

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 14 CHARLES LANE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

Guide to Marxist Education-II

Fourteen Study Outlines on Socialist Topics

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INTRODUCTION

Guide to Marxist Education -- II is a supplement to the Guide to Marxist Education, published by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party in February 1973. This supplement contains study guides for socialist educational series on fourteen topics.

Other study guides can be found in Guide to Marxist Education (Education for Socialists, \$.90), which contains eight outlines, and in Twelve Study Guides for Classes (Socialist Workers Party Builder, Vol. 8, No. 3, \$.40).

The goal of the outlines is to assist socialist education. The study guides help to organize classes on a given topic by suggesting primary and secondary readings, and by dividing the subject matter into different classes. They suggest key questions for students to think about.

They aid educators in preparing classes by pinpointing key areas and by suggesting possible questions for discussion groups.

In addition, the study guides are very useful for those who want to study a subject on their own.

In using the study guides, educational committees and comrades giving the classes should go over them carefully.

They should be changed wherever desirable to meet the specific needs of the educational program. These are sure to vary in each area and for each group of students. Changes in the political situation also change educational needs. The outlines should not be viewed as final or fixed. It is better to treat them as approximations of what is needed.

The National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, which prepared most of these outlines, would like to get readers' ideas for new outlines or for changes in existing ones. We would like to know about different ways of using the outlines. Some of the suggestions we have received from readers in the past are included in these study guides.

The class series outlined here are aimed at people with differing levels of knowledge about socialism. Some are useful as introductory classes, while others require a little more background. In particular, the class series on "Prospects for Socialism in America" may be useful as an introduction to the Politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

Two of these outlines, "The Struggle Against Racism" and "Basic Program of Socialism," were prepared by the Young Socialist Alliance.

February 1976

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

September, 1974

eight classes

This is a study outline for an eight-class series surveying the works of James P. Cannon on the principles and tactics of building a revolutionary Marxist party in the United States. Attached also are two supplementary classes on defense policy and electoral policy. Since this is a survey class, it cannot probe each area to the maximum. It should be regarded as an introduction to Cannon's work and thought, to be supplemented by classes covering specific areas.

Individual classes in this series can also be used as supplementary classes for other class series that have already been published. For instance, the class on "Prospects for the American Revolution" can be utilized as a supplementary sixth class to the five-class series on Cannon's Speeches to the Party. This study guide can be found in Party Builder, Volume VIII, No. 3.

Class 1. The Precursors of American Trotskyism

Required Reading: From The First Ten Years of American Communism: "Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Movement of His Time," pp. 245-276; "The IWW: The Great Anticipation," pp. 277-310; "Introduction: The First Ten Years in Perspective," pp. 15-34; "A Critical Review of Theodore Draper's History," pp. 311-333

Questions

1. What was meant by describing Debs' Socialist Party as an "all-inclusive party"? What are the fundamental weaknesses of such a party? Why can't such a party lead a revolution? Why do great events like the Russian Revolution explode the unity of this type of formation?
2. What were Eugene V. Debs' great contributions to the revolutionary movement? Why was his distaste for internal party struggle a fatal political flaw, and how did it affect the fate of the SP?
3. What were the IWW's basic contributions to the revolutionary workers movement in this country? Why wasn't the IWW, with its program of industrial unionism, able to take hold in the big industries?
4. Why was the effort to simultaneously build the IWW as a revolutionary cadre organization and an industrial union doomed to failure? How can trade unions be revolutionized? What was wrong with the IWW's claim to reject "political action" in general? How did the Russian Revolution and World War I expose this and other weaknesses of the IWW?

5. The IWW had many seasoned and battle-tested cadres. Yet it was quickly surpassed after World War I by the young and inexperienced Communist Party. Why?

6. What were the fundamental issues around which the Communist Party was formed? How did it represent a qualitative advance over all previous American revolutionary organizations? What progressive role did the Comintern play in the first years of the Communist Party? How was this changed in later years?

7. What American and international factors combined to produce the degeneration of the Communist Party? How did the theory of "socialism in one country" intensify the impact of both factors?

8. What is wrong with the thesis that the Communist Party went wrong when it accepted "foreign" doctrines, advice, and influence? What has been the interaction of native American rebellion and international influences in the history of American revolutionary socialism?

Class 2. The Origins of American Trotskyism: Revolutionary Continuity and Political Principle

Required Reading: "On James P. Cannon's Eightieth Birthday: The Importance of Revolutionary Continuity," by Joseph Hansen in Intercontinental Press, April 6, 1970; August 23, 1974 speech by Joseph Hansen, in James P. Cannon: A Political Tribute; From The First Ten Years of American Communism: "After 1925: Permanent Factionalism," pp. 148-159; From The History of American Trotskyism, Lecture Three pp. 40-59, and Lecture Five, pp. 80-100; From Speeches for Socialism: "Where We Began and Where We are Going," pp. 192-208

Supplementary Reading: From Speeches for Socialism: "Our Appeal Against Expulsion to the Communist Party Members," pp. 29-40

Questions

1. What is permanent factionalism? How does it undermine the principled basis of a party? What are its effects on the development of cadres and their political perspectives?
2. What is the importance of continuity in building a revolutionary movement? How did Stalinism almost disrupt this continuity? What fundamental lessons and points of principle were

carried from the IWW and the SP left wing to the Communist Party and then to the original cadres of American Trotskyism? How does the concept of continuity help explain the relative strength of the revolutionary Marxist nucleus in the United States?

3. What won Cannon to Trotskyism? How did Cannon's fight against permanent factionalism in the CP help prepare him for taking a principled stand in the Stalin-Trotsky fight? Why would it have been incorrect to spread doubts and skepticism about the party's program before having an alternative to offer?

4. Why is a correct political program the first prerequisite for building a revolutionary organization? Why do "attempts to cut corners with principle and keep larger forces together by compromises on the program question" lead to disaster? Give examples.

5. Why does Cannon hold that "you must begin with an international program and on that basis you build national sections of an international movement"? What is wrong with the view that strong national parties must be constructed before you can build an international movement or develop an international program?

6. Why is a correct tactical orientation -- "what to do next" -- the second decisive test for a revolutionary organization (after program)? Tactical ability does not automatically flow from a correct political program. What considerations go into determining a correct tactical line?

7. Why did the early Trotskyists orient toward winning members from the Communist Party? Why was it more important at that stage to issue a newspaper regularly and to publish the writings of Trotsky than to devote resources to campaigns of mass agitation?

8. Why would it have been incorrect for the Trotskyists to organize their faction solely around the issue of opposition to the bureaucratic measures of the CP leaders?

Class 3. Mass Work, Unifications, and Early Tactics

Required Reading: The History of American Trotskyism, chapters 7-9, pp. 118-188

Questions

1. What circumstances on the world scene and in the U. S. led the Trotskyists to shift their emphasis away from the Communist Party?

2. What were the lessons of the Trotskyist intervention in the hotel strike? How did the Trotskyists react when B. J. Field thought that his prominence as a trade union leader freed him from the responsibility that all party members have to conduct their political work under the

direction of the party? How does the Trotskyist policy differ from that of reformist organizations?

3. What contributions did the Trotskyists make to the Minneapolis strikes that clearly distinguished their methods from other labor leaders? How did the Minneapolis Trotskyists show that the lesson of the Field experience had been learned? What was the role of the national party leadership in the strike? How was the Trotskyist concept of a national campaign party applied in both the hotel and truckers strikes?

4. What is the difference between propaganda and agitation? Did the shift from propaganda directed at members of the Communist Party to agitation in a broader layer of workers mean that the Trotskyists had ceased to be a propaganda organization? Why not? How are the activities during the turn toward mass work consistent with the Trotskyist concept of propaganda work?

5. What was the American Workers Party? Why was it principled for the Trotskyists to unify with this group? Why was it desirable to do so? What different trends on the question of unity existed inside the AWP? How did the Trotskyist proposals on organization in the united party reflect a principled approach to unification? Why were the Trotskyists confident that flexibility on organizational questions would be advantageous?

6. What were the arguments in favor and against entry into the Socialist Party? How was the argument of Oehler that entry meant giving up the principle of the independent party answered?

7. In order to enter the Socialist Party, it was necessary to split with the Oehlerites. Was this justified? How does the history of American Trotskyism demonstrate that both fusions and splits can be methods of building the revolutionary party?

8. What were the common principled guidelines in the unification with the AWP and the entry into the SP? How did these principled tactics contrast to the unprincipled unification in Spain that led to the formation of the POUM? (See Trotsky, The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39).

9. Cannon argues that the Trotskyists were not yet a real party in 1934. What did he mean by this? Is the SWP a party in this sense today?

Class 4. Preparing the Party for a Period of Expansion

Required Reading: From Letters From Prison: "On education of cadres, pp. 65-77; on selection of leadership, pp. 201-236; on party expansion, pp. 109-110, 118-119, 243-245, 253-255; on the party press, pp. 29, 34, 122-23, 134-35, 154, 172-73, 234, 261-74, 301, 303-305; on youth, p. 298

Questions

1. How did Cannon propose to respond to the first signs of an upsurge in the mass movement?
2. Cannon writes that the party's method of developing cadres represents "the triumph of design and plan over laissez faire in the most important question of the party." How does he propose to extend the "triumph of design and plan" to other areas of party work such as education and the press? How has the SWP attempted to achieve the "triumph of design and plan" in subsequent years in areas like finances, branch work, publishing, etc.? Why is the "triumph of design and plan over laissez faire" fundamental to the building of a Leninist party in the stronghold of imperialism?
3. What changes did Cannon propose in The Militant in order to meet the new upsurge? Why did he change his mind about the desirability of a daily over a weekly paper under present circumstances in the U. S. A. ? Have the experiments of other tendencies with daily papers tended to confirm or refute his judgment?
4. What is Cannon's conception of The Militant as a "combination" newspaper? (p. 269) Why is this concept important? What are the weaknesses of a revolutionary paper that fails to adhere to this "combination" concept? How has The Militant attempted to apply this concept in the past period?
5. How is the conception of the SWP as a "campaign party" reflected in Cannon's proposals? What is the importance of centralized campaigns in building a revolutionary party?
6. What was Cannon's proposal for electing the national leadership of the party? What other methods of electing leaderships had been used previously by the SWP (or in other organizations) and what had been their flaws? What were the strengths of Cannon's proposal?

Class 5, Struggles Against Revisionism

Required Reading: From The Struggle for a Proletarian Party: "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," pp. 1-82; From Speeches to the Party: "Trade Unionists and Revolutionists," pp. 52-66; "Factional Struggle and Party Leadership," pp. 172-192

Supplementary Reading: From The Struggle for a Proletarian Party: "Speech on the Russian Question," pp. 221-235; From Speeches to the Party: "American Stalinism and Our Attitude Toward It," pp. 124-135

Questions

1. What characteristics of the line and practices of the Burnham-Shachtman combination justified describing them as a "petty-bourgeois" opposition? Was this definition merely based on the social origin of its components? Why and how do serious factional struggles and splits in the party reflect the class struggle? How were such pressures reflected in the split with the Burnham-Shachtman and Cochran-Clarke-Bartell factions?
2. Is the working class composition of a party a guarantee of a revolutionary program? How did the social composition of the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell minority relate to its political outlook? Why does Cannon call the trade unions a "culture broth of opportunism"?
3. Why is it necessary for the revolutionary party to be proletarian in composition as well as in program? Does this mean that the party should be hostile to petty-bourgeois intellectuals? What does the party ask of intellectuals or other persons of non-working-class origin who join it? Is a small cadre party likely to have the same composition as a mass party?
4. Why do groupings which challenge the fundamental program of the party, or bend to outside pressures, tend to reject the centralism of the party as well? How was this reflected in the fights with both Burnham-Shachtman and Cochran-Clarke-Bartell?
5. What is an unprincipled combination and how do such combinations affect the programmatic clarity and internal life of the party? Why were the Burnham-Shachtman and Cochran-Clarke-Bartell groupings unprincipled combinations? Must all elements of a principled tendency or faction be in complete accord on every question?
6. What is a clique and how do cliques cut across principled politics and the development of revolutionary cadres? How did Abern's evolution demonstrate the logic of cliquism?
7. Some working-class parties have fallen victim to bureaucratism. What has been the social basis for this development? What is the source of bureaucratism in the SP and the CP? Does the existence of a full-time staff in a revolutionary party automatically lead to bureaucratism?
8. Can factions ever play a useful role in the party? Under what conditions is a faction fight necessary? Is the formation of factions immediately called for whenever differences of opinion exist in the party? What is the purpose of a faction? Why did Cannon call for the dissolution of the majority faction at the conclusion of the 1953 fight?

9. The Russian question has been at the center of many of the decisive faction fights in SWP history. How was this question raised in the 1939-40 and the 1953 struggles?

Class 6. Internationalism

Required Reading: From Speeches for Socialism: "The End of the Comintern and the Prospects of Labor Internationalism," pp. 105-122; "How to Put an End to Imperialist War (1942)," pp. 207-212; From Speeches to the Party: "Internationalism and the SWP," pp. 66-91

Questions

1. Why is an international revolutionary organization necessary? Why aren't national working class parties with revolutionary goals sufficient?

2. What contributions did the first three Internationals make to the revolutionary movement? Why did they collapse? How did Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" bring on the collapse of the Third International?

3. Contrast Stalin's approach to the relationship between war and internationalism with Lenin's. What is the revolutionary Marxist position on interimperialist wars? Why? How was this principled position expressed in the midst of war in Cannon's radio speech?

4. How do the origins, program, and tradition of the SWP differentiate it from national-minded "socialist" parties? What role has the SWP played in the building of a revolutionary International?

5. Cannon writes that "we conceive of internationalism as international collaboration." What does this mean? How does Cannon's concept of democratic centralism differ from the concept of "democratic centralism" promulgated by the Stalinists in the Third International?

6. What factors make democratic centralism on an international scale different in application from the democratic centralism that can be applied in a national section?

7. Why is Cannon generally opposed to an international leadership intervening organizationally in national disputes? Does this mean that leaders of the International should express no opinion on disputes in national sections or fraternal parties? What are the special dangers that arise when organizational intervention is carried out behind the back of the national leaderships? What lessons does Cannon draw from the difference between Trotsky's methods of leadership and Pablo's methods?

8. What does Cannon mean by the "natural selection" of national leaderships? Why is this indispensable for building national sections? Is there a process of "natural selection" for developing international leaders? How does an international leadership gain authority?

Class 7. Perspectives for the American Revolution

Required Reading: From Speeches to the Party: "Theses on the American Revolution," resolution passed by the 1946 SWP convention, pp. 323-337; From Speeches for Socialism: "The Coming American Revolution," report to the 1946 convention, pp. 381-400; "The Coming American Socialist Revolution," report to the Political Committee of the SWP on the "Theses," in the October 1974 issue of International Socialist Review

Supplementary Reading: From Speeches to the Party: "The 'Theses on the American Revolution' (a letter to Farrell Dobbs)" pp. 237-239; "The Background and Purpose of the 'Theses on the American Revolution' (Letter to Daniel Roberts)" pp. 264-273

Questions

1. Cannon says that the premise for constructing a Bolshevik-type working class party is the concept that a revolution in the United States is the realistic perspective of this epoch. Why?

2. Are the "Theses" a conjunctural or a programmatic document? What is the difference between the two types of document? Were the "Theses" invalidated by the fact that the radicalization of 1945-46 did not end in a revolution? Do its fundamental perspectives continue to hold true?

