

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 13 OF 16

FOLDER 1

CL NEW MEMBER OUTLINE

Leninism - Third Class - History of the Communist Party of the
SOVIET UNION CHAPTER 1

Production system
very poor.

1. Describe the dialectical relationship between the dying away of the serf system and the rise of the modern industrial proletariat in Russia - How did the abolishment of the serf system come about? Describe the state under feudalism. What were the forms of robbery and oppression of the peasants by the landlords even after the abolishment of serfdom.
2. Explain how Tsarist Russia was a "prison of nations" What role did Great Russian Chauvinism play in the oppression of nations. Explain concretely how the USNA is a prison of nations. Compare how non-Russian nationalities were treated in Russia with how national minorities are treated in U.S.N.A. today.
3. Describe the relationship between the Narodniks and the Emancipation of Labour Group. What were the positive revolutionary aspects of that group - what were the negative aspects.
4. What is the Marxist conception of the view of the role of the individual in history as expounded by Plekhanov.
5. What lessons can we learn from the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Apply them to the C.L.
7. What was the role of Iskra? What is the role of the People's Tribune today?
8. Discuss the following points and show how they are illustrated both in the book and in life today.
 1. the proletariat must be the leading class in social revolution
 2. the proletariat revolution can only be led by scientific socialism and not by every spontaneous direction of the movement
 3. All political ideas and movements represent classes in motion, they are stamped with the imprint of a class.

see def. USNA

ELG
p. 14

BM

Leninism - Fourth Class - History of the CPSU B Chapter 2

1. what effects does an industrial crisis have on the working class movement?
2. Why are...

Chiles

Communist League New Member Outline



CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE
(Adopted Plenary Session, Aug. 18, 1970)

INTRODUCTION

The Communist League was formed in 1968 by a group of Marxist-Leninists. The purpose of the C.L. is to organize and participate in the struggle of the working class against the U.S. Capitalist class and in the struggle to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The C.L. is fully aware that "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." At this point in U.S. history there is no revolutionary party.

The C.L. cannot and does not consider itself a party. We believe that a revolutionary party will be built by the merging of true Marxist-Leninist groupings out of their common struggle in theory and practice against the revisionist ideology which is presently holding back the working class movement.

The source of this revisionist ideology is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their faithful runningdogs, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Only by a hard and constant struggle can Marxist-Leninism be put in its proper place as the theoretical beacon lighting our way.

The historical conditions in the U.S. find the spontaneous struggle of the unorganized and unskilled workers in general, and the black and brown minority workers in particular advancing steadily toward direct confrontation with the imperialist state.

The American working class and the national minorities are seeing every day the apparatus for a fascist state coming into being. Fascism develops when the working class and the objective conditions are favorable for the proletarian revolution but when there is no revolutionary party to lead them. If fascism is allowed to develop in the U.S. it will be ten times more ruthless than German Nazism. The German Fascists needed fascism in order to launch their wars of aggression--the U.S. capitalists need fascism in order to continue their war of aggression.

Therefore, the C.L. sees its responsibility in deepening and spreading the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought to the concrete situation of the U.S.A. Only in this way will the working class be armed against revisionist and bourgeois ideology.

The C.L. understands that "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." The C.L. will develop close ties with the masses by taking part in their everyday struggle while constantly learning from them and untiringly teaching them about the bright future of Socialism.

The C.L. hopes from the struggle against revisionist ideology and the daily battle of the working class, to develop strong cadre who are worthy of the title, COMMUNIST. We call upon all honest Marxist-Leninists who realize the necessity

of the struggle and are not afraid of the challenge to join us in liberating our class and destroying forever this evil system of exploitation.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

