

READER'S GUIDE

to

William Z. Foster's

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

(Prepared by Henry T. Goodwin)



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FOREWORD

The thirty-fourth anniversary of our Party is likewise the first anniversary of the publication of Comrade Foster's *History of the Communist Party of the United States*. In this period, when our Party is under such sharp attack, when wholesale slander as well as repression are used in an effort to build a wall between our Party and the people, Comrade Foster's book stands out as a revelation of the true nature of the Communist Party and its significance for the American people.

This book has been ignored by the capitalist press, that fills its columns with hysterical lies about "Communism" in the United States. But no book is more important or more deserving of study by American workers. For this book shows how the Communist Party grew out of the experience of the American people, and especially the American working class, illuminated by the scientific truths of Marxism-Leninism. And it shows how, armed with this experience and this theory, the people can win the struggles of today and of the days to come.

Comrade Foster's history of our Party is a weapon against dogmatism. It tears to shreds the grotesque claim of the government in the trials of the Communist leaders, that our Party seeks to apply to America "a blueprint of revolution." The references in the *Guide* to Stalin's great work, *History of the CPSU*, show how the same general historical principles can be traced in the different forms in which they appeared in the experience of the American working class and Party.

Political Affairs is happy to present to its readers this *Guide* to Comrade Foster's *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, to facilitate the study of this work. The *Guide* has been arranged by topics so that the reader can link the material of the book more easily with his own experience.

This *Guide* is oriented towards a six to eight-month course of study of the book. Naturally, the amount of time required for the different topics would vary according to the material involved, etc.

The *Guide* has also drawn freely from material in Comrade Foster's previously published *Outline Political History of the Americas*. Numbers in the *Guide* without any further designation refer to pages in the *History of the Communist Party of the United States*; numbers preceded by the letter A refer to pages in the *Outline Political History of the Americas*; those preceded by CPSU refer to pages in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.

References of immediate importance, besides those in the book itself and the two other works mentioned above, are marked with an asterisk. Other references are supplementary material that will aid the reader in securing a fuller grasp of the subjects.

Topic One: The American Birthright of Socialism

I. Origins of Socialism in the U.S.:

- A. "Socialism and Communism did not originate in Germany, but in England, France and *North America*" (Marx, *Selected Essays*, N. Y., 1926, p. 140).
- B. "Social Democracy* is a combination of the labor movement with Socialism" (Lenin, "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement" (1900), *Selected Works*, II, p. 11).

The science of Socialism, and the labor movement both had their origin and development in the U.S. simultaneously with other countries.

- 1. Beginnings of U.S. working-class entry into organized class struggle—beginnings of labor movement. (18)
 - a. On political as well as economic front. (20-21)
 - b. Ideology not working-class but Jeffersonian.
- 2. Utopian Socialism. (22-25)
- 3. The *Science* of Socialism in the U.S. (26-27)
 - a. German Marxist immigrants (1848). (27)
(Weydemeyer, Sorge, etc.) (28-32)
 - b. The theoretical foundations of Marxism in U.S. (32-35)
 - 1. Marx and Engels as the personal theoretical leaders of the early Communists in the U.S. (75, 82, 85, 105)

II. The Marxist movement in the great national crisis of the struggle against slavery:

- A. The role of the working class in the early phase of the struggle. (38)
 - 1. Incorrect ideas about slavery. (38)
- B. The role of organized labor in the Civil War. (46)
- C. Theoretical position of Marxism.
 - 1. "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin when in the black it is branded." (Marx, *Capital*, I, p. 287)
 - 2. Weydemeyer's struggle against sectarian tendencies of refusal to enter struggle against slavery. (39-40)
- D. Active role of Marxists in struggle against slavery.
 - 1. In period prior to Civil War. (38-43)
 - 2. Role and strategy of Marxists in the Civil War Period. (47)
 - a. Marx' and Engels' advice on political and military strategy. (48)
 - b. Marx mobilizes British workers against British government's plans of military intervention. (49)

* The term used at that time for the Communist movement.

- i. Lincoln's thanks to the British workers and to the First International. (49)

III. The Marxist movement and the development of a National Labor movement:

- A. Weydemeyer's contribution to founding of the National Labor Union (1866). (53)
- B. Marxist influence on Sylvis and the N.L.U. (53-4)
- C. The N.L.U. and the First International. (56)
- D. Marxist influence in the founding of the A. F. of L. (70)

IV. Formation and continuity of the Marxist Political Party, Chapter V:

- A. Predecessors: the Proletarian League (1852) (29-30)
the Communist Club (1858) (31-2)
International Workingmen's Association (1st International) groups and sections (1864-76) (50, 60-1)
- B. Founding of the Socialist Labor Party (1876). (62-4)
- C. Formation of Socialist Party (1901). (94-5)
- D. Foundation of Communist Party (1919). (171-2)

V. The continuing line of American Marxist leadership:

Weydemeyer (29); Sorge (29, 50); Debs (78); Haywood (78, 101); Foster (124); Ruthenberg (124); Bloor (125); Flynn (125); Dennis (508).

VI. The struggle against the McCarran Act "foreign agent" slander (519-20):

General Reading:

- *Marx and Engels: *The Civil War in the U.S.* (International Publishers, 1938)
- *Marx and Engels: *Letters to Americans* (International Publishers, 1953)
- *Communist Party of the U.S.A.: *The McCarran conspiracy against the Bill of Rights* (The C.P.'s answer to the charges under the McCarran Act) (Pamphlet) 1951.
- Karl Obermann: *Joseph Weydemeyer* (International Publishers, 1947)
- *V. J. Jerome: "Forerunners," in *The Communist*, September, 1939.

Topic Two: The Development of U.S. Imperialism

- I. What is Imperialism? (150, 152; A229-30, 357-8); CPSU 168;
*Lenin: *Imperialism*, 88-9.
- II. Incorrect Theories of Imperialism and Lenin's Refutations.
 - A. DeLeon: "Expansionism"; trusts viewed as "progressive". (96)
 - B. Kautsky: Imperialism a "policy," not a *stage* of capitalism.

*Lenin: *Imperialism*, 90-3.

Kautsky: "Ultra-imperialism" (the development of one world-monopolistic state) (418); *Lenin: *Imperialism*, 94, 117-8.

C. Lenin's Law of Uneven Development (150); *Lenin: *Imperialism*, 118-20; *Stalin: *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, 26-30; CPSU, 168-9.

