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**YEAR OF DECISION FOR U.S. LABOR  
The Hormel Strike and Beyond**

by Dave Riehle and Frank Lovell

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\$2.50

This reprint of articles from past issues of the *Bulletin IDOM* covers a momentous year in the development of the U.S. labor movement: the year of the strike by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, against the giant meat-processing firm of Geo. A. Hormel Inc. It tells some of the story of that strike and draws its lessons, as well as presenting a class-struggle viewpoint on the broader issues facing working people in the U.S. fighting to defend their standard of living today.

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# **Organizing for Socialism**

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**The Fourth Internationalist  
Tendency — Who We Are,  
What We Stand For**

**By Bill Onasch**

**\$100**

## Introduction

The aim of this pamphlet is to address some of the questions frequently on the minds of people beginning to take an interest in the ideas of socialism. This project was inspired by the pamphlet, written by Joe Hansen in 1948, called *The Socialist Workers Party—What It Is, What It Stands For*. I found that pamphlet very useful in clarifying revolutionary Marxism to my mind in the early 1960s and its explanations helped convince me of the need to join the socialist movement.

Because of the goal of keeping this project to the size of a small pamphlet there are many assertions not backed with documentary proof. There are no footnotes. Complex ideas and whole historical periods are often dealt with in a few sentences.

These assertions should not be simply accepted on faith but instead be treated as a very bare-bones outline of important ideas and history that deserve more serious study. Significant aspects of revolutionary Marxist theory and program are not dealt with, or are simply mentioned in passing. A reading list of major sources for further study is appended, though it is far from exhaustive. Members of the F.I.T. will, of course, be happy to discuss the ideas raised here as well.

I want to acknowledge the substantial suggestions of Steve Bloom and Paul Le Blanc that have been incorporated in this pamphlet. But I alone am responsible for its contents.

March 30, 1987

## ORGANIZING FOR SOCIALISM: THE FOURTH INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY—WHO WE ARE, WHAT WE STAND FOR

by Bill Onasch

### I. Something Should Be Done

Even casual glances at the newspapers, or the TV evening news, are enough to demonstrate that the United States and the entire world face grave problems. Full-scale wars rage in the Middle East, Africa, and southeast Asia. Bombs kill people crowded into stores and airplanes. U.S. "advisers" and "volunteers" direct bloody warfare in Central America. Millions of South African Blacks shake the whole world with their struggle against apartheid. Above everything else hangs the threat of nuclear destruction of the planet with thousands of warheads in place in "silos" and submarines, and plans to take the arms race into outer space.

Here in this country we see industrial cities being transformed into ghost towns. Corporations lock out their workers, replacing them with desperate people willing to work for less. Increasingly we see unionists, fighting only to hang on to what they have, confronted by police, sometimes the National Guard, escorting "replacements" to take their jobs. While millions in the world are starving, while grain elevators are bursting, thousands of family farmers are ousted from their land. The land itself, along with our air and water, continues to be poisoned at an alarming, perhaps irreversible rate, by the discharges of industry. The modest gains of affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women have been swept aside. Treaties with indigenous peoples are scrapped, clearing the way for exploitation of their most sacred land. The list could go on and on.

Something should be done.

The liberals of the Democratic Party acknowledge that there are many problems. They blame them on the ill-founded and inhumane policies of the Republican Party. "Elect us" they cry, "we will straighten things out." But a careful analysis of their program—and their actions in power—demonstrate that they differ with the Republicans only on minor tactical questions, not substance.

The major foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government have been a bipartisan project. Since Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, the Democrats have been in the White House about 60 percent of the time. Except for one two-year period, the Democrats have controlled at least one house of Congress; most of the time both houses. The Democrats have dominated state and local governments during most of this period. So Republican policies couldn't get very far without the consent of the Democrats.

- It was a Democratic president who used nuclear weapons on human beings and launched the nuclear arms race by threatening the Soviet Union. It has been Democratic congresses that have funded the arms race all along.

- It was a Democratic president who launched the Korean war. It was a Democrat who initiated and escalated the Vietnam war. It was a Democrat who invaded Cuba and later created the Cuban "missile crisis"—bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war.

- Democratic presidents have used the strikebreaking injunctions of the Taft-Hartley Act more often than their Republican counterparts. It was Democratic governors who mobilized National Guard troops to break the copper miners' strike in Arizona in 1983 and the Hormel strike in Austin, Minnesota, in 1986. It was a Democratic president who tried to impose a 7 percent wage "guideline" on workers in 1979 when inflation hit 12 percent.

- It was a Democrat who launched the current "austerity" drive to cut back on Social Security, unemployment compensation, AFDC, child care, school lunch, Medi-

Care/Medicaid, and other useful links in the social "safety net." It was a Democratic administration in New York City that tore up union contracts, imposing cuts in jobs, benefits, and working conditions, with resulting cutbacks in vital municipal services.

● In Central America it was a Democrat who gave birth to the contras. It has been Democratic-controlled congresses that have funded bloody dictatorships in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. The Democrats share with Reagan a mortal hatred of the Sandinista revolution—they differ only over the best tactics to use to destroy it. Some Democrats favor supporting the contras. Others prefer using economic warfare to try to starve Nicaragua. Still others have concluded that nothing short of direct U.S. military intervention can roll back the revolution. No significant current in the two major parties supports the right of the Nicaraguan people to determine their own political and social destiny.

#### Who Rules America?

We are taught in our schools and reminded daily by the mass media, that we—the people—rule America. Every two or four years we can go to the polls and elect our government. There is much indignation over the "apathy" of the people in exercising our rule—usually the majority skip the opportunity to "assert their control" on election day.

Actually this "apathy" is a gut-feeling acknowledgement of what Marxists have long recognized: the electoral "rule of the people" is a sham. The fundamental decisions affecting our lives are not made by the smiling faces who appeal for our support at the polls. There is a ruling class, which prefers to remain anonymous, which dominates the two major parties, all branches of government, the mass media, the church hierarchies, the school administrations, and all other institutions of power in our society. It is this class that rules America.

The real debates that affect our lives are not televised on C-SPAN. They take place in board rooms and club lounges out of the sight and hearing of us "rulers." Their decisions are communicated to the appropriate actors on stage at the White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court.

Vigorous disputes over tactical and secondary questions are permitted—even encouraged. But fundamental questions of principles and strategy once they are decided by the ruling class must and do get solid bipartisan support.

