

ON PRACTICE MAO TSE TUNG

1. Describe the process of development of knowledge.
How are each different.
How do the different forms of knowledge become linked up. (Give an example of the process).
Describe the process in the development of the **consciousness** of the proletariat.
2. Why is it incorrect when revisionists say that Marxism doesn't apply today in the stage of world-wide imperialism?
3. What is the difference between the dogmatist, empiricist, rationalist school and the Marxist view on Practice and Knowledge?
4. What is the Materialism of the theory of knowledge and the dialectics of the theory of knowledge.
5. Describe the active function of knowledge and Lenin's statement: "Practice is a reflection of objective reality." Why is dialectical materialism universally true? Is the movement of knowledge ever completed?
6. How does incorrectly applying dialectics lead to right opportunism or left phrase-mongering?

ON CONTRADICTION MAO TSE TUNG QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

Chapter I

1. What are the two world outlooks? What are the most basic features of each as outlined in the first chapter of On Contradiction?
2. What is the fundamental cause of the development of a thing and what are the secondary causes?
3. What are the internal conditions of society that cause its development and change?
4. Give an original example of "...external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change and... external causes become operative through internal causes."

Chapter II

5. Explain "It is precisely in the particularity of contradiction that the universality of contradiction resides." Give an original example.
6. What is the twofold meaning of the universality or absoluteness of contradiction?
7. Explain "Objective contradictions are reflected in subjective thinking."
8. How does the following quote from Mao relate to the Deborin school mentioned in the book?: "...each and every difference already contain contradiction and difference itself is contradiction."
9. What is the one thing Mao calls universal and absolute? Why?

Chapter III

10. How do we know the universality of contradiction exists? How does the relationship between particularity of contradiction and universality of contradiction determine the proper (revolutionary) methods of study and work?
11. What is the difference between the principle contradiction and the principle aspect of a contradiction? How are they related?
12. What are the specific component parts of "understanding each aspect of a contradiction?"
13. What are the respective meanings of "subjective", "onesided" and "superficial" as outlined in On Contradiction?
14. What is the fundamental contradiction? What is the difference between it and the principle contradiction? How can the fundamental contradiction remain the same through different stages while the principle contradiction changes? What are concrete examples of this?
15. Explain "All individual character exists conditionally and temporarily and hence is relative."

Chapter IV.

16. How do we determine which of the contradictions in a given process is the principle contradiction?
17. What is the rule about the development of contradictory aspects of a contradiction? What conclusion can we draw from this about whether we should treat the two aspects of a contradiction as equal?
18. What is the relationship between base and superstructure? What is the approach of a mechanical materialist to this question? What is the approach of a Marxist-Lennist?

Chapter V

19. What is the twofold meaning of identity as defined in On Contradiction?
20. Why does Mao say that "...the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute."

Chapter VI

21. What is the place of antagonism in contradiction?

Chapter VII

22. Review and summarize the main points made in On Contradiction and briefly state several examples of how these might apply in our theoretical, political and ideological work.

"When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it."

Mao Tse Tung
"Oppose Book Worship" 1930

LENINISM CLASS 13 - HISTORY OF THE CPSU (B) CHAPTER 5

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

HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) CHAPTER 6

1. Describe the imperialist nature of World War I. How did the bourgeoisie deceive the proletariat about the war and what arguments do the bourgeoisie use today to deceive the proletariat about the Viet nam war or the war in the Middle East? What was Russias relationship to the other imperialist countries and why was she forced to enter the war?
2. During the period of W.W. I what role did the opportunistic parties of the 2nd International play in relation to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? How did the Bolshevik party prove its true proletarian internationalism during this war?
3. What are some differences between the imperialist nature of World war I and the imperialist war in S.E. asia? What effects do these differences have on the role of the proletariat then and now?
4. What caused the downfall of the 2nd International and how does the conciliatory policy towards opportunism turn into social chauvinism? How did the centrists under the leadership of Trotsky and Kautsky become social chuvinists themselves?
5. What tactics did the Imperialist bourgeoisie use to get sections of the working class to support them? Discuss this in relation to the tactics used by the bourgeoisie today.
6. What basic reasons did Lenin put forward to show that socialism is possible in one country? How does this theory aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat?
7. Why was the March 1917 revolution a "bourgeois-democratic" revolution? What did the different classes want from the revolution? Why didn't the bourgeoisie want the revolution carried to its conclusion - Why did the proletariat want the revolution carried to its conclusion? What did the peaseantry want from the revolution?

IMPERIALISM

READING MATERIAL: Imperialism by V.I. Lenin

FIRST CLASS CHAPTERS 1-5

CHAPTER I

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

CHAPTER II

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

CHAPTER III

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

CHAPTER IV

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

CHAPTER V

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

SECOND CLASS CHAPTERS 6-10

CHAPTER VI

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

CHAPTER VII

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

CHAPTER VIII

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

Imperialism class #2 continued

CHAPTER IX

1. Explain how bourgeois scholars defended imperialism in Lenins time. How is imperialism defended today by the bourgeoisie?