- I. THE BASIS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE IS DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.
 - A. All leading bodies from bottom up are elected.
 1. Every candidate must be voted for separately.
 2. Every League member has the right to object to a candidate and criticize a candidate.
 3. The voting for all candidates is done by secret ballot.
 4. Higher bodies are elected by lower bodies.
 - B. Decisions of the higher bodies are absolutely binding on the lower bodies.
 - C. Reports from leading bodies are made periodically to membership.
 1. Plenary sessions, sessions of the elected officials and leading cadre, will be held to discuss major political developments.
 2. Congresses, organizational membership meetings, will be called when needed to decide the direction of the organization according to major developments in the class struggle.
 3. Membership meetings, by sections may be called from time to time by the Central Committee, the section committee or by the demand of three quarters (3/4) of the section membership.
 - D. Strict discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority.
 - E. Every member has the right and duty to participate in every major decision concerning his own activity or behavior.
 - F. The basis of work is centralism grounded in democracy and democracy led by centralism.
 1. By hearing and discussing the reports by League bodies, the members of the League check on the work of the leading bodies they are subordinate to.
 2. Active participation of every member in the life of the League.
 3. League members should be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.
 4. League meetings and educationals serve as a school for membership.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The highest leading body of the C.L. is the Congress, which is called either by the Central Committee or by three quarters (3/4) of the membership. Between the Congresses, the Central Committee is the highest leading body. When the Central Committee is not in session, the Secretariat will carry on the day-to-day work necessary for the League to operate. The Congress is responsible for the election of the Central Committee; the Central Committee is responsible for the election of the Secretariat and for the appointment of section leaders and leaders of various committees and of the editor of the organizational newspaper, the People's Tribune. The organizational committee, headed by the Organizational Secretary, has the function of quickly transferring the organizational and political decisions and discussions from higher bodies to lower bodies. A commission system, functioning as a direct arm of the Central Committee, insures complete and up-to-date information concerning specific areas in the class struggle. The committee system regulates and insures democracy within the organization.

PRINCIPLES OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE C.L.

Membership is open to any person who does not exploit the labour of others, accepts the League program and Constitution, will work in assigned areas of the League, will follow the League decisions, adhere to democratic centralism and give the financial support required.

A. Qualifications.

1. Applicants must be eighteen years old.
2. Membership is accepted through the club unit and reviewed by the next higher body.
3. An applicant must give his history, background, and an honest explanation of his present ties and beliefs. In addition, each applicant must be sponsored by a member in good standing.
4. Applicants will work in the clubs and assigned work areas. Applicants will serve a probationary period of three (3) months. During this probationary period the new members will have the same rights in participation as all members to voice opinions, vote, be elected to minor posts. After the probationary period he will be given all rights and duties of League membership.
5. League members are free to withdraw from the League. The club will decide the conditions for withdrawal. This will be reviewed by the next highest body.
6. When a League member is cited for an infraction of any of the above rights, duties or qualifications, he will be given a list of his offenses, and will be criticized through the club, then the next higher bodies, and finally the League Congress. All charges that might warrant expulsion will be stated in writing and given to the member in question no later than two club meetings after first charged.
7. Charges may take the form of warning, serious warning, probation, and expulsion.

Members on all levels have the following duties:

1. To study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought diligently and strive increasingly to raise the level of their understanding.
2. To be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.
3. To build League solidarity.
4. To carry out League policy and decisions, and energetically fulfill the tasks assigned.
5. To strictly observe the Constitution and behave accordingly with Communist ethics, no exceptions being made for any League member, whatever his services or position.
6. To serve the interest of the masses of toilers with all one's energy, strengthen one's ties with them, learn from them, listen with open ears and open mind to to their wishes and opinions and report without delay these to the League and finally to explain League policy to them.
7. To be constantly vigilant to protect the League from opportunists, careerists, police agents, and other degenerate elements who might slip into membership.

LENINISM - FOURTH CLASS - HISTORY OF THE CPSU - CHAPTER 2

STUDY QUESTIONS:

1. What was the response of the Bourgeoisie (Zemstvo) and the Tsarist government to the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.
2. What was the Iskra and how did it serve to build a Social Democratic Party?
3. What was Lenin's plan for Party building?
4. What were the four points on the Economists' attack on Lenin? What were the 6 main theoretical principles put forth in Lenin's book What is to be Done in response to the attacks?
5. What is the historic significance of What is to be Done? P. 34
6. Briefly describe the Second Congress and discuss the five conclusions the book draws.
7. Describe Lenin's and the Mensheviks views on the Party, as put forth in Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back - Describe how we apply these six principles in our work.
8. How were the Mensheviks able to take over the Iskra and the Central Committee?

OPTIONAL SUGGESTED READING FOR THIS CHAPTER:

WHAT IS TO BE DONE, LENIN

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK, LENIN

ISKRA PERIOD Volume 1 & 2 10th Anniversary of International publishers ed.
(red series, LENIN)

Roy Summary -

LENIN ISM FIFTH CLASS LENIN - WHAT IS TO BE DONE all

CHAPTER 1 *Mitch*

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

CHAPTER 2

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

Summary - Twana

Wait later
Sandra - Summary

CHAPTER 3

- Declar*
Mitch
1. What does political education of the working class mean. *Twain*
 2. What did Lenin say about Martynovs position "to give the economic struggle itself a political character." What is the Communist position in regard to the economic struggle.
 3. What was the Marxist position on agitation and propoganda. How did Martynov try to improve on Plekhanovs views. *Sandra*
 4. What do the economist and terrorist have in common. How does this affect the struggle for socialism. *Roy*

CHAPTER 4 *Summary - Rostky*

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

Squally
Laura
Pub

CHAPTER 5

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

GENERAL QUESTION

1. Summarize the main theoretical principles expounded by Lenin in What is to be Done.

LENINISM SIXTH (6) CLASS HISTORY OF THE CPSU B CHAPTER 3

"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY WITHOUT KNOWING HOW TO ATTACK PROPERLY"
"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID UTTER ROUT IN THE EVENT OF DEFEAT WITHOUT KNOWING HOW TO RETREAT PROPERLY, TO RETREAT WITHOUT PANIC AND WITHOUT CONFUSION."