That this view of power is not just a paranoid invention of revolutionary Marxists has been well-documented by a number of scholarly, non-Marxist sources. Such works as *The Sixty Families* and *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, by Ferdinand Lundberg, *Who Rules America?*, by G. William Domhoff, *The Power Elite*, by C. Wright Mills, demonstrate with unrefuted proof that a tiny elite of capitalist families control every important area of decision-making.

#### Class Society

The first governments in history were created by slaveholders to perpetuate slavery. But, though slavery survived for many centuries, it was not perpetual. Advances in science and technology made slavery inefficient and eventually obsolete. Out of the disintegration of slave society a new social system—feudalism—came to replace slavery. Along with the feudal lords, a new type of government arose to advance their interests, which included the exploitation of serfs, the peasant majority.

Still later, humanity discovered the means to launch the industrial revolution—the beginning of modern manufacturing. The constraints of feudal society prevented the full flowering of industrialization. The new industrial capitalist class realized that feudalism had to be replaced and since the feudal lords showed no inclination to voluntarily give up their rule and privilege, they would have to be overthrown. Unfortunately for the capitalists, they weren't strong enough to overthrow anybody. The capitalists had to mobilize the serfs, peasants, artisans, and the infant working class for mass revolutionary assaults to overthrow and destroy the vestiges of feudalism. The greatest of these revolts were the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789.

After these great revolutions the capitalists would have preferred to establish governments limited to themselves. They looked fondly upon the example of ancient Athens where the male slaveholders had a form of democracy

where they would determine the fate of their slave and female property. This was the predominant view among the "founding fathers" of this country. It was not accidental oversight that caused the democratic rights that the American people justly cherish—such as freedom of speech, assembly, press, and religion—to be included only as amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Such democratic rights were bitterly resisted by the capitalists and slaveholders who established our republic. Their inclusion in the Constitution was forced by armed farmers and workers who threatened revolt without such guarantees.

American history is full of examples of attempts to limit and roll back democratic rights. For many years voting was limited by law to male property-owners. Women did not win the right to vote until 1920. Blacks secured the right to vote in the South only in the 1960s and only after militant mass struggles claiming many victims. Trade union organization was virtually outlawed by legislative and judicial constraints and only asserted itself with determined battles—often against police and troops—also with many casualties.

But the genie of human and democratic rights—released by the capitalists to motivate the mass revolutions needed to overthrow feudalism—has never been stuffed back into the bottle. That is why the bosses and bankers in this country must rule through deception, maintaining the facade of democracy while enforcing their rule through their monopoly of the two major parties.

### **Differing Class Interests**

The capitalists and their apologists rarely admit that class divisions exist in our society and for good reason. Once class divisions are understood the ruling class will find it difficult to rule. What are the main features of class division?

Classes are determined by relationships to the means of production: factories, mines, mills, laboratories, refineries, etc., along with the sectors needed to design, store, account for, and transport products. In capitalist society virtually all of these means of production are privately owned. These owners are the capitalists.

The big majority of the population doesn't own any means of production. This means that to have any kind of respectable, independent life, we must ask these capitalist owners to employ us.

The source of all new value in society is human labor. Machines, buildings, raw materials—these factors create nothing until they are utilized by human labor. This labor is the source of the wages paid back to the worker, taxes paid to the government, the salaries of nonproductive "management"—and the profits of the capitalists.

There is a constant struggle going on—whether conscious or not—between the employer and employees. Once the employee has produced enough to cover his/her wages, there is nothing more for him/her to gain. But for the boss it is precisely at this point where things become interesting. It is only then that profits become possible. The boss is always striving to increase the surplus of production beyond the value of the worker's wages.

The forms of the capitalist drive to increase profits are many: plain old-fashioned speed-up, driving the worker to work harder and faster; increasing productivity through new equipment or tools; slashing the amount of wages paid; etc.

This struggle is by no means limited to individual workplaces. Wage levels are determined by many factors: the level of living standards considered acceptable by society; supply and demand—whether there is a shortage of qualified workers or an abundance of desperate unemployed workers; inflation; taxes—by shifting more of the burden of taxes onto the working class, the bosses can increase their profits. It soon becomes apparent that the government can be useful in aiding the drive to increase profits.

### **How the Capitalists Use Government**

The purpose of a government is to maintain "law and order" in society. In a capitalist society this means "laws" that protect the existence of capitalism and "order" that is beneficial to capitalist profits. Sometimes the workers and the oppressed—if they organize effectively and militantly enough—can force through laws and concessions that are beneficial to them. A capitalist government will accept this

if it feels that there is no other way to protect the capitalist "order" from an angry populace. But capitalist policy-makers and politicians always and quite naturally seek to use their government to strengthen what they call the "American Way of Life"—by which they mean U.S. capitalism.

The government—mainly supported by taxing working people—is utilized to advance the interests of the capitalist class in many ways. Among the most important:

- Promoting a foreign policy that gives U.S. big business maximum advantages in exporting goods and capital. A central feature of this policy includes propping up brutal dictatorships in Central America, Korea, Taiwan, and many other countries to make them safe for U.S. investments and commerce. This policy is backed up with a huge navy, air force, and nuclear arsenal.

- Writing beneficial tax laws. The capitalists insure that they will pay little, or no taxes, while working people are drained to maintain the vast military machine that seeks to police the world.

- Eliminating the "social safety net"—the modest social services won by working people through past struggles. By cutting back on Social Security, unemployment compensation, food stamps, AFDC, and similar programs, the bosses create vast numbers of desperate people prepared to accept sub-standard wages, cross picket lines, etc. By maintaining the minimum wage at poverty levels, great pressure is exerted on relatively well-paid workers to accept "concessions."

- "Deregulation" has resulted in the reorganization of the transport and telecommunications industries with the subsequent elimination of thousands of jobs and massive wage cuts.

- Scuttling worker protection laws. The National Labor Relations Board—never much of a real help to workers—now spends more time filing charges against unions and supervising decertification elections than examining labor law violations by employers. OSHA has been gutted.

- Rolling back affirmative action. Race and sex discrimination is profitable business. The bosses not only profit from paying less to the victims of such discrimination; this "two-tier" device also brings downward pressure on the wages and working conditions of all workers.

And, of course, in addition to these general strategic policies, the bosses aren't above good old-fashioned graft, log-rolling, and pork-barrelling at the public trough, insuring lucrative deals for the dominant corporate interests.

