

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 27

MIDWEST REGIONAL CADRE
SCHOOL INTRODUCTON OT
CLASS OUTLINES

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PARTY SCHOOL AND A MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement....The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory." (1)

It is our duty to defeat the revisionists and opportunists, build a communist party, and unite the proletariat into the vanguard position in the fight for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only in the fight to build a communist party can the revisionists and opportunists be defeated and the proletariat united in its struggle for power. To have such a party in fact is to have a national structure of cadre or agents of the party who are politically advanced, strong theoretically, and ideologically sound, with close ties to the working class movement. We must build such cadre or agents. We must prepare and arm ourselves for the revolutionary struggles ahead. It is these political needs that explain our slogan that: "education is our main political task in this period of party building." (2) These schools are to help each and every comrade and the League as a whole for the fight to build such a party.

It is not enough to recognize that there are two world outlooks on education, bourgeois and proletarian, and to denounce the bourgeois. It is also necessary for every comrade to master the Marxist-Leninist method of education.

But before getting into the Marxist-Leninist method it is necessary to stress the importance of a Marxist-Leninist education. What then is the importance of a Marxist-Leninist education? First of all, Marxism-Leninism is a science which requires deep and thorough analysis: "In particular, it will be the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, i.e., that it be studied." (3) And again: "In order to build, you have to know, you have to master science. But in order to know, you have to study. To study steadfastly, patiently." (4) Secondly, Marxism-Leninism is the science which places all of the knowledge of mankind in the hands of the proletariat and the proletariat revolution. And lastly, not studying Marxist-Leninist theory leads to the strengthening of bourgeois ideology - for the development of proletarian ideology comes out of the process of mastering the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The method of Marxism-Leninism (and a Marxist-Leninist education) takes as its starting point that all theory originates in practice and must again be proven in practice. It also implies that there is a dialectical relationship between theory and practice. The dialectics of the revolution in the U.S.N.A. require not only an analysis of the revolutionary process here, but also a continuous study of the world wide proletarian theories and experiences if we are to succeed. The dialectical method of Marxism-Leninism requires that we analyse afresh each problem or phenomenon, take into consideration Marxist-Leninist theory, and come up with a genuine solution or projection: "The

Marxist method is correctly applied when we employ Marx's theory to make a study of the phenomena confronting us. And the decision we take will be a new one each time. If you settle a problem one way today, tomorrow you will settle the same problem in a new way, for the situation tomorrow will be different. The situation is constantly changing. History moves on, it does not mark time, but everlastingly moves forward. And the Marxist must constantly move forward, in step with historical progress. The Marxist, however simple the work he is doing, must always be in a ferment, studying, creating." (5) And further: "This implies that in the work of the school an important place should be occupied by the profound and all-round study of the reality of our time, of the great problems raised by life and put forward by the party, by analyzing and interpreting them in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory." (6)

One other aspect of the Marxist-Leninist method must be pointed out. And that is that revolutionary theory must guide revolutionary practice, and that if this theory is to have its scientific validity in our work it must be used in a scientific way. In order to do this it is necessary to know the conditions under which the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory came about, their historical importance, and then apply this knowledge in both an appropriate and living way to our revolutionary work.

With these points in mind, every comrade must grapple to understand the significance of the party school reports presented here. Every comrade must take seriously his duties and responsibilities around these reports. We desire that every comrade learn and apply this knowledge to the best of their ability in order to be able to master it.

It is necessary at this point to deal with some problems of mastering Marxist-Leninist theory and some suggested guidelines.

One of the problems in mastering Marxist-Leninist theory is shown by some comrades, while in their enthusiasm to master this theory, concentrate on the form to the exclusion of the content. This approach is diametrically opposed to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and tends to undermine its essence. It is not the Marxist-Leninist method of learning, but the bourgeois method of learning by rote: "We do not need cramming; but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student by a knowledge of the principal facts. For communism would become a void, a mere signboard, and a communist would become a mere braggart, if all the knowledge he had obtained were not digested in his mind. You must assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the modern man of education." (7) The Marxist-Leninist method of learning (and therefore the C.L.'s) is the conceptual method of learning. The conceptual method of education emphasizes learning - nay more, mastering - the content or essence of whatever is being studied. This does not mean that the mastering of the form is not helpful in given situations. This does mean that the political meaning, significance, etc. must be placed first, and whatever memorizing of form which helps to master the content, comes second; "These results are a sound basis for working more persistently and in a more qualified way, so that all the communists and the working people master Marxist-Leninist theory. This requires deep and continuous study of the actual works of our great classic teachers,

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and of our Party documents and materials, in which the experience of the international communist movement is generalized. This study is not and cannot be an aim in itself, but is closely linked with the present revolutionary practice and should serve this practice. We should not study anything that comes to hand, but we should have a definite aim, selecting the respective literature for this purpose. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory should help us to gain a deep knowledge of the Party's policy in every field of activity and to carry it out correctly, to understand and successfully wage the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to know the laws of class struggle, of the relations between the conditions of material life and the consciousness of man, of the economy and politics, to understand and solve correctly the contradictions and problems to which the development of the life of our country gives rise.

This cannot be achieved by simply learning some formulas and theses by heart, but only when the fundamental principles, the Marxist-Leninist methodology, are mastered; when the dialectical materialist method of interpretation of phenomena and the solution of questions is assimilated, when both dogmatic attitudes and subjective views are combatted." (8)

The key to learning Marxist-Leninist theory, just like the key to making revolution in the USNA or anything else, is to make a thorough analysis. What the revolution needs is leaders, and leaders are those who make thorough analyses and offer genuine leadership based on such analyses.

The dialectical approach is to seek those aspects which motivate things, that is, "what is the opposition, the connection, the history, the environment and the motion." (9) From this it can be seen that the materialism of an object or thing demands the dialectical approach in order for its essence to be truly grasped. "Its study arms people so that they are not satisfied to analyze facts and phenomena merely by their external appearance, by what appears on the surface, but by delving deeper into them, by discovering their content, their essence, the objective laws that guide their social development. For, it is not rare for it to happen that the external form of social processes and phenomena distorts the essence hidden below, so that it seems something new, normal, progressive, whereas in essence it is completely the opposite." (10)

Other aspects to the question of education (for example: the seminar method, the revisionist tendency on education, etc.) are dealt with in the last political report on education. This report is to stress the importance of a Marxist-Leninist education in our revolutionary work at this time and to indicate some attitudes within the CL which need rectification, it should generate considerable discussion.