SECTION 1

1. Describe the course of events that led to the revolution in Russia.
2. How did Russian imperialism effect the revolution in Russia.
3. What were the attitudes of the Mensheviks toward the war, what were the Bolsheviks?
4. How did the Russo-Japanese war hasten the outbreak of the revolution.
5. Who was Gapon, what was his organization - what did his activities accomplish.

SECTION 2

1. What was the change in the revolutionary struggles of the workers after January 9th.
2. What happened at Lodz and Ivanovo-Vosnesensk.
3. What happened on the Potemkin and what did it show.
4. What classes sought to overthrow the Tsar and what sought to preserve the government. Discuss in detail as concerns the workers, peasants, bourgeoisie and landlords.
5. What was the response of the liberal bourgeoisie and the government to the rising revolutionary struggle.

SECTION 3

1. What were the main points (4) of differences between the Bolsheviks 3rd Party Congress and the Menshevik Conference in their tactical line.

2. Why was it, the peasantry and not the liberal bourgeoisie who was the class ally of the proletariat.

SECTION 4

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

What did this strike reveal, what were the reactions of the ruling class.

2. What was the Manifesto of October 17. How was it a trap to the masses.

- What was the role of the Black Hundreds. What were the Soviets. What did they represent and how did they arise.
3. What was the role of the Mensheviks in the Soviet in St. Petersburg, the Bolsheviks in the Moscow Soviet.

SECTION 5

1. What major events took place between October to December of 1905. What was the importance of the Tammersfors Conference.
2. Explain the Bolshevik and Menshevik positions on the Agrarian question.
3. What kind of unity was effected at the 4th Congress and what did it mean.

SECTION 6

1. What were the Dumas
2. What were the attitudes of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks to the different Dumas.
3. Why was the 5th Congress considered a big victory to the Bolsheviks. What were the class roots of the tactics of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks as described by Comrade Stalin.
4. What was the period of Stolypin reaction.
5. What were the causes of the defeat of the first Russian Revolution.

LENINISM 7th CLASS HISTORY OF THE CPSU B CHAPTER 4

SECTION 1

1. Describe the policy of the Stolypin reaction.
2. What were the class and political reactions to these actions of the Tsars government.
3. What were the characteristic features of modern revisionism in political economy in questions of tactics and in philosophy in Lenin's time, in ours.

SECTION 2 (CLASS ON DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM WILL BE HELD AT A LATER DATE

SECTION 3

1. What did the Liquidators advocate.
2. What did the Otzovists advocate and what did they have in common.
3. What were the new tactics of the party in this period.

SECTION 4

1. Describe Trotsky's August Bloc and explain how it was counteracted by Lenin's.
2. How did legal and illegal work aid in the program.
3. Describe the preparation of the Bolsheviks for the Prague Conference.
4. What was the outcome of the Prague Conference.

SUMMARY

1. Discuss how the party principle of purging is vital to the development of a revolutionary party.
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ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

Historical background

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

The Second Congress was responsible for:

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

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

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

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

Organizational Principles which the book put forth

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

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

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

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

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

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

Small Circles(main ones) and various Congress Groupings

1. Iskra editorial board-- Composed of Lenin, Plekhanov, Martov, Zasulich, Axelrod and Potresov. Founded in 1900.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Major Incidents at the Congress