### The Organization of the Working Class

The organization of the working class in this country has had a contradictory development. A potentially powerful trade union movement has been built, numbering close to twenty million members. In the past these unions secured wages and working conditions that were the envy of the entire world.

But, with rare exceptions, over the past fifty years the bureaucracy that has come to dominate these unions has rejected the concept of class struggle; in fact it has promoted the myth that we live in a classless society and has sought collaboration with employers. This collaboration has extended to the political arena; the union officialdom subordinating their political activities to support of so-called "friends of labor" in the twin parties of the bosses.

In recent years the employers have shown little inclination to collaborate with union officials. The only collaboration the bosses are interested in is the voluntary surrender of the past gains registered by labor—wage cuts, job eliminations, benefit reductions, and speed-up. Most union officials have accepted the need for "concessions" allegedly in the common interest of the workers and management. Even those few union leaders that have led militant struggles against concessions have, for the most part, only grasped that their particular employer is trying to take unfair advantage of them—not that this is part of an offensive by the entire employing class against the working class.

The only existing mass organizations of the working class lack an essential ingredient for advancing their interests—class consciousness.

## Where Socialists Come In

Historical experience has demonstrated that workers don't arrive at class consciousness instinctively or spontaneously. To generalize the experiences of the class, to cut across the lies, myths, and prejudices generated by the ruling class to keep the workers confused and divided, the workers need a class-conscious political vanguard. That's why the revolutionary Marxist movement was organized. It represents not simply the profound ideas of Karl Marx, but also the experiences and aspirations of many millions of working people who over the years have struggled for freedom and dignity.

The revolutionary Marxist movement embodies the collective memory of the working class, enabling today's workers to learn from the victories and defeats of the past. With the aid of Marxist principles, the movement formulates a program for the working class, develops a strategy and tactics for the workers' struggles against the employing class, and organizes the class for these struggles.

But revolutionary Marxism offers not just an effective organization of struggle between the workers and bosses; the working class in fighting its battles, in liberating itself, for the first time in history can eliminate class society. The development of science and technology enables humanity to provide an adequate standard of living to every person on this planet. The interests of the capitalists prevent that potential from being realized. But the working class has no vested interest in exploitation or privilege. A victorious working class can and will abolish class rule and liberate production from the restrictions of capitalist profit—just as capitalism freed economic relations from the fetters of feudalism.

### What Is Socialism?

The terms "socialism" or "communism" mean different things to different people. Some people think the kind of "welfare state" found in Sweden is socialism. Others look to the Soviet Union, or China, as socialist models. Hard-shell Republicans may think that Franklin Roosevelt's years in the White House were the opening of a socialist revolution.

To revolutionary Marxists socialism is a society where a democratically-managed planned economy, designed to meet human needs, has replaced production for profit. The collective ownership of the economy by society as a whole would eliminate class distinctions. Capitalist competition would be replaced by the rapid elevation of the material and cultural levels of humanity. This would provide the prerequisites for beginning to eliminate evils such as racism and sexism, crime, chemical dependency, and other social scourges stimulated by the degeneration of capitalist society.

Revolutionary Marxists are convinced that such a society could not be established in just one country. The entire world is economically interdependent. Capitalism is very much an international system. So must socialism be a world system. Such a world system would eliminate the principal causes of wars among nations.

### Welfare States and Bureaucratic Dictatorships

So-called "welfare states" such as Sweden have little in common with the socialist goal of revolutionary Marxists. In Sweden and, to a lesser degree several other European countries, significant reforms have benefited the living standards of the working class. Free medical care, adequate pensions and housing for retired workers, generous unemployment benefits, low-cost education—these are benefits far superior to what exists in the United States. But these reforms, secured through political struggle of the workers from a prosperous ruling class, are temporary and tentative as long as the capitalists retain their great economic power. Even in Sweden, as the bosses plead for the necessity to be "competitive" with the rest of the world, pressure is mounting to roll back these achievements.

Many people have expressed distaste over the idea of big and complicated "welfare state" bureaucracies demanding the right—in exchange for modest social and economic security—to intrude into people's personal lives and to dictate to them how they must live. This has little in common with authentic socialism, in which the working class itself—not some bureaucracy—would plan, decide, and administer, and in which—as Marx put it—"the free development of each person would be the condition for the free development of all."

central leader of the revolution—Lenin—was dead. Many of the most dedicated workers' leaders had perished in the civil war. Replacing them in the ranks of the Soviet and Communist Party institutions were many careerists; latecomers to the revolutionary band-wagon. Industry and agriculture were in chaos. There were serious shortages of food, clothing, fuel.

Under these terrible conditions a bureaucratic caste began to develop, exercising control over the distribution of the meager material resources, appropriating privileges for themselves. This caste found a protector in Joseph Stalin, who had been only a secondary leader of the Bolshevik party during the early days of the revolution but who now emerged as a powerful spokesman for the bureaucracy. Stalin began to consolidate a personal dictatorship over the party and Soviet state, supported by the bureaucracy.

Many revolutionary leaders, including Trotsky, resisted this move toward bureaucratic rule. But the workers were exhausted. For ten years they had gone through war, revolution, civil war. They could not go on fighting indefinitely. The bureaucracy was able to isolate the opposition, expel them from the party and their posts in government, and later jailed and executed them.

For nearly thirty years the Stalin dictatorship constituted one of the most oppressive regimes in human history. Millions of Stalin's opponents—real or perceived—perished in labor camps or were shot. History was rewritten. Scientific theory was falsified. Fear pervaded all of Soviet society. Though conditions have become less barbaric and irrational in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin, Stalinism continues to reign there, maintaining the power and privilege of the bureaucracy.

Stalinist ideology, which is shared by the rulers of China, North Korea and Eastern Europe, far from representing socialism, is an obstacle to the socialist goal of revolutionary Marxists. These bureaucratic regimes must be overthrown so the workers can democratically manage society. Solidarnosc in Poland and the student movement in China are indicators that the fight for socialist democracy survives after all the brutal attempts by the bureaucracy to extinguish it. There are similar indicators in other Stalinist-ruled countries, including the USSR.

## What Remains of the Russian Revolution

Though the Russian revolution degenerated and Soviet society became a deformed caricature of the Marxist socialist model, the revolution was not completely destroyed. The socialist forms of collective ownership of the land and economy were never reversed. The bureaucrats maintain their privileges through their control of the state apparatus—they could not restore private ownership of the economy and could not pass on their privileges to their offspring. Unlike the ancient slaveowners, the feudal lords, and our own capitalists, the bureaucratic elite doesn't have the deep roots of a social class. A democratic political revolution by the working people of the Soviet Union could sweep aside this dictatorial layer, putting the already collectivized economy back into the hands of society's majority.