In summing up and concluding we will take a quote from Stalin in the History of the CPSU(B):

"The history of the Party further teaches us that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class; cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working

class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to be developing in the future.

Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

On the other hand, a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, loses confidence in its actions and is unable to lead the working class forward.

It may seem that all that is required for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory is to diligently learn by heart isolated conclusions and propositions from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, learn to quote them at opportune times and rest at that, in the hope that the conclusions and propositions thus memorized will suit each and every situation and occasion. But such an approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory is altogether wrong. The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and dogmatists. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating the substance of this theory and learning to use it in the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat. (13)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Lenin, What is to be Done?, New World Paperbacks, Pp. 25,26.
- (2) C.L. Report on Education, Spring, of 1972.
- (3) Lenin, Ibid., P. 28.
- (4) Stalin, On Communist Education, Kalinin, Moscow, 1952, P. 186.
- (5) Kalinin, Ibid., Pp. 26, 27.
- (6) Hoxha, Study M-L Theory, P. 52.
- (7) Lenin, The Young Generation, International Pub., P. 32.
- (8) Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, Pp. 155, 156.
- (9) White Chauvinism Report - C.L., P. 2.
- (10) Hoxha, Study M-L Theory, P. 24.
- (11) Stalin, CPSU(B), P. 355.

CADRE SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY CLASSES

CLASS ONE - DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM - STALIN

Reading: Separate pamphlet or in History of the CPSU(B) p. 105-131

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why do we study philosophy?
2. What does "dialectics" mean?
4. What do "quantity" and "quality" mean?
3. What is "materialism"?
5. What are the "forces of production"? What are the "relations of production"? What is the "mode of production"? What are the "means of production"?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. What are the four principle features of the Marxist Dialectical Method?
2. Why does the dialectical method focus on that which is arising and developing as opposed to that which seems durable and permanent? Why is the proletariat invincible and not the bourgeoisie?
3. What does dialectics say about internal contradictions?
4. Why is the application of the dialectical method to a study of social life and the history of society important to a proletarian party? Illustrate with theoretical and practical examples.
5. How does Marx's philosophical materialism differ from idealism? What are the basic tenets of Marx's philosophical materialism?
6. What, according to philosophical materialism is social life? What are the implications for practical political activity?
7. What is the source of social ideas, institutions and political ideas? What are some practical implications of this (tracing the class course of ideas)?
8. How do the developing productive forces shape the relations of production? How did these forces of production change slave relations to capitalistic relations?
9. How can the party of the proletariat influence and accelerate the developing material life of society?
10. Explain Marx's formulation of the essence of historical materialism in his Critique of Political Economy. Explain the quotation: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".

CLASS TWO - SOCIALISM - UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC - ENGELS

Reading: Separate pamphlet or Selected Works of Marx and Engels Vol.

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is agnosticism?
2. Who were Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke?
3. Who were the Chartists? Why were they called that?
4. What was the "social contract" of Rousseau?
5. What were the three uprisings of the bourgeoisie against feudalism in Europe?
6. Who were Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen? Discuss the origins of Utopian Socialism - why it appeared when it did, and if it was a totally new thing.
7. Who was Darwin and how did he contribute to dialectics?
8. What were the merits and shortcomings of Hegel?
9. Why does historical materialism begin with the question of production?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Why was England the home of modern materialism? Why was materialism frowned upon by the bourgeoisie in England at the time when Engels was writing?
2. What were the political and social advantages of agnosticism for the bourgeoisie - how do we disprove it?
3. Discuss the differences between the three uprisings of the bourgeoisie in form and content; and why it is necessary for the bourgeoisie to overthrow feudalism?

4. What was the relationship of Utopian Socialism to French Philosophy? Discuss the real meaning of "freedom" that the rising bourgeoisie was talking about? How did industrialization in England effect the development of philosophy?
5. When did Socialism become a science?
6. What was the Greek dialectical conception? What were the limitations of the dialectics of the Greeks? Describe the metaphysical outlook. How did this stage serve to develop knowledge? Where did it fall short?
7. What is the basic contradiction of capitalism and how did it develop in history? How does the anarchy of social production contain its opposite?
8. How is it that the overwork of some workers becomes the condition for the idleness of other workers?
9. What causes crises? What do they represent? How is it that capitalism is based on relative scarcity? Discuss how the law of impoverishment of the masses applies to the USNA today.
10. How did the new materialism differ from the old materialism?

CLASS THREE - TEXTBOOK OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Reading: TEXTBOOK - Section II Chapters 3,4,5 - p. 162-196

Supplement: On Contradiction - Mao Tse Tung - especially Section VI on "The Place of Antagonism in Contradiction"

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is a contradiction?
2. What is the "mechanistic" view?
3. Is every combination of opposites a contradiction?
4. Give an example of "...external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change and...external causes become operative through internal causes." p. 28
Four Essays on Philosophy - Section I "On Contradiction" p. 24-29
5. How do we determine which of the contradictions in a given process is the principle contradiction, the principle aspect of the contradiction; and what role do they play as the principle contradiction and the principle aspect of the contradiction?
6. Is every combination of opposites a contradiction?
7. What is "eclecticism"?
8. What is the "mutual penetration of opposites"?
9. What are the two sides of the concept the "unity of opposites"?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the difference between antagonism and contradiction. Discuss the different resolutions of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. What are the results of failure to understand this difference. Use these contradictions in their historical development as examples - bourgeoisie and proletariat; proletariat and peasantry; modern revisionism and Marxism-Leninism.
2. What is the Marxist method of analysis?
3. Refute Deborin's (and Hegel's) theory of the development of a process from identity to difference to opposition and to contradiction. Give examples.
4. Why is struggle absolute and unity relative?
5. Read the following Summary points from the Textbook and apply in the discussion of the Discussion Points.