3. Why does Cannon hold that the American socialist revolution is the decisive battle in the world revolution? Does this view flow from a narrow American outlook or from the concept that revolutionary victories elsewhere are of little importance?

4. Why do the "Theses" predict that, in contrast to the Czarist empire of 1917, it will be more difficult for the workers to win power in the U. S. but far easier to hold it? Is bureaucratic degeneration and police dictatorship likely to be a major problem for the American revolution?

5. The "Theses" predict that in the U. S. "with adequate mobilization of their forces and proper direction, the workers will win." What characteristics of the American working class justify such confidence? The Theses take note of the political backwardness of the American workers. How is this likely to be overcome? Must this necessarily be a slow or long-delayed process? What previous experiences of the American working

class indicate a more rapid pace of political development?

6. How does Cannon answer the view that the small size of the SWP at that time ruled out revolutionary opportunities? How is Cannon's position consistent with his insistence that a mass Trotskyist party is needed for the American revolution?

7. Describing the revolutionists of the late 1920s, Cannon writes, "It was rather common in those days to think that America would be the last (to have a socialist revolution); that following Russia would come Germany; it would spread over Europe and from Europe to the Orient, interacting on each other; and that America would be the last country to succumb to revolution." What is wrong with such a schema? Why does it tend to lead to theories of "American exceptionalism"? Is it inevitable that the American revolution will be the last to occur? Are there any ways in which the American radicalization of today is ahead of developments in other countries?

8. Why does Cannon describe the Theses as representing a new and higher level of internationalism for the Trotskyist movement? What were some of the weaknesses in earlier concepts of internationalism prevalent in the U. S. left? Why is it possible that "sympathy" for revolutions abroad, if it is coupled with skepticism about or rejection of the perspectives for the American revolution, can lead to a rejection of internationalism? Why is such skepticism inconsistent with the concept of an international revolutionary party?

Class 8. Cannon's Vision of the Socialist Future

Required Reading: From America's Road to Socialism Lecture Five -- "America Under the Workers Rule;" Lecture Six -- "What a Socialist America Will Look Like" (The latter speech will also be found in Speeches for Socialism, pp. 401-424)

Questions

1. What are the key differences between the workers' state and socialism? Why will the workers need a state during the transition period to socialism? How will it differ from the capitalist state? Why is the workers council form of government more democratic than capitalist democracy?

2. What will be the key tasks of the workers regime? What attitude will it take towards farmers and small shopkeepers? What will be its attitude to religion?

3. What were some of the disadvantages faced by the USSR in the early years that an American workers government is not likely to confront?

What conditions will make the bureaucratic degeneration of an American workers state highly unlikely?

4. Why is it possible only to "anticipate and point out the general development of society" under socialism and utopian to make more detailed projections? Why is it valuable in building the revolutionary movement to popularize such general projections about socialist society?

5. How will the needs of women and oppressed nationalities be met in a socialist America?

6. What changes in the role of work can be expected in a socialist society? How will the creativity of each individual be given maximum freedom to develop?

7. How can the treatment and upbringing of children be expected to change?

8. What does Cannon predict will happen to "politics" in a socialist society?

Supplementary Classes

Class 9. Defense Policy Against Government Repression

Required Reading: From Socialism on Trial: Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial, "exchange between Grandizo Munis and James P. Cannon, pp. 117-177

Supplementary Reading: Socialism on Trial: "Testimony of James P. Cannon," pp. 1-127

Questions:

1. The U. S. government charged that the SWP called for violent overthrow of the government. Why was this false? How does Cannon's courtroom defense square with the revolutionary opposition to reformist illusions about a "peaceful transition to socialism"?

2. Explain the concept behind the term "defensive formulation." How do such formulations express reality? Why are such formulations an aid to effective propaganda?

3. Do revolutionaries' defensive formulations undergo a change in a period of revolution? What was the experience of the Russian Revolution?

4. Why is it important for a revolutionary party to defend and extend its legal rights? Does this compromise efforts to expose the undemocratic nature of capitalist society?

Class 10. Socialist Election Policy

Required Reading: From Aspects of Socialist Election Policy (Education for Socialists bulletin), "Campaign for a Labor Party," pp. 12-17; "Election Policy in 1948," Report and Summary, pp. 21-34

Supplementary Reading: From Speeches to the Party, "Speech at the Sixteenth Convention," pp. 206-210, 213-221

Questions

1. Why does the SWP call for a labor party? What are the objective conditions in the United States that underlie this slogan? Why do the Stalinists and Social Democrats reject this slogan?
2. What program does the SWP advocate for a labor party? Would the SWP support a labor party with a reformist leadership?
3. How will the needs of the workers lead them toward support for the labor party slogan?
4. Why did Cannon propose an agitational campaign on the labor party slogan in 1942? What changes in conditions justified this? What is the difference between propaganda and agitation? Is the labor party a propagandistic or agitational slogan today? Why? What is wrong with the Workers League concept of the labor party slogan?

5. What are the differences between a labor party and a third capitalist party like Henry Wallace's Progressive Party in 1948? How does Cannon answer the argument that revolutionists must "go through the experiences of the working class" in supporting bourgeois formations such as the Henry Wallace party?

6. How did the Wallace party raise problems for revolutionists that are similar to those posed by popular frontism today?

7. What is the SWP's attitude toward social-democratic labor parties like the British Labor Party or the Canadian New Democratic Party? What are the objectives of revolutionists when we work in such formations? Is a reformist labor party an inevitable stage of the class struggle in the U. S. ?

8. Does the slogan of the labor party mean giving up the concept that the workers need an independent revolutionary party with a Trotskyist program?

LIST OF ASSIGNED MATERIAL BY AND ABOUT JAMES P. CANNON

Published by Pathfinder Press:

America's Road to Socialism (scheduled for reissue shortly -- \$1.75 paper)
The First Ten Years of American Communism, \$11.00 cloth, \$3.45 paper
The History of American Trotskyism, \$2.95 paper
Letters From Prison, \$7.50 cloth, \$3.45 paper
Speeches for Socialism, \$10.00 cloth, \$3.45 paper
Socialism On Trial, \$1.95 paper
Speeches to the Party: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party \$10.00 cloth, \$3.95 paper
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, \$2.95 paper
James P. Cannon: A Political Tribute, \$.80 paper

By Other Publishers:

Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, \$1.35, published by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party (available from Pathfinder Press)
"The Importance of Revolutionary Continuity," by Joseph Hansen, Intercontinental Press, April 6, 1970, \$.50
The Revolutionary Perspective for the United States, by James P. Cannon, published by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party (available from Pathfinder Press), \$.90

DYNAMICS OF WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY

September 1974

five classes

A five-class study guide based on the Pathfinder Press book, Dynamics of World Revolution Today (\$2.95).

Class 1. The World Situation at the Time of the 1963 Reunification

Required Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," pp. 13-23; "Dynamics of World Revolution Today," pp. 25-73.

Questions

1. What are the three main sectors of the world revolution? How are these categories useful for analysis? How do the tasks and character of the proletarian revolution differ in each sector?

2. How do the three sectors interact on each other? Discuss and give examples.

3. What accounted for the post-World War II shift of the center of world revolutionary activity to the colonial world? Why would it be wrong to attribute this shift primarily to objective factors? What role did the crisis of proletarian leadership play in this shift?

4. Why was it possible in some instances for a revolution in a colonial country to triumph despite inadequate leadership? Why is this impossible in the advanced capitalist countries? Does this mean that the crisis of leadership has been overcome in the colonial world?

5. Why do objective circumstances tend to push the colonial revolution onto the path of permanent revolution? Is this an automatic process? Why hasn't the colonial revolution decisively undermined the economic stability of imperialism? How has the delay of the revolution in the imperialist countries and the Stalinized workers states affected the course of the colonial revolution?

6. According to the resolution, "Dynamics of World Revolution Today," the conditions that fostered political passivity of the masses in the Stalinized workers states have been steadily undermined. What were these conditions and how have they changed by 1963? Did this mean that the material conditions for Stalinist rule in the workers states had disappeared?

7. What is the difference between mass pressure, mass action, and political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states? Give examples. Can concessions prevent the antibureaucratic political revolution in these states? Why not?

8. What role was the Sino-Soviet split playing in the crisis of Stalinism in 1963? How did the Fourth International evaluate the positions of the two sides at that time?

9. Why is it incorrect to rely on outside forces alone -- like the colonial revolution or the economic progress of the workers states -- to overthrow capitalism in the advanced countries?

10. How has the analysis of economic trends in Europe and the U. S. that appears in "Dynamics of World Revolution Today" stood up over the past decade? Has the prediction of the contradictory role that could be played by the relatively high living standards of workers in the advanced countries been upheld?

11. What are the pitfalls in attempting to establish a timetable or a fixed order of precedence for the victory of the revolution in the three sectors?

12. What are the objective factors that produced the weakness of the world Trotskyist movement? Why didn't the correctness of its ideas produce a qualitative increase in its forces? What factors led to the conclusion that the tide was beginning to flow in favor of Trotskyism?

13. Why are the tasks of building mass Trotskyist parties essentially propagandistic at this point? What role do transitional slogans play in this process? What role can be played by entryist tactics?

14. Why is the danger of World War III inherent in the world situation? Why has it been postponed? How can it be definitively prevented?

15. Why would failure to reunify the Fourth International in 1963 have been politically unprincipled? What happened to groups that tried to find a political justification for not participating like Healy, Lambert, and Posadas?

Class 2. The Detente and the New World Situation

Required Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The Unfolding New World Situation," by Jack Barnes, pp. 75-99; "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International," pp. 156-162, 169-175
Supplementary Reading: From A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s: Documents of the Socialist Workers Party: "The New Stage of World Revolution," by Joseph Hansen (report to 1971 SWP Convention), pp. 6-31

Questions

1. In 1971, Joseph Hansen noted that the effects of the Vietnam war (and not just the war itself) were moving to the center of the world stage. Give

examples of this tendency. How have the effects of the war continued to manifest themselves?

2. What are the main goals of U. S. imperialism in the detente? What are the goals of the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats? What were the key elements in U. S. strategy before the detente and what major shifts have occurred? What developments necessitated these shifts?

3. How has the detente been reflected in Vietnam? The Mideast? Has the prediction that "Moscow and Peking's assistance to imperialism will not be limited to the colonial world" been borne out?

4. What factors in the world situation prevent the detente from establishing class peace?

5. How does the Sino-Soviet conflict reflect the logic of the theory of socialism in one country? Why are such conflicts inevitable between deformed or degenerated workers states? How would a revolutionary regime in a workers state act to overcome such conflicts? How has U. S. imperialism made use of the Sino-Soviet conflict?

6. What are the likely effects of the present world situation on the development of the political revolution in the Stalinized workers states?

7. What effect have economic difficulties had on imperialist strategy? Why are the actions imperialism takes to deal with these difficulties sure to undermine the search for class peace?

8. How have relationships between U. S. capitalism and its West European and Japanese allies changed since World War II? What conflicts of interest now exist? What factors assure the U. S. of continued dominance in the capitalist sphere despite increased competition? How was this dominance reflected during the energy crisis? During the October, 1973 Mideast War?

9. What are the limits of efforts to create European economic institutions like the Common Market?

10. Jack Barnes projects the development of "more complex relations between the three sectors of the world revolution. There is likely to be much more interpenetration of ideas, models, conflicts, and the emulation of examples." Why is this the case? Give examples of such developments. What was the relationship of the Vietnam war to struggles in all three sectors?

Class 3. The Spreading Radicalization: Oppressed Nationalities, Students, and Women

Required Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth Interna-

tional," pp. 111-118, 136-151. From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution: "Transitional and Democratic Slogans as Bridges to the Socialist Revolution," by Joseph Hansen, pp. 32-37
Supplementary Reading: "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," draft resolution in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, Number 22, November 1973; "Comrade Germain's Errors on the National Question," by Gus Horowitz, in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, Number 10, July 1973; From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder Press, \$2.45): "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth," pp. 181-203; "The Role of the Transitional Program in the Revolutionary Process," by George Novack, pp. 51-63

Questions

1. Why can't the proletariat take power without allies in other sectors of the population? How can it win their allegiance? What dangers exist if it fails to do so?

2. What are some of the reasons for the prominence of democratic demands in the current radicalization? Why would it be fatal to ignore struggles around such demands? Why is it wrong to downplay democratic demands in favor of "more advanced" demands?

3. How does a revolutionary party distinguish itself from bourgeois or reformist trends in struggles around democratic demands? How does this differ from the way sectarians or ultralefts try to differentiate themselves?

4. How do the crises and sudden breakdowns of capitalism create opportunities to bring transitional demands to the fore? Give examples.

5. Why is it incorrect to say that national oppression of the colonies and semicolonies can be abolished by formal independence? How is the fallacy of this reasoning revealed by events in the Arab East? Latin America? What does the theory of permanent revolution indicate in this regard?

6. What are factors that are bringing struggles of oppressed nationalities to the fore in advanced capitalist countries? Give examples. Why do we regard the compulsory assimilation of oppressed nationalities by capitalism as reactionary? How is this position consistent with our goal of an international socialist society unencumbered by national boundaries?

7. What is the role played by struggles of the oppressed nationalities in the workers' states?

8. What has been the role played by students in the worldwide radicalization? How has this role been reaffirmed by struggles in Greece, Thailand, and elsewhere?

9. What are some of the basic weaknesses of the

student movement? How can a revolutionary party combat them? What does a revolutionary party have to gain by work in this arena? What advantages do revolutionary youth organizations offer in carrying out this work?

10. Why is it incorrect to restrict the potential of the women's liberation movement to "middle class women" or even to the advanced capitalist countries? What demands have been raised by this movement that have applicability in all three sectors of the world revolution?

11. How do struggles such as those of students, women, and oppressed nationalities aid the proletarian struggle for socialism? How can the revolutionary movement be damaged by a sectarian attitude toward these movements?

12. What is the attitude of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties toward the struggles of oppressed nationalities in the three sectors? To the struggles of women? What accounts for this stance and what opportunities does it present for a revolutionary party?

Class 4. The World Revolution Resumes Its Main Course

Required Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International," pp. 119-135; "The Unfolding New World Situation," by Jack Barnes, pp. 102-109

Supplementary Reading: "The Social Transformations in Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba," by Joseph Hansen in Education for Socialists Bulletin The Workers and Farmers Government, pp. 20-30

Questions

1. What key aspects of the Russian Revolution represent an indispensable model for the world revolution? Why haven't these been superseded by the creation of workers states by other means in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, China, North Vietnam, and Cuba?

2. Why was the key to the victory of the Russian revolution political in character? Didn't military conflicts play an important role? What was the relationship between military and political factors in the outcome of the Russian revolution?

3. What was the "long detour"? What were its causes? What were the contradictory effects of the detour on the world revolution?

4. What are the origins of the strategy of guerrilla warfare? How does it differ from the concept of guerrilla warfare as a tactic? Why are guerrilla struggles often a part of revolutionary struggles in the colonial world?

5. Why has the guerrilla strategy been unable to produce any new socialist revolutions since Cuba? What are its fundamental weaknesses?

6. What is substitutionism? What are the role of leadership and masses in the guerrilla warfare strategy and in the Leninist strategy?

7. What was the position taken on guerrilla warfare in the light of the Cuban revolution in "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement"? How is this position consistent with the analysis in "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International"? What new experiences and problems does the latter document take into account?