Since 1917 the Soviet Union has gone from being one of the most backward countries to a so-called "superpower." This was accomplished despite the devastation of two world wars, a civil war, the agricultural dislocation of Stalin's forced collectivization. That this tremendous economic development took place in the face of such adversity, and despite the corruption and incompetence of the parasitic bureaucracy, is testimony to the inherent superiority of the nationalized, planned economy established by the revolution. These surviving gains are worth defending. While revolutionary Marxists are for the removal of the bureaucracy, this cannot be at the expense of the surviving social gains of the Russian revolution. These gains are the heritage of the Soviet peoples.

## The Relevance of the Russian Experience to the U.S.

Would an attempt to establish socialism in the United States inevitably lead to what happened in Russia? We don't think so. Russia in 1917 was a backward country emerging from feudalism. Industry was just getting started. Illiteracy was widespread. The country was invaded by foreign powers determined to save Russian capitalism.

The United States has the most developed scientific and technological resources in the world and a tremendous industrial capacity—now underutilized. We have the most produc-



tive agriculture in the world. The workers and farmers are well educated. And the invasion of such a powerful country, with a conscious, energetic, and highly mobilized working class, would be so foolish as to be unthinkable for even the most hostile opponents of the new socialist democracy.

A socialist United States could not only quickly end unemployment and poverty in this country; we could generously assist, with no strings attached, those countries who have been kept in poverty by U.S. big business. Instead of funding right-wing dictators and military elites we could help the working people of other countries develop their own resources, which would result in international harmony and trade beneficial to all. A socialist United States, based on a deep-going workers' democracy, would be an inspiration to the working people of the whole world—including those in the Soviet Union and China who would have less patience than ever with their own bureaucratic dictators.

The workers and farmers of this country could be kept busy meeting the pressing needs here for adequate housing, education, health care, reversing the destruction of the environment, as well as elevating the living standards of the majority of humanity now living in abject poverty. As we catch up with producing what is needed instead of forcing workers into the unemployment line we could reduce the work week, freeing people to travel, study, play, or "what they will."

All of this is possible with our present economic resources if they were utilized in a planned way for human needs, rather than the anarchy of the capitalist marketplace's drive for profits. Far from bringing on dictatorship, the abundance generated by a socialist United States could lead to a new flowering of genuine democracy and human culture.

### **III. Is a Socialist Transformation Realizable?**

Some people concede that a socialist organization of society would represent a rational, superior alternative to our present social system but reject socialism as an impractical dream. Citing the extreme weakness of the socialist movement, the lack of class consciousness of the working

class, the avowedly procapitalist outlook of the leaderships of the trade union, Black, women's and farmers' organizations, they see no hope for socialism as a viable prospect in the United States.

It would be foolish for socialists to ignore the fact that socialist influence is extremely weak in this country today or to deny the enormity of the tasks necessary to turn this situation around. But it is also shortsighted of the pessimists claiming to be sympathetic to socialism to believe that the present political climate is a permanent feature. Socialist influence among the workers and oppressed has been much greater in the past. From 1901 to 1920, millions of people were inspired by the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs and the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which had a profound impact on American political life. The 1930s saw yet another radical upsurge in the U.S. working class. There is good reason to expect that the developing crisis of capitalism will lead to a new radicalization.

In 1914, the Russian socialist movement was extremely weak. Its main leaders were either in jail or exile. The socialist parties functioned secretly, "underground". Not only were they persecuted by the tsarist government, but the workers, in a wave of patriotism at the beginning of the First World War, rallied around the tsar. Socialist workers were beaten by their coworkers and driven out of the plants. Only three years later the tsar was overthrown by the workers and replaced with the "irrelevant" socialists. Under the pressure of extreme crises, people can change very quickly.

#### **Socialism Is Not the Only Alternative**

History has demonstrated that capitalism is prone to great crises—wars, mass unemployment, economic collapse. It has also been demonstrated that if the working class does not resolve these crises there is another alternative that arises—fascism. Italy in the early '20s and Germany in the early '30s were paralyzed by economic stagnation. Both countries had mass working class parties and unions which were capable of leading socialist revolutions. Unfortunately, the workers' organizations failed to seriously struggle for power. Out of desperation the ruined middle classes and some

workers and farmers turned to the fascists hoping that Mussolini and Hitler could turn things around.

But what really "turned things around" for the depressed capitalist economies of the '30s was neither the brutal methods of fascism nor the reforms of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, but rather a new world war—the destruction of Europe and much of Asia, along with eighty million deaths—that's what got production going again. The economic boom created by rebuilding after this unprecedented destruction lasted well into the '60s. Fascism and war—those are the only proven alternatives to socialist revolution for resolving the inevitable crises produced by capitalism.

Socialism is not just a nice idea or an impractical dream. As capitalism once again begins to skid into crisis, socialism is the only hope for humanity in avoiding the horrors of war, a lapse into barbarism—perhaps even the destruction of our species.

A key question is this: How can those who believe in socialism most effectively organize and what can they do now to help create a movement capable of bringing about this momentous and necessary change in society? In finding the answers to this, we need to be aware of the previous experience of organized socialists in the U.S.

### **The Socialist Movement**

Revolutionary Marxists trace our roots in this country back a number of generations. The Socialist Party had considerable influence during the first two decades of this century. Its best known spokesperson, Eugene Debs, was a railroad union leader who became convinced of the need for socialist political organization after his firsthand observation of President Cleveland's use of the army in breaking the Pullman strike. Debs ran for president on the Socialist Party ticket several times, including once when he was in a federal prison in 1920. (Debs, who received a million votes, had been jailed for making a speech condemning the First World War.)

The early Socialist Party was a loose organization that included revolutionary socialists like Debs as well as people who were simply interested in making a few reforms. The reform wing, which became adept at winning elections on the

local level, concentrated on issues like honest government, improved public education, and public works such as roads and sewers (revolutionists often referred to them as "sewer socialists"). The revolutionary wing, on the other hand, helped form the Industrial Workers of the World which worked to mobilize working men and women of all races and ethnic backgrounds in struggles against capitalist injustice. There was much tension between the revolutionists who saw the reformists as being co-opted by the system, and the reformists who viewed the "extreme" statements by people like Debs as damaging their chances of being elected to office.