CHAPTER X

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

WAR AND PEACE

READING MATERIAL WAR AND PEACE - Chinese phamplet V.I. Lenin

Article I SOCIALISM AND WAR

CHAPTER I

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

CHAPTER II

1. In Russia why was it only the working class that wasn't affected by social chauvinism?
2. How did imperialism change the nature of opportunism? How is this manifested today?

CHAPTERS III AND IV

1. What were the three trends of the socialist movement that were shown up distinctly in Germany during WWI. What three trends and/or political groups correspond best to these groups today.
2. How did the Bolsheviks correctly appraise the policy of the liquidators? Can we see this same opportunist movement in the U.S. today. If so, in what way?
3. What are the main lessons the RSDLP learned from their experience in WWI?

ARTICLE II THE WAR PROGRAM OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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

ARTICLE III BOURGEOIS PACIFISM AND SOCIALIST PACIFISM

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

State and Revolution

1. What does it mean when Engles says "The state is a power which arises out of society, places itself above it yet it is not a power forced on society from without?"
2. How do the opportunists distort the Marxist definition of the state. (Kautsky then- CPUSA now)
3. What is the public power (force) that Engles refers to in his definition in Section one, chapter one. What importance does it play under imperialism?
4. How does the proletariat use the state under socialism?
5. Why can the overthrow of bourgeois rule be accomplished only with the proletariat as the vanguard?
6. In what way was the Paris Commune unique in the history of the proletarian struggle?
7. What were the main reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune? Why is the smashing and destruction of the bureaucratic military state machine the preliminary condition for the working class revolution?
8. How do Marx and Engles refute the anarchists position on the state?
9. What's the difference between the Marxist-Leninists line and the opportunist line on the withering away of the state?
10. What is the relationship of bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship.
11. Why will full proletarian democracy finally lead to the abolition of democracy.
12. How does evasiveness on the question of the state lead to opportunism? Relate this to the communist party USA.

POLITICAL ECONOMY CLASS # 1

READING MATERIAL - WAGE LABOUR AND CAPITAL -- MARX (ALL)

QUESTIONS: (ANSWER IN WRITTEN FORM)

- 1..What are wages?
- 2..By what is the price of a commodity determined?
3. By what are wages determined?
- 4.Describe the nature and growth of capital?
5. What is the relation of wage-labor to capital?
6. What is the general law that determines the rise and fall of wages and profits?
- 7..Show how the interests of capital and wage labour are diametrically opposed - Show the effect of growth of productive capital on wages..
8. ~~What is the effect of capitalist competition on the capitalist class, the middle class, and the working class?~~

CLASS I - CAPITAL

READING MATERIAL- CAPITAL, MARX (ENGLES AND MARX) FIRST SECTION _THE TWO
FACTORS OF A COMMODITY USE VALUE AND VALUE
SECOND SECTION -

CLASS I CAPITAL

READING MATERIAL CAPITAL, MARX (ENGLES AND MARX) FIRST SECTION-THE TWO FACTORS OF A COMMODITY USE VALUE AND VALUE SECOND SECTION - THE TWOFOLD CHARACTER OF LABOR EMBODIED IN COMMODITIES

QUESTIONS: (ANSWER QUESTIONS IN WRITTEN FORM)

1. How are the dialectical concepts of quantity and quality expressed in a commodity as Use Value and Exchange Value..
2. Explain the concept that use value is the result of concrete labor whereas value is the result of abstract labor..
- 3..How do we arrive at the concept of "Value?"
- 4..How do we compute "Socially Necessary Labor Time"
- 5..Why doesn't the Value of a specific commodity remain constant
- 6..Why is it "Value" and not "Use Value" that determines the "Exchange Value" of commodities.
- 7..Is it possible to have Use Value without having Value. Give some examples.
8. Under commodity production is it possible to have Value without having Use Value..Why..
9. Why is a division of labor a necessary condition for the production of commodities?
10. What is the relation of Use Value and Value to Concrete and Abstract Labor?
11. How is it possible that an increase in the quantity of material wealth (commodities) could be accompanied by a decrease in the magnitude of its value.
12. Why can Value as abstract labor only be expressed in the form of Use Value or Concrete Labor.

Class II CAPITAL, MARX

READING MATERIAL CAPITAL, SECTION, THE FORM OF VALUE OR EXCHANGE VALUE PARTS A,B,C,D.

1. What is the elementary or simplest form of value.
2. Why does Marx mean when he says that the value of commodities has a purely social reality..
- 3..What is the relative form of value..
4. What is the equivalent form of value.
5. Discuss the quantitative determination of relative value (four variables)
- 6..Describe the elementary form of value considered as a whole.
- 7..What are the defects of the total or expanded form of value..
- 8..Discuss the altered character of the form of value.
- 9..Discuss the interdependent development of the relative form of value and the equivalent form.
10. Discuss the transition from the general form of value to the money form..
11. Trace the genesis of the money form of value from simple or elementary to the money form. What are universal equivalents. What have been some of their forms..