III. The Development of U.S. Imperialism.

A. Pre-imperialist capitalism in the U.S.; the origin of the monopolies ("trusts"). (A221-9, 232-4)

B. The Birth of U.S. Imperialism. (A229-30)

1. The Spanish-American War (1898); beginnings of building an empire. (77, 358; A231-2)

2. Mass opposition to imperialist aggression—the Anti-Imperialist League. (A232); *Lenin: *Imperialism*, p. 111.

C. U.S. Imperialism in, and following, World War I. (132, 196; A368-71)

IV. U.S. Imperialism and Latin America; the "Good Neighbor" Policy, Chapter XXV. Perry: "Puerto Rico and the Fight for Its Independence," *Political Affairs*, June-July, 1952.

V. Imperialism creates an aristocracy of labor and develops Social-Democracy as its main support among the working class.

A. The bribery of the upper layer of the working class with part of the super-profits from exploitation of the colonial peoples. (543-4, 547-8); CPSU, 165; *Lenin: *Imperialism*, 105-8.

B. The great Social-Democratic betrayal in World War I. (128-30, 131-2); CPSU, 163-5.

C. The Social-Democrats betray the revolution in Europe. (145-7, 147-8); CPSU, 231.

D. The policy of the Social-Democrats in the 1929 Economic Crisis. (280-1)

E. The Social-Democrats aid the accession of Hitler. (295; A412)

F. The characteristic American form of Social-Democracy. (147, 485, 548-9, 552; A397-400)

VI. The General Crisis of World Capitalism.

A. The nature of the general crisis. (530-2, 143, 265)

B. The general crisis and the U.S. (533-5, 549, 541)

C. The general crisis and the cyclical economic crisis of 1929. (276-8)

*Stalin: "Report to XVI Congress of CPSU," in *Leninism*, II, pp. 248-55.

D. The bourgeois economics of the period of the general crisis: In the '20's: Ford vs. Marx (236-39); Later: Keynesism vs. Marx (481-84)

VII. Imperialism and War.

- A. World War I an inevitable consequence of imperialism. (127-8) CPSU, 160-2.
- B. U.S. Imperialism supports policy of directing Hitler's war preparations to the East—against the U.S.S.R. (375-7, 383-6, 389-90) CPSU, 331-5.
- C. U.S. Imperialism leads drive towards World War III. (459-63, 526-30)

VIII. U.S. Imperialism Drives for World Mastery. (Chapter XXXII)

- A. U.S. hegemony a result of the law of uneven development. (452)
- B. Inter-imperialist contradictions sharpen instead of lessening; possible break-down of the war alliances. (453); *Stalin: *Economic Problems*, 26-30.
- C. Forces behind Wall Street's War Drive. (454-7)
 - 1. Stalin's Law of Maximum Profits.
*Stalin: *Economic Problems*. 31-3.
- D. Deepening crisis of U.S. foreign policy. (453)
*Rockman: *Broaden the Fight for Peace and Democracy*. (1952)

General Reading:

Lenin: "The United States of Europe Slogan," *Selected Works*, Vol. V, pp. 138-41.

*Foster: "Stalin and American Imperialism," *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1953.

*Foster: "The Explosive Situation in Latin America," *Political Affairs*, Aug., 1953.

Dennis: *The Fascist Danger*, pp. 10-16.

Perlo: *American Imperialism*. (International Publishers, 1951)

Topic Three: The Struggle Against Right and "Left" Opportunism

What is opportunism?

"Opportunism is the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers, or in other words, the alliance of a section of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat."—Lenin: "The Collapse of the 2nd International," in *Selected Works*, V, p. 203.

- I. In the period before the formation of the S.L.P.
 - A. The struggle to lay the theoretical foundations of Marxism in the U.S. (33-5)
 - B. Opportunism on the slavery question. (33, 38-40)

tionary" program opposed to the idea that Socialism could be built in one country, and therefore, opposed to the worker-peasant alliance and in favor of forcing revolution abroad (269); CPSU, (265-7, 272-8, 289-95)

3. In later years: "Trotskyism has changed from a political trend in the working class that it was seven or eight years ago into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies, and murderers, acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states." (Stalin, 1937)

Stalin: *Mastering Bolshevism* 12; CPSU 324-9, 346-7.

B. Expulsion of the Trotskyites from the C.P. (1928). (270)

C. Titoism. (441)

Tito's policies of complete sell-out and restoration of capitalism on the orders of U.S. imperialism represent the realization of the policies of Trotskyism. Titoites and Trotskyites work hand in hand on an international scale and in the U.S.

VII. The struggle against revisionism.

A. What is revisionism? (106, 149); CPSU, 37.

"The policy of revisionism consists in determining its conduct from case to case, in adapting itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics; it consists in forgetting the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole, and of capitalist evolution as a whole, and in sacrificing these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment." (Lenin, in *Marxism and Revisionism*, p. 4.)

1. Its special American form: *American Exceptionalism*. (570-1)

- a. Its basis: exaggeration of *specific* features of U.S. capitalist development. As a result, the *general* features are played down and U.S. capitalism is made to appear "progressive" in contrast to capitalism in other countries. (106, 247)

Thompson: Report to XV National Convention, *Political Affairs*, Feb., 1951, pp. 94-95.

Wilkerson: "Henry Luce's Revolutionaries," *Masses & Mainstream*, Sept. 1951.

Goodwin: "Life's Dream Picture," *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1953.

- b. The exceptionalism of Lovestone in the period prior to the 1929 crisis. (270-5)

1. Connection with Bukharinites, CPSU, 291-95.

2. Foster and Bittelman fight against Lovestone's revisionism. (273)

3. Stalin's analysis. (273)

c. Exceptionalism of Browder in World War II. (425-7)

B. Browder's Revisionist System. (Chapters XXIX, XXX)

1. Attempt to surrender fight for labor's standards. (411)
2. False "Integration" of Negro people. (424)
3. Opportunist conception of national unity. (415-6)
4. "Organized capitalism." (417-8)
5. Teheran thesis of class peace. (422-4)
6. Liquidation of the Party. (430-1)
7. Foster's fight against Browderism. (428-30)

Foster: "The Struggle Against Revisionism," *Political Affairs*, June-July, 1945.

VIII. The struggle against Right opportunism and "Left" sectarianism today. (570-2)

- A. "The fight to overcome internal Party differences is the law of development of all Communist parties of any considerable size." (Stalin, in *Marxism and Revisionism*, p. 47)
- B. The Party is strengthened by cleansing its ranks of opportunists, etc. (571-2)
- C. The necessity of struggle on two fronts. Stalin: *Leninism*, 185-6.