SUMMARY POINTS

1. That one aspect of a contradiction is connected with its opposite. "Not only does every unity contain within itself polar opposites but these internal opposites are mutually connected with each other; one aspect of a contradiction cannot exist without the other." p. 162
2. That the penetration of opposites only occurs under certain conditions. "The mutual penetration of opposites, being the expression of the basic scientific laws underlying the process, becomes possible and is realized only in some particular complex of conditions." p. 168
3. That opposites cannot be combined eclectically, or at random. "A combination of opposites that does not issue from a faithful reckoning with objective conditions and facts is an eclectic combination and cannot lead to the victory of the determined trend of development but instead to its defeat." p. 170

4. That internal conditions are the basis of change and external forces the conditions of change. "According to Bukharin there exist forces independent of each other and they act on each other. It is this external collision of differently direct forces that conditions movement. While Lenin requires to know in the first place the internal contradictions of a process, to find the source of self-movement, Bukharin requires the determination of external forces that collide with each other." p. 172.

DISCUSSION POINTS - Apply the above 4 points to the following discussion points:

1. The differences and the connections between the party and the working class.
2. The effects of extreme repression on the links between the Party and the working class. Legal and illegal work.
3. The "dictatorship of the party" vs. the "dictatorship of the class" as an eclectic combination of opposites.
4. The role of external forces, i.e., the effects of other classes on the party and its internal development, the effects of repression and governmental "liberalization" on party development.

CLASS FOUR - TEXTBOOK

Reading: Section III Chapters 1,2,3 - p. 211-234

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is "metaphysics"? What is the "metaphysics of properties", the metaphysics of relation? Give examples.
2. What is "subjective idealism"?
3. What is "mechanistic materialism"?
4. What is "relativism"?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Show how the development of philosophical thought reflected the development of the forces of production:
 - a. from primitive communism to feudalism
 - b. from feudalism to socialism
2. Why did the development of knowledge have to take the course it did? What did the ancient Greeks lack to complete their dialectical view of the world?
3. What is the error of mechanistic materialism?
4. How can we refute the "hieroglyphic" or "symbols" theory?
5. What is "quality"? What distinguishes one process from another?
6. Discuss the relationship between the quality or properties of a thing and its self movement. Give examples in relation to the following:
 - a. the inevitability of Socialism
 - b. our work in working class organizations in vuilding the United Front Against Fascism
 - c. work in factory and street nuclei etc.

CLASS FIVE - TEXTBOOK

Reading: Textbook - Section III, Cahpters 7&8 - p. 294-318

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is "evolution"; evolutionary gradualism"
2. What is a leap?
3. Discuss the relationship between eveolution and revelution.

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Show the mutual penetration of evolution in the leap and the leap in evolution.
2. How does a leap take place?
3. How can the weak conquer the strong? Apply to our practical work - exmples.
4. What is the correct attitude toward reforms and why? Give examples.
5. How can the elements of the new develop within the old and yet not destroy the old until the leap takes place?

6. What is the role of destruction and construction in revolution?
7. Why is the formation of the Communist Labour Party a leap for the proletarian revolution in the USNA. Also discuss its importance in relation to the world's proletariat. Analyse this leap.

CLASS SIX - FREEDOM AND NECESSITY

Reading: Anti-Duhring, "Freedom and Necessity" Chapter 11 p. 119-130; ROLE OF THE Individual in History - Plekanov; and "Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution" (reprint from Albania Today) by Foto Cami; AND Proletarian Morality in Organizational Manual

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. How is freedom the recognition of necessity? Give concrete examples, from science and political life.
2. What is morality? How does proletarian morality differ from bourgeois morality?
3. How is morality affected by time, place, and condition?
4. Do individuals make history? Discuss.
5. Why is an understanding of "freedom and necessity" important for us in order to carry out our political work in the working class and within the Party?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the relation between the general principles of freedom and necessity, the transition from utopian to scientific socialism and democratic centralism as the organizing principle of the proletarian revolution.
2. What is the relation of the individual to society, to history, to his class? Do individuals make history? Discuss the relation of the individual and the collective to decision making, action, criticism. How can the individual have the greatest freedom of action? How can a worker be "free" in a capitalist society?
3. How can many become one and still preserve the positive aspects of both the many and the one -- and in fact increase these positive aspects?
4. How does the bourgeois conception of the individual fly in the face of reality? What are the economic origins of this conception and what is its outcome? How is this related to Protestantism?
5. How would you refute the charge that communism restricts individual freedom?
6. What unites the party and makes discipline possible - and action? What is the relation of freedom and necessity in this unity?
7. Describe the relationship of the contradiction of the objective and subjective factors in the revolution and this principle of freedom and necessity in connection with the role of the party and its organizing principle.
8. Explain how freedom and necessity are an integral part of the question of proletarian morality.
9. Why does saying that there are no differences between men and women exclude the possibility of equality?
10. How will love and sex change after socialism and during communism?
11. Discuss and explain: "Communists are people of a special mold"
12. Discuss the bourgeoisie's distortion of proletarian morality to refer only to sex relations. What is the relationship between personal and political life?

CLASS SEVEN - RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE TRUTH

Reading: Anti-Duhring, Chapter 9 p. 94-105; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Chapter II Section 4 and 5
 Supplemental: Summary of Materialism and Empirio-Criticism in the History of the CPSU(B) p. 101-105; and Summary in Outline for the Study of Marxism-Leninism on the book.

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What do we mean here by "objective" and "material"?
2. Who was Mach? What was "empirio-criticism"? Why did Lenin write this book?
3. What is the "empirio-criticism"?

5. What is the sovereignty of thought?
6. What is relative truth? What is absolute truth? Give examples

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the dialectics of absolute and relative truth.
2. Engels says, "we can divide the whole realm of knowledge in the traditional way into three great departments." What are these departments, how are they related, and what is the dialectic of truth that operates in all three?
3. How is the theory that "knowledge can be acquired at one stroke" opposed to the dialectic of truth? How does knowledge change as the material conditions change?
4. Can there be unity between subjectivity and objectivity? What prevents this unity?
5. What is the theory of human nature? Relate it to relative and absolute truth.
6. How does class struggle and the fight to change the world affect the truth and knowledge? How has the class struggle and the fight to make revolution in the USNA affected the Negro Nation and our understanding of it?
7. We raise the slogan of Regional Autonomy for the Southwest. Is this an ultimate slogan? Can Regional Autonomy be achieved under USNA Imperialism? What is the relation between an autonomous region and a state? What is the relation between regional autonomy under imperialism and socialism? What does the answer to this question have to do with materialism and truth?