### **The Founding of the Communist Party**

These tensions reached the breaking point in the response of the two wings to the Russian revolution. The revolutionary wing hailed the new Soviet government and argued that American socialists should follow its example. The reformist wing disagreed and proceeded to expel a majority of the Socialist Party membership in an attempt to stop the revolutionary influence. Most of those expelled eventually came together to form the Communist Party and to affiliate with the new Communist International, in solidarity with the Russian revolution.

The new Communist Party faced fierce persecution. Thousands of its foreign-born members were rounded up and deported. Many of its leaders were railroaded to prison either on framed-up charges or for violating unconstitutional "sedition" laws. The party's inexperience also led to some serious mistakes. Nevertheless, the Communist Party grew and attracted serious trade unionists, students, and others inspired by the example of the Russian revolution.

Under the guidance of the Russian leadership Marxist theory was studied seriously and widely for the first time. The Russians also helped American Communists come to grips with important questions given scant attention in the old Socialist Party such as race and sex oppression. As a result, serious and partially successful attempts were made to bring Blacks and women into the ranks and leadership of the Communist Party—something unheard of in the other political parties of the 1920s.

## **The Degeneration of the Communist Party**

The Russian influence on the Communist parties of the world, including the United States, was immense. It was only natural that those who had actually made a successful revolution would enjoy enormous authority. During the early years this influence was quite positive. But, as the Russian revolution degenerated, the degeneration spread into the other Communist parties throughout the world.

Lively internal discussion over strategy and tactics and fierce competition between factions for leadership marked the life of the U.S. Communist Party during the first several years of its existence. But as the Stalin group came to power in the Soviet Union, Stalin's supporters began to dominate the internal affairs of other Communist parties. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky Russian leaders had patiently explained their views to others and tried to convince those who held differing views. Under the Stalin regime orders were handed down, even on the most minor questions, and dissidents began to be expelled. Leaders were no longer elected by the party membership but were instead designated—and removed—at the pleasure of the Russian leadership.

### **The Left Opposition**

In the late '20s many members of the U.S. Communist Party began to feel uneasy about some of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, the Communist International, and their own party. They were ignorant of the struggles raging against Stalinization in the Soviet Union. They remained loyal and dedicated to the defense of the Soviet Union and continued to try to build the Communist Party despite their misgivings.

In 1928, almost by accident, an American CP leader, James P. Cannon, got hold of a document by Trotsky criticizing the Stalinist degeneration. Cannon was convinced by Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration and his program for reform of the Communist International. Cannon began to quietly discuss these views with some of his closest collaborators.

When Stalin's supporters got wind of these discussions they expelled Cannon and two other leaders. The Stalinist leadership then introduced resolutions in all the local

branches of the party condemning Cannon. Any who refused to vote for these resolutions were themselves expelled. Many who were expelled in this way had no inkling of what Cannon's new views were; they simply couldn't condemn someone without knowing the facts of the matter. Most of them subsequently contacted Cannon to find out the facts and joined with the expelled leaders to form a new organization. This was the beginning of what has become known as the "Trotskyist" movement in the United States. They in fact did not establish contact with Trotsky—who by that time had been deported by Stalin to Turkey—until several months after their expulsion.

For several years the perspective of the Trotskyists was to fight for reinstatement into and reform of the Communist International. Only after Communist policies allowing Hitler to come to power in Germany without a fight went unchallenged, did the Trotskyist movement come to the conclusion that the Communist parties were dead as effective revolutionary organizations and that a new International had to be built to replace the Stalinized Communist International.

### **The Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party**

After several years of patient work, winning over some independent socialist groups, the Trotskyists launched the Fourth International, an organization of revolutionary Marxist groups in countries all over the world working together to organize for socialism. Its section in the United States was the Socialist Workers Party. (In 1940 the SWP, in response to the reactionary Voorhis Act, formally disaffiliated from the Fourth International but continued to be fraternally associated and in political solidarity with it.)

The Fourth International sought to carry on the program, methods, and traditions of the Communist International before its degeneration under the domination of Stalin. The FI suffered great persecution—and not only by the capitalist governments. Stalin utilized both the Soviet secret police and the Communist parties to try to destroy the new International. Many Trotskyist leaders were assassinated by Stalin's agents—including Trotsky himself. CP goon squads tried to break up Trotskyist meetings, and tried to prevent

Fourth Internationalists from selling their newspapers. The Stalinists slandered the Trotskyists claiming that the Fourth International was being financed by Hitler. The Stalinists applauded every government attack on the Trotskyists.

Shortly after the launching of the Fourth International the Second World War began. Thousands of Fourth Internationalists in various countries were imprisoned or killed, either by the fascists, or sometimes the Stalinists. In the United States eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were framed up under the odious Smith Act (which was finally declared unconstitutional twenty years later) and sent to prison solely because of their socialist views. But the Fourth International survived this persecution and began to rebuild itself after the war.

### **The Proud Record of the SWP**

The Trotskyist movement in the United States has had an influence on the class struggle far out of proportion to its modest size. Some highlights include:

- In 1934, Trotskyists led the Minneapolis general drivers strike—a recognized turning point in the American labor movement. As a result of their strike performance Trotskyists became the main leaders of the Teamsters union that went on to make Minneapolis a union town and later to lead the organization of tens of thousands of transport workers throughout the Middle West. The Trotskyist leadership was so popular that the only way they could be removed was by sending them to prison for "violating" the unconstitutional Smith Act.

- The SWP led the way in fighting the growth of fascism. In 1939 the SWP called on workers and Jewish organizations to form a united front against fascist attempts to hold a big rally in Madison Square Garden in New York. Since no one else agreed, the SWP alone called for a counter-demonstration. 50,000 workers responded to the call and the fascists were forced to back off.

- In 1964, when the Black liberation leader Malcolm X was being slandered by virtually every political current, the SWP helped get out his genuine views by publishing his speeches and articles and organizing public meetings for him.

- During the Vietnam war, the SWP played a crucial role in building the massive antiwar movement both by offering an effective political orientation—fighting for the slogan "Bring the Troops Home Now" and the perspective of mass, peaceful, legal demonstrations—and by providing considerable organizational resources.

SWP members have made many other contributions to the trade union, civil rights, feminist, civil liberties, and environmental movements.

