relation of State and Law³³ to Property.*

The first form of property, in the ancient world as in the Middle Ages, is tribal property, determined with the Romans chiefly by war, with the Germans by the rearing of cattle. In the case of the ancient peoples, since several tribes live together in one town, the tribal property appears as State property, and the right of the individual to it as mere "*possession*" which, however,

*Competition makes individuals, not only the bourgeois but still more the workers, mutually hostile, in spite of the fact that it brings them together. Hence it is a long time before these individuals can unite, apart from the fact that for the purposes of this union—if it is not to be merely local—the necessary means, the great industrial cities and cheap and quick communications, have first to be produced by big industry. Hence every organized power standing over against the isolated individuals, who live in relationships duly reproducing this relation, can only be overcome after long struggles. To demand that competition should be tantamount to demanding that competition should be abolished is to demand that the individuals should be able to overcome their mutual relations by over which in their own interests they have no control.

like tribal property as a whole, is confined to landed property only. Real private property began with the ancients, as with modern nations, with personal movable property—(slavery and community) (*dominium ex jure Quiritium*).⁴⁰ In the case of the nations which grew out of the Middle Ages, tribal property evolved through various stages—feudal landed property, corporative movable property, manufacture-capital—to modern capital, determined by big industry and universal competition, i.e. pure private property, which has cast off all semblance of a communal institution and has shut out the State from any influence on the development of property. To this modern private property corresponds the modern State, which, purchased gradually by the owners of property by means of taxation, has fallen entirely into their hands through the national debt, and its existence has become wholly dependent on the commercial credit which the owners of property, the bourgeois, extend to it in the rise and fall of State funds on the stock exchange. By the mere fact that it is a class and no longer an estate, the bourgeoisie is forced to organize itself no longer locally, but nationally, and to give a general form to its mean average interest. Through the emancipation of private property from the community, the State has become a separate entity, beside and outside civil society; but it is nothing more than the form of organization which the bourgeois necessarily adopt both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests. The independence of the State is only found nowadays in those countries where the estates have not yet completely developed into classes, where the estates, done away with in more advanced countries, still have a part to play, and where there exists a mixture; countries, that is to say in which no one section of the population can achieve dominance over the others. This is the

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helped Germany to recover economically and to enhance her economic war potential. Of course, when the United States and Britain assisted Germany's economic recovery, they did so with a view to setting a recovered Germany against the Soviet Union, to utilizing her against the Land of socialism. But Germany directed her forces in the first place against the Anglo-French-American bloc. And when Hitler Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, the Anglo-French-American bloc, far from joining with Hitler Germany, was compelled to enter into a coalition with the U.S.S.R. against Hitler Germany.

Consequently, the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.

What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? I think there is no such guarantee.

But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force.

It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true.

The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went farther and pursued socialist aims.

It is possible that in a definite conjuncture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then it will no longer be the present-day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

What is most likely is that the present-day peace move-

ment, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a *particular* war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a *particular* peace, in the renunciation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force—and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.

7. THE BASIC ECONOMIC LAWS OF MODERN CAPITALISM AND OF SOCIALISM

As you know, the question of the basic economic laws of capitalism and of socialism arose several times in the course of the discussion. Various views were expressed on this score, even the most fantastic. True, the majority of the participants in the discussion reacted feebly to the matter, and no decision on the point was indicated. However, none of the participants denied that such laws exist.

Is there a basic economic law of capitalism? Yes, there is. What is this law, and what are its characteristic features? The basic economic law of capitalism is such a law as determines not some particular aspect or particular processes of the development of capitalist production, but all the principal aspects and all the principal processes of its development—one, consequently, which determines the essence of capitalist production, its essential nature.

Is the law of value the basic economic law of capitalism? No. The law of value is primarily a law of commodity production. It existed before capitalism, and, like commodity production, will continue to exist after the overthrow of capitalism, as it does, for instance, in our country, although, it is true, with a restricted sphere of operation. Having a wide sphere of operation in capitalist conditions, the law of value,

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ment, next movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary preparation, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the renunciation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Every good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force—and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

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of course, play a large part in the development of capitalist production. But it really does not determine the essence of capitalist production and the principles of capitalist profit; it does not even pose these problems. Therefore, it cannot be the basic economic law of modern capitalism.

For the same reasons, the law of competition and anarchy of production, or the law of uneven development of capitalism in the various countries cannot be the basic economic law of capitalism either.

It is said that the law of the average rate of profit is the basic economic law of modern capitalism. That is not true. Modern capitalism, monopoly capitalism, cannot content itself with the average profit, which moreover has a tendency to decline, in view of the decreasing organic composition of capital. It is not the average profit, but the maximum profit that modern monopoly capitalism demands, which it needs for more or less regular extended reproduction.