CLASS EIGHT - PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

Reading: Capital - Marx, Chapters 26-33 p. 713-774; Anti-Duhring Chapter XIII, p. 142-159 on "The Negation of the Negation";
 Supplemental: Philosophy Textbook - Section IV, p. 359-387

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why is primitive accumulation primitive?
2. What is the difference between "peasant", farmer, and serf?
3. What was the common land?
4. What does enclosure mean - discuss the enclosure acts and their purpose.
5. Why is history important in order to understand Political Economy? How have you and can you use it in your practical work + organizing etc.
6. Why is the smashing of a barley seed not an example of the negation of the negation in the development of that plant. Discuss Engel's example and give other examples.
7. How was Feudalism negated?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. How is primitive accumulation part of the dialectical process in the development from feudalism to capitalism? What were the two pre-requisites of capitalism?
2. What was the role of law and the state in general in this process? What was the role of force?
3. How is the "expropriation of the expropriators" an example of the negation of the negation? Is negation the same as destruction? Can you have "position" without having "opposition"? Is there negation in affirmation?
4. What was the relation of colonial exploitation and slavery to the development of capitalism?
5. Describe quantitative changes under feudalism leading to the leap into capitalism. What was preventing the further development of the "lower" forms of capital?
6. How was the transition from feudalism to capitalism both an economic and political change?
7. How is capitalist production negated?

CLASS NINE - BASIS AND SUPERSTRUCTURE - Konstantinov

Reading: Basis and Superstructure - p. 1-27; Marxism and Linguistics Stalin

First Half

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

... How does it arise? How does it

change?

2. What is the superstructure of society? How does it arise? How does it change?
3. Why aren't the productive forces a part of the basis or the superstructure?
4. Is language a part of the superstructure? Why is it not a part of the superstructure or the basis?
5. What is the development of language based on?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. Based on your reading of Marxism and Linguistics, why would the international language "Esperanto" not really be an international language in the scientific sense. What conditions are lacking?
2. What is the relationship of the superstructure and the basis?
3. What is the role of ideas in society?
4. Why are the relations of production and not the mode of production the basis of society?
5. How is the development of Fascism in the superstructure today a reflection of the development of the ~~xxx~~ relations of production?

CLASS TEN - BASIS AND SUPERSTRUCTURE *→ 2nd Half*

Reading: Basis and Superstructure; "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" (SW Mao Vol. III p. 69-98)

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between natural and social sciences?
2. What is the relationship of social science to the base and superstructure?
3. What is idealism? What is science?
4. How does bourgeois art arise? How does proletarian art arise?
5. What is the relation between natural science and production?
6. What is the role of the state and the entire superstructure under Socialism? How is it different than under capitalism?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. What is the origin and development of science due to?
2. How was it possible for Marx to develop dialectical materialism upon a capitalist basis?
3. Why can't science and idealism be reconciled? Why does the bourgeoisie try to reconcile them?
4. Does the dictatorship of the proletariat emerge before the establishment of the socialist economic system? What were the peculiar features of the socialist revolution in regards to base and superstructure? What role does the dictatorship of the proletariat have in building the socialist basis?
5. How will socialism "bridge the gap" between science and the productive forces? What is the attitude towards science under capitalism? Under Socialism?
6. How or why are there artists who don't represent the ruling class? Why are attitudes towards art part of the superstructure?
7. Discuss the role of literature, art, and culture in general in the proletarian revolution and the establishment of Socialism.

CLASS ELEVEN - ON DIALECTICS AND PROTRACTED WAR

Reading: Anti-Duhring, Part I Chapters 12, ~~13, 14~~ - p. 131-~~149~~;
On Protracted War - Selected Works of Mao Vol. II p. 113-194
 Supplemental: On People's War - Mao .

COLLECTIVE STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is a protracted war?
2. What is a jigsaw war?
3. What are interior and exterior lines?
4. Why do we study this book? What is the relation of military matters to political work?
5. What is the ~~main~~ purpose of different types of war?

CADRE SCHOOL QUESTIONS

1. How did the general world situation affect the war between China and Japan?
2. What mistakes in dialectics did the subjugationists and the "quick victory" people make?
3. What are the one-sided and the dialectical views of strength and weakness? Is USNA imperialism strong or weak today?
4. Why is a protracted war fought by seeking quick, decisive victories? How do the tactics of protracted war apply to ideological struggle? Give other examples of one thing expressing itself through its opposite.
5. Discuss how "jig-saw" war is fought through the transformation of opposites.
6. Describe what features of Chairman Mao's analysis make it a dialectical materialist analysis. What factors does he consider?
7. What is the relation between war and politics?
8. What is the object of war and how is it attained? Show how this is an example of one divides into two.

Review

MIDWEST REGIONAL CADRE SCHOOL
POLITICAL EDUCATION AND LENINISM (CON'T.)

Weeks 7 and 8

Week 7 Lesson 1 - Class on Fascism

Readings: Dutt, chaps. on Fascism in Italy and Germany, from Fascism and Social Revolution (reprints available through school); Explanation of the Party Program in People's Tribune, Vol. 1, No. 2, Oct. 15, 1974; and Resolution on the United Front in Congress Documents, p. 12.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. Discuss the major fronts of struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and which are the major ones?
2. Why do we not fight under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat?
3. What is the relation between the united front from below and illegal work?
4. Give specific examples of the revolutionary struggle for reforms.
5. What are the particulars that led to the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy?
6. Is the united front a permanent alliance? Discuss in relation to our situation.
7. What role does (did) Social Democracy play in the rise of fascism?