8. What factors have helped to produce the shift back to the urban proletariat as the center of revolutionary struggles? Give some illustrations of this shift. Is this trend limited to the industrialized countries? How have the pro-guerrilla warfare tendencies responded to this shift?

9. Why is the political hegemony of the cities over the countryside a fundamental tendency of the world revolution rather than a temporary shift?

10. Why hasn't this shift toward the classical pattern yet produced a new October revolution?

11. Why does this shift offer increased opportunities for building revolutionary Marxist parties? Why does it make a proletarian program appear more "realistic" to radicalizing layers than was the case in the past?

12. Why is a correct understanding of the "long detour" important for Trotskyists? What errors have misunderstandings about this led to in the past in the cases of Pablo and Healy?

Class 5. The Crisis of Proletarian Leadership and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International

Required Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International," pp. 152-188

Supplementary Reading: From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution: "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," pp. 72-112; From What Is To Be Done? by V. I. Lenin: "The 'Plan' For An All-Russian Newspaper," available in Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 5 (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961 and numerous other editions).

Questions

1. What is the crisis of revolutionary leadership and what are its causes? Why can't it be overcome spontaneously by a powerful world revolutionary upsurge?

2. What are the objective and subjective factors

in the world revolution? How have these changed since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938? Has either factor changed qualitatively? Why is the distinction between the degree of ripeness of the objective and subjective factors of such vital importance for revolutionists?

3. How does the evolution of the Castro leadership demonstrate the need for a revolutionary Marxist party even where a non-Stalinist leadership has taken power? How has the absence of a clear revolutionary program affected the domestic and foreign policies of the Castro regime? What effect have these policies had on the Latin American revolution?

4. What are the essential characteristics of a people's front? What is the fundamental difference between a people's front and a reformist workers party? Why is it tactically permissible to call for critical support to a reformist workers party, but a violation of principle to give any support to a people's front? What value does a peoples front have for the bourgeoisie? Can it play this role even if no major sector of the bourgeoisie supports it?

5. Why does the Transitional Program refer to the historical period as "prerevolutionary" rather than "revolutionary"? Was this because objective conditions were not ripe for revolution in 1938? What was lacking to make the period fully revolutionary?

6. Why does "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International" describe the immediate tasks of Trotskyists as propa-

gandistic? Why is the central goal the accumulation of cadres? What is the relationship between the objective conditions, the level of development of the Trotskyist movement, and the tasks of Trotskyists? If the period is objectively revolutionary, why isn't the central immediate task to make the revolution?

7. What is the concept of propaganda outlined by "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International"? How does it differ from mere commentary on events? In what ways can the activities of the French Trotskyists in May-June 1968, of the SWP in the antiwar movement, and of the Minneapolis Trotskyists in the 1934 truckers' strikes be regarded as propaganda actions? When can Trotskyist parties move qualitatively beyond the level of propaganda?

8. What errors can result from overestimating the ability of a small group of cadres to determine the course of the class struggle? How does the concept of "minority violence" reflect such errors? Why doesn't it offer a way to overcome the weakness of Trotskyist forces?

9. How do the suggestions for action in "The World Political Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International" fit in with its conception of the nature of the period and the tasks of Trotskyists?

10. What is the importance of a regularly issued newspaper for a revolutionary party? Why will the failure to publish such a paper lead to stagnation?

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, 1931-1939

September, 1974

five classes

The following five-class series is based on the Pathfinder Press books, The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39 by Leon Trotsky (\$3, 95) and Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain (including The Civil War in Spain) by Felix Morrow (\$2, 95). Extensive readings from both books are included in the required readings. Trotsky's writings concentrate on the key political lessons to be drawn from the events while Morrow's book provides a historical account of the rise and defeat of the revolution.

Class 1. Spain on the Eve of the Republic

Required Readings: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: "Introduction," by Les Evans, pp. 21-48; "Revolution in Spain," pp. 67-88; From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain: pp. 3-7

Supplementary Reading: The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: All of Part I not assigned above; The Trotsky-Nin Correspondence, pp. 369-400

Questions

1. In what ways was Spanish society permeated with semifeudal relations? What was the relation of the Spanish bourgeoisie to these semi-feudal institutions? How could semi-feudal relations be uprooted?
2. What were the tasks of the Spanish revolution in 1931? What conditions accounted for the weight of democratic demands in the Spanish revolution? Why did Trotsky emphasize the call for a constituent cortes (parliament)?
3. The policy of the Comintern on the eve of the republic was "third period" ultraleftism. In what ways did that policy affect Spain? How did the ILO characterize the Comintern at that time? When and in what way was this characterization changed?
4. Since the CP in Spain was small in numbers and limited in influence, what was to be gained by orienting toward it, as Trotsky insisted? Why couldn't the CP be discounted as irrelevant? What policy was followed by Andres Nin on this question?
5. Why did Trotsky raise the demand for the formation of "juntas" in Spain? What role could they play? Why was it incorrect to argue that such Soviet-type formations could only be called for in order to organize the insurrection?
6. What was anarcho-syndicalism? What was its fundamental weakness? What trends did it divide into in the course of the revolution? Why did Trotsky stress the importance of reaching the anarchist workers and how did he propose to do this?

7. The years 1931-35 were critical ones for the development of the Spanish revolution. What steps should a revolutionary party have taken to increase its numbers, strength, and influence in these years? How did the grouping of Left Communists around Andres Nin respond to this challenge?

8. What was the progressive character of Catalonian nationalism according to Trotsky? What did Trotsky advise the Spanish Communists to do in relation to the national question in Catalonia? Why was support for self-determination for Catalonia consistent, in Trotsky's view, with opposition to the "Balkanization" of Spain?

9. Trotsky often criticized Nin's indifference to international questions and his reluctance to involve his members in discussions in the international movement. What was the importance of these failings? How did they indicate an underestimation by Nin of the political basis of building a revolutionary movement? How was this underestimation reflected in Nin's attitude to Maurin's Catalonian Federation?

Class 2. Republican Spain through the Period of Reaction (Bienio Negro)

Required Readings: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: "The Spanish Revolution and the Dangers Threatening It," pp. 111-134; "The Catalan Federation and Its Program," pp. 135-138; "The Spanish Kornilovs and the Spanish Stalinists," pp. 181-186; From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain: pp. 8-32

Supplementary Reading: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: All of Part II not assigned above up to page 207

Questions

1. What was the class character of the republican government established in April 1931? What forces participated in it?
2. What were the inadequacies of the program proposed by Pravda for the Spanish revolution?
3. Why did Trotsky view it as vital for revolutionists to have an orientation toward the Cortes (parliament)? How did the masses view the Cortes? Was the importance of the call for a "constituent cortes" decreased by the "peaceful" triumph of the republic? Why was it incorrect to counterpose the demand for Soviets to the demand for a constituent cortes or other democratic demands?
4. What was Trotsky's attitude to the struggle to make the bourgeois elections more democratic? Why did he hold that such struggles could be used to prepare the revolution? Why would a call for

boycotting the June 1931 parliamentary elections have been a mistake? Why was such a call correct under the previous regime of Berenger?

5. Why did Trotsky view the Stalinist policy as an adaptation to the "anti-parliamentary cretinism" of the anarchists? What were the dangers in such an adaptation?

6. What were the differences and similarities between the rise of the republic in Spain and in Russia in 1917? How did Trotsky think the differences would affect the pace of events? In what ways should the similarities have guided the choice of slogans and the overall strategy?

7. What was Trotsky's criticism of the Stalinist approach to the demand for the arming of the masses? Was readiness to call for armed struggle the dividing line that separated revolutionists from reformists during this period in Spain? What were the dividing lines?

8. Discuss the application of the theory of permanent revolution to Spain. How did the Stalinist theory of a "workers and peasants revolution" differ from it? How could this theory lead to both opportunist and adventurist mistakes?

9. Why was the April regime inherently unstable? Why did the bourgeoisie drive the Socialists out of the government in late 1933? What does this indicate about the reasons for bringing them into the government? How did the role of the Socialists make possible the "bienio negro," the rise of reaction after Autumn 1933?

10. What did Trotsky mean by referring to the possibility of a July Days in the Spanish revolution? What was the correct approach for a revolutionary party to take in the face of such a situation in contrast to reformist or ultraleft approaches?

11. What contradictions in the Third Period policies of the CP -- notably the theory of "social fascism" -- were reflected in its reaction to the attempted pro-monarchist coup in 1932? How did its reaction reveal the possibility for "third period" politics to become transformed into "popular front" politics?

12. What was wrong with Andres Nin's attitude toward the developing left wing in the Socialist Party and its youth? What underlay this attitude? What were its consequences?

13. Why did Trotsky call the platform of the Catalan Federation "pure Kuomintangism transplanted to Spanish soil"? What was the significance of Nin's decision to unify his Left Communists with

the Catalan Federation? Why was this unification unprincipled in contrast to, for instance, American Trotskyists' fusion with the Musteites?

Class 3, The Popular Front in Power

Required Reading: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: Preface to Part II, pp. 101-102; "The Treachery of the POUM" pp. 207-211; "The POUM and the Popular Front," pp. 218-221; From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, pp. 33-48, 112-120
Supplementary Reading: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, pp. 72-129

Questions

1. What are the essential characteristics of a "popular front"? What is the difference between a "popular front" and a united front? Between a workers and peasants government and a "popular front" government? Under what circumstances does a "popular front" government usually arise? What purpose does a "popular front" government serve for the bourgeoisie?

2. What were the international factors behind the Comintern's change in policy in 1935?

3. What parties made up the Popular Front electoral coalition in February 1936? What parties were represented in Azana's cabinet? Why was the Popular Front government incapable of solving the social crisis?

4. What was the program of the Popular Front on the agrarian question? On workers' control of industry? On the right to strike? On self-determination for Catalonia and Morocco? On unemployment relief? On the separation of church and state? On free press and the right of assembly?

5. What was Azana's policy toward the officer corps? What effect did it have on the ability of the fascists to stage an insurrection? What would a revolutionary alternative to Azana's policy toward the army have consisted of?

6. What role did the Popular Front government play in the strike wave? How did it react to the preparations for a fascist assault?

7. Why did the overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie opt for fascism? How does fascism differ from other repressive regimes like military dictatorships? In what way did the advent of the republic exacerbate the difficulties of Spanish capitalism? Why didn't the military try to crush the wave of general strikes by more conventional repressive means?

8. What did the bourgeoisie's efforts to get the Socialist Party leader Prieto to become Prime Minister signify? Why was the failure to accomplish

this followed by the fascist uprising?

9. What would have been a revolutionary policy toward the Popular Front government? What lessons can be learned from the policies of the Bolsheviks in 1917 toward the provisional government? How did these policies affect the course of the Russian revolution?

10. Why did the POUM leaders sign the Popular Front agreement and give support to its candidates? What was wrong with its excuses for this action? Why did Trotsky regard this act as a betrayal? Why are such actions a violation of principle rather than a matter of tactics?

Class 4, From the Workers Uprising to the Revival of the Bourgeois States

Required Reading: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: "The Popular Front in Civil War," pp. 229-230; "The Lesson of Spain," pp. 234-239; "Interview with Havas," pp. 242-244; "A Strategy for Victory," pp. 244-245; "Is Victory Possible in Spain?" pp. 256-263; From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, pp. 48-62, 106-111, 121-164

Supplementary Reading: The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: All of Part III not assigned elsewhere

Questions

1. What was the response of the government to the fascist uprising? What prevented the victory of the fascists in the first days? What sparked the proletarian upheaval?

2. In what ways did the defense of Madrid represent a vindication of revolutionary-political methods of struggle? Why were these methods applied in a Stalinist stronghold? Why were they not used everywhere to halt the fascist advance?

3. Why was it correct to "fight hand in hand" with the popular front parties against Franco's assault? To do this, was it necessary to give political support to the government? The Stalinists argued that the menace of Franco required a political alliance with the bourgeoisie in the Popular Front. How did the Bolsheviks in Russia deal with an analogous danger (the Kornilov uprising)? What were the differences between their policy in 1917 and that of the Stalinists in 1936?

4. What was wrong with the slogan, "First we defeat Franco, then we make the revolution"? Why was the victory over fascism inseparable from revolutionary measures? Why did Trotsky predict that the victory of the republican camp would be the prelude to a new civil war if the bourgeoisie still ruled?

5. What are the political conditions for a victory in a civil war against bourgeois reaction? What is the relative weight of political and military factors in determining the outcome? In what ways would a revolutionary program and a workers government have proved a powerful weapon in the civil war? How would it have affected the Spanish workers and peasants? Franco's troops? The world working class?

6. What is dual power? Why is it a short-lived phenomenon? What was the form of "dual power" that sprang up immediately after the insurrection? Why didn't the 1936 dual power lead to an actual seizure of power and the creation of a workers government? Why was dual power so much stronger in Catalonia than elsewhere? How would a revolutionary party have approached the organs of dual power? What was the policy of the POUM?

7. Why did the bourgeoisie suddenly invite the workers' parties into the government after the workers' insurrection?

8. What was wrong with the action of the POUM in joining the Catalan government? What negative effect did this have on the building of Soviets? Workers militias? On the class independence of the workers and peasants? How did this action disorient the workers' movement and mislead their struggle?

9. How and why did the anarchists end up in the camp of the bourgeois regime against the revolution? What was the relationship between this outcome and anarchism's traditional rejection of state and governmental organization? Why was the Spanish revolution a decisive historical test for anarchist theories and organizations?

10. What was the attitude of Trotsky toward the POUM before it endorsed the Popular Front? Before it joined the Catalonian bourgeois government? How did his attitude change after this?

Class 5, The May Days in Barcelona and the Decline of the Republic

Required Reading: From The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39: "Insurrection in Barcelona," pp. 264-267; "A Test of Ideas and Individuals...", pp. 269-281; "The Lessons of Spain -- The Last Warning," pp. 306-326; "The Culpability of Left Centrism," pp. 342-346; "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," pp. 353-366; From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, pp. 165-203

Supplementary Reading: From Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, pp. 204-251

Questions

1. What arguments did the anarchists put forth for refusing to take power in Barcelona in May 1937? Was their analogy with the July Days in Petrograd a valid justification for this course? Why not?

2. How would you answer the argument that the proletarian revolution in Barcelona was a mistake because it threatened to create civil war within the republican camp? Why would the seizure of power by the workers in Barcelona have strengthened the anti-fascist struggle?

3. How did Trotsky predict that the POUM would function in the Barcelona uprising? How did it function in reality? How did the POUM's behavior in the May Days facilitate the Stalinist repression of the POUM? What is wrong with the argument that any party was bound to be taken unawares by such a mass upheaval?

4. Why did the Stalinists supersede the social-democrats and anarchists in influence? What role was played by Soviet arms deals in this process? What role was played by political factors?

5. Why did Trotsky say that only the shadow of the bourgeoisie -- its attorneys, and not the bourgeoisie itself -- remained with the Republican government? Why doesn't this contradict designating it as a "popular front" coalition? Did this occur because the bourgeoisie found the Popular Front too radical? How was bourgeois rule preserved under these circumstances?

6. Why couldn't the imperialist "democracies" be counted on to intervene on behalf of the Republican government in an effort to weaken Hitler and Mussolini?

7. What accounts for the similarity in means between the fascists and the republican government? Why did the social-democrats and anarchists tolerate such measures for so long?