A. Organizing Committee incident.-- This committee was a small group formed to bring the Congress together. It was composed of Iskristas, Bundists and Rabocheye Dyelists. The incident revolved around the committee's decision the Borbaist Ryazanov to sit in on the Congress after they had previously refused to let him do so. Comrade Pavlovich, a Bolshevik, objected saying that the small group (the organizing committee) was acting on its own against the Congress. Comrade Martov asked the committee why

they had changed their views on the Borba group. The reason they gave was that possibly "it could have forgotten to nominate someone and so on". This was no the reason. The change of face was was the reflection of the "political spinelessness of the unstable group on the Org. committee." They wished to burke the issue and were afraid of what people would say. This was Comrade Lenin's compact analysis of the significance of the Org. committee incident: "... The issue thus came down to this: circles or a party? Were the rights of delegates to be restricted at the congress in the name of the imaginary rights or rules of the various bodies and circles, or were all lower bodies and old groups to be completely and not nominally but actually, disbanded in face of the Congress, pending the creation of genuindy Party official institutions? The reader will already see from this how profoundly important from the standpoint of principle was this dispute at the very outset (the third sitting) of this Congress whose purpose was the actual restoration of the Party. Focused in this dispute, as it were, was the conflict between the old circles and small groups (such as Yuzhny Rabochy) and the renascent Party. And the anti- Iskra groups at once revealed themselves: The Bundists Abramson, Comrade Martynov, that ardent ally of the present Iskra editorial board, and our friend Comrade Makhov all sided with Egrov and the Yuzhny Rabochy group against Pavlovich. Comrade Martynov, who now vies with Martov and Axelrod in sporting "democracy" in organization, even cited the example of... the army, where an appeal to a superior authority can only be made through a lower one!! The true meaning of this "compact" anti-Iskra opposition was quite clear to everyone who was present at the Congress or who had carefully followed the internal history of our Party prior to the Congress. It was the purpose of the opposition (perhaps not always realized by all of its representatives, and sometimes pursued by force of inertia) to guard the independence, individualism and parochial interests of the small, petty groups from being swallowed up in the broad Party that was being built on the Iskra principles."

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

C. The Agrarian Program. The next major debate centered around the Agrarian Program. It proved to be a preview of a major struggle between the Bolshevik and Menshevik lines, even though at this Congress the Economists took up the banner of the opposition. The debate centered around the question of the relationship of the proletariat to the peasantry. The Opportunists held that the major mistake of the Agrarian Program was that it pushed for an

alliance of workers and peasants. This was a mistake, according to the opportunists, because the proletariat is "our only revolutionary class". They took this correct fact and twisted it to mean that none of the other classes could take a revolutionary stand. In fact they went further and stated the peasantry was reactionary and bourgeois. This is why Lenin charged the Opportunists were Vulgar Marxists.

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

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

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

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

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

Unfortunately, Martov's formulation was adopted by the Congress, by a vote of 28-22. But Lenin had this to say about the outcome of the vote: "...I by no means consider our difference (over Paragraph 1) so vital as to

be a matter of life or death to the Party. We shall certainly not perish because of an unfortunate clause in the Rules! Taken by itself, this difference, although it did reveal shades of principle, could never have called forth that divergence (actually, to speak unreservedly, that split) which took place after the Congress. But every little difference may become a big one if it is insisted on, if it is put into the foreground, if people set about searching for all the roots and branches of the difference. Every little difference may assume tremendous importance if it serves as the starting-point for a swing towards definite mistaken views, and if these mistaken views are combined, by virtue of new and additional divergences, with anarchistic actions which bring the Party to the point of a split."