B. Class Questions

1. Why is the fight against revisionism inseparable from the fight against imperialism? Discuss the relationship between Social Democracy and revisionism.
2. Can an imperialist state be bourgeois democratic in form at "home" and fascist in the colonies? Discuss historically and at present.
3. What does the phrase used in the Explanation of the Program "the revolution in permanence" mean? What is the difference between this and the trotskyite position of permanent revolution?
4. How would you refute the charge that united front work is devious?
5. Why do we not need a two stage revolution in the USNA (i.e. anti-fascist and then anti-capitalist?)
6. Concretely how do we implement the UFAF in our work in the factory and street nuclei? And how do we link UFAF work with our overall task of proletarian revolution? Give examples.
7. What are the parallels between the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy and the USNA today?
8. What is the form fascism would assume in the USNA?

Week 7 Lesson 2 - United Front

Readings: Dimitroff, United Front, chaps. 1 - 3 (Gamma Publishing Co.); Mao, Section 4 of On Contradiction; and Mao, Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. II, pp. 213-214.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. What is the United Front's role in the overthrow of capitalism? (Dimitroff)? Does that apply to the USNA?
2. What are the three main purposes of a United Front? (Dimitroff)
3. What is the United Front government? (Dimitroff)
4. What is Dimitroff's definition of fascism? And how does it come to power? Give examples in USNA today.

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

B. Class Questions

1. How does the struggle on two fronts concern Communists in the United Front? (Mao, On Contradiction, pp. 124-25 in Selected Readings).
2. What is the relation between unity and independence in United Front (IBid., p. 117).
3. What are the relationships between the working class and their leadership and the other classes in the United Front? (Dimitroff)
4. What does Dimitroff say about a United Front of all trade unions?
5. How does revisionism damage the United Front? (Dimitroff)
6. What did Dimitroff lay out as a guideline to U. S. workers in the United Front?
7. What is meant by the slogan: "Help and concessions should be positive, not negative"? (Mao, Sel. Works, Vol. II, pp. 213-14.

Week 7 - Lesson 3 - USNA Labor and Negro History

Lecture and discussion, possibly slide show.

Readings: Vincent Pinto, Soldiers and Strikers; Joe Dougher, A Veteran Communist Speaks; and Malamazoo Workers for Action, The Role of Unemployment Councils in the Great Depression of the '30's.

Week 7 - Lesson 4 - National Question - Theoretical

Readings: New Party School Report on the National Question; Chap. 6 of Foundations of Leninism; Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions (Peking ed.); Mao, On New Democracy; Stalin, Marxism and the National Question, sections 1 through 4 and 7 (reprint available from school); Stalin, reprints "The National Question in Yugoslavia", and "The International Character of the October Revolution" (from Calcutta); and Resolution on the National Colonial Question, Congress Documents, p. 9.

A...Collective Study Questions

1. What constitutes a nation? a state? a country?
2. How does raising the slogan of self-determination in an abstract way aid the bourgeoisie?
3. What is the path to self-determination of the Negro colonial peoples today?
4. What is the position of Communists towards national liberation movements?
5. Why and when did the national question cease being a part of the bourgeois democratic revolution and become a part of the proletarian revolution?
6. Can the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation lead the nation to victory over national oppression today as the bourgeoisie did in 1776 in the USNA?

B. Class Questions

1. Describe the development of nations under conditions of rising capitalism, Imperialism, and Socialism.
2. What is the relation of the national movement to the proletarian revolution and why must the proletariat lead the national liberation movement?
3. What changes have taken place since the Bolshevik revolution in form and struggle of the national liberation movement?
4. What tasks does the National Question as a class question put before the CLPUSNA?
5. Why don't the Vietnamese comrades fight directly and immediately for the dictatorship of the proletariat?
6. Will there be a period of "new democracy" in the Negro Nation?--In Puerto Rico?
7. Why do Marxist-Leninists fight for the independence of oppressed nations and

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

not just for self-determination? Does this mean separation?

8. How have nations arisen? What social motions created them? Are they appearing or disappearing today? Do they disappear in Socialism?

9. What is the relation between nationalism and internationalism in oppressed and oppressor countries?

Week 7 - Lesson 5 - Negro National Colonial Question - 1st Lesson

Reading: NNCQ - read to page 63.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. What are the differences between patriarchial and latifundist slavery, and what are the consequences for the national question?
2. Review the definitions in the pamphlet.
3. What was the Missouri compromise?
4. What was the Kansas-Nebraska act, and what were its consequences?
5. What was the Hayes-Tilden agreement, and what were its consequences?
6. What is populism?

B. Class Questions

1. What is American exceptionalism? How is this deviation reflected in the position of the CPUSA on the national question?
2. Why was the civil war fought? What were the different objectives of the Northern and Southern bourgeoisies, the workers, the small farmers and the slaves?
3. What was the basis and conditions for the development of the Negro Nation? What role was played by the period of reconstruction? How did the Northern bourgeoisie manipulate the democratic upsurge of the people and what role did the "populist" movement play in this?
4. How did the defeat of reconstruction mean fascist counter-revolution?
5. Describe the split in the Negro bourgeois democratic national movement. What were the differences between the two wings of the Negro bourgeoisie and what was the basis for these differences?
6. How did the October revolution affect the Negro people's movement? What does this mean for the general proletarian revolution in the USNA? What is the significance of the recent upsurge of the Negro People's Liberation Movement, especially the uprisings, for the socialist revolution? Were these uprisings a part of the class struggle in the USNA? What is the Party's attitude toward such uprisings of the people?
7. Describe the development of the five characteristics of a nation in the Negro nation.

Week 7 - Lesson 6 - Negro National Colonial Question - 2nd Lesson

Readings: NNCQ, page 64 to the end; and "Socialism: The Only Road", People's Tribune, Vol. 2, No. 3, Feb. 1, 1975, p. 1.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. Review and discuss the ten points of the Leninist position on the national question.
2. What is chauvinism?
3. What is white supremacy?