General Reading:

- *CPUSA: Resolution on Results of Presidential Election, *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.
- *Swift: "Work in Right-Led Unions," *Political Affairs*, April-May, 1952; "The Struggle for a Mass Policy," *Political Affairs*, Feb., 1953.
- *Kendrick: "Party & Trade Unions in Post-War Period," *Political Affairs*, Dec., 1952.
- *Lenin: *State & Revolution*.
- *Lenin: Preface to "Letters to Sorge." (In Marx & Engels: *Letters to Americans*, 273-85)
- *Lenin and Stalin: *Marxism and Revisionism*. (Little Lenin Library No. 29)

Topic Four: The Communist Party and the Trade Unions

- I. The Beginnings of the Trade-Union Movement (up to 1837). (17-19)
 - A. Prosecutions as "conspiracies." (19)
 - B. Achievements of the early unions. (19-20)
 - C. Ideology Jeffersonian, but beginnings of anti-capitalist expression. (21-2)
- II. The IWA and the National Labor Union (1866-76). (Chap. IV)
 - A. Role of Weydemeyer and Sylvius. (53-4)

B. Achievements of NLU. (57)

C. Reasons for decline of NLU. (57)

1. Not definitely a trade-union body.
2. Influence of Lasalleanism against trade-union action and towards petty-bourgeois "currency reform" and other reformist theories.

a. Lasalle's opportunist system. (58-9)

His "Iron Law of Wages" and Marx' refutation in *Value, Price & Profit*.

Modern capitalist theories of tying wages to productivity are a present-day version of Lasalle's false "law."

*Marx: *Value, Price & Profit; Gotha Program*.

III. Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Question of the Role of the Trade Unions.

A. Anarcho-Syndicalism. (A388-9, 391-2)

1. Reasons for its rise. (66)
2. Its characteristics. (67)
 - a. Rejection of political action.
 - b. View of the trade-union movement as the embryo of the future society.

B. What is the role of the trade unions?

1. "The elementary, lowest, most simple . . . most easily accessible form of organization." (*Lenin: *Left-Wing Communism*, 37)
"Good or bad, the worker regards the trade unions as his citadels, his strongholds which help him to maintain his wages, his working day, etc." (*Stalin: "Interview with American Trade Union delegation," *Leninism*, I, 158-60.)
2. Lenin's struggle against "Economism" ("no politics in the Union"—"pure and simple" trade unionism, spontaneity, etc.)—the theory that the labor movement does not need the guidance of socialist theory and consciousness—in reality leaving it a prey to the ideology and misleadership of the bourgeoisie. CPSU, 23, 34-7; *Lenin: *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter III.

IV. The Socialist Labor Party and the Knights of Labor.

- A. The SLP and the first great national strike (Railroad 1877). (63-4)
- B. The SLP and the K. of L. (68-9)

V. The foundation of the A. F. of L.

- A. Its original ideology: Marxist influence manifest but not dominant. (70)
- B. Contrast with K. of L.: more effective organizationally but more backward politically. (70-73)

- C. The national 8-hour day fight and General Strike (1886)
Origin of May Day. (71-2)
The Haymarket frame-up. (67)

VI. Imperialism and the Creation of an Aristocracy of Labor.

- A. Factors retarding the development of class consciousness among the workers. (542-4)
- B. A.F.L. geared primarily to winning concessions under capitalism for skilled workers. (73)
- C. Corruption and class-collaboration of A.F.L. leadership. (92-3)

VII. The SLP, DeLeonism and the Trade Unions.

- A. The fight against Right opportunism and class collaboration. (82)
- B. "Leftist" dual unionism. (82-5)
Major successes of Socialists in A.F.L. destroyed by DeLeon's dual unionist policy of withdrawal from A.F.L. (84-5)

VIII. The Socialist Party and the Trade Unions.

- A. Militant policy of Socialist trade unionists. (98)
- B. Hillquit develops policy of "neutrality" towards unions. (99)
- C. The I.W.W. dual unionism. (100-1, 103, 109-12)
 - 1. Its militant struggles and originally Socialist character. (Bill Haywood). (100, 109-12)
 - 2. Its turn toward syndicalism. (110-11)

IX. Foster begins the fight against Dual Unionism and for the Organization of the Mass Production Industries.

- A. The syndicalist error of the International Trade Union Educational League. (137-8)
- B. Foster wins support in Chicago Federation of Labor for unionizing drive. (138)
- C. Foster and Johnstone organize packing industry. (139)
- D. Foster leads steel organizing campaign and great steel strike of 1919. (139-40)

"If there was ever an example in the American revolutionary movement of the development and application of the Stalinist concept of struggle on two fronts, it was Foster's two-sided struggle against "Left"-sectarian concepts of dual unionism on the one hand, and against the Right-opportunism of the A.F.L. bureaucracy which blocked the organization of the unorganized on the other." (Thompson: "Report to XV National Convention," *Political Affairs*, Feb. '51, p. 100.)

Foster: *The Great Steel Strike*, 1920.

X. The Post-War Attack on Labor.

- A. The Palmer Raids and attack on the C.P. and C.L.P. (174-6)
- B. The "American Plan" (open shop) campaign; company unions

—embryo of fascist “unions” of Mussolini and Hitler. (196, 201)

C. Bankruptcy and corruption of AFL leadership. (201-2)

1. “Higher strategy of labor”; the B.&O. plan; labor banking, etc. (R. W. Dunn: *The Americanization of Labor*)

D. Role of Communists and T.U.E.L. (headed by Foster) in the AFL unions. (203-8)

1. The 3-point campaign: Amalgamation into industrial unions; For a Labor Party; Recognition of Soviet Russia. (205-7)

XI. The C.P. and the Unions in the Coolidge “Prosperity” period. (Chap. XVII & XVIII)

A. Class-collaboration and degeneration of Labor Bureaucracy. (“Ford versus Marx”) and fight led by Communists. (236-46)

B. Expulsion of militants from unions with approval of S.P. leaders. (248-9)

C. Communists lead textile, needle and mining strikes, leading to formation of independent unions of Trade Union Unity League. (250-9)

1. New line opposed by Lovestone. (258)

2. Not dual unionism, but to organize the unorganized in a situation where A.F.L. rejected this task, and a base therefore existed for independent unionism. (258)

3. Achievements of T.U.U.L. (259, 304)

XII. The C.P. and the Unions in the New Deal Period.

A. The NRA and the mass strike movements of 1933-34. (296-8)

1. Mass strikes develop along lines of strategy and tactics taught by C.P. and T.U.U.L. (299)

2. Role of National Unemployed Councils led by C.P. (299)

3. The San Francisco General Strike. (300-3)

B. The T.U.U.L. merges with the A.F.L. (303-4)

C. The Formation of the C.I.O. (304-7)

1. C.P. supports C.I.O. but opposes Lewis’ refusal to fight against expulsion of C.I.O. unions from A.F.L. (305, 307)

a. Not dual unionism, but a broad mass movement to organize the unorganized. (345)