EXCERPT FROM POLITICAL ECONOMY BY JOHN EATON- CHAPTER 11
(VALUE APPEARS IN EXCHANGE page 22)

It has been shown in the preceding paragraph how deviations in value tend to be corrected, and how the law of value asserts itself. Thus, the value of commodities becomes apparent in exchange, and in men's minds the value of a commodity is seen not in terms of so many labor hours, but in terms of the commodities for which it can be exchanged. At first, no doubt, trade was arbitrary, but as trade became regular exchanges settled down to a regular basis, that is, they tended to be based on the labor-time needed to produce the articles exchanged.

In very early times, few goods would enter into exchange, for example, a cattle-raising community might exchange only its surplus cattle. The value of the cattle would be seen in terms of the goods which they would fetch in exchange such as: one ox equals 5lbs of iron. As exchange developed, more goods would enter into exchange, and it would become established that an oxen would fetch 5lbs of iron or 10 yards of cloth or four hides or 20 bushels of corn, and so on. The farmers raising cattle would measure the value of their cattle in terms of certain quantities of the use-values (cloth, iron, corn, etc.) for which cattle could be exchanged. Clearly, if an oxen would fetch 5lbs of iron or 10 yards of cloth, 5lbs of iron equals in exchange value 10 yards of cloth.

As exchange developed still further and more and more commodities entered into exchange, the equating of each commodity with a sizeable list of commodities became an unwieldy and unnecessary process.* Instead there emerged a new way of looking at the rates commodities exchanged with other commodities. Those who had goods to exchange began to measure the exchange-values of their products in terms of one and the same commodity: for example, the weaver would know that 10 yards of cloth was worth one ox, the farmer that 90 bushels of corn were worth three oxen, and so on. In fact, cattle were, in very early times, frequently used in this way as a measure of value: commodities were, it might be said, priced in terms of oxen.

(MONEY: A GENERALLY EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITY) PAGE 23

It was, however, not only the case that goods were valued in terms of a particular commodity which could and would be readily taken in exchange by other people. Barter is a very primitive form of commodity exchange, which is restricted in scope and limited in opportunity: a farmer would need to sell the produce of his land as and when he could, and although his ultimate aim might be to buy cloth or iron he would often do well to exchange his corn or fruit for oxen, with the object of exchanging the oxen for cloth or iron when a favourable opportunity presented itself. In fact, intermediary transactions of this kind tended to occur in the transitional stage from barter to new forms of exchange: in early Greece (about 1000 B.C.) cattle were fairly generally taken in exchange (as well as being used as a measure of the value of other commodities.) A commodity which was used in this way acted as a temporary store of exchange value and bridged the gap between the sale of the surplus product and the purchase of the commodity required for its use-value (such as cloth to wear, grain to eat).

In this way, as commodity exchange developed, the form of exchange advanced from simple barter. The universally exchangeable commodity that acts as the "go-between" in sale and purchase, and as measure of value, is termed the money commodity or simply, MONEY.

Footnotes

* That primitive communities had, in fact, to assess the value of commodities in terms of many others is illustrated by the following passage from HOMER'S ILLIAD, BOOK & Line 472: "Then the long-haired Achaeans supplied themselves with wine, some paying in bronze

Footnotes

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**...We have seen how.....when official money backed by the State loses its value, an ordinary commodity generally accepted in exchange assumes the money function as measure of value and as means of circulation. In this way cigarettes replaced money in Germany when paper money was depreciated and discredited by uncontrolled inflation.

It is sometimes argued that gold is valuable because it is scarce, and it is suggested that this, and not the labour theory is the true explanation of its value. This argument is fallacious. There is no absolute scarcity of gold: in the earth's crust there are considerable quantities of gold, but it requires a vast amount of human labour-time to locate, mine, and refine this gold.

CAPITAL - MARX CLASS III CHAPTER I SECTION 4 THE FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES
AND THE SECRET THEREOF
CHAPTER II EXCHANGE

1. What does Marx mean when he says "that under capitalism ... therefore, the relations connecting the labor of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as material relations between persons and social relations between things."
2. Wherein does the mystery of commodities lie?
3. What is the relationship between commodities as values and commodities as use values?
4. What is the relationship between commodities and their owners?
5. Why does the historical process and extension of exchanges lead to the establishment of an independent form of value (money)? i.e. How does a commodity become money?
6. Describe the evolutionary process by which commodity exchanges and exchange value develop.
7. What is the magnitude of value and how is the magnitude of value expressed as (the equivalent form of a commodity) money? How is this value determined?
8. How does the "magic of money" effect the social relations of production?
9. What is the use value of the money commodity?
10. Why can't money act as a universal equivalent unless it itself has value or explain how the use value of the money form of commodity is dependent on its value.
11. Why is labor represented by the value of its product and labor time by the magnitude of that value?