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

4. What is white chauvinism?
5. What is national cultural autonomy
6. What is nationalism?

B. Class Questions

1. Why is white chauvinism the principle ideology of aggressive USNA fascism? Discuss in relation to the recent riots in Boston and Chicago.
2. Show how the CPUSA position on the Negro question today amounts to the chauvinist betrayal of the just aspirations and struggle of the Negro people and of the general proletarian revolution, playing into the hands of the fascist offensive.
3. Why do we advance the demand "Independence for the Negro Nation?"
4. Discuss and give current examples of national cultural autonomy and nationalism. What is the dual task of the Party in fighting for internationalism?
5. What is the relationship of the Negro Nation and the South as a region?
6. What is the position of the Negro national minority in the Anglo-American nation? What must be their role in proletarian revolution? How do they link the struggle of the Negro Nation with the Anglo American working class?
7. What is the role and position of the Anglo-American minority in the Negro nation? What role must they play in proletarian revolution?
8. Discuss the Comintern resolutions on the Negro question in relation to their historical significance and role as the beginnings of the revolutionary understanding of the Negro Question?
9. What are the ways you raise the Negro national question in your fractional work?

Week 8 Lesson 1 - Regional Autonomy - Indian Question and Southwest

Readings: Review Stalin, Marxism and the National Question; Regional Autonomy for the Southwest; and Regional Autonomy for the Indian Peoples.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. What was the encomienda system?
2. What was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?
3. What is an autonomous region?
4. What was mercantile capitalism?
5. What is the Indian Removal Act?
6. What was the Indian Reorganization Act?
7. Discuss the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

B. Class Questions

1. Briefly discuss the historical development of the Southwest including California, New Mexico and Texas, prior to their conquest by USNA imperialism.
2. What changes and development have taken place after the USNA conquest?
3. What is the current position and role of the Mexican national minority in the Southwest? Outside of the Southwest?
4. Why is "Regional Autonomy for the Southwest" the correct summary of the revolutionary position?
5. Discuss the history of the Indian peoples since the coming of the Europeans to the Americas and prior to the development of USNA imperialism.
6. Discuss the history of the Indian peoples since the development of USNA imperialism.
7. What is the current role and position of the Indian peoples in the USNA?
8. How can the Party fight for the regional autonomy for the Indian peoples?

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

Week 8 Lesson 2 - The Class Struggle

Readings: Lenin, Our Urgent Tasks, (CW, Vol. 4, pp. 215-229) reprint available from school; Lenin, On Strikes, in Lenin on Trade Unions, pp. 54-67; Chap. 1 of Communist Manifesto; and Letter from Marx to Bolte in Outline for the Study of Marxism-Leninism.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. Define and discuss the main characteristics of:
 - a. socialist consciousness
 - b. political struggle
 - c. economic movement
 - d. spontaneous working class movement
 - e. economism

B. Class Questions

1. What is the role of socialist consciousness and the communist party in the development of the class struggle, of the economic and political movement of the working class?
2. Discuss the role of strikes in the proletarian class struggle. Give concrete examples.
3. What does proletarian education of the working class mean? How do we carry this out today.
4. What does Marx mean by every class struggle is a political struggle?
5. Practically, how do we combine socialist consciousness with the spontaneous working class movement, taking into account the level of consciousness of the proletariat today? Discuss in relation to the Party style of work, fractional work, etc., using concrete examples.
6. How can the deviations of economism express themselves in fractional work and how do we combat them? Give examples.
7. Is every political struggle a class struggle?

Week 8 Lesson 3 - Agrarian and Farm Question

Readings: Leontiev, chap. 7; Marx, Capital, Vol. III, chap. 37 (Introduction to part 6 - transformation of surplus profit to ground rent); and Congress documentation paper on Farm Question. Recommended: Factories in the Fields (old CL reprint in New Members Outline). Also useful to review Economic Problems of Socialism.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. What is absolute rent?
2. What is differential rent?
3. Who comprises the rural proletariat?
4. Discuss the monopoly of land.
5. Discuss the nationalization of land.

B. Class Questions

1. Of what does the antithesis between city and village consist under capitalism?
2. What is the source of absolute and differential rent?
3. How is the price of land determined?
4. What are the advantages of large-scale over small-scale production in agriculture?
5. How is landed property distributed in capitalist countries?
6. How does the differentiation of the peasantry take place under capitalism?
7. Discuss the current situation in USNA agriculture and what the tasks of the Party are in this area.

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

Week 8 Lesson 4 - Woman Question - 1st Class

Readings: Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1st two chapters (up to section or chapter on Iroquois Indians); Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, The Woman Question, chaps. 2,3,4,5 and 7.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. Why have there been different forms of marriage for the three periods of savagery, barbarism, civilization as described by Engels?
2. What was mother right? What relation did it have to group marriage? What effect did the change in emphasis in production from agriculture to cattle raising have on mother right?
3. According to Engels why were women instrumental in the transition from group marriage to pairing marriage? What new element did pairing marriage bring into the family?
4. How does household drudgery oppress women? Why does this reflect in male supremacy?
5. Why is it important to educate women politically?
6. Why must the struggle against male supremacy be waged by both men and women?

B. Class Questions

1. What was the origin of monogamy and why was it necessary that it develop under capitalism to a higher stage?
2. What is the relationship between prostitution, adultery and bourgeois morality? How is this an outgrowth of male supremacy?
3. What conditions are necessary before women become emancipated?
4. What were the conditions of the working class in the capitalist countries when Marx and Engels wrote the Manifesto and how has the bribery of the working class from imperialist super-profits changed the proletarian family relationship?
5. How are the attitudes toward the birth of children a reflection of the different classes? (i.e. peasantry, workers, petty bourgeois, bourgeois and communist).
6. What does Lenin mean when he says: "The communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement, not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the women who are the victims of capitalism or any other mastery"?
7. What are the "appropriate bodies" to carry out work amongst the women?
8. How should the Party fight against the ideology of the ruling class to divide the working class on the basis of sex?
9. What are the differences between the position of women now in the USNA, and in pre-revolutionary Russia and China, and why is there this difference? What are the implications for us as a party in our tactics, and what are the implications for building socialism after the revolution?

Week 8 Lesson 5 - Woman Question - 2nd Class

Readings: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, The Woman Question, chap. 6; Appendix by Clara Zetkin in Lenin, The Emancipation of Women; Proletarian Morality, in Organizational Manual; Hoxha; The Ideological Character of Gossip, (from Hoxha, Speeches, 1969-1970) reprint available from school; Resolutions on Women and Youth in Congress Documents; and Documentation Paper on Youth in Additional Resolutions and Documentation Papers, Congress. Recommended: Hoxha, The Rights and Freedoms of Women and Youth Should Be Thoroughly Understood and Upheld By All, in Hoxha, Speeches, 1960-70, and CL reprint.