2. Communists play key role in organizing the mass production industries and building C.I.O. unions. (Chapter XXIV)

a. Leading role of Foster’s pamphlets on industrial unionism, organizing methods, strike strategy, union building and union democracy. (347)

b. Participation and militancy of numerous Communists as organizers (Gus Hall). (347, 349, 352)

c. Role of Communist and former T.U.U.L. workers in shops

as centers of unionism. (349, 351)

d. Development of Left-center bloc. (347, 348-9)

Bonosky: *Brother Bill McKie* (International Publishers, 1953)

3. Errors of the C.P. in relation to the C.I.O.

a. Browder's opportunist reliance on negotiations with top leaders and uncritical adulation of Lewis and Murray. (348)

b. As a result, Communists did not pay adequate attention to building progressive union leadership, especially in steel. (351)

c. Browder's playing down of Party recruiting, and influence against letting Communists active in building the unions be publicly known as Communists. (348)

XIII. The C.P. and the Unions in World War II.

A. Following Pearl Harbor, C.P. and unions support National Unity, Battle for Production and no-strike pledge during the war. (410-11)

B. Browder's opportunist incentive-wage scheme endangers Party's fight to protect labor's standards. (411)

C. Browder's post-war outlook of continued no-strike pledge and class peace damages influence of Communists in the unions. (432)

XIV. The C.P. and the Unions in the post-World War II period.

(Chapter XXXIV)

A. The modern form of corruption of the trade-union bureaucracy. (485-6)

B. The 1946 strike wave. (487)

C. The Taft-Hartley Law to hamstringing the unions. (487-9)

D. C.I.O. leadership joins Wall Street's "anti-Communist" War Drive by supporting the Marshall Plan, breaking up the Left-center bloc, denying autonomy to international unions, and splitting the C.I.O. (489-94)

E. The crisis of the American Labor Movement. (500-3)

F. The election of Eisenhower; new attacks on the labor movement and the question of labor unity.

*CPUSA: "Resolution on Results of Elections," *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.

General Reading:

*Lenin: *What Is To Be Done?*

*Stalin: *Interview With American Trade-Union Delegation.*

Foster: *Pages From a Worker's Life.*

Foster: *The Great Steel Strike.*

Foster: *Misleaders of Labor*.

Foster: *American Trade Unionism*.

Williamson: "The Party's Trade Union Work" (Report to the XV National Convention), *Political Affairs*, February, 1951.

*Swift: "Work in the Right-Led Unions," *Political Affairs*, April-May, 1952.

Swift: "Reuther's Seizure of the Ford Local," *Political Affairs*, July, 1952.

Swift: "The Ford Local Elections," *Political Affairs*, November, 1952.

*Swift: "The Left-Led Unions and Labor Unity," *Political Affairs*, July-August, 1953.

*Kendrick: "Party and Unions in the Post-War Period," *Political Affairs*, December, 1952.

Topic Five: **The Communist Party and the Negro People**

- I. Enslaved Labor in North America. (A Chapter V)
 - A. Enslaving the Indians. (A71-2, 74)
 - B. The role of Negro slavery in the development of capitalism in Europe and America. (A76-8)
 - C. The slave trade. (A78-82)
 - D. The brutality of slavery. (A82-4)
 - E. White indentured servitude in the colonies. (A87-92)
- II. The Marxists and the Struggle Against Slavery. (Chapter III)
 - A. The most powerful force fighting for abolition was the Negro people themselves. (37-8, A84-7)

Aptheker: *American Negro Slave Revolts*.
—: *The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement*
 - B. Role of the Abolitionists, representing "the historic interests of the as yet hesitant bourgeoisie." (37-8)
 1. Building of the Underground Railroad and defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Dred Scott Decision.
 2. Role of Frederick Douglass. (37, 44)

Foner: *Frederick Douglass—Selected Writings*.
 - C. Strategy and Activities of the Marxists in the Struggle Against Slavery.
 1. Incorrect ideas about slavery. (38, 39-40)
 2. Marx' basic principle: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in a white skin when in the black it is branded." (38)
 3. Marxists view defeat of slavocracy and abolition of slavery as the basis of all progress for the working class and the nation. (38-40)
 4. Activities of the Marxists in the struggle. (39-43)

5. Strategy of Marx and Engels and the American Marxists in the Civil War. (47-9)
 - a. Struggle for the U.S. to take the offensive, free the slaves and enlist Negroes as soldiers. (43-5)
- D. The working class and the Negro people in the war. (45-7, A268-9, 271-85, 326)

Marx and Engels: *The Civil War in the U.S.*
 Aptheker: *The Negro in the Civil War.*
 —: *To Be Free*, 75-135.

III. The Marxist movement and the Negro People in the Post-Civil War Period.

- A. Reconstruction. (50-2)
 1. Negroes win minimum democratic rights, but not the land.
 2. Negro U.S. Senators, Congressmen, Lieutenant-Governors and local officials.
 3. Marx warns the American people of the danger of counter-revolution.
 4. Northern bourgeoisie betrays the revolution, allies with the Southern reactionary landlords, agrees to development of K.K.K. terrorism and counter-revolutionary force and violence, reducing the Negro people to peonage. (A284-5)

*Lenin: *Letter to American Workers.*
 Allen: *Reconstruction.*
 Aptheker: *To Be Free*, 136-87.
 Fast: *Freedom Road.*

- B. The Marxists, the National Labor Union and the Negro Question. (54-6)
 1. International Workingmen's Association fights discrimination in unions, and Negro union groups cooperate with Marxists. (55)
 2. Inadequate position of Marxists on Negro question. (86-7)

IV. The S.L.P. and the Negro question. (86-8)

- A. DeLeon crystallizes incorrect position in Socialist movement.
 1. underestimation of Negro struggle.
 2. reducing Negro question solely to a class question.
 3. acceptance of white chauvinism.

V. The Socialist Party's chauvinist policy. (103-5)

- A. Founding convention (1901) re-states DeLeon's denial of any special status and reduces question solely to a class question.
- B. Left-wing also fails to develop any special demands.
- C. White chauvinist attitudes.

VI. Renaissance of the Negro Liberation movement. (114-6)

- A. Development of imperialism brings increased attacks against Negro people in South: Jim Crow laws, re-birth of K.K.K., lynching, etc.

Aptheker: "American Imperialism and White Chauvinism," in *Jewish Life*, July, 1950.

- B. Du Bois organizes Niagara Movement (1905); N.A.A.C.P. founded (1909); primarily middle-class movements at origin.

- C. Attitude of Labor.

A.F.L. encourages Jim-Crow unions; Railroad brotherhoods totally Jim Crow; I.W.W. anti-Jim Crow.

- D. White chauvinism grows in S.P.