Most appropriate to the concept of a basic economic law of capitalism is the law of surplus value, the law of the origin and growth of capitalist profit. It really does determine the basic features of capitalist production. But the law of surplus value is too general a law; it does not cover the problem of the highest rate of profit, the securing of which is a condition for the development of monopoly capitalism. In order to fill this hiatus, the law of surplus value must be made more concrete and developed further in adaptation to the conditions of monopoly capitalism, at the same time bearing in mind that monopoly capitalism demands not any sort of profit, but precisely the maximum profit. That will be the basic economic law of modern capitalism.

The main features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits.

It is said that the average profit might nevertheless be

reputed as quite sufficient for capital accumulation under modern conditions. That is not true. The capitalist reaches the lowest point of profitability, below which the production becomes impossible. But it would be a mistake to think that, in seizing colonies, subjugating peoples and waging wars, the magnates of modern monopoly capitalism are striving to secure only the average profit. No, it is not the average profit, nor yet superprofit—which, as a rule, represents only a slight addition to the average profit—but precisely the maximum profit that is the motor of monopoly capitalism. It is precisely the necessity of securing the maximum profits that drives monopoly capitalism to such risky undertakings as the enslavement and systematic plunder of colonies and other backward countries, the conversion of a number of independent countries into dependent countries, the organization of new wars—which to the magnates of modern capitalism is the “business” best adapted to the extraction of the maximum profit—and, lastly, attempts to win world economic supremacy.

The importance of the basic economic law of capitalism consists, among other things, in the circumstance that, since it determines all the major phenomena in the development of the capitalist mode of production, its booms and crises, its victories and defeats, its merits and demerits—the whole process of its contradictory development—it enables us to understand and explain them.

Here is one of many “striking” examples.

We are all acquainted with facts from the history and practice of capitalism illustrative of the rapid development of technology under capitalism, when the capitalists appear as the standard-bearers of the most advanced techniques, as revolutionaries in the development of the technique of production. But we are also familiar with facts of a different kind, illustrative of a halt in technical development under capitalism, when the capitalists appear as reactionaries in the development of new techniques and not infrequently resort to hand labour.

How is this howling contradiction to be explained? It can only be explained by the basic economic law of modern capitalism, that is, by the necessity of obtaining the maximum

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profit. Capitalism is in favour of new techniques when they promise it the highest profit. Capitalism is against new techniques, and for resort to hand labour, when the new techniques do not promise the highest profit.

That is how matters stand with the basic economic law of modern capitalism.

Is there a basic economic law of socialism? Yes, there is. What are the essential features and requirements of this law? The essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

Consequently: instead of maximum profits—maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society; instead of development of production with breaks in continuity from boom to crisis and from crisis to boom—unbroken expansion of production; instead of periodic breaks in technical development, accompanied by destruction of the productive forces of society—an unbroken process of perfecting production on the basis of higher techniques.

It is said that the law of the balanced, proportionate development of the national economy is the basic economic law of socialism. That is not true. Balanced development of the national economy, and, hence, economic planning, which is a more or less faithful reflection of this law, can yield nothing by themselves, if it is not known for what purpose economic development is planned, or if that purpose is not clear. The law of balanced development of the national economy, can yield the desired result only if there is a purpose for the sake of which economic development is planned. This purpose the law of balanced development of the national economy cannot itself provide. Still less can economic planning provide it. This purpose is inherent in the basic economic law of socialism, in the shape of its requirements, as expounded above. Consequently, the law of balanced development of the national economy can operate to its full scope only if its operation rests on the basic economic law of socialism.

As to economic planning, it can achieve positive results

only if two conditions are met: (1) only if it corresponds to the requirements of the law of value of development of the national economy, and (2) if it corresponds, in its way, to the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism.

8. OTHER QUESTIONS

1) Extra-economic coercion under feudalism.

Of course, extra-economic coercion did play a part in strengthening the economic power of the feudal landlords; however, not it, but feudal ownership of the land was the basis of feudalism.

2) Personal property of the collective-farm household.

It would be wrong to say, as the draft textbook does, that "every household in a collective farm has in personal use a cow, small livestock and poultry." Actually, as we know, it is not in personal use, but as personal *property* that the collective-farm household has its cow, small livestock, poultry, etc. The expression "in personal use" has evidently been taken from the Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel. But a mistake was made in the Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which was drafted more carefully, puts it differently, viz.:

"Every household in a collective farm . . . has as its personal property a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements."

That, of course, is correct.

It would be well, in addition, to state more particularly that every collective farmer has as his personal property from one to so-many cows, depending on local conditions, so-many sheep, goats, pigs (also from-to, depending on local conditions), and an unlimited quantity of poultry (ducks, geese, hens, turkeys).

Such detailed particulars are of great importance for our comrades abroad, who want to know what exactly has remained as the personal property of the collective-farm household now that agriculture in our country has been collectivized.

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As to economic planning, it can achieve positive results

only if two conditions are fulfilled: if it corresponds to the requirements of the basic economic law of development of the national economy, and if it conforms, in its content, to the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism.

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