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

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

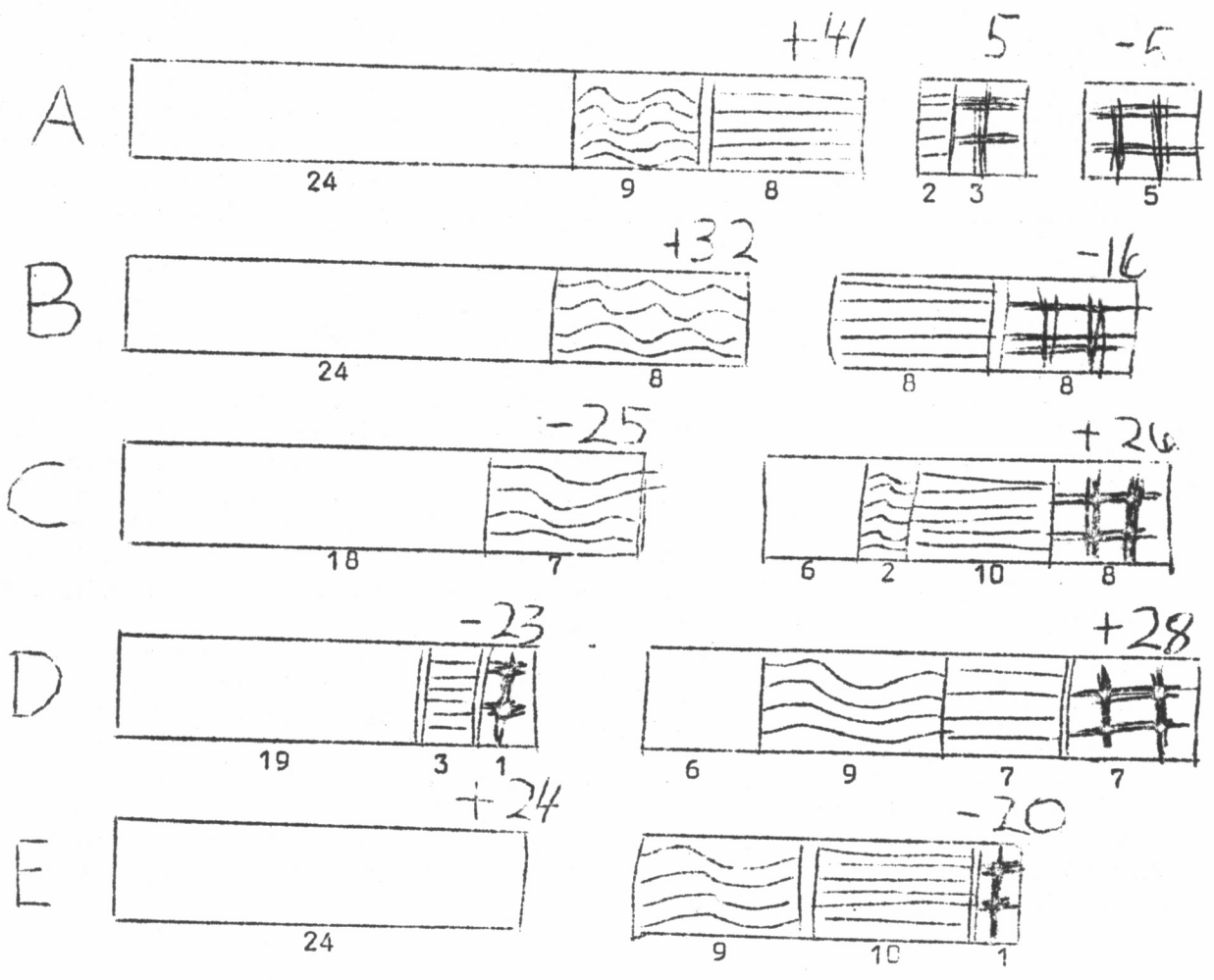
We must never forget that we must always take a principled stand against revisionism, and not yield to it, or else we will wind up in the "marsh " just as Comrades like Plekhanov and various Centrists, both in Russia and throughout the world, have done.

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

Summary

The importance of One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, is that it successfully upheld the Party principles against the Circle principles and the Party against the disorganizers; it smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on the question of organization and laid the organizational foundations of the Bolshevik Party. Its historical significance lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of Marxism, Lenin elaborated the "doctrine of the Party" as the leading organization of the proletariat, as the principle weapon of the proletariat, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won.

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labor for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit rule of Russian tsardom, nor the senile rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army"



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

	Iskraists-majority
	Iskraists-minority
	Centre
	Anti-Iskraists

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

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

QUESTIONS FOR ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

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

SUGGESTED READING: HISTORY OF THE CPSU B Chapter 2 - section 4
MIMEOGRAPHED REPORTS ON ONE STEP FORWARD

TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY was written by Lenin in the two months following the Third Party Congress. The Russian Social Democratic Party was not formally but was actually divided into two groups - the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks saw the necessity of uniform tactics within the RSDLP and took the initiative in calling together the Third Party Congress, inviting all party organizations. The Mensheviks rejected this Congress and instead called together their own Conference in Geneva.

Two lines were put forth at these meetings.

In order to unite the Social Democrats, Lenin saw the urgency of studying the tactical resolutions of the Congress and the Conference, defining what deviations there were from the principles of Marxism, immediately putting forth the correct tactical decisions in the form of a precise program.

TACTICAL LINE OF THE 3RD PARTY CONGRESS

TACTICAL LINE OF THE MENSHEVIK CONFERENCE

1. Proletariat should be interested in the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; this victory would allow proletariat to grow politically, gain experience in political leadership of the toiling masses and proceed to the proletarian revolution.
2. Permissible in principle for Communists to participate in a provisional revolutionary government (during the period of struggle for a republic. (3rd Party Congress rejected idea of Mensheviks that this participation would be a brand of Millerandism and that such participation would sanctify the bourgeois order.) Participation in PRG would enable S.D. to carry on a struggle against counterrevolutionary attempts and to act in defence of the independent interests of the working class always keeping in mind the aims for Socialist revolution.