VII. Towards Negro-White Labor Solidarity (1917-24). (Chapter XVI)

- A. The Negro "migration to the North" of 1919, and the so-called "race riots" in Chicago, Detroit, East St. Louis and Washington, D.C.—growth of the K.K.K. (225-6)

- B. The Garvey movement: bourgeois nationalist and utopian, but helped develop unity and consciousness of Negro people. (226-8) —attitude of Workers Party "friendly though critical."

- C. Forces making for division between Negro and white workers. (228-30)

1. Employers' policy: No industrial jobs for Negroes except as scabs.
2. A.F.L. bureaucrats' cynical policy of exclusion of Negroes.
3. Anti-trade union policy of Negro middle-class leaders.

- D. The fight for Negro-white Labor Unity.

1. Foster and Johnstone bring 20,000 Negro workers into unions in packinghouse campaign and strike movement of 1917-18. (139, 230-1)
 - a. Johnstone and white stockyard workers defend Negro workers during Chicago "race riot." (231)
2. Militancy and organizing role of Negro *Messenger* group, comprising several pioneer Negro Communists. (231-2, 183)
3. The steel campaign and strike of 1919 and the Negro workers. Gus Hall: "Thirty Years of Struggle in Steel," in *Political Affairs*, September, 1939.
4. Increased attention by Workers Party; Foster, as candidate for President in 1924 election campaign, carries Party's program on Negro question to many cities of the Deep South. (232-4)
5. The policy and activity of the Workers Party in this period in contrast to the Socialist Party. (233-4)
 - a. The fight to get Negroes into industry and unions.
 - b. For *social* equality, as well as political and economic.

- c. Against white chauvinism.
 - d. Importance to white workers of the fight for Negro rights.
 - e. Action instead of lip-service.
 - f. *But* the Party still failed to understand the Negro question as a national question.
6. Effects of these developments upon the Negro Liberation Movement. (234-5)
- a. Beginning of break-down of isolation of the Negro movement.
 - b. Strengthening of the role of the Negro proletariat.
 - c. Growth of Communist influence among the Negro people.
- VIII. The C.P.'s Resolution on the Negro question as a national question (1930). (266-7)
- A. Lenin's teaching on the national and colonial question.
 - B. Stalin's teaching on the national question and definition of a nation.
 - C. The right of self-determination.
 - Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. X, 235.
 - Stalin: *Marxism and the National Question*.
 - Haywood: *Negro Liberation*, 140-1.
 - Mann: *Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of Negro Freedom Struggle*.
 - D. The penetration of the South. (285-8)
 - 1. The Scottsboro case. (286-7)
 - 2. Share-croppers' struggles and organization. (287)
 - 3. The Herndon case (Ben Davis). (288)
 - E. The white chauvinism trial (1931). (288)
 - F. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights. (268)
- IX. The Party and the Negro people in the period of the economic crisis and the New Deal.
- A. Negro-white solidarity in unemployed struggles. (282-3)
 - Lloyd Brown: *Iron City*.
 - B. The C.P. runs a Negro candidate for Vice-President; Ford runs with Foster in the 1932 election campaign. (291)
 - C. Negro Communists help organize Negro workers in C.I.O. (349-50)
 - D. The Communists and the National Negro Congress: a broad mass movement of the Negro people "expressing the leading role of the Negro working masses among the Negro people." (308-9, 377-8)
 - E. Southern Negro Youth Congress. (378)
 - F. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare. (378)
 - G. Negroes in the Lincoln Brigade. (372)
 - Steve Nelson: *The Volunteers*.
- X. The Party and the Negro People in World War II.

- A. The Federal F.E.P.C. set up by executive order. (413)
- B. First Negro Communist elected to public office: Ben Davis to New York City Council (1943). (421)
- C. Browder's false theory of Negro "integration." (424, 432, 434)
 - 1. Liquidation of the Party in the South.

XI. The Party and the Negro People in the Post-World War II Period.

- A. The advance of the Negro people. (444-6)
 - 1. One million Negro trade unionists. (445)
 - 2. The struggle against Jim Crow in education, sports, culture, residence, jobs, etc. (445, 477)
 - 3. The role of the Negro reformists. (446)
- B. Intensified attack on Negro people.
 - 1. Legal and police lynchings. (477)
 - 2. The attacks on leadership of the Negro people (Robeson, Du Bois, Davis, Winston, Jackson, Perry, Claudia Jones, etc.). (475, 477)
- C. C.P. reaffirms line on Negro question as a National question and the right of the Negro nation to self-determination (1946). (477-8)
 - *C.P.U.S.A.: *The Communist Position on the Negro question.* (1947)
 - Haywood: *Negro Liberation.*
 - C.P. elects Winston National Organizational Secretary.
- D. C.P. intensifies struggle against white chauvinism.
 - **Political Affairs*, June, 1949.
 - 1. Struggle against Leftist and bourgeois-nationalist distortions.
 - Haywood: "Race, Nation and the Concept Negro," *Political Affairs*, October, 1952.
 - Henderson: "White Chauvinism and Bourgeois Nationalism," *Political Affairs*, Dec., 1952-Jan., 1953.
 - *Foster: "Leftism" on Negro Question, *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.
- E. The struggle for the leadership of the Negro proletariat among the Negro people; Role of the Negro Labor Councils. (478)
- F. The struggle for Negro representation in government. (445-6)
 - *Hall: *Marxism and Negro Liberation* (1951).
 - *Perry: "Negro Representation," *Political Affairs*, Dec., 1951.

XII. The Contribution of the C.P. to the Struggle of the Negro People. (562-3)

General Reading:

- *Stalin: *Marxism and the National Question.*
- *Haywood: *Negro Liberation.*

- *Davis: *In Defense of Negro Rights* (Summary at Foley Square Trial).
- *Mann, *Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of Negro Freedom Struggle*.
- *Aptheker: *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S.*
- Du Bois: *Black Reconstruction*.
- Allen: *Reconstruction*.
- Foner: *Douglass' Selected Writings*.
- Alpatov: "On the Transition from the Ancient World to the Middle Ages," *Political Affairs*, July, 1952.