### **The Degeneration of the SWP**

For more than fifty years the Trotskyist current that became known as the Socialist Workers Party functioned as a Fourth Internationalist Party, educating workers and students in revolutionary Marxist theory and program, and participating in American political life to the extent possible with its modest resources. The SWP was a democratic, revolutionary alternative to the Social Democrats, who gave backhanded (and sometimes not so backhanded) support to the maintenance of capitalism, and to the Communist Party which followed orders issued by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and rigidly suppressed all internal dissent.

The central leaders of the SWP sought to replace themselves with newer, younger activists who came into the party in the 1960s, to ensure the continuity of the Trotskyist movement.

In the early eighties the SWP entered a period of crisis. Its new central leadership began to question fundamental aspects of the Fourth International's theory and program. They did not present their new views to the party membership for a democratic discussion, as was their obligation and as the traditions and the constitution of the party made mandatory. Rather they simply began to offer revisions of long-standing party positions in public articles and speeches.

These revisions appeared to stem from a growing pessimism about the prospects of building a mass revolutionary Marxist party in the United States. Rather than recognizing that socialists have to patiently prepare for the conjuncture of economic and political factors that lead to a wide interest in socialist alternatives, the leadership began to look around for shortcuts. They convinced themselves that

non-Stalinist revolutionists such as the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan FSLN, and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada were on the verge of launching a "New International" in competition with both Social Democracy and Stalinism. The SWP leadership was determined to get in on the ground floor of this "New International." Because these revolutionists came from different traditions that were ignorant of and/or hostile to what they perceived to be "Trotskyism", the SWP leadership determined that the party had to cast off its "sectarian Trotskyist base".

### **Prospects for a New International**

From its inception the Fourth International recognized that the road to building mass revolutionary parties would be marked not only by splits with Stalinists, Social Democrats, etc., but also by fusions with newly radicalizing forces. The FI and SWP never arrogantly believed that only they and they alone held the keys to the future and that the masses would have to come to them. The value of the FI and SWP was the continuity of program and experience offered to those awakening to the need to replace capitalism with socialism. As great masses of workers decide to fight for socialism all the present workers' organizations will be transformed and the names of parties and their leaders will be completely secondary compared to the problems of developing program and strategy. All Fourth Internationalists would welcome the launching of a genuine "New International" by revolutionary fighters such as the Cubans and Nicaraguans.

But the SWP leadership's expectation of the "New International" is a pipe dream. While maintaining their revolutionary independence, there is no indication that the Cubans and Nicaraguans are considering challenging Moscow by organizing competing revolutionary parties. Quite the opposite is true. In a mistaken sense of solidarity against imperialism the Cubans and Nicaraguans have endorsed or ignored serious crimes of Stalinism such as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the imposition of martial law in Poland.

The Fourth International has enormous respect for the revolutionary leaderships in Cuba and Nicaragua. Developing independently, they have managed to lead revolutions without succumbing to the level of bureaucratism that has deformed

other postcapitalist countries. They are internationalist in their outlook and have helped revolutionists in other countries with no strings attached to their support.

But while supporting and learning from these revolutionists, Fourth Internationalists nevertheless have some important differences with them. Genuine internationalists are not just cheerleaders for others; differences need to be expressed openly and honestly and discussed in a fraternal manner. We have found that this attitude is appreciated by the Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders who prefer honest allies to uncritical glad-handers. Unfortunately, the SWP leadership decided either to abandon or to remain silent about any differences they might have with these revolutionists.

### **The Purge in the SWP**

SWP members who raised questions about the far-reaching revisions, or the methods used in reversing the party's fundamental program, were bureaucratically expelled. Many other members, demoralized or outraged by the leadership's undemocratic changes, resigned. In a purge reminiscent of the bureaucratic methods used by the Stalinists in 1928, dozens of members were driven out of the SWP.

This purge shocked those knowledgeable about left politics, including the other sections of the Fourth International. The SWP had a well-deserved reputation for internal democracy and many of those expelled were longtime, well-known party leaders, respected activists in the union, anti-intervention, civil rights, and women's liberation movements. Those expelled had no opportunity to present their views to the party membership.

### **Expelled Members Organize**

While all of those expelled opposed the revisions of program and bureaucratic methods of the SWP leadership, there were significant political differences among the victims of the purge. These differences included: what conclusions to draw about the degree of degeneration of the SWP as a whole given the actions of its leadership; differing assessments of the Nicaraguan government and leadership; tactics in the anti-intervention movement; and the prospects for unifying

with other socialist groups. These differences led to the establishment of two expelled groups: Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (later there was a split within Socialist Action creating a third group, Socialist Unity, which soon merged into a new organization called Solidarity.) In the democratic tradition of the SWP these different currents could have existed as tendencies inside a common party, working to convince the majority of the party membership of their views while carrying out the majority position in public activities. As a result of the expulsions, however, which severed them from the majority of Fourth Internationalists in the U.S., these tendencies were forced to function separately, discussing their differences publicly.

The victims of the purge appealed their expulsions to the Fourth International. The highest body of that world party—the world congress, with delegates elected from the various national sections throughout the world—condemned the purge in the SWP and demanded that those expelled be reinstated into the party. In the meantime, the world congress declared that Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency would have the same relationship to the Fourth International as if they were members of the SWP.

Unfortunately, the SWP leadership has ignored the demand of the highest political and moral authority for revolutionary Marxists, the world congress of the Fourth International. Not only have they refused to reinstate those unjustly expelled; they have carried out campaigns of ostracism and slander against the purge victims. SWP leaders have refused to acknowledge correspondence from those expelled. Members of the opposition groups are barred from public meetings of the SWP, even from purchasing literature in party-sponsored bookstores. Those expelled are falsely branded as "splitters." Expelled oppositionists have had no alternative but to organize their political work separate from the SWP.

#### **Degeneration of SWP—a Big Blow**

The revisions of Marxist theory and program and the bureaucratic regime suffocating the SWP constitute a big blow to the development of the kind of party needed to lead the fight for socialism. It is too early to say whether the damage to the SWP is irreversible. It is still possible for

the ranks of the SWP to correct the party's disastrous course. As long as that is true, the fight for the reform of the party is a basic responsibility for revolutionary Marxists in the United States. But the longer corrective action is delayed the less likely the chances for success, the greater the danger that the nucleus of the revolutionary party must be rebuilt once more, as it was after the definitive degeneration of the Communist Party.