8. What was the significance of the fall of Barcelona to the fascists without a fight? What produced an outcome in such sharp contrast to the role of Barcelona before the May Days?

9. Why is it inadequate to attribute the defeat of the Spanish revolution to the perfidy of the imperialists? To the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini? To the "apathy" of the world working class?

10. What was the relationship between the actions of the proletariat and the course of its leaderships during the revolution? Were they in consonance or in conflict? Can the defeat of the revolution be explained by the "immaturity" of the proletariat? Why is it impossible for the masses in the midst of a revolutionary upheaval to spontaneously create a new leadership? What were the central tasks of revolutionists in such a situation? How did the role of leadership and masses in the Spanish revolution compare with the role of leadership and masses in the Russian revolution?

11. What is centrism? How did the POUM fit that description? Despite its leftist program and its willingness to sacrifice in the struggle against fascism, why was it correct to regard the POUM as the central obstacle to the solution of the crisis of leadership in Spain?

12. Discuss Trotsky's statement that the question of the Popular Front is "the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch." Why was this the case? How important is this question today?

THE FIRST THREE INTERNATIONALS

September, 1974

six classes

A six-class study guide based on the Pathfinder publication, The First Three Internationals, by George Novack, Dave Frankel, and Fred Feldman, \$2.45 paperback.

Class 1. The Roots of Internationalism

Required Reading: "The First and Second Internationals," by George Novack, pp. 10-42

Supplementary Reading: "The Communist Manifesto," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association" and "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association," in Karl Marx on the First International, Saul Padover, ed., McGraw Hill, New York, \$4.95; Karl Marx: The Story of His Life, by Franz Mehring, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, \$3.95

Questions

1. Why was nationalism rather than internationalism the dominant trend in the bourgeois revolution? In what ways did this revolution have an internationalist character as well?

2. In what ways did the bourgeois national state represent an advance over precapitalist regimes? Why do the national states established by the bourgeoisie now constitute an obstacle to progress?

3. What are the material roots of working-class internationalism? Why is the working class the only class capable of establishing a truly international society?

4. The Statutes of the First International stated:

"That all efforts aiming at the great end (the emancipation of labor) have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working class of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries."

Does this concept still hold true? Why? How does it contrast with the views put forward by Stalin in dissolving the Third International? (See pp. 21-22 and 179-180 of The First Three Internationals.)

5. What developments in the class struggle spurred the formation of the First International?

What reasons made England the center of the first attempts to build such an international organization?

6. How was the internationalism of the International demonstrated in its attitude toward such issues as the American Civil War?

7. What was the attitude of the International toward the struggle for such reforms as the ten hour day and the extension of the suffrage?

8. Was the International a politically homogeneous organization built around scientific socialism? What other tendencies did the Marxists have to contend with in the First International?

10. Why did the defeat of the Paris Commune lead to the downfall of the First International? Why was Marx able to say in 1878, after the collapse of the First International, that the international workers movement was stronger than ever?

Class 2. Rise and Decline of the Second International

Required Reading: "The First Two Internationals," by George Novack, pp. 43-66

Supplementary Reading: Reform or Revolution, by Rosa Luxemburg; Critique of the Gotha Programme, by Karl Marx

Questions

1. What developments accounted for the shift of the center of working-class organization from England to Germany?

2. What were the main accomplishments of the Second International? Why is it sometimes called "the International of organization"? How did it compare with the First International in terms of size, power, and political homogeneity?

3. What material conditions permitted the growth of reformist tendencies in the International? What was the social base of reformism?

4. What were the positions of the revisionists around Edward Bernstein on dialectical materialism? The perspectives of capitalism? Reform vs. revolution? How were these arguments answered by the Marxist wing?

5. What were the arguments used by supporters of Millerand to justify entering bourgeois governments? Do we still hear such arguments today? What position did the International adopt on this?

6. How were the developing trends within the International reflected in debates over entering bourgeois governments? Over attitude toward the colonies? Over the stand to take on imperialist war?

7. What was the political significance of the

debate over "independence of the trade unions"? What is the revolutionary Marxist position on this?

8. In what ways did the 1905 revolution in Russia represent the high point of the Second International? What role did the Russian Social Democratic Party play in this upsurge?

Class 3. The Collapse of the Second International and the Building of the Third

Required Reading: "The First and Second Internationals," by George Novack, pp. 67-78; "The Evolution of the Comintern (1919-1936)," pp. 79-80

Supplementary Reading: "The Collapse of the Second International," by Lenin in Collected Works Volume 21 (Progress Publishers, 1964), pp. 205-259; "The (21) Conditions of Admission to the Communist International," in Degras (ed.), The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents, Volume 1 (Frank Cass & Co., London, 1971); "The School of Revolutionary Strategy," by Leon Trotsky in The First Five Years of the Communist International, Volume 2, pp. 1-43, and other sections; International Communism in the Time of Lenin, Gruber (ed.), Vintage Press

Questions

1. What was wrong with the belief held by many leaders of the Social Democracy that the capitalists could be prevented from launching imperialist war indefinitely by mass pressure short of revolution? How did this relate to differences within the Second International over the perspectives of capitalism?

2. What was the position on war adopted by the Second International at the Basel Congress? What did the Social Democratic parties do in practice when the war broke out? Why did the Leninists view this response as a definitive watershed in analyzing the character of the pro-war "socialist" parties?

3. What did Kautsky's statement, "The International is an instrument for peace and not for war" reveal about what had happened to the Second International?

4. What were the fundamental principles of Lenin's position on the war? What was his attitude toward the Second International?

5. What were the differences between the left and center wings of the socialist movement on the war? How were these reflected at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Congresses? Why was the question of what attitude to take toward the pro-war "socialists" and the Second International as important to the left wing as the

attitude to the war itself? What role did the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Congresses play in the construction of the Third International?

6. How were the positions of the Left Wing tested and confirmed in the Russian Revolution?

7. What were the main principles established by the First Congress of the Communist International? What measures were taken to keep reformist elements out of the Third International? What was the Two-and-a-Half International, and why was it short-lived?

8. What were the main accomplishments of the Third World Congress of the Communist International? What lessons did it draw from the March 1921 attempt at an armed uprising in Germany?

Class 4. The Struggle of the Left Opposition: Rise of the Bureaucracy

Required Reading: "The History of the Left Opposition (1923-33)," by Dave Frankel, pp. 99-133

Supplementary Reading: The Platform of the Left Opposition, 1926 (New Park, London, \$2.45,) available from Pathfinder Press; Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism, by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky (scheduled for publication by Pathfinder Press in November, 1974) Ten Years of the Left Opposition, by Max Shachtman, Educational for Socialists Bulletin, Towards a History of the Fourth International, Part V, pp. 3-15; "What Now," The Third International After Lenin, Pathfinder Press, pp. 231-307

Questions

1. What were some of the objective conditions that led to the rise of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union? What happened to the Soviet working class in this period? What class pressures did the bureaucrats reflect?

2. What was the New Economic Policy? Did nationalized property relations remain predominant during this period? What were the contradictory effects of this policy?

3. How did the bureaucratic grouping around Stalin act to suppress party democracy during the initial period of the struggle? What was the origin of the temporary ban on factions in the Bolshevik Party? How was this ban used by the bureaucrats?

4. What was the role played by the Bolshevik Old Guard in this struggle?

5. Was the alliance of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin based on a common program? What was it based on? Why did such political methods speed the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party?

6. How did Lenin initiate a fight against Stalin on the national question? On Stalin's use of his

position to build up a bureaucratic machine? On the monopoly of foreign trade? On the need for planned industrialization?

7. Why did the Left Opposition advocate a program of planned industrialization and gradual collectivization for the Soviet Union? Why would such a policy have aided, rather than undermined, the alliance of workers and peasants? Why did the bureaucrats oppose this?

8. What was Bukharin's attitude to the Kulaks? Why couldn't the concessions he proposed satisfy the needs of the peasants? What was the logic of such concessions?

9. What was the Anglo-Soviet trade union alliance? Why was the Left Opposition opposed to this alliance? What results did it have?

10. What did Stalin's references to the "division among our enemies" as a main "ally" of the Soviet Union indicate about the evolution of his policy? Why was the theory of socialism in one country the most consistent expression of the outlook of the bureaucratic layer?

11. What was the significance of the defeat of the German workers in 1923? What were the causes of this defeat? How did the leadership of the Comintern react? Why did Trotsky oppose the removal of the German leaders, despite their failure?

Class 5. The Struggle of the Left Opposition: The Fight to Save the Communist International

Required Reading: "The History of the Left Opposition (1923-33)," by Dave Frankel, pp. 134-171; "Evolution of the Comintern (1919-36), pp. 86-98

Supplementary Reading: From "The Third International After Lenin," Sections 1 and 3 of "The Draft Program of the International -- A Criticism of Fundamentals"; From "The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany," Chapter 11, "The Only Road" Chapter 15, "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat: The German Workers Will Rise Again -- Stalinism Never!" and Part 6, "For a New International;" Ten Years: History and Principles of the Left Opposition," by Max Shactman, Education for Socialists bulletin Towards a History of the Fourth International, Part V, pp. 15-23

Questions

1. What were the Stalinist and Trotskyist policies in the Chinese Revolution? How did Stalin's policies contrast with those of Lenin and Trotsky in the October Revolution? How did Stalin cover up the defeat in China?

2. After the Left Oppositionists were expelled from the CPSU, and from other Communist Parties

why did they continue the effort to reform the Communist International? Why did the Left Opposition characterize the Communist Parties during this period as bureaucratic centrists?

3. What were the fundamental points of agreement that formed the basis of the International Left Opposition? Why didn't the Left Opposition seek to unite all opponents of Stalin against the regime in the USSR and the Comintern?

4. What national and international factors combined to produce a "left turn" in Stalin's policy in 1928?

5. What were the policies adopted by the Stalinists on industrialization and collectivization? How did these differ from the policies of the Left Opposition? What is the Trotskyist attitude toward forced collectivization of the peasantry?

6. What happened to the conditions of the Russian workers during the "left turn"? Did the "left turn" include advances toward workers democracy?

7. A layer of the Left Oppositionists saw the "left turn" as a crude but approximate adoption of the policies of the Left Opposition. Why were they wrong? Why did their capitulation represent "giving up the idea that a revolutionary leadership would be needed to lead in the construction of socialism"?

8. In what ways was the "left turn" in international policy only an ultraleft expression of the policy of "socialism in one country"? What did the private views of Stalinist leaders reveal about their actual attitudes toward the Comintern?

9. How were the policies of the Comintern applied in Germany? What was the policy of "social fascism"?

10. Why did Trotsky advocate a united front policy in Germany? Was this because he had confidence in the ability of the Social Democratic leaders to fight fascism? What were the goals of the united front policy?

11. Why did Trotsky declare the Third International dead and call for the formation of a Fourth International as a result of the German events? Was it correct to do this in the midst of the Comintern's "left turn"?

12. Was the defeat of the Left Opposition in the USSR and the Communist International inevitable? What were the accomplishments of the struggle of the Left Opposition?

Class 6. Disintegration and Continuity in World Stalinism

Required Reading: "Stalinism and Internationalism," by Fred Feldman, pp. 173-204

Supplementary Reading: Marxism vs. Maoism, by Tony Thomas, Pathfinder Press; Why Guevara's Guerrilla Strategy Has No Future, by Peter Camejo, Pathfinder Press

Questions

1. What was the "popular front"? What fundamental aspects of that policy have remained a part of Stalinist strategy to this day? How was it applied before World War II in Spain? France? In the post-World War II period? Chile? The United States? Portugal? What characteristics do all these "popular fronts" have in common?

2. Have there been any Stalinist "left turns" since the Third Period?

3. What factors have contributed to weakening the Stalinist monolith?

4. What do Maoism, Titoism, and pro-Moscow Stalinism have in common that justifies designating them as variants of Stalinism?

5. Why has Castroism been unable to create an alternative to Stalinism? What failings pre-

vented the New Left from doing so? What characteristics of Trotskyism have made it the only viable revolutionary opponent of Stalinism for fifty years, despite the small size of its organizations?

6. Why is Stalinism the most dangerous enemy of the world revolution in the working class movement?

7. In 1943, the Executive Committee of the Comintern dissolved the Comintern. It excused its move by reference to the "deep differences in the historical roads of development of each country" and "the differences in the degree of consciousness of the workers." How do these excuses stand up as arguments against internationalism? Do we still need a revolutionary international?

8. What contributions has each of the three previous Internationals made to the building of a revolutionary world movement, despite their eventual downfall?

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

November 1974

four classes

Class 1. The Roots of Women's Oppression

Required Reading: From Evelyn Reed, Problems of Women's Liberation (enlarged edition, \$1.45): "How Women Lost Control of their Destiny and How They Can Regain It," pp. 18-63; "Women: Caste, Class, or Oppressed Sex"; "The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, Number 22, November 1973, pp. 11-16

Supplementary Reading: From Feminism and Socialism: (\$1.95): "The Family," by Dianne Feeley, pp. 72-86

Questions:

1. Have women always been oppressed as a sex? What is wrong with the argument that women's inferior social position is biologically determined by childbearing, etc.? Why and how did women become an oppressed sex?

2. Why do Marxists term women an oppressed sex rather than a caste or class? What is the political importance of this distinction?

3. Why is the oppression of women indispensable to class society?

4. What is the role of the nuclear family under capitalism? Why is it "a fundamental pillar of class society"? What is wrong with the Stalinist argument that the working class family can be a revolutionary force?

5. We do not raise "abolition of the family" as a demand. Why not? Will a workers state abolish the family? How do socialists propose to achieve the elimination of this reactionary institution?

6. Are all women oppressed in class society? How does the oppression of working women or middle class women differ from that of ruling class women?

7. How can the struggle of women be both a part of the class struggle and at the same time embrace middle class or even some ruling class women? Why doesn't this automatically give the struggle a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character?

8. The international resolution on women's liberation states: "Women's oppression has been an essential feature of class society throughout the ages. But the practical tasks of uprooting its causes, as well as combatting its effects, could not be posed on a mass scale before the era of transition from capitalism to socialism" Why is this the case? Why is the liberation of women inseparable from the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a socialist society?

9. Is the issue of women's oppression as important in colonial lands as in advanced countries?

Class 2. The Historic Position of the Revolutionary Movement on Women's Oppression and the Stalinist Betrayal

Required Reading: Feminism and the Marxist Movement, by Mary-Alice Waters (\$1.60); My Recollections of Lenin, by Clara Zetkin, pp. 97-123 (Progress Publishers, Moscow); "The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," pp. 16-17

Questions:

1. How does the program of the Fourth International embody the continuity of the struggles of women throughout history?

2. How did Marxism provide a scientific basis for women's liberation as both a revolutionary and a realistic goal?

3. How have the differences between the revolutionary and the reformist trends in the workers movement been reflected in differing attitudes to women's liberation? How are such differences reflected today?

4. Why is it wrong to take an ahistorical view of the development of the Marxist view towards women's liberation?

5. How were the activities and tactics discussed by Lenin and Zetkin similar to our approach in the women's movement today? What differences in tactics flowed from the fact that their parties were closer to being mass parties?

6. Why did Lenin object to the German Communist women concentrating on organizing prostitutes? What did he mean when he said that the activities of the women's organizations should "center on the political demands of the movement"? How has Lenin's overall approach been reflected in the SWP's work?

7. How is the struggle for women's liberation part of the process of building a mass revolutionary party? How did Lenin express this concept?