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

A. Collective Study Questions.

1. What is morality? How does proletarian morality differ from bourgeois morality?
2. How is morality affected by time, place and condition?
3. Why does the saying that there are no differences between men and women exclude the possibility of equality?
4. Discuss and explain: "Communists are people of a special mold".
5. What are the class roots of gossip, and how does it differ from criticism?
6. What are the special ways in which youth are exploited and oppressed?
7. What is the relation of youth and fascism?

B. Class Questions

1. What does Engels mean by "the equality of women thereby achieved will tend to make men really monogamous than to make women polyandrous"? What are the differences between monogamy under capitalism and under socialism?
2. Why is the demand for free love not a proletarian but a bourgeois demand?
3. How will love and sex love change after socialism and during communism?
4. Explain how freedom and necessity are an integral part of the question of proletarian morality.
5. Discuss the bourgeoisie's distortion of proletarian morality to refer only to sex relations. What is the relationship between personal and political life?
6. What are the political, ideological and organizational implications of gossip?
7. What is the connection between our fully supporting the right to divorce and the self-determination of nations?
8. Why are women part of the reserves in the class struggle and what does this mean? What are its implications for our work?
9. How does the bourgeoisie corrupt the revolutionary instinct of the youth? How will we deal with this in our YCL work?
10. Why does the YCL have to be organizationally independent from the Party?

Week 8 Lesson 6 - War and Peace

Reading: Three articles in Lenin, War and Peace.

A. Collective Study Questions

1. In Russia why was it only the working class that wasn't affected by social chauvinism?
2. What were the three trends of the socialist movement that were shown up distinctly in Germany during WWI? Discuss the trends in the Communist movement today.
3. What are the main lessons the RSDLP learned from their experience in WWI?
4. What is the relation of war and fascism?

B. Class Questions

1. What is the difference in attitudes between Marxist-Leninists and social chauvinists and social pacifists toward war and peace? What kind of war do we support? Discuss this in relation to the peace movement today.
2. How did imperialism change the nature of opportunism? How is this manifested today?
3. How did the Bolsheviks correctly appraise the policy of the Liquidators? Can we see this same opportunist movement in the USNA today? If so, in what way?
4. What did Engels mean when he said that Socialism must wage 'defensive wars'? Why is it important today?
5. How and why does imperialism foster militarism? What is militarism?

Political Education and Leninism Sequence - Weeks 7 and 8

6. How is the question of disarmament used by the bourgeoisie to deceive the proletariat?
7. How do the CPUSA and other opportunists aid the imperialists by pushing pacifism and reformism?

Class on FACTORY NUCLEI

Reading Materials

1. Lenin On Organization
2. Letter to a Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks
3. Communist International Documents:
Extracts on Factory Nuclei: Volume II - p. 291-294; Volume III - p. 141-149
187-190
Extracts on Fractions: Volume II - p. 66-68, 268-271; Volume III - p. 203-208
4. "The Relationship Between Street Nuclei and Factory Organizations"
League Organizer, May 1974; Vol. 2 # 4 p. 5 & article on p. 1.
Comrades should keep in mind when reading the CI Documents that they cannot be applied mechanically to the particular conditions facing us in this period of Party Building.

Questions

1. Why did Lenin place so much emphasis on the factory nuclei and what does it mean that every factory is our fortress?
2. What are factory nuclei and fractions and explain the relationship between the two? Which is the leading body and why?
3. Discuss the strategic role of the factory nuclei in relation to legal and illegal work, United Front Against Fascism.
4. Discuss the implementation of fractional work and factory nuclei in your practical work; i.e. forms of organization, division of labour, forms of struggle.
5. Based on the history of the CI and its development, the international situation, and our building of a party; discuss the significance of our push towards the development of the factory nuclei.

ADDENDUM TO PAPER ON FACTORY NUCLEI

Fractions are of a two fold nature. They may consist of non-party members who will follow the leadership of the Party in the communist work in the working class organizations

The fractional method of work is also the key to our anti-fascist struggle. The league needs to carefully assess the class struggle, to see where and when the fascist attack is hitting first and hardest, what organizations will be pushed forward and which groups will resist the first and foremost. Having made some objective evaluation of the struggle we must begin to build the fractions with those groupings and organizations. In this manner a relatively few communists, directing their work in line with the objective developments of the class struggle and influence in a serious manner the class struggle. Working within the fractions the comrades should carry out the party line, this can be done without necessarily exposing all of the comrades as communists and beginning to put the organization intertwined amongst the class. For instance, the areas should look at the Negro peoples' movement, assess which organizations are in the leadership of the struggle, which are progressive, etc., and then asking comrades to work within them. ✓

Below is excerpts from FIRST STEPS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF FACTORY NUCLEI which appeared in the Party Organizer, Nov. 1931.

...The problem of establishing a factory nucleus is the problem of recruiting members and carrying on work in mobilizing and organizing the workers for struggle in connection with a particular factory, mill or mine.

1. The comrades must aim to get contact with the workers in the factory upon which they are concentrating in every possible way. This means that use must be made of our contacts in mass organizations (trade unions, unemployed committees and councils, I.L.B. branches, fraternal organizations, etc.) The units and sections must set themselves in contact with the fractions of these organizations which must place upon the order of business "the organization of shop nuclei in particular shops." This is relatively easy in small towns and cities. It is more difficult in large cities where the numbers of shops are extremely large and the units and sections by no means correspond to the union fractions. Here the trade union and unemployed fractions must assist. They must have a record of the shops to which the members belong or in the case of the unemployed in which they last worked and

and make this available to the units and sections. The workers who are sympathetic must be systematically canvassed and enrolled into the party hence into the party nucleus.

2) Use must be made of readers of our press, delegates to conferences, signatories to place the party on the ballot, member of Daily Worker clubs, etc. Where the numbers of readers of our press is large, special meetings of these readers can be called to enroll them into the Party. The establishment of regular meetings of press readers can help considerable in winning members for a shop nucleus.

3) A third way more difficult at the present time, is to send workers into factories. Despite unemployment this has been and can be done.