1. Liberal bourgeoisie leader, proletariat should not establish close relations with the peasantry but with the liberal bourgeoisie. They were afraid of frightening off the liberal bourgeoisie by the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and thereby weakening the revolution.
2. Communists should not take part in the Provisional revolutionary government since the government was not Socialist in character and the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat might frighten the liberal bourgeoisie.

3. Convocation of Constituent Assembly by means of insurrection. Demands complete transfer of power to a Constituent Assembly, complete overthrow of the Tsarist government and its replacement by a provisional revolutionary government.

4. Exposed what it meant to be a party of "extreme opposition" in time of revolution (an expression of only negative actions and the paralysis of the party) "When revolution has begun When there is civil war, when insurrectionary outbreaks occur - THE CONCEPTS AND TERMS OF PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE ARE CHANGED AND TRANSFORMED INTO THEIR OPPOSITES..... PAGE 78 TWO TACTICS."

5. Pallied for such revolutionary slogans as:

1. mass political strikes
2. immediate revolutionary call for 8 hour working day.
3. organizations of revolutionary peasant committees, confiscation of the landlord estates.
4. arming of the workers.

6. The revolution would win if headed by the proletariat and if it, the proletariat could secure an alliance with the

3. Convocation of Constituent Assembly by the call of the Tsar.

4. Resolution stated: "therefore, Social Democracy must not set itself the aim of seizing or sharing power in the Provisional government, but must remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposing".

5. Debated on the putting forth of concrete programs. Failed to put forth concrete slogans. Raised question of "tactics as a process"

6. Proletariat had purely wage worker interests, should not try to gain hegemony of the revolution as the rev-

peasantry and not with the liberal bourgeoisie who was not interested in complete victory of Tsardom, but only wanted to restrict the powers of the Tsar and utilize the state as a means of control over the workers and peasantry by a compromise with the Tsar on the basis of a Constitutional Monarchy.

olution as the revolution concerned all classes.

Proletariat should establish close relationship with the liberal bourgeoisie and not the peasantry.

- 7 7. "The proletariat can and must be the leader of the bourgeois democratic revolution although the revolution can not be anything but bourgeois democratic in character, as the bourgeoisie is inconsistent and self seeking and accents th accepts the slogans of liberty only in partly and hypocritically." Two Tactics

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTS:

1. Apply the lessons of Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution to the national liberation movements of today (Negro National Liberation Struggle, Viet Nam.)
2. Why did Lenin say that the character of the first Russian Revolution was bourgeois-Democratic rather than proletarian? What determines the class character of a revolution (bourgeois-democratic, proletarian?)
3. Why has this book been called the political preparation for the party?

DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Reading: Dialectical and Historical Materialism by Joseph Stalin

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

Class on Materialism and Empirio-Criticism

1. Read History of the CPSU (B), pp 101-105, for historical background and summary of book.

2. Study the following quotations. On materialism and idealism:

'In his work, Ludwig Feuerbach, Engels divides philosophers into two great camps - materialists and idealists. Engels...sees this fundamental distinction between them; that while to the materialists nature is primary, and spirit secondary, to the idealists, the reverse is the case. Between these two schools of thought Engels places the adherents of Hume and Kant who deny the possibility of knowing the world, or at least of fully knowing it, and calls them agnostics.' (p14)

'The basic distinction between the materialist and the idealist is that the materialists takes sensation, perception, and, in general, human consciousness as the copy of objective reality. The world is the movement of this objective reality reflected in our consciousness. To the movement of ideas, perceptions, etc, corresponds the movement of matter outside of us. The notion of matter expresses nothing but objective reality which is given us in sensation.... To separate thought from objective reality, to separate sensation from the external world...is the same as joining the idealist camp.' (p226)

'Principles are not the starting points of investigation but the conclusions of it; they are not to be applied to nature and history but are derived from them. Nature and humanity are not steered by principles, but principles are, on the other hand, only correct insofar as they correspond to nature and history. That is just the materialistic conception of matter, and the opposite...is the idealistic conception.' (p22)

'All knowledge is derived from experience, from sensations, from perception; this is true. But the question remains, Is the source of perception objective reality? If you answer yes, then you are a materialist. If not then you inevitably come to subjectivism, or agnosticism, irrespective of whether you deny the knowledge of the thing-in-itself, or the objectivity of time, space, causality (Kant); or whether you reject the very idea of the thing-in-itself (Hume). The inconsistency of your empiricism, of your philosophy of experience, will lie in the fact that you are denying the objective content of experience, the objective truth of empirical knowledge. (p10)

'The really important epistemological (how-do-we-know-things) question which divides the philosophic schools is not concerning the degree of our exactness of our description of causal connections... but whether the source of our cognition of these connections is natural objective law, or the properties of our own human reason.... This is what divides the materialists...from the agnostics.'(p129)

On idealism:

'For every scientist, who is not led astray by professorial philosophy, as well as for every materialist, sensation is nothing but a direct connection of the mind with the external world; it is the transformation of energy of external excitation into a mental state. This transformation has been observed by each of us a million times.