Class IV CAPITAL CHAPTER III SECTIONS 1,2 and 3

1. Describe how money functions as a : (1)measure of value, (2)medium of exchange, (3) means of payment (4)store of value?
2. Explain the fallacy of the statement "Every seller brings his buyer to market with him."
3. Explain how money is the medium of the circulation of commodities.
4. What are the dialectics of the conversion of commodities into money (C into M into C)
5. Explain the fallacy of the bourgeois concept that crises are caused by the lack of money in circulation.
6. Describe the process by which money becomes currency.
7. Does the movement of money express the circulation of commodities or is the circulation of commodities the result of the movement of money? Explain.
8. What is money really an expression of? How does the the value of a commodity relate to its price and how does this affect the quantity of money thrown into circulation (medium of circulation.)
9. What three factors determine the quantity of money which goes into circulation Explain each one.
10. What changes and results occur to a coin when it goes into circulation?
11. Is it possible for less precious metals than gold and silver to serve as a measure of value. When does this occur and for what reasons? Can this permanently replace gold as a measure of value?
12. How can paper which has little value serve as coins in the place of gold and what laws must it follow before becoming a symbol of value.
13. What purpose does hoarding serve?
14. How does the credit system effect the circulation and function of money and what effect does the credit system have on hoarding?
15. Explain the function of money in the world market and also explain how an enlarged hoard of gold is an indication of stagnation in the circulation of

of commodities.

16. What is the reason for the function of money as a means of payment?
17. Why does each country need a reserve of money for its home market and for its external market and why do some countries limit the hoards in their banks to a minimum?
18. Why is only the bullion form of money valid as universal money?
19. Why is it illegal for the individual private ownership of gold? (with the exception of small amounts used for jewelry etc.)

CLASS V CAPITAL CHAPTERS IV, V, VI

1. Discuss the circuit CMC and MCM and show the distinctions between them and then what they have in common.
2. What is the difference between the circulation of money as money and money as capital?
3. What is the outcome of CMC in terms of value, what is the outcome of MCM in terms of value?
4. Why is it incorrect to assume that surplus value arises from a mark-up of prices or that it originates in circulation between buyer and seller?
5. What is merchants capital and money lenders capital and under what conditions are they impossible?

6. What does Marx mean when he says: Capital or the formula MCM must originate within commodity circulation and at the same time not within it.
7. What are the conditions under which labour power becomes a commodity. How does it differ from all other commodities.
8. What are the circumstances by which any product becomes a commodity - a majority of products.
9. How is the value of labor power determined.
10. What is the result of the consumption of labor power.
11. Explain: If equivalents are exchanged, no surplus value results, and if non-equivalents are exchanged no surplus value results. Circulation, or the exchange of commodities begets no value.

CLASS VI CAPITAL - CHAPTER VII THE LABOUR-PROCESS AND THE PROCESS OF PRODUCING SURPLUS VALUE

1. What are the processes in which nature and man at work relate. What do each do and what is done to them.
2. What are the elementary factors of the labour process - Discuss and give examples.
3. What are the characteristic features of the labour process under capitalism. Discuss.
4. What is the sole reason for a capitalist to produce a use-value? What two objects does the capitalist have in mind when he produces use values?
5. What is the difference between production as creation of use value and production as creation of exchange value? (the difference between production of utilities and of commodities?) the labor process, and process of creating value, which are we dealing with here?
6. What is the relationship of the values of the means of production (raw materials and instruments of labor) to the value of the commodity which they are used to produce?
7. What are the two conditions which must be fulfilled for the relationship described to hold true?
7. "... for in the creation of value, the time that is socially necessary alone counts." Why is this so? How can we see that the capitalist is aware of this?
8. What are some of the commonest and most vulgar excuses offered by the capitalist for why he should get more money than he put into the process of creating value, as given by Marx? Can you think of more: What are the reasons that these arguments don't hold up?
9. What is the particular and unique property of the use value of labor power that its purchaser, like the purchaser of any other commodity, gets when he buys labor power?
10. Explain the dialectic between the use value of labor power and the exchange value of labor power.

11. What is "...incorporating living labor with their dead substance."
12. What does it mean to view labor under its quantitative aspect?
Under its qualitative aspect?
13. What are the two aspects of the process of production as revealed by our analysis of commodities?
- 14 Explain the unity to be found between skilled labor and unskilled labour.

CLASS VII CAPITAL CHAPTER VIII CONSTANT CAPITAL AND VARIABLE CAPITAL

1. Explain the two-fold effect of labour resulting from the two-fold character of labour.
2. If an article loses its utility does it also lose its value.
3. What do the instruments of labor contribute to the labor process?
Give examples.
4. What is constant capital?
5. What is variable capital?
6. Can the value of the elements of constant capital be changed?
Can the character of constant capital be altered?