4) The unemployed committees and councils can provide abundant contacts with workers in shops if this is systematically exploited.

5) In order better to carry out this work than the existing street nuclei, it is advisable to better organize this work. The district and sections must attach leading forces for concentration on particular shops, and thus establish direct contact through the section and district Organization Departments. Such leading comrades must be freed of other tasks to enable them to give the necessary time to this work.

6) The work of concentration of street nuclei must be better organized. It is advisable to form special concentration groups of the nucleus, which will consist of the most capable comrades. The task of these comrades must be to get acquainted with the workers in the factory under concentration, to reach them around the factory gates, when they leave the factory or on the way to the factory with our agitation and propaganda. They must use all the means suggested above in order to recruit members into the Party and form a nucleus. This requires some skillful and planned work but it can be done and a nucleus formed.

7) The issuance of leaflets and shop papers are a further means to establish contacts and recruit members. But this work requires great care. The leaflets and shop papers must contain striking and accurate facts about the situation in the shop and a means must be established to recruit members. A means must be found to establish the effect of our leaflets or shop papers and quick and energetic follow-up activities are necessary to make use of this work for the building of a factory nucleus.

8) In many shops we have one or two comrades but no nucleus. The problem of building a nucleus in this case consists in the activity of the one or two comrades. These comrades must get acquainted with the workers in their department, make friends with the workers at the bench or at the belt, in the shop or in the restaurants, and must find out which workers are sympathetic, militant, and in a mood for struggle and by cultivating these workers, to draw them into the Party. Many of our comrades in the shops work for many years but do not get acquainted with the workers and remain isolated from them. They do not attempt to understand the problems in the shops and to give leadership to these struggles. This attitude will not build shop nuclei or establish a Communist leadership.

These first steps indicated are by no means the only ones. There is no quick and royal road to the formation of a shop nucleus. It can be done only by systematic planful work on the basis of a knowledge of the conditions in the factory, by the comrades familiarizing themselves with the grievances within the shops, by locating the places in which the workers live and by an intimate knowledge of all phases of their life.

FACTORY NUCLEI CLASS ON CPUSA REVISIONISM
("Big Stakes and Small Potatoes")

Readings:

- 1) Gus Hall, The Big Stakes of Detente, New Outlook Publishers, 1974, N.Y.
- 2) CLP material on the international situation
- 3) excerpts from Earl Browder and CPUSA reprinted below

Discussion questions

1. "The dynamics of detente express the processes, the historic shift in the balance of power at a time when the old system and its ruling class have lost their place of dominance to a new force representing a new social system and a new class that increasingly determines the course of human events. Detente expresses a qualitative change in international class relations". (Gus Hall, p.2)

a. What is our understanding of detente and what is our critique of Hall's analysis?

b. What are the practical implications of Hall's analysis for the USNA working class? What are the implications of our analysis?

2. Why is the CPUSA making a turn in its rhetoric towards Marxism-Leninism, and why is it intensifying its organizational work in the factories? What does this mean for us?

3. "Regulation and limitation of monopoly capital, in a society in which it plays a dominant role, are not simple and easy matters. If big capital unites its forces against the rest of society, and fights for unrestricted domination, then it is extremely doubtful whether it can be regulated successfully, short of a major political and social struggle, and a crisis resulting in a socialistic system replacing the present one.

If however, in the ranks of big capital there is a sufficient number of men of vision and understanding who recognize the suicidal results to their own system that inevitably flow from a failure strictly to subordinate its operations to a broadly conceived and definitely planned program of national and international expansion of well-being for all --then such men, integrated in or working with the democratic-progressive camp of the people, can become the decisive leaders of big capital in a maximum of self-limitation to meet a minimum of governmentally imposed regulation that will effectively curb the anti-social and anti-national tendencies of big capital, sufficient for it to participate in the national unity in support of the program of Teheran.

There is a growing volume of evidence that there are such men of vision and understanding in the ranks of big capital. Their number will grow, and their initiative and leadership will become stronger, to the degree that it is made evident that there exists a practical platform upon which they can unite, and are uniting, with the broad democratic-progressive camp inclusive of the organized labor movement, which promotes the general interest of the whole nation. We must all learn to welcome their appearance, and prove in practical life that such cooperative effort in the spirit of national unity is both possible and profitable. Nothing can be more fatal for the perspective of Teheran, so far as the United States is concerned, than an attitude of uniform and undifferentiated hostility to the ranks of big capital from the side of the labor and liberal sectors of our democracy. That only drives the intelligent capitalists back into the arms of their most reactionary fellows, and unites the most powerful group in American society solidly against all progress.

There can be no effective national unity in America to secure and unfold the program of Teheran that does not include big capitalists able to fight for and win at least a certain minimum of participation on the part of their whole group."
(Earl Browder, Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace, International Publishers, NY, 1944)

"November 3rd represented an important people's victory. It has placed the political struggle on new terrain from which new victories are attainable. It has made possible a massive legislative offensive. But it is no guarantee that what the people voted for --peace, civil rights, greater democracy and a real war on poverty-- are now assured. The election landslide has given the common people an indisputable advantage in the fight for their rights and their needs. Whether that advantage is fully utilized, or whether it is frittered away or completely lost, depends upon how the election victory is understood and what is done to realize its mandate.

"There can be no mere reliance on the Administration and the newly elected Congress, despite the overwhelming character of the victory and the greatly improved composition of both the House and the Senate. Whether the election returns will be read correctly by those elected to public office does not depend alone on their ability to interpret the national will accurately. It depends even more on the people's ability to make that interpretation stick, to translate it into concrete forward-looking policies and to fight for their realization. In this alone lies the guarantee that the election mandate will be fulfilled." (CPUSA, "Fulfill the Election Mandate", Political Affairs, December 1964)

How is the "struggle for detente" linked with Browder's program for "American national unity" and the CPUSA's electoral reliance on the "good" imperialists?

4. What implications does the CPUSA's program of "independent political activity" have for the CLP and the working class, particularly in the struggle for the united front against fascism?

5. What is the real meaning of the CPUSA's program for "class struggle trade unionism"? How is this the same economist program that Lenin criticized in What is to be Done? What effect does this have on our trade union work?