8. What did Lenin mean when he said (Zetkin, pp. 112) that "it is not only a matter of what we demand, but also of how we demand"? Why is it true that "The strategy of mobilizing the masses . . . is a class question, a question of principle"? (Waters, p. 35)

9. What is bourgeois feminism? How does it differ from the popular use of the term "feminism" in the U. S. women's movement? What positions of the bourgeois feminists reflected their class bias? Does "bourgeois feminism" exist today?

10. Why did Trotsky hold that the position of women "is the most graphic and telling indicator for evaluating a social regime and state policy"? How was this true in the early years of the Soviet Union?

Under Stalin's leadership?

11. What are the social causes for the betrayal of women by Stalinism? How do our demands for women in the workers states relate to our program for overthrowing bureaucratic privilege and establishing workers democracy?

Class 3. A Revolutionary Socialist Strategy for the Women's Movement

Required Reading: "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," pp. 17-22; from Feminism and Socialism: "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement," pp. 129-60

Supplementary Reading: From Feminism and Socialism: "Why Women's Liberation is Important to Black Women," pp. 40-47; "Chicanas Speak Out: New Voice of La Raza," pp. 48-57

Questions:

1. What are the objective social and political roots of today's women's liberation movement? In what ways does it rest on the gains of the previous women's movements and in what ways has it surpassed them?

2. What is meant by the "social crisis of the bourgeois order today" (international resolution)? How is the women's liberation movement an expression of this crisis?

3. What are some examples that show how the women's liberation struggle is helping to "break the stranglehold of the reactionary bourgeois ideology"? (international resolution, p. 17)

4. Are most of the demands in the two resolutions democratic or transitional? Give examples of both types and discuss the distinction between them. What is the importance of democratic demands in mobilizing opposition to capitalism?

5. How does the system of demands put forward in the resolutions differentiate the program of revolutionary socialists from that of reformists, sectarians, or bourgeois tendencies? What determines which demands take center stage at a given point?

6. How do the questions of methods of struggle and class independence also act as a dividing line between revolutionists and other tendencies?

7. The international resolution states that there are no exclusively women's issues. What does this mean? Are there exclusively Black issues or exclusively trade-union issues? Does this mean that there is no need for independent organizations of women to fight for their demands?

8. Why are independent women's organizations necessary? Why don't we have women's caucuses or pressure groups in the revolutionary party?

9. Why do we have a united-front-type approach to building the women's movement? What are the

pitfalls in other approaches?

10. Why are we opposed to creating a revolutionary socialist women's party or a women's party in general? Might we support a women's organization with a socialist program? What precedents are there for such women's organizations? Why aren't we trying to create such an organization right now?

11. What role did consciousness-raising groups play in the women's liberation movement? What were their limitations?

12. What was the Communist Party's position at the beginning of the women's liberation movement? Has it adapted to the development of the movement? How? What sectarian and opportunist positions does it still retain on this question? What are the fundamental reasons for its opposition to the movement?

13. What is the special importance of the women's liberation movement for women workers? For Black and Chicana women?

Class 4. Lessons of the Abortion Rights Struggle in the U. S.

Required Reading: SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 19, July 1973, "The Abortion Struggle: What Have We Accomplished, Where Should We Go From Here?" by Betsey Stone and Mary-Alice Waters

Supplementary Reading: From Feminism and Socialism: "Issues Before the Abortion Movement" by Cindy Jaquith, pp. 58-62

Questions:

1. The discussion bulletin states that the feminist movement in this country faced a crisis of orientation early in its development. How was this reflected and what were the alternatives offered? What was WONAAC's orientation?

2. What were the developments which led to a national fight on the abortion issue? Could there have just as easily been a national fight on child care or equal pay? Why not?

3. How did the feminist movement's position on abortion differ from those of other forces fighting to change the abortion laws? Who were the other forces and what were their positions?

4. Why did we advocate that WONAAC be a women's coalition? Do we automatically advocate that any abortion coalition should be closed to men?

5. What are the three fundamental concepts involved in the class struggle policy advocated by us for WONAAC?

6. Did WONAAC divide the women's movement?

7. Why was WONAAC willing to add the demand "No Forced Sterilization" but not the demand that abortions be free nor the demand for freedom of sexual expression?

8. What were the main obstacles WONAAC faced in trying to rally masses of people in direct action?

9. What was the main contradiction in American politics which marked the rise and evolution of the women's movement? Does that contradiction still exist?

10. The bulletin says that ". . . the spread of feminist ideas and struggles is today having an impact on the consciousness of the working masses and will have an important effect on working-class struggles as they develop." How is this being expressed today?

11. The Supreme Court decision on abortion offered a major concession on this point before the development of a real mass movement. Did this invalidate WONAAC's orientation? What is wrong with the sectarian argument that the willingness of the ruling class to make a concession on abortion proved that it was incorrect to focus on this issue?

12. What were the basic political accomplishments of WONAAC? What was the impact of the abortion struggle on the development of the women's movement? How did this struggle help expose the capitalist system and its parties and to build the revolutionary party?

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM
a four class series
(prepared by the Young Socialist Alliance)
January 1975

Class 1. The Civil Rights Movement: Accomplishments and Lessons

Reading: "The Civil Rights Movement: How It Began, What It Won," by Peter Camejo in the December 20, 1974 issue of The Militant (to be published soon in pamphlet form by Pathfinder Press)

Questions:

1. What was Jim Crow and why did it exist? How did it differ from the oppression of Blacks outside the South?

2. What factors led to the defeat of Jim Crow? What was the significance of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation? What role has the rise of the colonial revolution played in the Black struggle?

3. What was the role of mass action in winning the end of Jim Crow? Could these victories have been won without independent mass action? Why did the rulers feel especially threatened by movements of the urban Black masses, as in Birmingham?

4. What has been the attitude of the Democratic Party and capitalist politicians toward the Black struggle? Why is it important for the ruling class to keep Blacks in the two capitalist parties? What would be the impact of a mass, independent Black political party on the Black struggle and the working class as a whole? A labor party?

5. Why has the government sought to beat back the Black struggle? What tactics did it employ to accomplish this? Why were they able to do this?

6. Why is the government seeking to beat back the Black struggle? What means is it employing to accomplish this? Why has it been able to succeed in this to some extent?

7. What were some of the differences between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King? What role did the civil rights movement play in the rise of Black nationalism? Is there any contradiction between struggles by Blacks for the right of self-determination (including the right of separation) and the struggle against segregation in all fields?

8. What were the most important accomplishments of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s? What basic lessons and experiences of this movement are applicable to today's struggles?

9. Why were Blacks the first to challenge the prevailing atmosphere of reaction and quiescence in the 1950s? What impact did the movement generally have on the political climate in the U. S., and especially on the development of the youth radicalization?

Class 2. The Racist Offensive Against Busing

Reading: The Racist Offensive Against Busing, by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others (Pathfinder, 32 pp., \$.50); Political Report to the December 1974 YSA Convention, by Malik Miah (to be published in February 1975)

Questions:

1. Why are demands that go beyond ending legal segregation and call for real equality in education, housing, etc., a threat to U. S. capitalism?

2. Why are politicians who claimed to support civil rights now emerging as opponents of busing? What is behind the change in the federal government's position?

3. What are the objectives of the racist offensive? Why was busing chosen as a target? Why is it important to mobilize mass opposition to it immediately?

4. Why do many Blacks favor busing as one means of ending educational inequality?

5. Why are demands for "quality education" or "improved schools" incorrect under the present circumstances, when counterposed to demands for busing?

6. How would you answer the argument that "now Blacks have equality and they're trying to get special privileges"? Why is "busing vs. neighborhood schools" a phony issue? What is behind the white opposition to busing and how was this demonstrated in Boston?

7. Discuss the claim by some that busing "divides the working class." How can unity between Black and white workers be achieved? Should Blacks be willing to drop demands for busing in the interest of "unity"? What would be the outcome of such concessions?

8. Is there any contradiction between supporting busing to achieve desegregation and supporting community control of schools by oppressed nationalities? Why don't socialists call for community control of schools for whites?

Class 3. How to Fight the Racist Offensive?

Reading: FROM BOSTON TO MISSISSIPPI: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights, Education for Socialists bulletin, (Socialist Workers Party National Education Department, New York, \$.75), pp. 4-6, 20-32

Questions:

1. Why are the questions of troops and self-defense being raised in Boston? Are calls for Black self-defense or trade-union defense realistic or adequate to the current situation in Boston?

2. Some radicals argue that Blacks should never call on troops or cops to enforce their legal rights because they may be used against the Black community (e.g., troops to Boston means troops to Roxbury). Is this correct? Is it unprincipled for revolutionaries to demand that the capitalist class enforce its own laws, by force if necessary?

3. Has the demand for troops aided the Black struggle in the past? Why have Democratic and Republican politicians generally opposed it? Under what conditions are they forced to accede to it? What is the real relationship between the calls for federal troops and Black self-defense?

4. Why do we use slogans like the demand for troops? What is the effect of this demand on building a mass movement in defense of busing? What is its effect on the organization, political independence, and mobilization of the Black community? Would the demand for armed self-defense have comparable effect at this point?

5. How has support of Black leaders to the Democratic Party affected the Black struggle as a whole? Why does it weaken the struggle against the racists in Boston?

6. What is the strategy of independent mass action? How does independent mass action differ with "pressure" on capitalist politicians or small "militant" confronta-

tions with the cops as a strategy for opposing the racist offensive? How are these approaches reflected in the actions of the SWP and YSA, the Communist Party, and YAWF?

7. What is a united front? Why do we seek the participation of trade union officials, bourgeois politicians, and others willing to lend support to the struggle? Why isn't it class collaboration when revolutionaries encourage bourgeois politicians to participate in such a united-front-type action campaign? Why is the united front an effective approach to building support for busing? Compare it with other approaches.

8. What role have students played in the fight against the racist offensive? How can the "red university" strategy be applied to this struggle?

Class 4. How to End Racism

Reading: "How to Fight Racism," by Andrew Pulley, in Black Liberation and Socialism (Pathfinder Press, \$2.45), pp. 92-99; "Black Liberation Today," by Derrick Morrison, September 1974 International Socialist Review

Questions:

1. Why can't capitalist society eradicate racism in education, housing, or employment? Why does capitalist society need racism?

2. Why will a socialist society be able to destroy the foundations of racism? What kinds of measures will it carry out to accomplish this?

3. What special importance does racism have for the capitalists in a time of inflation and rising unemployment? How can socialists best combat the use of racism to divide the workers?

4. Can a socialist revolution in the United States take place without a massive struggle against racist oppression?

5. Why won't liberal capitalist politicians engage in a serious fight against racism?

6. Why do Black people need to form their own organizations in the struggle for their rights? Why aren't organizations like unions which usually encompass workers of different nationalities sufficient? Does independent organization of Black people rule out common action with whites?

7. Why do socialists say that the American socialist revolution will be a combined revolution?

8. What role do revolutionary organizations play in struggles like the one against racist attacks in Boston? What is the relationship of the YSA and SWP to the broad united fronts that are often created during such struggles? Why does building the YSA help to build mass struggles and vice versa? Why does the character of the coming American revolution require building a multinational revolutionary party and youth organization?

"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder

(a two-class series)

March 1975

A two-class study guide based on Lenin's book. While Trotsky's three-volume History of the Russian Revolution is too long to include in the supplementary reading, it is important for a deeper understanding of this work. "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder is available in many editions. References in this study guide are to Lenin, Collected Works (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964), Volume 31, pp. 21-118.

Class 1. Ultraleftism and the Bolshevik Example

Reading: "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, pp. 21-56 (Chapters I-VI)

Supplementary Reading: Dynamics of World Revolution Today (Pathfinder, 1974, \$2.25), pp. 119-130; "The School of Revolutionary Strategy," in The First Five Years of the Communist International, by Leon Trotsky, (Pathfinder, \$3.75) Volume 2, pp. 1-44; "Preface to the Polish edition of 'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder" in Trotsky's Writings: 1932 (Pathfinder, \$3.95)

Questions:

1. What aspects of the tactics and strategy used in making the Russian revolution have international applicability? What misconceptions about the Bolshevik strategy encouraged ultraleftism?

2. What is ultraleftism? Why does Lenin call it petty-bourgeois revolutionism? Describe it and give examples. How do the methods of struggle favored by petty-bourgeois revolutionists differ from proletarian methods of struggle? What features of the post-World-War-II pattern of world revolution and the current radicalization have favored the revival of petty-bourgeois revolutionism?

3. Lenin writes that "the broadest masses become convinced" of the correctness of the revolutionary party and its program "by their own experience." (Italics in original.) Discuss this idea. How has it been put into practice by the SWP and YSA? How does this approach differ from that of "exemplary actions"? Give examples.

4. Why does Lenin favor taking advantage of every opportunity for legal work? Discuss the ultraleft view that legal activity inevitably leads to reformism. What are examples of the kind of revolutionary work that was illegal in pre-revolutionary Russia? In most capitalist countries during World War I? Give examples and discuss the ultraleft opposition to taking advantage of legality in the U. S. today (e. g., opposition to the SWP suit against the government, etc.).

5. What are the flaws in the position that revolutionists should work only in organizations that put forward a "revolutionary line"? What do revolutionists counterpose to this approach?

6. Why is it incorrect to make support for socialist revolution a condition for membership in unions? How

would such an approach affect the prospects of winning workers to revolutionary socialism?

Class 2. Ultraleftism and Revolutionary Tactics

Reading: "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, pp. 56-118 (Chapters VII-X and Appendix).

Supplementary Reading: Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action, by Peter Camejo (Pathfinder, \$.35); "Trotsky's Transitional Program: Its Origins and Significance for Today," by Joseph Hansen in The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder, \$2.45), pp. 9-31; "The Communist Attitude to Parliamentary Reformism (Theses Adopted at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, 1920)," in Aspects of Socialist Election Policy (Education for Socialists bulletin, \$1.25), pp. 5-8; "In Reply to the IMT's Open Letter No. 2," by the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, in the January 20, 1975 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Questions:

1. Why did Lenin consider participation in bourgeois elections and bourgeois parliaments as "obligatory"? What were the arguments against this? Evaluate these arguments.

2. How did Lenin define electoral boycott? Under what circumstances is a boycott of bourgeois elections justified? Why is it incorrect to counterpose the perspective of Soviets or dual power to participation by revolutionists in bourgeois elections?

3. Discuss Lenin's description of Bolshevik strategy after the February revolution: "At the beginning of the period mentioned, we did not call for the overthrow of the government, but explained that it was impossible to overthrow it without first changing the composition and the temper of the Soviets. We did not proclaim a boycott of the bourgeois parliament, the Constituent Assembly, but said... that a bourgeois Republic with a Constituent Assembly would be better than a bourgeois republic without a Constituent Assembly, but that a 'workers' and peasants' republic', a Soviet republic, would be better than any bourgeois-democratic, parliamentary republic." (p. 31).

4. Why would it have been incorrect to call for the overthrow of the government immediately after February 1917? Do Marxists ever defend bourgeois democracy against more repressive forms of bourgeois rule? Why? Give examples. Why do Marxists sometimes advocate the creation of bourgeois-democratic institutions, like the Constituent Assembly in 1917? Give other examples. Why doesn't this contradict the revolutionary stand of opposition to all capitalist rule?