The sophistry of idealist philosophy consists in that it takes sensation not as a connection of the mind with the outer world but as a screen, as a wall which separates the mind from the outer world; in that it is taken not as an image corresponding to the perception of the external phenomenon but as the "only entity". (p31)

'Let us regard the external world, or nature as "a combination of sensations" which is caused in our mind by the divinity. Admit this and give up searching for the "ground" of these sensations outside of the mind and man, and I will recognize within the framework of the idealist theory of knowledge all of natural science, the application and certainty of its inferences.... Such is Berkeley's idea. It correctly expresses the essence and social significance of idealist philosophy.' (p12)

'The agnostic (the follower of Hume) does not go beyond his sensations, and asserts that he cannot know anything about their source, their origin, etc.... And how does Engels refute their arguments? - "Now, this line of reasoning seems undoubtedly hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation there was action.... And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it.... From the moment we turn objects to our own use, according to the qualities we perceive in them, we put to an infallible test the correctness or otherwise of our sense impressions. If these perceptions have been wrong then our estimate of the use to which an object can be turned must also be wrong, and our attempt must fail. But if we succeed in accomplishing our aim, if we find that the object does agree with our idea of it, and does answer the purpose we intended it for, then that is positive proof that our perceptions of it and of its qualities, so far, agree with reality outside ourselves."' (p81)

'A philosophy which teaches that physical nature is derivative (secondary, coming from combinations of thoughts) is a clerical (religious) philosophy pure and simple.... If nature is derivative then it is self-evident that it can be derived only from something that is greater, richer, broader than nature, from something that already exists, for in order for nature to be "derived" from it, it has to exist apart from it. In plain language this is what is meant by God. The idealists continually try to substitute a different name, to make it more abstract, more nebulous, and at the same time, to make it appear more plausible (eg Universal Will, Absolute Idea etc).... Everybody knows that idea, spirit, will and the psychical, in general, are the function of a normally operating human brain.... To separate this function from specific structure, organized in a certain way, to convert this function into a universal, general abstraction, to substitute this abstraction for the whole of physical nature - is the delusion of an idealism which secretly scorns science.' (pp192-3)

'But the substance of idealism can be reduced to this: the mental is taken as the starting-point; from it external nature is inferred or constructed; and in short order the individual consciousness is deduced from nature. This primal "mental" is always in the last analysis a lifeless abstraction which conceals a diluted theology.' (p190)

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

On Materialism:

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

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

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

'(3) In the theory of knowledge, as in other branches of science, we must think dialectically, that is, we must not regard our knowledge as ready-made and unchangeable, but must determine how from ignorance knowledge is gradually built up, and how incomplete, inexact knowledge becomes more complete and exact.' (p77)

'The destructability of the atom, its inexhaustibility, the mutability of all the forms of matter and the variability of its motion, have been the stronghold of dialectical materialism. All boundaries in nature are arbitrary, movable, and express the gradual approximation of our reason towards the knowledge of matter. But this does not at all prove that nature, matter itself, is a symbol, - a product of our reason.' (p240)

'Materialism generally recognizes the objectively real being (matter) as existing independently of mind, sensation, experience, etc. Historical materialism recognizes social being as existing independently of the social consciousness of humanity. Consciousness here and there is only an image of being, at best an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) image of it. You cannot eliminate even one basic assumption, one substantial part of this philosophy of Marxism (it is as if it were a solid block of steel) without abandoning objective truth, without falling into the arms of the bourgeois-reactionary falsehood.' (p

On the class origins and social effects of philosophy:

'Modern fideism (faith-ism, religion) does not reject science. - Oh no! It only rejects the "exaggerated claims" of science, especially its claim to objective truth. If objective truth exists...then every kind of fideism is absolutely false. But if there is no objective truth, if truth (including scientific truth) is only the organized form of human experience (as the idealists including the Machists claim), then a way is left open for the fundamental postulate of clericalism.' (p98)

'On the other hand, for the materialists the world is richer, livelier, more varied...for with each scientific step taken in advance, new parts of it are discovered. To the materialist, sensations are images of the ultimate and only objective reality, ultimate not in the sense that it is already explored to the end, but in that there is not and cannot be any other besides it. This viewpoint irrevocably closes the door, not only to fideism, but also to professorial scholasticism.' (p101)