Topic Six: The Communist Party and the Struggle for Peace

- I. The Revolutionary War of 1776.
 - A. Its progressive significance (Franklin, Jefferson, Paine). (16-17, A122-34)
 - Lenin's characterization of the war and approval of its revolutionary strategy.
 - *Lenin: *A Letter to American Workers*.
 - B. Struggle for colonial liberation part of struggle for lasting peace.
- II. The Mexican War (1846-8)—U.S.' first reactionary war. (36, A197-9)
 - A. A grab to extend slavery. (A208-10)
 - B. Opposition to the war by the bourgeoisie; Lincoln denounces it as unjustified aggression by the U.S. (36, A209-10)
 - C. Opposition by labor. (A209)
 - D. Incorporation of a national minority of Mexican people into the U.S. (A198)
 - "Resolution on Condition of Mexican-American People," *Political Affairs*, May, 1949.
 - James Burnhill: "The Mexican People in the Southwest," *Political Affairs*, Sept., 1953.
- III. The Civil War and the Role of the Marxists. (43-50)
 - See *Topics* 1, 5, and 7.
- IV. The Spanish-American War. (77-8, 357-8, A231-2)
 - A. The transformation of the Monroe Doctrine from a generally progressive to a reactionary policy. (77, 358, A256-64)
 - B. U.S. Imperialism seeks its "Manifest Destiny." (A264-5)
 1. The anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. (Mark Twain, etc.). (95-6, A232)
 - Sillen: "Dooley, Twain and Imperialism," in *Masses & Mainstream*, Dec., 1948.
 - C. U.S. aggression in Latin-America and in the Pacific. (358, A265-6)
- V. The Imperialist World War I. (Chapter IX)

- A. The Imperialist character of the war. (127-8, C.P.S.U. 160-3)
- B. The Social-Democratic Betrayal; Social-chauvinist "defensism." (128-9, C.P.S.U. 163-5)
 - 1. Lenin and the Bolsheviks fight for peace. (129-30, C.P.S.U. 164-66)
- C. The Socialist Party of the U.S. takes a pacifist position and exonerates European Social-Democracy. (131)
 - 1. Left-Wing repudiates war and condemns Social-Democracy. (131)
- D. Mass Opposition to U.S. entering the war. (132)
 - 1. Wilson's re-election (1916) on slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War."
 - 2. Gompers and A.F.L. leadership support war. (132)
 - 3. I.W.W. opposes war. (136)
 - 4. Socialist Party's emergency convention (St. Louis, April 1917) adopts anti-war resolution drafted largely by Ruthenberg. (134-5)
 - a. S.P. centrist leadership (Hillquit) sabotages the St. Louis Resolution. (135)
 - 5. Government terror against the Left. (140-2)
- VI. The Russian Revolution declares peace. (143, C.P.S.U. 215-17, 218-19, 225, 230)
 - A. U.S. Intervention in Soviet Russia. (144-5, C.P.S.U. 225-246)
- VII. The Struggle to Prevent World War II. (Chapter XXVI)
 - A. The menace of Axis aggression. (368, C.P.S.U. 331-3)
 - 1. The complicity of the British and French Governments ("appeasement"). (368, C.P.S.U. 333-4)
 - B. The Soviet Union leads the world peace forces in a struggle for collective security. (369-375, C.P.S.U. 334-5)
 - 1. U.S. fails to take steps against fascist aggression. (369)
 - 2. C.P. opposes U.S. supplying Japan for war against China; anti-Japanese boycott. (419)
 - 3. The Spanish Civil War and Axis Intervention. (371-3)
 - a. U.S. adopts Neutrality Act to strangle Spanish Republic. (371)
 - b. C.P. and Y.C.L. organize the Lincoln Brigade (Thompson, Gates, Nelson). (371-3)

Steve Nelson: *The Volunteers*, 1953.

 - C. The American People's Resistance to fascism and war. (377-9)
- VIII. The Party and World War II. (Chapter XXVII, XXVIII)
 - A. The character of World War II. (383-6, 404-7)
 - B. The position of the C.P. and the American people during the im-

perialist phase of the war. (386-91)

1. The persecution of the C.P. (391-3)

2. The America First Committee. (393-4)

C. The people's anti-fascist war. (Chapter XXVIII)

1. The C.P.'s position on the turning-point of the war. (394-6, 408)

2. The C.P.'s position on Pearl Harbor. (398, 409)

3. The U.S.S.R.'s destruction of the Nazi army and the role of Stalin. (398-400)

4. Anglo-American imperialist strategy and the struggle for the Second Front. (400-2)

D. The Communists in the War. (Chapter XXIX)

IX. Wall Street's Drive Towards World War III. (Chapter XXXII)

A. Forces behind the war drive. (452-7, 459-63)

B. The C.P. and the Cold War. (Chapter XXXII)

1. The C.P. warns against the war danger. (469-70)

2. The C.P. supports peace program of Progressive Party in 1948 elections. (471-3)

3. The C.P. and the Korean War. (461, 473-6)

X. The C.P.'s Peace Policy.

A. C.P. places peace as the central issue. (474)

B. Essence of C.P. peace policy. (529)

1. Against "inevitability" of war with U.S.S.R. (524-5)

*Foster and Dennis statement, *Political Affairs*, July, 1949.

2. For peaceful co-existence. (524-5)

3. For cease-fire in Korea and Big Five Peace Pact.

Foster: "On Peaceful Coexistence," *Political Affairs*, May, 1953.

C. Stalin asserts war still inevitable among imperialist powers.

D. Stalin defines the nature and tasks of the peace movement.

*Stalin: *Economic Problems*, 27-30.

E. The great new peace initiative of the U.S.S.R. and world peace camp.

*Foster: "Fighting War with Peace and Democracy," *Political Affairs*, June, 1953.

General Reading:

*C.P.U.S.A.: "Resolution on Results of Elections," *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.

*Hall: *Peace Can Be Won* (Report XV National Convention C.P.-U.S.A.).

Winston: "Stalin—Champion of Lasting Peace," *Political Affairs*, April, 1953.

Davis: "The Struggle for Peace and the Negro Liberation Movement,"

Political Affairs, June, 1952.

*Kendrick: "The Eisenhower-Dulles Liberation Nightmare," *Political Affairs*, April, 1953.

Rockman: *Broaden the Fight for Peace and Democracy* (1952).

Brewster and Colton: "Sectarianism in Peace Activity," *Political Affairs*, September, 1952.

Dennis: "The MacArthur Ouster," *Political Affairs*, May, 1951.

—: "Broaden the Fight for Peace," *Political Affairs*, May, 1951.

Du Bois: *In Battle for Peace*.

Topic Seven: The Communist Party in the Struggle for Democracy —The Working Class as the Leader of the Nation

I. The role of the bourgeoisie and the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. (CPSU 64, 66-70)

A. The two-sided role of the bourgeoisie in 1776 and 1861.

1. Its progressive role.

a. Leading role in the American Revolution; Jeffersonian democracy. (16-18)

b. Leading role in the struggle against slavery; the Abolitionists. (36-7, 40)

c. In the Civil War; Thaddeus Stevens, Lincoln. (43-5)

*Lenin: *Letter to American Workers*.

2. Its reactionary role.

a. In the American Revolution: unsolved democratic tasks; slavery retained (17, A169-70); "Loyalists" and reactionary pressures. (A131)

b. In the Civil War: Hesitancy in prosecuting war. (43-5)
Delay in emancipation and enlistment of Negroes.
Copperheads.

Betrayal of Reconstruction. (50-2)

c. Repression of working class. (19, 63-4, 67, 78, etc.)