The members of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency do not turn our backs to the party. We follow the internal life of the SWP as best we can and seek to influence its membership. We continue to demand the reinstatement into the party of all those unjustly excluded. We support SWP election campaigns (even when we are excluded from campaign committees and even public campaign rallies.)

At the same time we have a job to do as committed socialists and as fraternal members of the Fourth International. Though we hope to reform and return to the SWP and are not anxious to call for a new party in competition to the SWP, the F.I.T. nevertheless must organize itself to carry out political work in the class struggle in the same way that members of a party would.

#### **Fragmentation of the Left**

Many people poke fun at the multitude of socialist groups and their propensity to split. Even those sympathetic to socialist ideas frequently shake their heads and ask: "Why can't all these quarrelsome people get together?" That's a fair question. Fragmentation of those professing to be socialists or communists is a real and serious problem.

This problem should be placed in perspective. First of all, it should be noted, socialists don't have a monopoly on fragmentation. Though the United States has had a fairly stable two-party system for the past century or more, this is not the case with all capitalist countries by any means. A quick look at the parliaments of such countries as Israel, Italy, and France reveals a bewildering alphabet soup of pro-capitalist parties jockeying for a piece of the governmental action. Even in this country within the two major parties there are often ferocious factional battles (Dixiecrats, Boll-weevils, Black Caucus, etc).

Some of the divisions among the left are on questions of great principles. A line of blood separates revolutionary Marxists from the Social Democrats who collaborate with the bosses and State Department and the "Communist" supporters of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union, China, or Albania.

But there are a dozen or more groups that describe themselves as "Trotskyist" and several more that call themselves "Independent Marxists." Frequently these groups cite the same documents, or leaders, as authority. Why can't at least these people get together?

Experience has shown that when there is little public interest in socialist ideas, groups tend to turn inward. Differences over secondary questions, or even clashes between personalities, tend to become magnified, exaggerated out of proportion. It takes an extraordinary amount of consciousness and patience to keep such trends in check.

In Russia, before the revolution, there was a great proliferation of socialist groups. During the preparation for the revolution many of these groups fused with the Bolshevik (later renamed Communist) Party. In Nicaragua the Sandinistas were for a period of time bitterly divided in hostile factions. But as revolutionary momentum started picking up the FSLN was able to unify and win the allegiance of the masses of workers and farmers. Periods of fragmentation and periods of unity each seem to be common experiences for revolutionists throughout the world.

#### How to Achieve Unity

Revolutionary Marxists see a need to strive for working class unity on two levels. First of all those who are in fundamental agreement on program, strategy, and tactics should be unified in a single party. Such a party need not and should not be monolithic; there can be plenty of room for disagreements over many secondary questions, and there must be a guarantee of the right of members to form tendencies and factions to fight for their views while all agree to carry out the decisions of the majority.

In addition to joining those in fundamental agreement into a common party revolutionary Marxists also understand the need for broader unity around specific actions. There are times when it is necessary for all workers' parties, not

only the revolutionists but even the Social Democrats and pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese Communist parties, to forge united front actions (such as defense of strikes, democratic rights, against wars, against fascists, etc.)

The struggle for working class unity is the single biggest challenge for socialists. There are no easy answers. Trying to unify forces with fundamental differences over program, or over what to do next, is worse than useless. Such a "unity" would lead either to paralysis, with no agreement to do anything, or constant internal fighting, or both. Sometimes groups must go their separate ways for awhile, testing their perspectives in the real world. But socialists must always be alert to the tendency to unnecessarily harden differences to justify the maintenance of separate groups. Neither fusions nor splits are virtuous in and of themselves. Each are appropriate at different stages of the class struggle, though obviously the maximum unity possible around a particular course of action is beneficial.

The F.I.T. sees the next indicated step for unity to be the reunification of all Fourth Internationalists in this country. Unfortunately, the stubborn resistance of the SWP leadership precludes the realization of that objective for the present. In spite of obstacles to such unity, we favor working with all other groups on questions where there is general agreement. We favor discussions among Fourth Internationalists for the purpose of clarifying areas of agreement and disagreement, and of laying the basis for the future unification of our forces.

#### IV. What It Means to Join the F.I.T.

Joining the F.I.T. makes you a part of an international struggle for the socialist reorganization of society. Unlike some political groups you will receive no material privileges as a result of your membership; quite the contrary, you will be called upon to contribute both work and money to advance your views. But there can be a great feeling of satisfaction from being part of a movement to eliminate the irrational injustices with which we live.

Immediately you will recognize that the atmosphere in the F.I.T. is different than any other group you may have belonged to. Most organizations, whether they be churches,

unions, lodges, etc., are quite hierarchical. The leaders let the members know what they can and can't do with scant attention to the opinion of the ranks. You will find the emphasis reversed in the F.I.T. Members not only have the right but are expected to express themselves and actively participate in all decisions.

### **The Local Organizing Committee**

The basic unit of the F.I.T. is called the Local Organizing Committee (LOC). All F.I.T. members in a metropolitan area participate in their LOC which meets regularly (usually once a week). A typical LOC meeting would be divided into two parts: educational and business. The educational part would feature a talk (or perhaps a tape or film) about some aspect of Marxist theory, program, history, or perhaps some current topic in the news. Education is a very important and ongoing activity for all serious socialists.

The business part of the meeting deals with the day-to-day activities of the LOC. Agendas might include points on the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America; trade union activities; "pro-choice" actions; F.I.T. budget and finances; organizing sales of literature; planning public meetings, etc.

Every member has an equal voice and equal vote in the LOC meetings. Most members find it quite useful to be able to have a collective discussion about their individual situations in their unions, on campus, and in mass organizations. The collective experience of the LOC can be a powerful resource for every individual member.

Every member is expected to take on one or more specific responsibilities (secretary, finances, literature sales, etc). The amount of time and energy devoted to such responsibilities varies according to each individual's personal situation. Likewise every member is expected to make a regular financial contribution—called a "sustainer"—to maintain the organization, based on their ability to pay. Dues are a nominal two dollars a month.

### **The National Conference**

The highest body of the F.I.T. is the national conference. National conferences are required to be held at least every

two years, but are usually held more frequently. The conference decides questions of program and policy for the entire national organization and elects the national leadership. The conference is made up of delegates elected from every LOC.

Preceding the national conference is a preconference discussion period of at least three months. During the discussion period members can raise any proposals, criticisms, or simply express their views about any question they wish. An Internal Discussion Bulletin, open to any member, is circulated to all members. Discussion time is set aside in every LOC to discuss resolutions and Discussion Bulletin articles. Resolutions to be submitted to the conference are voted on in the LOCs and delegates are elected, with proportional representation, on the basis of their positions on resolutions.