CHAPTER IX

CLASS VIII THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE sections 1,2,3

1. Why doesn't the amount of constant capital affect the surplus value. What is the basis of surplus value?
2. What is the rate of surplus-value? How is it computed.
3. Describe the two aspects of the labor process.
4. Is the extraction of surplus labour something found only in capitalism? Support answer.
5. Is there a relationship between surplus value and surplus labour (bring in variable capital and necessary labour).
6. What is the fallacy of Senior's "Last Hour" theory?

CHAPTER X

CLASS VIII THE WORKING DAY SECTIONS 1,2,3,4,5,6,7

1. What parts make up the working day? How are they determined.
2. What is the constant factor of capital, and how is capital dependent on this factor.
3. What is an "economic formation of society, where not the exchange value but the use value of the product predominates"?
4. In the discussion about Negro slavery in the U.S., what is the difference between getting from him (the slave) a certain quantity of useful products" and "production of surplus value itself"
5. Marx discusses how the English mill owners stole time from the factory workers; meal times - suppose you work in a factory assembly line and get in the hole. Why is it important that trade unions prevent you from doing even a little work before the first whistle or after the last one and prevent foremen from working?
6. In many factories now there is a crises -produced work week, Why doesn't this affect the tendency to extend the working day?
7. How is the length of the working day determined? What are the

goals of capitalists and workers in this regard?

8. Discuss quote from Postlethwayt: "But our populace have adopted a notion.....never think themselves independent of their superiors." (page 276 PAPERBACK ED. SECTION 5)
9. Explain the main points of the Factory Acts and how did they change the working day?
10. What were some of the ways the capitalists tried to get around these Factory Acts and Laws?
11. Why were these laws passed?
12. Why were the workers in those industries "earliest revolutionized by water power, steam and machinery" subject to such extreme labour exploitation?
13. Why does Marx say that an independent movement of the workers in the U.S. was paralysed so long as slavery existed.

CLASS X ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM - STALIN

SOME NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM (CCL)

First of all, before we discuss the specifics of the question of value under Socialism it is necessary to again state that there are objective laws that govern objective processes. The development of value is such a process and there are laws - that is laws above the will of men - that determine the development of the process. No matter what the nature of the political state, the law of value will hold true so long as there is commodity production. In the area of production that is not commodity production, then of course the law of value cannot apply.

In the course of his life, and during all of the development within the USSR, Stalin relied most of all on what the neo-Trotskyites of today are calling, "the theory of the productive forces" - or what Marx correctly called, historical materialism. The most important of these statements is the famous "Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy" where Marx says"

" In the social production of their means of existence men enter into definite, necessary relations which are independent of their will, productive relationships which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The aggregate of these productive relationships constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and political superstructure arises, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the

Reading Material Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, Stalin
Report attached

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTS

1. Does the Law of Value remain under Socialism? Under Communism? How do they operate under each system? How is it different from capitalism?
2. Why was it impossible for Stalin to nationalize the means of production and end commodity production in the Soviet Union? What was the relationship between the two sectors of economy in the S.U. ? When will it be possible to nationalize the means of production and end commodity production in the U.S.?
3. What is the relationship between commodity production and capitalism? Does commodity production only exist under capitalism? Explain. Under socialism? Explain the relationship between crisis and commodity production under capitalism. Under socialism.
4. What is the most basic economic law operating under capitalism? What are some of the other laws people say are basic and why are they not basic laws? What is the basic economic law of Socialism and how does it operate?
5. Will the distinctions between industry and agriculture and mental and physical labor entirely disappear under Socialism? Will the antagonism between the two disappear? How?
6. Explain the two aspects of profit and how they are applied in Socialist countries.
7. What is the explanation revisionists give of the law of balanced development in relation to profits and how does this support the basic economic law of capitalism?
8. What is the character of labor time under capitalism and under socialism?

Economic Problems of Socialism -Stalin

Some notes on the Economic Problems of Socialism(CL)

First of all, before we discuss the specifics of the question of value under socialism it is necessary to again state that there are objective laws that govern objective processes. The development of value is such a process and there are laws-- that is law above the will of men-- that determine the development of the process. No matter what the nature of the political state, the law of value will hold true so

long as there is commodity production. In the area of production that is not commodity production, then of course the law of value cannot apply.

In the course of his life, and during all of the development within the USSR, Stalin relied most of all on what the neo-Trotskyites of today are calling, "the theory of the productive forces"- or what Marx correctly called, historical materialism. The most important of these statements is the famous "Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy" where Marx says:

"In the social production of their means of existence men enter into definite necessary relations which are independent of their will, productive relationships which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The aggregate of these productive relationships constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and political superstructure arises, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production

of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing productive relationships, or, what is but a legal expression for these, with the property relationships within which they had moved before. From forms of development of the productive forces these relationships are transformed into their fetters. Then an epoch of social revolution comes".