B. The working class and the struggle for democracy.

1. Workers and small farmers most active force in revolution (the Sons of Liberty). (17, A132-3, 162)

Win fight for Bill of Rights, eliminate Alien and Sedition Acts, and bring Jefferson to presidency.

2. Early struggles of the trade unions win manhood suffrage, public school system, 10-hour day, and wipe out imprisonment for debt. (19, A347-8)

3. Organized Labor in the struggle against slavery and in the Civil War. (38-46)

- a. Role of Marxists in support of Republican Party and in election of Lincoln. (41-3)
- II. What is Bourgeois democracy and Bourgeois "freedom"?
- A. The limitations of bourgeois democracy. (149, 336-9, A344-53)
 *Lenin: *Dictatorship and Democracy*.
 *Lenin: *State & Revolution*. (71-75)
 Lenin: *Kautsky the Renegade*.
1. Negro people, under *national* oppression, suffer additional restrictions, even of bourgeois-democratic rights.
- B. Imperialism brings "reaction all along the line." *Lenin: *Imperialism*, 120.
- C. Working class seeks to defend and maintain democracy and advance to higher democracy of Socialism. (321, 551-6; *Dimitroff: *The United Front*, 109-13.
- III. The struggle of the working class for political independence.
- A. Early Labor Parties and farmer-labor political alliances. (20-1, 65, 73-4, 85-6)
- B. The working-class, the Farmer-Labor and LaFollette movements (1924) (211-21)
1. The necessity of working-class political independence. (211)
- a. Reasons why the American working class gravitates towards a labor party based primarily on the trade unions in contrast to the mass individual membership, Social-Democratic parties of workers in the countries of continental Europe. (212, 542)
3. The betrayal by the Labor Bureaucrats. (216-219)
4. Tactical errors of the Workers Party. (219-21)
- C. Labor's un-utilized opportunities in the 1936 elections. (332-3, 335-6)
- IV. The Communist Party and the working class in the struggle against Fascism.
- A. The C.P. in the great 1929 Economic Crisis, through leading the struggle of the unemployed and the fight against wage-cuts, helps save millions from starvation, prevents annihilation of the workers' standards and keeps the unemployed from becoming a mass base for fascism. (276-290)
- B. Why the U.S. did not become a fascist regime in the course of the economic crisis. (295-6)
- C. The great mass strike movement of 1934-6 and the rise of the CIO. (297-307)
- D. The 7th C.I. Congress and the Policy of the People's Front.
1. What is fascism? (321); *Dimitroff, same, 7-17.
 Bourgeoisie can no longer "afford" democratic liberties for the

- people. CPSU, 302.
2. Attempts to establish mass base for fascism in U.S.—“panacea” movements (316); America First Committee. (393-4)
 3. The policy of the People’s Front. (321-3)
- E. The working class as the leader of the nation in the struggle against fascism. (323-4)
1. Elements of the people’s front—the broad democratic struggle against fascism. (Chapters XXII, XXIII, 370, 377-82)
 - a. The National Negro Congress (308-9)
 - b. American Youth Congress (Gil Green). (310-12)
 - c. Southern Negro Youth Congress (Henry Winston). (311)
 - d. The Women’s movement. (312-14)
 - e. The cultural upsurge. (317-20)
 2. The C.P. and the working class in the people’s anti-fascist war (World War II). (408-11)
 - a. Browder’s opportunist conception of National Unity, subordinating role of the working class. (415-17)
- V. The C.P., working class and the Nation in the post-World War II period.
- A. U.S. Imperialism endangers the nation by driving towards World War II and fascism. (Chapter XXXII)
 - B. The people’s resistance. (457-8)
 1. The Progressive Party and the Wallace candidacy. (471-3)

National Committee, CPUSA: “Resolution on the Situation Growing Out of the Presidential Elections,” in *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.
 2. The C.P. opposes the Korean War. (473-6)
 - C. The crisis in the American Labor Movement. (500-5)
 - D. The attack on the C.P. (Chapter XXXV)
- VI. The C.P., the working class and the Nation today in the struggle for Peace and Democratic Rights. (Chapter XXXVIII)
- A. Wall Street’s drive towards fascization under Truman. (Chapter XXXV)

*Dennis: *The Fascist Danger* (1948)
 - B. The significance of the Eisenhower election.

*CPUSA: “Resolution on Results of Election,” *Political Affairs*, July, 1953.

*Kendrick: “Eisenhower and the Fascist Danger,” *Political Affairs*, May, 1953.
 - C. The growth of McCarthyism.

*Logan & Douglas: “Anatomy of McCarthyism,” *Political Affairs*, June, 1953.

D. Perspectives of sharpening labor and people's struggles.

*CPUSA: "Resolution on Results of Election."

General Reading:

*Lenin: *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Chapters VI, XII.

*Dennis: *Ideas They Cannot Jail*.

*Stalin: Speech at XIX Congress, CPSU in *Political Affairs*, October, 1952.

*Dimitroff: *United Front Against Fascism*.

*Rockman: *Broaden the Struggle For Peace and Democracy*.

Topic Eight: The American Road to Socialism

- I. The Declaration of Independence Asserts the Right of Revolution. (16-17, A128)
 - A. Affirmed in many state constitutions and in Lincoln's First Inaugural Address.
- II. The science of Marxism Charts the Road to Socialism.
 - A. Scientific Socialism replaces utopian Socialism; Weydemeyer and the early American Communists receive the Communist Manifesto. (22-31)
- III. The Struggle Against Dogmatism. (59, 156)
 - A. Marxism not a dogma. (151-2, 167, 553)

Lenin: *Left-Wing Communism*, 72-3.
 - B. Marx, Lenin and Stalin point out the possibilities and obstacles to peaceful transition to Socialism in countries such as England and the U.S. (80, 551-2)
- IV. What Is Socialism?
 - A. The Decay of Capitalism.
 1. Its goal: war and destruction. (524-30)
 2. Its economic decay. (533-5)
 3. Its cultural decay. (535-7)
 4. The basic law of modern capitalism.

*Stalin: *Economic Problems*, 31-3.
 - B. The advance of Socialism.
 1. The growth of the socialist world. (439-44)
 2. The nature of Socialism. (537-40, A602-8)
 3. The basic law of Socialism.