At the conference there is further discussion and debate, and delegates are free to change their minds if they become convinced of a different point of view during the discussion (of course they must be prepared to explain to those who elected them on the basis of another position why they changed their minds). Once the national conference has decided a question that decision is binding on all members. Disputed questions decided by a conference cannot be raised for discussion again until the next preconference discussion unless the conference specifically decides to continue the discussion. Why is that?

Socialists discuss in order to decide and decide in order to act. Permanent discussion would prevent the organization from carrying out serious activity. The F.I.T. operates under the principles of democratic centralism, initially developed by Lenin in the Russian Bolshevik party and refined over the years for the situation in this country by the Socialist Workers Party. This calls for the fullest possible democratic input into decision-making but then acceptance by everyone of the majority decision and hard work to implement the decisions.

### **The National Organizing Committee**

The national conference also elects a National Organizing Committee. This committee, comprised of leaders from various LOCs, is responsible for coordinating national activities and ensuring the implementation of conference deci-



sions. The NOC is the highest body between national conferences and establishes positions on new questions, as needed, that were unforeseen by conference decisions. The NOC also elects three national coordinators who more closely supervise the day-to-day national work and who meet once a week.

### The World Congress

As fraternal members of the Fourth International, F.I.T. members also participate in the discussions of that world party and elect fraternal delegates to the FI's world congress. The F.I.T. places a high premium on international collaboration which is essential to maintaining a proper perspective of our work in this country.

### Join the F.I.T.

In the F.I.T. you will be preparing for the future, preparing to help give leadership to the big class battles that lie ahead. You will learn to use the methods of historical materialism to cut across the myths that disguise class rule. You will learn about the true history of the working class and the oppressed—never adequately taught in the schools. You will begin to understand the workings of the capitalist economy. Your horizons will become expanded as an internationalist, able to see beyond the narrow interests that preoccupy so many.

But you won't just be waiting around for things to happen. F.I.T. members are in the thick of the movement to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, in actions against apartheid in South Africa, and racism at home, in strike solidarity with unions like P-9, in the fight to defend abortion rights, and many other struggles. Your membership in the F.I.T. will enhance your activity in such mass movements. And you will be associated with working men and women of widely varied experiences and backgrounds.

The F.I.T. doesn't claim to have all the answers. But we know that we have a crucial role to play in helping to develop the program and assembling the forces for the construction of a mass workers' party in the United States. Such a party is indispensable if we are to bring about a socialist transformation in the United States and throughout the world.

We urge you to join us.

## Further Reading on Socialist Ideas and History

Thousands of volumes are available about various aspects of socialist theory, program, strategy, tactics, and history. The following are a small sampling of books and pamphlets that are geared to workers and activists.

### General Socialist Overview

*Communist Manifesto* (1848) by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Numerous editions available.

*An Introduction to Marxism* (1977) by Ernest Mandel, Ink Links, London.

*Socialism on Trial* (1941) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder Press, New York.

*America's Road to Socialism* (1953) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder Press, New York

### Marxist Philosophy

*Introduction to the Logic of Marxism* (1942) by George Novack, Pathfinder, New York

*The Origins of Materialism* (1965) by George Novack, Pathfinder, New York.

*On Historical Materialism* (1893) by Franz Mehring, New Park, London.

### Marxist Economics

*Wage Labor and Capital* (1849) by Karl Marx, numerous editions.

*Value Price and Profit* (1865) by Karl Marx, numerous editions.

*An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* (1962) by Ernest Mandel, Pathfinder, New York.

### **Socialist Program and Strategy**

*The ABC of Communism* (1919) by Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

*The Third International After Lenin* (1928) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York.

*Permanent Revolution* (1929) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York.

*The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* (1938) by Leon Trotsky, et. al., Pathfinder, New York.

*Dynamics of World Revolution Today* (1963), Resolution of the Fourth International, Pathfinder, New York.

*Platform of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency* (1984), F.I.T., New York

### **National Liberation Struggles**

*Socialism and Nationalism* (1897) by James Connolly, At the Sign of Three Candles, Dublin.

*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1916) by V.I. Lenin. Numerous editions.

*On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* (1939) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York.

### **Women's Liberation**

*Pioneers of Women's Liberation* (1955) by Joyce Cowley, Pathfinder, New York.

*Problems of Women's Liberation* (1969) by Evelyn Reed, Pathfinder, New York.

*Feminism and the Marxist Movement* (1972) by Mary-Alice Waters, Pathfinder, New York

### **The Marxist View of Government**

*Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) by Frederick Engels, International Publishers, New York.

*State and Revolution* (1917) by V.I. Lenin, International Publishers, New York.

*The Marxist Theory of the State* (1969) by Ernest Mandel, Pathfinder, New York.

### **The Russian Revolution**

*Ten Days that Shook the World* (1919) by John Reed, Penguin, London.

*Year One of the Russian Revolution* (1930) by Victor Serge, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York.

*History of the Russian Revolution* (1932) by Leon Trotsky, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

### **Stalinism**

*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York

*From Lenin to Stalin* (1937) by Victor Serge, Pathfinder, New York.

*In Defense of Marxism* (1940) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York

### **American Socialist History**

*The Origins of American Marxism* (1967) by David Herreshoff, Monad Press, New York.

*The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1955) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder, New York.

*History of American Trotskyism* (1942) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder, New York.

#### **Socialists and the Unions**

*On the Trade Unions* (1940) by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder, New York.

*Labor's Giant Step* (1961) by Art Preis, Pathfinder, New York.

*Teamster Rebellion* (1972), *Teamster Power* (1973), *Teamster Politics* (1975), *Teamster Bureaucracy* (1977), by Farrell Dobbs, Pathfinder Press, New York.

#### **Socialist Organization**

*Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1940) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder, New York.

*Speeches to the Party* (1953) by James P. Cannon, Pathfinder, New York.

*Leon Trotsky and the Organizational Principles of the Revolutionary Party* (1984) by Dianne Feeley, Paul Le Blanc and Tom Twiss, F.I.T., New York.

#### **Cuba and Central America**

*Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (1970) by Joe Hansen, Pathfinder, New York.

*Permanent Revolution in Nicaragua* (1984) by Paul Le Blanc, F.I.T., New York.

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