So therefore to advance the socialist country into socialist relations of production, and into a classless communist society, the development of the means of production and all of the productive forces is indispensable. In fact anyone who views any revolution- including the Great Cultural Revolution outside of the conflict of the social forces of production and the relations of production is talking nonsense. And any revolution, including the Cultural Revolution, is impossible without the productive forces far outrunning the relations of production. It is from this point of view that we discuss value in Socialism. It is a great tribute to the genius of Stalin that Socialism could be established and developed in the USSR without any real blueprint, or historical precedent save the most general statements of Marx and Engels about nationalizing the means of production and thus ending commodity production. Now, the concretization of such a statement might be fairly easily done in America where the means of production and distribution are highly centralized and highly organized. However, it is quite another question in a economically backward country such as China or the Soviet Union.

An important aspect of the economy of revolutionary Russia or China was the economic role of the peasantry. In the USSR the peasants were rallied to the cause of the revolution with the slogan of "Peace, Bread and Land." If Stalin would have had any other program of nationalizing the totality of the land except through persuasion, there would have been a counter revolution at once. So therefore, since the nationalizing of the productive forces of the peasantry was impossible, then there was the reality of at least two sectors of the economy. One sector was the state sector that belonged to all the people and the other sector was the collective farm and the cooperatives. Now, since the state sector had to trade with the collective farms, and the collective farms trades with the Co-ops, etc, what was the relationship of this trading? It had to be the relationship of buying and selling. In short, it had to be the exchange of commodities, and there the law of value had to prevail. So in the mixed economy the law of value operated in that section that was not nationalized and it operated in the relationships between the state sector and the collective sector. Since the state made and exchanged to itself all of the heavy industry--that is, the machines that make machines etc, there the law of value could not and did not operate except in the exchange of heavy industry with the outside capitalist market--there, of course, the law of value could and did not operate except in the exchange of heavy industry with the outside capitalist market--there, of course, the law of value did operate.

Some people make the error of absolutely identifying commodity production and capitalism. Commodity production has existed through all social systems save the primitive communal system. Capitalism is the highest expression of commodity production. It is not the production of commodities that has brought revisionism into the Soviet Union. The base has been the bureaucracy--the management, not the relations.

Capitalist commodity production is marked by several indispensable factors. Stalin lists these factors as:

1. Private ownership of the means of production.
2. Labor power appears on the market as a commodity.

3. A system of exploitation of wages labor exists.

If these conditions are not present, commodity production is restricted to very definite bounds in socialism. Of course, the goal is a total "State sector of the economy," but until this is achieved, a money economy under socialism will remain.

How does this law of value operate? First of all, it is absolutely restricted and primarily to articles of personal consumption. That is to say, that it is primarily consumer goods that are produced and exchanged under the law of value.

Since there is no private expropriation of socially produced commodities, there is no possibility of commodity production under socialism leading to crisis--and such crisis is inevitable under capitalism.

To a certain extent, and with rigid bonds, the law of value functions as a regulator. That is to say, that in the production of consumer goods, how much and what is produced is to some extent regulated by these laws. It is obvious that the distribution of labor is also effected. In the field of consumer goods the state cannot produce what the public will not buy. Under capitalism value absolutely determines the distribution of labor and investments; under socialism there is an influence--but the laws of value cannot operate as a regulator in full. As socialism evolves into Communism, the law of value will also disappear and the distribution of labor will depend solely on society's demand for goods.

As far as profits and profitability are concerned, there are two aspects. On the one hand, there is the concept of national profitability, and, on the other hand, the profitability of the individual plant or industry. It is obvious that under Stalin and under Mao the light industries are the most profitable and heavy industry is the least profitable, but the heaviest investments are in the sector of heavy industry at the expense of light industry. Under socialism, the growth of the national gross product is not determined by the overall profitability, but by the law of balanced development.

The revisionist quickly destroy or try to destroy that law of balanced development by making profit the sole factor and therefore concentrating on the high profit consumer industries at the expense of the heavy industries and therefore placing a dray on the most revolutionary sector--the productive forces. This is done by restricting the sector that makes machinery to make machines.

It is therefore seen that the basic economic law of capitalism is maximum profits, and the basic economic law of Socialism is maximum social satisfaction or growth.

Even though the basic economic law of Socialism is maximum social satisfaction and growth, profit plays a very important role in this. Since about 90 % of the state economy is run off profits, then the question of profit is of great importance. It is precisely because of the importance of profits that the revisionists make their move here. They proclaim profits to be the end and not the means of growth. For example, the Chinese revisionists came out with a formula for revisionism in the economic field that is far better systematized than that of their Soviet counterpart. This formula was:

1. Profits as the objective.
2. Planning to be based on the law of value.
3. Profits as the motive force.
4. Profits as the hinge in the economy.
5. Profits as the index of growth.

While fighting for greater efficiency and labor productivity as essential for the growth of socialism, Marxist-Leninists reject the above formula.