5. How should revolutionists make tactical decisions? Why is it dangerous to draw immediate tactical conclusions from correct historical generalizations ("parliamentarism is outmoded" or "capitalism is ripe

for revolution")? Give other examples. Discuss examples of mistaking wishes for reality in politics and their results.

6. How is Lenin's concept of compromises with other organizations similar to the united-front tactic? What "compromises" have we made in the antiwar and abortion-law-repeal movements? In the building of the probusing demonstrations against the racist offensive? Why were these compromises principled? How did they help to advance the class struggle?

7. Why is it vital for a revolutionary party to "seek out the forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution"? Why can't revolutionists just "make the revolution" without worrying about "forms of transition or approach"? How has the Trotskyist movement sought out the "forms of tran-

sition or approach"? What do sectarians and ultralefts counterpose to this?

8. Lenin writes that the Bolsheviks were distinguished from the reformists, not by abstention from elections, unions, or agreements with other organizations, but by why and how they ran in elections, worked in unions, and collaborated with other organizations. Discuss this concept. Can the same distinction be made between revolutionary, reformist, and ultraleft approaches in the U. S. ?

9. Did the tactics of the ultralefts aid or retard a mass break with the reformists in Lenin's time? Do they aid or retard it today? Discuss and give examples.

10. Why did Lenin favor electoral support to the British Labour Party? Is this tactic still valid today? Discuss.

The Transitional Program
(a seven-class series)

June 1975

Class 1. Foundations

Reading: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto with an introduction, "The Communist Manifesto Today," (Pathfinder, \$.75), pp. 3-44

Supplemental Reading: From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution, by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder, 2nd edition, 1974, \$.45): "Trotsky's Transitional Program; Its Origins and Significance for Today," by Joseph Hansen, pp. 9-14

Questions

1. In the beginning of Part II, the Manifesto says: "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." (pp. 27-28) How is this reflected in the way the Manifesto is written, in its analysis, and in its political conclusions? How does this differ from utopianism?

2. In the beginning of Part IV, the Communist Manifesto says: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class, but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement." (p. 43) Explain what this means. How is this concept incorporated into the Manifesto? How is it reflected in the activity of the Socialist Workers Party?

3. What is the role of the working class in the socialist revolution? Why?

4. Is the Communist Manifesto an international program? Why?

5. What does the Manifesto say about women and the family?

6. What does the Manifesto say about national oppression?

7. What does the Manifesto say about democracy?

8. The Manifesto lists a series of ten revolutionary measures (pp. 33-34) that it describes as "generally applicable." Are they still valid? Do we put forward similar demands today? What led the Social Democracy to drop such demands in favor of dividing the socialist program into "minimum" and "maximum" programs? What is wrong with this division?

9. What are the main ideas in the Manifesto that remain valid today, and what are the main changes that have to be made?

Class 2. The Purpose of the Transitional Program

Reading: From The Transitional Program, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth Inter-

national," pp. 71-76, 93-95; 106-112; "Completing the Program and Putting It to Work," pp. 136-147; "The Background and Function of the Transitional Program," by George Novack, pp. 38-51; "Trotsky's Transitional Program: Its Origins and Significance," by Joseph Hansen, pp. 14-30; "For a Workers and Farmers Government," pp. 158-161

Supplementary Reading: Rosa Luxemburg, "Speech to the Founding Convention of the Germany Communist Party," in Rosa Luxemburg Speaks (Pathfinder, \$.95) pp. 400-427; V. I. Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," in Collected Works, Vol. 25, pp. 323-365 (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964) and other editions; from Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism (Pathfinder, \$.75): "The Transitional Program," by Pierre Frank, pp. 5-16; "The Problem of Transitional Formations," by George Novack, pp. 17-34.

Questions

1. What is the "crisis of leadership"?

2. What is the ultimate aim of the transitional program?

3. What does Trotsky mean when he says that the program flows from objective conditions rather than subjective ones? Why is this so? What was the objective situation in the United States at the time the Transitional Program was written? What was the subjective situation? What is the objective situation today? The subjective situation?

4. Why is the consciousness of the working people an important factor in developing demands based on objective needs? Would there be any need for transitional slogans if the consciousness of the workers could be ignored?

5. What is the main function of the Transitional Program?

6. What are the three categories of demands in the Transitional Program? Give examples of each. How do revolutionists determine what demand is suitable?

7. What is the difference between the Transitional Program and the "minimum" and "maximum" programs formerly put forward by the Social Democrats? Were minimum demands eliminated by the Transitional Program?

8. What does the demand for a "workers and farmers government" or "workers government" mean, and why is it put forward? Why is it important for a revolutionary party to have a governmental slogan?

9. What are the historical origins of the Transitional Program?

10. Are the demands in the Transitional Program realizable under capitalism?

11. The Transitional Program is only part of the

entire program of the revolutionary socialist movement. What does the entire program consist of? Can additions or alterations be made in the Transitional Program?

Class 3. The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours and the Fight Against Unemployment and Inflation

Reading: From The Transitional Program... "The Death Agony of Capitalism. . .," pp. 76-88; Why Can't Everybody Have a Job? by Fred Halstead (Militant reprint); A Bill of Rights for Working People (SWP Campaign Brochure); Inflation: What Causes It, How to Fight It, by Dick Roberts and Linda Jenness (Pathfinder, \$.25), pp. 6-16

Supplementary Reading: From The Transitional Program... "The Political Backwardness of the American Workers," pp. 124-129

Questions

1. What are the basic causes of inflation? What is the basic cause of unemployment? Are higher wages a cause? What is the role of military spending? What advantages and disadvantages do inflation and unemployment have for the capitalist class?

2. Can capitalism abolish inflation and unemployment?

3. Why does the Transitional Program give prominence to the demand for a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of hours? Why are these demands necessarily linked?

4. How does the sliding scale of wages and hours help overcome the divisions between organized and unorganized workers? Between old and young? Between employed and unemployed? How does the sliding scale of wages and hours relate to the needs of Black, Chicano, and women workers?

5. Discuss the measures a workers government would take to end unemployment. How should workers respond to capitalist assertions that shorter hours or real cost-of-living increases would bankrupt corporations?

6. How does the sliding scale of wages and hours link up with other demands in the Transitional Program, such as the opening of corporate books to workers inspection, workers control, committees on prices, a public works program, etc.?

7. In what way are these demands transitional? In what way do they strike at the capitalist class? Do they seem reasonable to the workers? How were these demands derived?

8. Can these demands be won under capitalism? Do they violate inherent needs of the capitalist class?

9. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of escalator clauses in some current union contracts. Are they the same as the sliding scale of wages? Should the government's cost-of-living index be accepted as an estimate of the real cost-of-living? Are the cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts identical to the sliding scale of wages? Why are the bosses so eager to get rid of these provisions?

10. Is "30 for 40" identical to the sliding scale of wages and hours? Does it move in that direction?

11. Why is it important to fight the use of layoffs to reverse gains of Blacks, women, and other oppressed groups in winning jobs in plants and job categories? Why is it wrong to accept discriminatory firing in the name of seniority clauses in union contracts? Why is the question of preferential treatment for oppressed nationalities and women important? Can working class unity be attained if the labor movement opposes such demands?

12. Why can't each union acting alone -- or in concert on an industry-by-industry basis -- beat back the attack on living standards? What kind of a struggle is necessary for this?

Class 4. The Labor Party

Reading: From The Transitional Program... "How to Fight for a Labor Party in the U. S.," pp. 113-124; From Aspects of Socialist Election Policy (Education for Socialists bulletin, \$1.35): "Campaign for a Labor Party," by James P. Cannon, pp. 12-17; "Election Policy in 1948," by James P. Cannon, pp. 21-34, report and summary

Supplementary Reading: From The Transitional Program... "U. S. and European Labor Movements: A Comparison," pp. 124-129; "Three Possibilities for a Labor Party," pp. 153-157; "The Problem of the Labor Party," pp. 241-2

Questions

1. Why do we call for a labor party? Why didn't we call for such a party in the early 1930s? What are the objective conditions in the United States that underlie this slogan?

2. What program do we advocate for a labor party? Would we support a labor party with a reformist leadership?

3. Why did Cannon propose an agitational campaign in the labor party slogan in 1942? What changes in conditions justified this? What is the difference between propaganda and agitation? Is the labor party a propagandistic or agitational slogan for us today? What is wrong with the Workers League concept of the labor party slogan?

4. What are the differences between a labor party and a party like Henry Wallace's Progressive Party?

5. What is our attitude toward social-democratic labor parties like the British Labor Party or the Canadian New Democratic Party? What are our objectives when we work in such formations? Is a reformist labor party an inevitable stage of the class struggle in the U. S.?

6. Given the composition of the industrial unions, and the working class in general, what is the inter-relationship between the calls for independent Black and Chicano parties and the call for a labor party?

7. How do the objective conditions and needs of the workers lead them toward support for the labor party slogan?

Class 5. The Role of Democratic Demands

Reading: From The Transitional Program... "The Role of Democratic Demands," by George Novack, pp. 1-63; "The Death Agony of Capitalism," pp. 97-106

Supplementary Reading: From The Transitional Program... "The Struggle Against War and the Ludlow Amendment," pp. 225-232; "Some Questions About the Program," by George Novack, pp. 63-72; "On the Opportunist Utilization of Democratic Slogans," by Ernest Germain in Fourth International, November 1946, pp. 346-349

Questions

1. What is a democratic demand?
2. Do democratic slogans necessarily have a reformist character?
3. What is the connection between democratic demands and the program for the socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries? Have all the democratic goals of the bourgeois revolutions been achieved? What is the revolutionary attitude to threats to existing democratic rights?
4. In the imperialist epoch, what is the relationship between the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in the colonial countries? In colonial countries, are democratic demands central or peripheral to the program for the socialist revolution? Do bourgeois democratic demands necessarily play into the hands of the national bourgeoisie?
5. Is the struggle for democracy unimportant in the imperialist countries? In the degenerated and deformed workers states? What are the different contexts in which democratic demands are raised in the three sectors of the world revolution?
6. How do proletarian methods of fighting for democratic demands differ from those of the reformists?
7. What is the difference between workers' democracy?
8. Do democratic demands often have a revolutionary impact? Discuss and give examples.

Class 6. The Transitional Approach in the Youth and Women's Movements

Reading: From The Transitional Program... "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth (The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International)," pp. 180-203; "The Death Agony of Capitalism," pp. 109-110; "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation" in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 22, \$.50

Supplementary Reading: "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement" 1971 SWP Women's Liberation Resolution, in Feminism and Socialism (Pathfinder, \$1.95), pp. 129-160; "Two Components of the Radicalization: The Student Movement and the Rebellion of Women," in Towards an American Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder \$1.95), pp. 62-82; "The Red University Strategy vs. the 'Irreversible Turn'" in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 19, \$.30; "The Changing

Role of the Bourgeois University," in The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice (Pathfinder, \$.85), pp. 36-46

Questions

1. What are the underlying causes of the youth radicalization? Why have students tended to respond to social crises earlier than more decisive layers? Why can't students by themselves change society? What impact can their actions have on social struggles?
2. What has been the relationship of the Black movement to the student movement? How have changes in this struggle affected the students and other youth?
3. What is the "red university" strategy? In what ways did the antiwar universities that emerged during the May 1970 upsurge express the meaning of the "red university" strategy?
4. Why is it a sectarian error to ignore struggles around campus issues? Why is it wrong to limit the student movement to such struggles? How does "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth" avoid both errors?
5. How do the struggles over budget cuts and tuition hikes show the link between on-campus student struggles and the interests of the working class? How do struggles to win or maintain Black, Chicano, or Puerto Rican studies departments controlled by students and faculty fit in with the "red university" strategy? How are they linked to the class struggle as a whole?
6. What are some of the basic weaknesses of the student movement? How can a revolutionary youth organization combat them?
7. What are some of the key demands raised by student struggles in the imperialist countries? The deformed and degenerated workers states? The colonial and semicolonial countries? How can these demands lead students towards understanding the need for proletarian revolution? How can such demands threaten the capitalist system, even though students by themselves cannot overthrow the system?
8. What factors are overlooked by those who say the youth radicalization collapsed after May 1970? What role are students playing in struggles against racism and unemployment today? Why is a new upsurge of the student movement inevitable?
9. Why is it valuable to have revolutionary youth organizations? Will their work in the student arena decrease as the working class radicalizes? Why can't revolutionary youth organizations replace the function of the revolutionary party? What should their relationship be to the revolutionary party?
10. Are all women oppressed in class society? How does the oppression of working class or middle class women differ from that of ruling class women? In what ways are women of oppressed nationalities especially hard hit by sexism?
11. Are most of the demands in "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation"

democratic or transitional? Give examples of both types and discuss the difference between them.

12. What determined which demands take center stage at a given point? Does the fact that the Supreme Court made a concession on abortion rights mean that it was a mistake to struggle over this issue rather than on some "more radical" one?

13. Why do revolutionists support the Equal Rights Amendment? Why has a simple statement of women's equality before the law stirred such opposition from the church, the right wing, etc.? What does this indicate about the potential power of women's demands for full democratic rights?

14. How does the question of methods of struggle act as a dividing line between reformists, ultralefts and revolutionists in the women's movement? How was this reflected in the abortion rights struggle?

15. What is the significance of the formation of CLUW? What kinds of demands can women workers raise and how will these advance the women's movement? How will the organization of working women advance the interests of labor as a whole? Give examples.

Class 7, A Strategy for the Black Liberation Struggle Today

Required Reading: From The Transitional Program, "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," pp. 162-180; The Racist Offensive Against Busing (Pathfinder, \$. 50); The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights (Education for Socialists bulletin, \$.75), pp. 21-32

Questions:

1. Why can't capitalist society eradicate racism in education, housing, or employment? What special importance does racism have for the capitalists in a time of inflation and rising unemployment? How can socialists combat the use of racism to divide the workers?

2. What demands does "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" put forward to oppose the national and class oppression Black people face in unemployment? On the job? In the schools and universities? By the police?

3. What are demands that go beyond ending legal segregation and call for real equality in education, etc., a threat to U. S. capitalism?

4. Why should busing be supported as one means of ending educational inequality? Is there any contradiction between supporting busing to achieve desegregation and supporting community control of schools by oppressed nationalities? Why don't socialists call for community control of schools for whites?

5. Discuss the claim by some that busing "divides the working class." How can unity between Black and white workers be achieved? Should Blacks be willing to drop demands for busing in the interest of "unity"? What would be the outcome of such concessions?

6. Some radicals argue that Blacks should never call on troops or cops to enforce their legal rights. Is this correct?

7. The demand for "Black Control of the Black Community" is a democratic demand. Can the ruling class grant this demand? Does it seem reasonable to the Black community? What effect does capitalist opposition to such demands have in educating the masses about the reality of capitalist "democracy"?

8. "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" was developed through Marxist analysis of the experiences of the Black struggle. Give examples of how some of these demands and issues arose through the concrete experience of struggle. What new demands and issues would be added to it today?

9. What is our view of Black caucuses in the unions? What kinds of demands can such formations raise?

10. What is the relationship between the proposal for a Black party and the demand for a labor party? What would be the class character of a Black party?

9. How does "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" project the socialist perspective of the struggle for Black liberation? How does its approach to the Black masses distinguish it from ultra-left strategies? From class-collaborationist strategies?

THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN

July 1975
(a four-class series)

Class 1. Revolutionary Internationalism vs. Socialism in One Country

Required Reading: The Third International After Lenin (referred to as TIAL below) (Pathfinder, \$3.45), pp. 1-73

Supplementary Reading: The Revolution Betrayed (Pathfinder, \$2.95), pp. 291-308; "Uneven and Combined Development in World History," by George Novack in Understanding History (Pathfinder, \$2.45), pp. 82-129.

Questions:

1. What is revolutionary internationalism? Why is an international program and party necessary? Why can't an international program simply be "the sum total of national programs or an amalgam of their common features"? (TIAL, p. 4)

2. What is uneven and combined development? Give examples. Discuss the working out of the law in the development of world economy under capitalism (see especially TIAL, p. 5 and pp. 18-24). How did the Russian revolution show the operation of the law of uneven and combined development? (See History of the Russian Revolution by Trotsky, Volume I, Chapter 1).

3. Why was an understanding of the role of U. S. imperialism vital for an international program? Compare the role of the U. S. in world affairs in the 1920s with its role today.

4. Discuss this statement: "It is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure." (TIAL, p. 8). How does the Vietnam war and its results fit this prognosis?

5. What is the theory of "socialism in one country"? Why was it unrealistic? Why doesn't the "law of uneven development" support the theory? Can "socialism in one country" be attained in countries more advanced than the USSR, like the United States? Does the fact that 14 states have abolished capitalist property relations fundamentally alter the correctness of Trotsky's position?

6. What were the logical conclusions of the theory of "socialism in one country" for the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy? For the world Communist movement? How is this concept reflected in the foreign policies of the Soviet and Chinese leaders?

7. Does the theory of "socialism in one country" advance the interests of the Soviet Union or other workers states? Whose interests does it serve and how does it serve them? Why did this theory arise in 1924 and not in the earlier years of the Russian Revolution?

Class 2. Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Epoch

Required Reading: TIAL, pp. 73-147

Supplementary Reading: Leon Trotsky on Britain (Pathfinder, \$3.45), pp. 258-303; The First Ten Years of American Communism by James P. Cannon (Pathfinder, \$3.45), pp. 74-94, 108-138, 195-215.

Questions:

1. What is strategy? What are tactics? Give examples. What are the relations between them? (See, for instance, p. 41 of Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1930, Pathfinder Press, \$3.95.) Why does Trotsky hold that the importance of strategy increases in the epoch of imperialist decline?

2. Why is the role of the party and party leadership increasingly important in this period?

3. Why can a few days decide the course of a revolution for years? Discuss the October Revolution in Russia, the 1923 revolutionary crisis in Germany, and the May-June 1968 upsurge in France in this regard?

4. What was the "theory of the offensive"? What was wrong with it? How did it differ from the views of Lenin and Trotsky?

5. Why must a revolutionary party frankly recognize defeats as well as victories? What were the effects on Comintern policy of misestimating or refusing to recognize these?

6. What is a maneuver? Give examples. Why can't maneuvers decide fundamental conflicts in the class struggle? How did the Stalin faction view maneuvers? Why was the preservation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee an unprincipled maneuver? What were its effects?

7. Why is the right to form factions and tendencies vital for a revolutionary party? What are the differences between democratic centralism on the national and international levels? Why was it destructive for the Comintern to remove leaderships of national sections for their real or alleged errors? How was this policy applied to the American C. P. in 1928 and 1929?

Class 3. Lessons of the Second Chinese Revolution

Required Reading: TIAL, pp. 187-230.

Supplementary Reading: From The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects (Pathfinder, \$2.75): "Results and Prospects," pp. 36-122; "Permanent Revolution," pp. 225-238, 276-281

Questions:

1. What was the class character of the Chinese Revolution and what were its main tasks?
2. Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution originated as an analysis of the Russian revolution. How did the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 show its applicability to revolutions in colonial and neocolonial countries? How does it apply to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos today?
3. What was the Stalinist policy in the 1925-27 revolution in China? How did it differ from a revolutionary policy?
4. What was the role of the national bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution? Did the semi-colonial status of China make the bourgeoisie more revolutionary? After Chiang crushed the revolution, was it correct for the Executive Committee of the Comintern to hold that the national bourgeoisie had "definitively" gone over to the counter-revolution?
5. What are soviets? What role did they play in the Russian revolution? Why was it wrong to oppose the formation of soviets unless the insurrection was immediately on the agenda? What was Stalin's real reason for opposing Soviets in China?
6. Stalin's supporters held that agreements with the national bourgeoisie in semicolonial lands are permissible "in so far as the bourgeoisie does not obstruct the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants and wages a struggle against imperialism". What is wrong with this view? What kind of agreements with the national bourgeoisie are permissible? Give examples of justified tactical and impermissible unprincipled agreements with the national bourgeoisie?
7. Why is it impossible for a party to represent two classes (workers' and peasants' parties) or a coalition of classes (the U. S. CP's "antimonopoly" party)? Why can't a party with a peasant composition and a petty-bourgeois program play an independent role?

8. Why is it vital for the revolutionary party to maintain its programmatic independence? How does the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 demonstrate this.

9. The Chinese and Vietnamese CPs still adhere to the "two-stage revolution" and "bloc of four classes" concepts that Trotsky criticized. What have been the effects of their adherence to these concepts? What has the victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces shown about the validity of these concepts? Have they been able to follow the "stages" schema or establish a real coalition government?

Class 4. The Degeneration of the Soviet Union

Required Reading: TIAL, pp. 231-307

Supplementary Reading: TIAL, introduction by Gus Horowitz; "The Workers State, Thermidor, and Bonapartism," by Leon Trotsky, in Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1934-35 (Pathfinder, \$3.45); from Ten Years: History and Principles of the Left Opposition (Education for Socialists, \$.40) pp. 2-24, especially introduction by Joseph Hansen, pp. 2-4.

Questions:

1. Why did Trotsky regard Stalin's policies as an adaptation to alien class pressures? What classes did they come from? How were the pressures expressed in foreign and domestic policies?
2. How did the economic policies of the Stalin faction evolve? Did Stalin's policy toward the kulaks aid the worker-peasant alliance? What other policy could have been followed?
3. What is bureaucracy? What were the causes of its growth in the USSR?
4. Trotsky projected the goal of reforming the Soviet state in 1928. Why did he hold this perspective then and why did he change it in 1935?
5. Trotsky defined the policies of the regime, the Comintern, and the Soviet CP as "bureaucratic centrist" in 1928. What is centrism? How does it differ from Stalinism as it exists today? How and why did Trotsky change his position on this? See Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1930 (Pathfinder, \$3.95), p. 396, footnote 2 for more information on this.
6. Why didn't the correctness of the Left Opposition's views on China, England, and Germany bring it victory? Why was it defeated?

Class 1. The Revolutionary Potential of the American Working Class

Required Reading: "Reform or Revolution in American History," by George Novack in the March 1971 International Socialist Review; "Can American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution," by George Novack in The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class, (Pathfinder, \$1.45), pp. 40-64.

Questions:

1. What has been the relationship between reform and revolution in U. S. history? Why have fundamental social changes required revolutionary rather than reformist means?
2. What are some of the differences between revolutionary and reformist strategies in the United States today? Does opposition to reformism mean that revolutionists oppose struggles for reforms?
3. Why is the leading role of the working class indispensable to a socialist revolution? What is wrong with the claim by Herbert Marcuse that workers "share the needs and aspirations of the dominant classes" and therefore can't be revolutionary?
4. Evaluate the theories which give the leading role in making a revolution to the "lumpen-proletariat"; to students; to intellectuals and technicians.
5. What is wrong with the theory that relies on revolutions in the colonial world to topple U. S. capitalism?
6. Why can't Black people overturn U. S. imperialism by themselves? What factors make possible a revolutionary alliance between Blacks fighting national oppression and American workers of all nationalities seeking to end exploitation?
7. Why are industrial workers the most important sector of the working class?
8. What domestic and international factors are operating to change the consciousness of the American workers in a revolutionary direction?

Class 2. The Theses on the American Revolution

The material in both the required and the supplementary reading appears in The Revolutionary Perspective for the United States (Education for Socialists bulletin, \$.90).

Required Reading: From Speeches to the Party: "Theses on the American Revolution," resolution passed by the 1946 SWP convention, pp. 323-337; From Speeches for Socialism: "The Coming American Revolution," report to the 1946 convention, pp. 381-400; "The Coming American Socialist Revolution," report to the Political Committee of the SWP on the "Theses," in the October 1974 issue of International

Socialist Review

Supplementary Reading: From Speeches to the Party: "The 'Theses on the American Revolution' (a letter to Farrell Dobbs)" pp. 237-239; "The Background and Purpose of the 'Theses on the American Revolution' (Letter to Daniel Roberts)" pp. 264-273

Questions:

1. Cannon says that the premise for constructing a Bolshevik-type working class party is the concept that a revolution in the United States is the realistic perspective of this epoch. Why?
2. Are the "Theses" a conjunctural or a programmatic document? What is the difference between the two types of document? Were the "Theses" invalidated by the fact that the radicalization of 1945-46 did not end in a revolution? Do its fundamental perspectives continue to hold true?
3. Why does Cannon hold that the American socialist revolution will be the decisive battle in the world revolution? Does this view flow from a narrow American outlook or from the concept that revolutionary victories elsewhere are of little importance?
4. Why do the Theses predict that, in contrast to the Czarist empire of 1917, it will be more difficult for the workers to win power in the United States but far easier to hold it? Is bureaucratic degeneration and police dictatorship likely to be a major problem for the American revolution?
5. The Theses predict that in the U. S. "with adequate mobilization of their forces and proper direction, the workers will win." What characteristics of the American working class justify such confidence? The Theses take note of the political backwardness of the American workers. How is this likely to be overcome? Must this necessarily be a slow or long-delayed process? What previous experiences of the American working class indicate a more rapid pace of political development?
6. How does Cannon answer the view that the small size of the SWP at that time ruled out revolutionary opportunities? How is Cannon's position consistent with his insistence that a mass Trotskyist party is needed for the American revolution?
7. Describing the revolutionists of the late 1920's, Cannon writes, "It was rather common in those days to think that America would be the last to have a socialist revolution; that following Russia would come Germany; it would spread over Europe and from Europe to the Orient, interacting on each other; and that America would be the last country to succumb to revolution." What is wrong with such a hard and fast scheme? Why does it tend to lead to theories of "American exceptionalism"? Is it inevitable that the American revolution will be the last to occur? Are

there any ways in which the American radicalization of today is ahead of the developments in other countries?

8. Why does Cannon describe the Theses as representing a new and higher level of internationalism for the Trotskyist movement? What were some of the weaknesses in earlier concepts of internationalism prevalent in the U. S. left? Why is it possible that "sympathy" for revolutions abroad, if it is coupled with skepticism about or rejection of the perspectives for the American revolution, can lead to a rejection of internationalism? Why is such skepticism inconsistent with the concept of an international revolutionary party?

9. Is a Labor Party under reformist leadership inevitable in the United States? What other possibilities can be envisaged?

10. Why do the Theses hold that the party of the American revolution "already exists, and its name is the Socialist Workers Party"? Does this mean that the SWP had become a mass revolutionary party in 1946? How does this differ from the view that Trotskyist organizations are just one component among many others of the future mass revolutionary party?

11. What are party loyalty and party patriotism? Why are they necessary in building a workers' party capable of leading an American revolution?

Class 3. The Revolutionary Prospects of the Current Radicalization

Required Reading: From Towards an American Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder, \$1.05): "The Course of U. S. Imperialism and the Revolutionary Struggle for a Socialist America" (1969 Political Resolution), pp. 152-178; "Political Report to the February 1970 Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party," by Jack Barnes, pp. 179-197; "Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization" (1971 Political Resolution): in A Revolutionary Strategy for the 1970s, pp. 38-75; Supplementary Reading: "The New Radicalization and the Revolutionary Party," by Jack Barnes, in Towards . . ., pp. 106-130; "Report to the SWP National Committee" (1971), by Jack Barnes, in A Revolutionary Strategy . . ., pp. 76-96; "The Unfolding of the New Radicalization in the United States," by George Novack, in The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class, pp. 65-79.

Questions:

1. What is a radicalization? How does it differ from a revolutionary or prerevolutionary situation? Why is the present period called a radicalization?
2. What aspects of this radicalization justify characterizing it as deeper than its predecessors?

How has this radicalization been influenced by the accomplishments of previous ones?

3. How has the Black struggle influenced the course of the radicalization? What characteristics of the Black struggle have been reflected in other social struggles?

4. What factors underly the developing economic crisis in the U. S. ? Why are the rulers forced to attack the living standards of the working class? What are the obstacles to undertaking another period of sweeping reforms on the scale of the New Deal?

5. What was the impact of war, racism, prosperity, and the anticommunist crusade, first on the Debsian radicalization and later on the radicalization of the 1930s? Why and how have their impact been different in the current radicalization?

6. What is wrong with the counterposition by the Stalinists and other opponents of working-class struggles of women, oppressed nationalities, and others? Why is it important for the revolutionary party to embrace, participate in, and seek to lead such struggles?

7. What combination of factors will produce a pronounced radicalization of the working class? Discuss the following statement in the light of this question and recent events: "The very measures required to halt the world revolutionary process conflict with the maintenance of stability and class peace at home."

8. What has been the significance for the class struggle of changes in the racial, sexual, and age composition of the working class? In the status of white collar and other nonindustrial workers?

9. Why does the report to the 1971 Plenum state that "the struggle to transform the unions is a necessary part of our strategy for the socialist revolution"? Why can't the existing unions be bypassed? What are some of the demands on which a class-struggle left wing of the unions would be based? Why are these demands important?

10. What is the role of the method of the transitional program during a radicalization? How does it help the construction of a revolutionary leadership?

11. The February 1970 Plenum report stated, "Whatever ups and downs may occur as the ruling class seeks to allay the rebellion of the youth, the campus will never be the same. The ups and downs will take place in the framework of a long-term deepening of the revolt. . . ." Discuss events since the February 1970 Plenum in the light of this statement.

12. Discuss the conclusion in "The New Radicalization and the Revolutionary Party" that "this radicalization will not be reversed until we have had our chance."

Class 4. The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution

Required Reading: From Towards . . .: "The Course of U. S. Imperialism . . .", pp. 163-167; "Report . . .", pp. 197-205; A Strategy for Black Liberation, by Tony Thomas (Pathfinder, \$.35), pp. 3-29.

Supplementary Reading: Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, Pathfinder, \$1.05, pp. 10-37; "The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution," by Derrick Morrison, pp. 13-32; Race Prejudice: How it Began, When it Will End, by George Breitman, (Pathfinder, \$.35), pp. 3-15.

Questions:

1. Why will the coming American revolution have a combined character? What are the historical roots of the combined character of the coming American revolution?
2. What new nationalities have been forged in the United States? How did these developments come about? How did they differ from the oppressed nationalities of Europe and the colonial world in Lenin's time?
3. Why can't American capitalism grant the democratic demands of Blacks and Chicanos? How do their democratic demands challenge capitalism property relations?
4. Are the Black and Chicano struggles proletarian as well as democratic struggles? Why? How does the class composition of these

nationalities influence the direction and demands of the movement?

5. How is the demand for "jobs for all" linked to the demand for preferential hiring of workers of oppressed nationalities? Does the demand for preferential treatment drop in importance during periods of high unemployment? How does the linkage of these two demands show the combined character of the Black and Chicano struggles and of the class struggle as a whole in the United States?