'Modern cultural fideism has no desire to regard the conceptions of natural science as anything more than "working hypotheses". We shall concede science to you naturalists, provided you surrender epistemology

and philosophy to us - such are the terms of concubinage under which the theologians and professors in the "advanced" capitalist countries live.' (p239)

'But what is highly characteristic is how these drowning faiths clutch at a straw, and with what cunning the representatives of the educated bourgeoisie artificially attempt to sustain and find a place for fideism whose hold on the lower strata of the masses is due to ignorance, backwardness, and to the absurd and wild contradictions of capitalist society.' (p265)

'For the professors, philosophy is not a science, but a safeguard against social democracy.' (p295)

'Taken as a whole, the professors of economics are nothing but scientific salesmen of the capitalist class, and the professors of philosophy are scientific salesmen of theology.' (p297)

On the genius of Marx and Engels:

'The genius of Marx and Engels expressed itself in that they despised the pseudo-erudite play upon new words, wise terms, and cunning "isms". They simply and explicitly said that there was a materialist and idealist division in philosophy, and between them there are various shades of agnosticism. The desire to find a "new" viewpoint in philosophy betrays the same poverty of spirit, as the desire to create a "new" theory of value, or a "new" theory of rent.' (p117)

The genius of Marx and Engels lay in the fact, that during a long period, for nearly half a century, they developed materialism.... They did not lose time in repeating epistemological problems already solved, but consistently developed them, and showed how to carry materialism into the social sciences.' (p291)

(All page numbers refer to the 1927 International Publishers edition of Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, v13 of the Collected Works of Lenin)

3. Notes for discussion:

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

materialism - this is the main problem of bourgeois philosophy - a problem which, of course, is unsolvable, since the proletariat is the rising, and the bourgeoisie the dying, class in the world today.

The bourgeoisie's first attack on science was formulated in 1710 by George Berkeley (later made a bishop for his efforts), and as we shall see hasn't changed much since. Berkeley, in his A Treatise, Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge, wherein the Chief Causes of Errors and Difficulty in the Sciences, with the Grounds of Sketicism, Atheism and Irreligion, are inquired into, (Berkeley's clarity is what makes classical philosophers classic) - took certain errors and vaguenesses of Locke and developed them into a full-blown system. Berkeley says that our only knowledge is of thoughts, ideas; that these thoughts cannot exist without a mind to think them, that 'matter is a meaningless term since what we call objects are really combinations of sensations or ideas that are in our minds, and that therefore, to believe in the reality of the objective world is to hold, in his terms, a most abstract and incomprehensible idea. These ideas, however, are real things, consistent and orderly - and it is their sequence and connection that science studies. Berkeley says that all he takes away is the concept of matter or objective reality (ie having existence independent of our thoughts about them). He does so because matter is 'the cornerstone of Atheism'. He then goes on to say that it is God who is the source of all our ideas. Lenin sums up the implications of what Berkeley says in the second quote cited in the section on Idealism.

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

Hume too was too raw for the bourgeoisie, too obviously absurd in the face of scientific knowledge, and even of plain everyday life. So along came Kant and built up an eclectic mish-mash of Hume, Berkeley, and materialism. This mish-mash represents the end of the development of bourgeois philosophy to date, other later 'systems' being merely endless repetitions of Berkeley, Hume, Kant and materialism in various combinations. Lenin proves this is true of the 'latest' philosophy in 1908, and it is still true today. The bourgeoisie cannot develop a consistent idealism, such as Hegelian dialectical idealism, and get away with it - for dialectical materialism, merely by 'standing Hegelianism on its head', springs directly from it. Similarly, they cannot do away with materialism, science and scientific knowledge, although they must do away with its implications. This is their predic-

ament. The basic way they try to solve it is by admitting the correctness and usefulness of science but denying its objective reality. Today this is called 'logical positivism'; yesterday it was 'agnosticism', 'pragmatism', 'subjective idealism' etc. As Lenin says, these are all disagreements among people 'one of whom believes in a yellow deevil, the other in a green one'. Their systems are all reactionary, backward attempts of the bourgeoisie to prop up their rule. The revisionists are the leading agents of the bourgeoisie in pushing their line. We must uphold 'the solid block of steel' that is dialectical materialism, a weapon which annihilates the nonsense of the bourgeoisie that is 'not a science, but a defense against communism.'

Appendices

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

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

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

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

The unity (the coincidence, identity, resultant force of opposites) is conditional, temporary, transitory, and relative, the struggle of

the mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, as movement and evolution are.

TWO. Marx's Theses on Feuerbach (excerpts)

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

QUESTIONS

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