Finally it should be stated that while necessary for the replacement of the working class, under Socialism that necessary labor time must include funds for health, education, national defense, recreation, etc. This is in conformity to the basic law of Socialism.

CONCRETE ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

ASSIGNED READING MATERIAL

1. The Negro question, a national colonial question-Volume 1 no. 1 PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE
2. Attached mimeographed material on 1. Community of territory 2. Community of Culture 3. Community of economic life
3. Excerpt attached from Marxism and the National Question J. Stalin on dispersal of nations.

EXCERPT FROM MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION BY JOSEPH STALIN
There is no doubt that in the early stages of capitalism nations became welded together. But there is also no doubt that in the higher stages of capitalism a process of dispersion of nations sets in, a process whereby whole groups of people separate off from nations in search of a livelihood, subsequently settling finally in other regions of the state; in the course of which these settlers lose their old contacts, acquire new contacts in their domicile, from generation to generation acquire new habits and new tastes, and possibly a new language

...One asks: Is it possible to unite into a single national union groups that have grown so distinct: Where are the magic hoops to unite what cannot be united? Is it conceivable that, for instance, the Germans of the Baltic Provinces and the Germans of Transcaucasia can be "welded into a single nation"? But it is not conceivable and not possible, wherein does national autonomy differ from the utopia of the old nationalists, who endeavoured to turn back the wheel of history?

b
But the cohesion and unity of a nation diminish not only as a result of migration. They diminish also from internal causes, owing to the growing acuteness of the class struggle. In the early stages of capitalism one may still speak of a "cultural community" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But as large-scale industry develops and the class struggle becomes more and more acute, this "community" begins to melt away. One cannot seriously speak of the "cultural community" of a nation when the masters and the workers of a nation have ceased to understand each other. What "common fate" can there be when the bourgeoisie thirsts for war, and the proletariat declares "war on war"? Can a single inter-class national union be formed from such contradictory elements? And, after this, can one speak of the "fusion of all the members of the nation into a national cultural community? Is not obvious that national autonomy is contrary to the whole course of the class struggle?

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS

1. What was the role of the system of slavery in the development of the Negro Nation-Show the effect of slavery upon the five characteristics of the development of the Negro Nation.
2. A. How has the revisionists perverted the Marxist Leninist concept of the dispersal of nations in relation to the Negro Nation
B. Show that the Negro Nation has remained stable.
C. Why is the distortion of this question detrimental to the class struggle.
3. Explain the economic relation of the Negro Nation to United States Imperialism.

1. COMMUNITY OF CULTURE

Stalin says that one of the distinctive features of a nation is a "community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a community of culture." This national character is harder to describe than the more tangible characteristics of a nation because it is expressed in the atmosphere of the land, the thoughts and feelings of the people in their daily life which is distinct to them because of certain dissimilar conditions of existence. The Negro nation of the Black Belt has a distinct national character; the Negro people of the South are a separate folk, with distinct feelings and attitudes due to their common history of suffering.

The motivating force which has produced this common culture is the historical fact of slavery.. From the days of the plantation the Negro people were bound together in a special way by the common experience of slavery. This economic exploitation and oppression excluded them from the culture of the Anglo-American nation and forced them to create their own culture. This national character can first be seen in the development of the Negro church. The slave masters promoted the development of religion among the slaves because it helped them to continue their oppression of the Negro people. As long as the slaves would passively submit to their present conditions and turn towards a better life in the world after, the masters could keep control. But what the slave masters used as a weapon of oppression, the Negro church became for the Negro people a weapon of liberation. The Negro church was the only social formation which was historically permitted and thus it became the only possible vehicle for the development of a national culture. As W.E.B. DuBois pointed out;

...in the South, at least practically every American Negro is a church member. Some, to be sure are not regularly enrolled, and a few do not habitually attend services; but, practically, a prescribed people must have a social centre, and that centre for this people is the Negro church.

We are not concerned here with the development of a religious faith among the Negro people but with the implications that arose from the historical fact that the Negro church was the only social centre allowed for the Negro people and from this their national character was formed.

The development of music, literature, poetry all of the aspects of a national character which became manifested in a distinctive culture, bear the imprint of this oppression of the Negro people, originally through the system of slavery, and their struggle against the whip. To take a specific example, we can trace the development of the present day "soul music" of the Negro people back to the times of slavery. The soul of the black slave spoke to men through the "Sorrow Songs." DuBois writes that the Negro folk-song is the sole American music; "it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people." Through these songs of their oppression and their dreams of a better life came the articulate message of the slave to the world. And these songs were transmitted through the vehicle of the Negro church. DuBois continues:

The music of Negro religion is that plaintive rhythmic melody, with its touching minor cadences, which, despite caricature and defilement, still remains the most original and beautiful expression of human life and longing yet born on American soil. Sprung from the African forests, where its counterpart can still be heard, it was adapted, changed and intensified by the tragic soul life of the slave, until,

the stress of law and whip, it became the one true expression of a people's sorrow, despair, and hope. These songs were unique to the Negro Nation because they were produced by the particular experience of slavery and the transference of the Negro people into serfdom. They are an expression of a distinct national character. The dynamic of Negro culture has been this continuous struggle to gain the posture of a free people.