*Stalin: Same, 33-4.
- V. Marx, Lenin and Stalin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. (79, 149, 152-3)
 - A. People's Democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. (441, 553-4)

- VI. The Development of the American Working Class Towards Socialism. (Chapter XXXVII)
- A. Factors affecting the ideological development of the American workers. (212, 541-4)
 - B. Marx' law of impoverishment of the workers, and the temporary illusions of the working class. (545-9)
- VII. The American Road to Socialism.
- A. Socialism the "ultimate expression and climax of the everyday struggles of the workers enlightened and organized by Marxist theory and guidance." (550-1)
 - B. C.P. works for democratic conduct of the struggle and opposes violence, which emanates from the capitalist class. (551)
 - C. The C.P.'s objective of peaceful transition to Socialism—the possibilities and obstacles. (551-3, 80)
 - D. The C.P. perspective of a people's front coalition government and the transition to a People's Democracy. (553-9)
 - E. Socialism is in the national interest of the American people. (566-7)
*Dimitroff: *The United Front*, 79-80.

General Reading:

*Marx and Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*.

*—: *Letters to Americans*.

Lenin: *Preface to Letters to Sorge* (appendix to *Letters to Americans*).

*Foster: *In Defense of the Indicted Leaders*.

*Dennis: *Ideas They Cannot Jail*.

*—: "Lenin, Stalin and the Mid-Century," *Political Affairs*, April, 1953.

*Swift: "On Stalin's Method," *Political Affairs*, April, 1953.

*Figueres: "A Form of Socialist Democracy: People's Democratic Power," *Political Affairs*, November, 1952.

Sobolev: "People's Democracy as a Form of Political Organization of Society," *Political Affairs*, May, 1952.

Topic Nine: The Development of the Party Organization

- I. Beginnings of Marxist Organization in the U.S. (Chapter II)
 - A. The Proletarian League (1852), (Weydemeyer & Sorge). (29-31)
 - B. The Communist Club (1858). (32-5)
 - C. The International Workingmen's Association (1867). (50, 58-61)
- II. The First Marxist Party.
 - A. Socialist Labor Party organized (1876). (62-3)
 - B. Its deviations and sectarian (German) composition. (34-5, 74-6)
 - C. Destructive effect of DeLeonism on the Party. (81-2, 88-9)
 - D. The split in the S.L.P. (1899). (89-90)
- III. The Socialist Party (1900). (Chapter VII)

- A. Formation of Socialist Party (Debs). (93-5)
 - 1. The question of "immediate (partial) demands." (96-7)
 - B. The Left wing crystallizes around the I.W.W. and the fight for a militant trade union policy as against class collaboration (1905). (100-101)

Haywood: *Bill Haywood's Book*.
 - C. Status of S.P. at the time. (101-3)
 - 1. Growth in membership, press and voting strength.
 - 2. Growth in petty-bourgeois composition.
 - 3. Amorphous organization.
 - a. Total autonomy of state organizations and press.
 - b. Absence of discipline.
 - c. Complete eclecticism in ideology.
 - 4. Opportunist influence of Second International. (105-6)
 - D. Continued growth of S.P. in pre-World War I period as a result of participation in struggles. (112-114)
 - 1. Intensified struggle between Lefts and Rights; the 1909 and 1912 splits. (119-23)
 - E. Status of the Left Wing (Haywood, Bloor, Debs, Ruthenberg, Foster). (123-6)
- IV. The Split in the S.P. (Chapter XI)
- A. The Left Wing wins the majority of the Party. (157-62)
 - B. The Right sabotages the anti-war ("St. Louis") resolution, opposes support of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and expels the Left Wing. (161-3)
 - C. The national Left-wing conference. (164-9)
- V. Formation of the Communist Party. (Chapter XII)
- A. C.P. formed as two parties: Communist Party and Communist Labor Party. (171-2)
 - B. The Palmer raids. (174-6)
 - 1. Communist Parties forced to protect their security while fighting to exercise their legal rights. (174-7)
 - C. The struggle for unity. (177-85)
 - D. The Party achieves its constitutional rights, uniting all Communist forces in the *Workers Party*. (Chapter XIII, 186-95)
- VI. The Communists, the working class and Proletarian Internationalism.
- A. The First International (International Workingmen's Association) mobilizes support in England and France for the cause of the U.S. in the Civil War; Lincoln's recognition of their aid. (49)
 - B. The I.W.A. in the U.S. (50, 53-4, 56-60-1)

Sylvis' letter to Marx: "Capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one."
 - C. The S.P. and the second International. (105-6)

- D. The response to the Russian Revolution in the U.S. (143, 147, 159)
- E. The role of the Communist International. (178-80, 273-4, 321-3)
- F. The C.P. and Latin-America. (365-7)

*Dimitroff: *The United Front*, 76-80.

VII Lenin's Teachings on Organization. (Chapter X)

- A. Lenin's concept of the "party of a new type." (151, 260-3)
 - 1. Against "economism," "spontaneity," "tailism," "pure and simple" trade unionism. (C.P.S.U. 23, 35-7)
 - 2. The Party as the *organized vanguard* of the working class; the importance of theory and consciousness. (C.P.S.U. 38, 46-9)
 - 3. The Party as the essential *leading* organization of the working class. (C.P.S.U. 50-1)
 - 4. The Party is composed of an active disciplined membership. (C.P.S.U. 41-2, 47-8)
 - 5. A monolithic party based on Democratic Centralism. (C.P.S.U. 42-3, 49)

VIII. The Organizational Maturing of the C.P.

- A. The factional struggle and its liquidation (1923-9). (221-3, 263, 269-75)
 - 1. Unification of the Party through expulsion of Trotskyites, rejection of Lovestone's opportunist theory of "exceptionalism," and expulsion of Lovestone and his factional clique.
- B. Re-organization on shop and industry basis (1925). (261-3)
- C. C.P. recognizes the Negro question as a national question (1930) and develops struggle against white chauvinism. (232-4, 266-9, 286-8)
- D. Subjective weaknesses holding back the growth of the Party. (291-2)
- E. The Extraordinary Conference (1933) and concentration on basic industries. (298, 261-3)

*Weinstone: "An Important Chapter in Party's History of Industrial Concentration," *Political Affairs*, September, 1949.

- F. The growth of the Party in numbers and composition in the mass struggles up to 1936. (307)

IX. Browder's Revisionism and the Party Organization.

- A. Organizational Roots of Browder's Revisionism.
 - 1. Inadequate social composition of Party. (427)
 - 2. Weakening of organizational principles. (428)
 - a. bureaucracy.
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 - *Larsen: "Vigilance Against Infiltration," *Political Affairs*, October, 1952.
 - *Hastings: "Basing the Party in the Shops," *Political Affairs*, May, 1953.

XI. The Historical Progress of the Party. (570-2)

General Reading:

- *Lenin: *What Is To Be Done?*
- *Stalin: *Mastering Bolshevism.*
- *Khrushchev: *On Changes in the Rules of the C.P.S.U.* (1953).
- *Gates: "Sharpen Fight vs. Browderism, Titoism, and Trotskyism," (Report to XV National Convention) *Political Affairs*, February, 1951.
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