2. COMMUNITY OF ECONOMIC LIFE

In "Marxism and the National Colonial Question" by Joseph Stalin we learn that one of the characteristic features of a nation is a community of economic life or economic cohesion. A common economic life means the linking together of town and country by a unified system of transportation and communication, by a common monetary system and by a common banking and credit system. Among the Negro people in the Black Belt there has developed a strata of all classes found under capitalism: Namely a proletariat and a bourgeoisie who developed around a stable stratum closely connected with the soil (peasantry) This division of classes revolved around a division of labor developed out of the production of agricultural commodities, mainly cotton and tobacco.

The national question was agrarian in origin - a peasantry under a system of share-cropping, riding boss supervision and debt slavery. The plantation system was the dominant form of large scale farm ownership in the cotton South in the mid - 30's. This economic structure was outmoded by the presence of Big Business in the hands of Wall street absentee landlords in the South. The real owners of the South are in coal - Morgans, Mellons, Fords and Rockefellers, United States Steel Corporation dominates the principle steel center of Birmingham. Republic Steel in Birmingham and Gadsden. The oil interests dominated by Rockefellers, Mellons' Gulf Oil Corporation. All major Southern railroad systems are owned and controlled elsewhere, all are more or less directly linked with the Morgan interests. All major distributor of natural gas, iron ore, coal and limestone deposits of bauxite, zinc ores, sulphur are owned or controlled by outside interests. The South, lacking capital of its own has been forced to borrow from outside financiers and interest and dividends have flowed out of the region. The use of tariffs and freight rate differentials are another source of profit for northern interests.

Stalin's concept of the national question in relation to its economic life was that it was a common economic cohesiveness, not a separate economic life that bound the nation together.

The concentration of the ownership of the wealth from this region in the hands of bankers and financiers today who are also the owners of all wealth in the United States means specifically in their economic relationship to the Black Belt an imperialist relationship.

The five features of imperialism as developed by Lenin are:

1. The concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation of the basis of this finance capital of the financial oligarchy.
3. The export of capital which has become extremely important as distinguished from the export of commodities.
4. The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves.

5. The territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers is completed.

3. COMMUNITY OF TERRITORY

One of the characteristics of a nation is a common territory. Stalin says, "A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation." Stalin correctly says that people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they share a common territory.

The Negro Nation exists today because of the economic factors which drew the Negro people together. Slavery was the number one reason for the Negro people living together in one place, thus sharing a common territory. The majority of the Negro people of the South live in very specific areas of the South. Thus we see areas in Alabama and Mississippi that have practically no Negro population and other areas that contain practically no whites. The Black Belt cuts across all the states in the South, but with a few exceptions taking in only a portion of these States. In this respect, several things are evident in the political development of the U.S. as a whole as well as the South. One, no state has ever been admitted into the Union until it had achieved a white majority. In order to achieve this, the Gulf states are laid out on a North-South axis while the plantation area (the Black Belt) has a general East-West axis. Added to this is the constant gerrymandering of county borders so as to appear to break the continuity of a continuous belt of Negro majority that runs in a quarter moon patten on Maryland into Texas.

Although in the strictest sense, the limits of the Negro nation are the limits of the Black Belt or the plantation area, it is senseless to discuss national boundaries without discussing the periferial areas that are economically dependent upon them. Therefore, the historically evolved territory that we are speaking of is the Black Belt plus the immediate surrounding area that makes possible the economic entity we call the Black Belt. The common territory of the Black Belt, includes party of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and into Texas and Arkansas. The periferial areas are mainly in these states except for the inclusion of Florida.

THE NATIONAL-COLONIAL QUESTION

READING MATERIAL:

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM

Chapter VI - National Question

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION - Lenin

Section 1 - Pages 5-10

4 - All

8 - All

10 - All

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION - Stalin

Section 1 - Pages 7-16

Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection
with the National Problem (All)

Section 11 - The National Movement

QUESTIONS:

1. What constitutes a nation?
2. Describe the development of nations under conditions of rising capitalism, Imperialism, and Socialism.
3. What is the relation of the National Movement to the Proletarian Revolution and why must the proletariat lead the National Liberation Movement?
4. What is meant by Self-Determination of Nations?
 - A. What is a Federation?
 - B. What is a Independence?
 - C. What is Amalgamation?
 - D. What is regional autonomy?
 - E. What is a multi-national state?
5. What is the path to self-determination of the Negro Colonial peoples today?
6. How does the raising of the slogan of Self-determination in an abstract way aid the bourgeoisie?
7. What changes have taken place since the Bolshevik revolution in form and struggle of the National Liberation movement?