6. Why and how does the method of the Transitional Program present a revolutionary alternative to reformist and ultraleft strategies?

7. Why can't the socialist revolution triumph without a massive movement for Black Liberation? Why can't the Black liberation movement triumph without a socialist revolution?

8. Discuss the role and weight of Black and Chicano workers in the class struggle as a whole? What experiences indicate that they will play in leading role in coming working class struggles, including the development of a class-struggle

left wing in the unions? What has been the impact of the Black struggle on the labor movement?

9. Why is support for the right of self-determination for Black people a prerequisite for a real alliance of Black people and the working class as a whole?

10. Why is a multinational Leninist party necessary for the overthrow of capitalism? Why can't there be revolutionary parties for each oppressed nationality in the United States?

TEAMSTER POLITICS

November 1975

A four-class study guide on Farrell Dobbs' Teamster Politics (New York: Monad, \$2.95)

1. Labor and the Capitalist State

Required Reading: Teamster Politics, pp. 14-57; 129-38; 149-60; 241-49

Supplementary Reading: Recent Trends in the Labor Movement, by Farrell Dobbs (Education for Socialists, \$.50); from Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions (Pathfinder, \$1.05): "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," pp. 68-75

Questions:

1. Using the incidents described in Teamster Politics and current developments as examples, discuss the government's role in labor struggles. Why and how does it pretend to neutrality? Is neutrality possible in struggles between capital and labor?

2. How do the capitalists exercise control of the government? What role do the Republican and Democratic parties play in this? Why does the ruling class try to tie the unions closer and closer to their state apparatus?

3. What role is played by government antilabor legislation? Discuss the Wagner, Taft-Hartley, and Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy acts in this regard. How did the approach of revolutionists and union bureaucrats differ on combatting antilabor legislation? How did their approaches differ in defending trade unionists persecuted by the government?

4. What is the trade union bureaucracy and what is its social and political outlook? What is "business unionism"? How does this outlook conflict with the interests of the workers? How does it endanger the unions? What material interests account for this difference in outlook?

4. Why is it important for the Teamsters Union to defend the legitimate needs of individual owner-operators? Why did they follow the Teamsters Union in the 1930s and why are they organizing independently today? What are the distinctions in the "owner-operator" category?

5. What factors motivate working-class radicalism? Why does it inevitably arise? Why has mass labor militancy in the U.S. so far been successfully contained in a capitalist framework?

6. What are "flanking tactics"? Why are they more useful in a struggle to revolutionize the unions at this time than head-on, factional attacks on union bureaucrats? How are Trotskyists applying flanking tactics in New York City today? Give examples from your own area.

7. Discuss how the trends described in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" were expressed in the labor movement during the period described in Teamster Politics. How did Trotskyists combat these trends?

Class 2. The Farmer-Labor Party

Required Reading: Teamster Politics, pp. 67-128; 161-174

Supplementary Reading: From Aspects of Socialist Election Policy (Education for Socialists, \$1.35), "Election Policy in 1948" and "Summary" by James P. Cannon, pp. 21-35; from The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution, by Leon Trotsky, pp. 11-23, 130-135, 153-161

Questions:

1. What is a labor party? How did the Farmer-Labor Party differ from a capitalist party? How did the reformist leaders seek to dilute the working-class composition of the FLP?

2. Why did the Trotskyists grant the Farmer-Labor Party critical support in most elections? What is "critical support"? Why did the Trotskyists often run their own candidates in addition to extending critical support to FLP candidates? Is a labor party like the FLP a substitute for a revolutionary party?

3. What is reformism and why is it an obstacle to the workers movement? How did the reformism of the Farmer-Labor Party leaders prevent the party from truly representing workers' interests? How did reformism cripple the growth of the party itself?

4. How did governments headed by the FLP differ from governments headed by capitalist parties? Were these these governments still capitalist? Why? Was there a contradiction between supporting FLP candidates but opposing them when they were elected?

5. Why did Trotskyists oppose advocating a labor party in the early 1930s and what considerations led them to change their position in 1938? How can the call for a labor party help advance revolutionary goals? How did work in the FLP help advance the revolutionary program?

6. What changes occurred in the Communist Party line in the 1930s and how did it affect their attitude to the FLP? What dictated these changes? What is the "people's front"? Why does it contradict working-class independence and the struggle for socialism?

7. What were the goals of the CP in the FLP during the "people's front" period and how did it seek to advance

these goals? Why didn't the CP favor the formation of a trade union caucus, despite the pro-Roosevelt views of most of the trade union leaders?

8. Could CP policy in this period be described as both class-collaborationist and sectarian? Why? Discuss the role of class-collaborationism and sectarianism in CP policies today.

9. How were the fundamental strategic concepts of the Trotskyists in the labor movement applied in the Farmer-Labor Party? Was it correct to support the trade union caucus against the CP-organized faction, even though many of the caucus leaders expressed anticommunist views? Why? Why was the fight against redbaiting important?

10. Why do workers need their own political party? Why won't trade-union militancy alone be able to defend labor's interests? Discuss this point in the light of current events and examples from Teamster Politics.

Class 3. Organizing the Unorganized

Required Reading: Teamster Power, by Farrell Dobbs (New York: Monad, 1973), pp. 77-86; Teamster Politics, pp. 177-239

Questions:

1. Why is it important for the labor movement to fight for the interests of the unemployed? What is the attitude of top union leaders today on this issue?

2. Why is it difficult to develop stable organizations of the unemployed?

3. Why was it preferable to organize the unemployed within the organized labor movement rather than in independent formations? Why didn't the members of the Federal Workers Section get voting rights in Local 574?

4. How were welfare recipients treated by welfare officials? How does this compare with their treatment today? How were these abuses combated by the Federal Workers Section?

5. Does the growing unionization of welfare department employees offer any new potential support for welfare recipients?

6. Why did Roosevelt establish makework projects? Why weren't the workers employed more usefully? Why did Roosevelt seek to abolish the programs?

7. Did the New Deal end the Depression? What did Roosevelt accomplish through the New Deal? How did the

Stalinists and labor bureaucrats aid him in this?

8. Why was the National WPA strike unable to achieve its goals? Why did Max Geldman call this a "political strike"? Was he correct?

9. Discuss the method used by the government in framing up the federal workers. Why is the government having greater difficulty with such methods today?

10. Why is the strategy of "making the victim look like the criminal" a basic part of the capitalist propaganda arsenal? Give examples of its use in class struggles today (for instance, in the New York City crisis). How should such propaganda be combated?

11. What strategic and tactical concepts recur again and again in Dobbs' books, regarding how to lead workers' struggles to success? Why are these concepts important and how could they be applied today?

Class 4. An Example of the Struggle Against Fascism

Required Reading: Teamster Politics, pp. 139-148

Supplementary Reading: "Free Speech and the Fight Against the Ultraright," by Malik Miah (from the August 1975 International Socialist Review in the August 1, 1975, issue of the Militant), soon to be published in the Education for Socialists bulletin, Struggles Against Fascism in the United States, 1938-1975.

Questions:

1. What was the strategy used in combating the fascist Silver Shirts by Local 574?

2. How was the onus for violence and the violation of democratic rights placed on the Silver Shirts?

3. What disadvantages would have resulted from centering the campaign on opposition to free speech or other constitutional rights for fascists, rather than on defending the rights of labor?

4. What is the difference between exercising constitutional rights and organizing violence against others? How was this difference reflected in the way the Teamsters organized against the Silver Shirts?

5. Why didn't the unionists rely on the government to protect them?

6. How did the approach of the Trotskyists in Minneapolis to fighting fascists differ from that of ultralefts today?

7. Why was it important to involve the whole labor movement in the struggle, rather than just Local 544?

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

January 1976

This is a five-class educational series based on "Prospects for Socialism in America," the political resolution adopted by the 1975 convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The required readings consist of this resolution, published in the November 1975 issue of International Socialist Review (supplement to the November 7, 1975 issue of the Militant); "The Bill of Rights for Working People"; and What Socialists Stand For, by Stephanie Coontz.

Class 1. Why We Need Socialism

Required Reading: What Socialists Stand For, by Stephanie Coontz (Young Socialist Pamphlet distributed by Pathfinder Press, \$.50)

Supplementary Reading: America's Road to Socialism, by James P. Cannon (Pathfinder Press, \$1.95) pp. 71-124

Questions:

1. Stephanie Coontz writes: "The most glaring fact about the modern world is the contrast between the potential to satisfy human needs and the reality of everyday life." Discuss this idea. How has this been reflected in the course of the radicalization in the United States?

2. Why is capitalism an irrational system? Can it achieve permanent prosperity? How does the current economic crisis show the main contradictions of the capitalist system?

3. How would you answer this kind of argument: "Capitalists have a right to own and control factories and natural resources, and the right to make profits. They work for their profits -- think of the worry, risks, etc., that they take. Socialists just want to steal from the capitalists what is rightfully theirs."

4. What is wrong with the claim that human nature is the main obstacle to the socialist goals of equality?

5. Socialists contend that racism is not a part of "human nature" but stems from capitalist economic and social relations. Discuss.

6. How does the private property system determine the role of women in this society?

7. We are told that this is a free and democratic country because there are elections and constitutional rights. Does the majority actually run the United States? How does a small minority of capitalists manage to keep control? How are U.S. foreign and economic policies decided? What do Watergate, the Vietnam War, and election laws reveal about democracy in America? Who makes the basic economic decision, such as hiring and firing of workers and what will be produced?

8. Why can't the Democratic and Republican parties defend and advance the interests of working people? Whom do these parties represent? What is the role of

Democrats like George McGovern, Fred Harris, Ron Dellums, or Ramsey Clark, who say they can make these parties more "responsive" to the people?

9. What would a workers government do to solve the economic and social problems facing this country? What kind of international policy would it carry out?

Class 2. The Prospects for Capitalism

Required Reading: "Prospects for Socialism in America," sections I, II, and VI

Supplementary Reading: Capitalism in Crisis, by Dick Roberts (Pathfinder, 1975, \$1.95): "The Decline of the American Colossus," pp. 85-98; Socialism and Democracy, by Linda Jenness (Pathfinder, 1972, \$.25); Democracy and Revolution, by George Novack, pp. 142-154, 189-220 (Pathfinder Press, 1971, \$2.95)

Questions:

1. Why does the resolution state that the "motor forces" of the boom are becoming exhausted?

2. What does the end of the boom mean for workers? How have the rulers reacted to the economic crisis?

3. How has the world relationship of forces between workers and capitalists shifted in favor of the workers? How was this reflected in the Vietnam war? In what other ways has this been reflected?

4. Why are capitalism and democratic rights essentially contradictory? Can a capitalist economy be "democratic"?

5. The resolution lists four conditions needed for the maintenance of bourgeois democracy. What is happening to these conditions in the United States today?

6. Why does the changing economic and world political situation drive the capitalists to attack democratic rights? Give examples. What has happened to democratic rights in previous economic crises like the depression of the '30s? What is happening to bourgeois democracy today on a world scale?

7. Discuss the statements: "The radicalization of the last decade can be measured in the escalation of the struggle for fundamental freedoms." "The single most important ideological gain of the initial radicalization was a loss of confidence in the veracity of the capitalist leaders of the United States." How did this occur? How is this affecting politics today?

8. Why are socialism and democracy compatible? What obstacles to real democracy would socialism eliminate?

Class 3. A New Stage: Workers Begin to Radicalize as a Class

Required Reading: "Prospects for Socialism" Sections III, IV

Supplementary: : From The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class, by Ernest Mandel and George Novack (Pathfinder, 1974, \$1.45), pp. 40-64; "Report on 'Prospects for Socialism in America,'" by Jack Barnes, in SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 3-6

Questions:

1. What is a radicalization? How is the outlook of American workers changing? Why does this represent a new stage of the current radicalization?
2. How were workers affected by the course of the radicalization?
3. Did American workers become "middle class" as a result of the boom? What changes occurred in the size and composition of the working class and why are these changes important?
4. Why is the working class the only class that can lead a socialist revolution?
5. Does a high standard of living always make workers more conservative? Can capitalism offer such a living standard in the long run? What revolutionary implications can the struggle to preserve a relatively high standard have during an economic crisis?
6. What kinds of economic benefits did workers begin to view as rights during the boom? How should socialists respond to this sentiment?
7. Why did most American workers support or accept the political status quo in the past? What causes working people to radicalize as a class? What was wrong with theories that declared that workers would always be conservative?

Class 4. Allies of the Workers

Required Reading: "Prospects for Socialism in America," Section V

Supplementary Reading: "Report on 'Prospects for Socialism in America,'" by Jack Barnes, (op cit.), pp. 4-6; Towards an American Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder Press, 1970, \$1.95), pp. 142-146, 162-167, 188-195; "The Fight for Black Liberation, the Current Stage, and Its Tasks," in SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 2-13

Questions:

1. Why are divisions in the working class a major obstacle to winning socialism? How can the working people be united against the capitalists?
2. Why do workers need allies to make a socialist revolution? Do workers need the help of other oppressed groups to preserve their current gains? Give examples.
3. Why will the struggles of oppressed nationalities be an essential part of the American socialist revolution? Why does "Prospects for Socialism in America" say that national oppression and racism are "rooted in the historical development of American capitalism"?

4. Why can't capitalism get rid of racism and national oppression in the United States?

5. How have union leaders reacted in general to the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and students? The resolution says that the union bureaucrats act "as representatives and defenders of the benefits enjoyed by a small layer of the most privileged white male workers." Discuss.

6. The resolution says that Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans will "more and more. . . furnish leadership in the fight to transform the labor movement into a fighting social movement." Discuss.

7. What gains did oppressed nationalities and women make in the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s? How are the rulers trying to roll them back? Why?

8. How do the demands of women pose "the problem of the total reorganization of society from its smallest repressive unit (the family) to its largest (the state)"?

9. Why do Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women demand preferential hiring? Why is it wrong to oppose such demands in the name of "working-class unity"?

10. Why do successful struggles by working people and their allies require political independence from the capitalist parties? What other attempts have been made by the labor, Black, and women's movements to "use" the capitalist parties? How have these efforts worked out?

11. What is the SWP's attitude to the struggles of the allies of the workers? How can a revolutionary socialist party play a key role in helping to unite the working class and its allies against the capitalists? How does the SWP's response to discriminatory layoffs and the racist offensive against busing show its strategy?

Class 5. Labor's Strategic Line of March

Required Reading: "Prospects for Socialism in America," Sections VII and VIII; "A Bill of Rights for Working People" (SWP Campaign Committee, 1975)

Supplementary Reading: "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" by Fred Halstead (Militant supplement); "Report on 'Prospects for Socialism in America,'" by Jack Barnes, pp. 9-15

Questions:

1. How do socialists propose to solve the problems of unemployment and inflation? Why should the bosses pay for the economic crisis instead of working people?
2. How will a class-struggle left wing in the unions develop?
3. What is a labor party? Why do workers need such a party? How would a labor party differ from the parties that run the country today?
4. What does the resolution mean by indicating that workers should "think socially and act politically"? Do most workers think and act this way today? In what ways does the farmworkers struggle represent a step in this direction? Discuss other struggles.

5. The resolution predicts a right-wing polarization along with the radicalization of workers and their allies. What signs of this can you see today?

6. How should socialists answer workers who think that their jobs depend on arms spending? How should socialists answer workers who think the United States is defending freedom abroad?

7. What are some current issues where the demand to "open the books" might be useful?

8. Discuss the Transitional Program's approach to the class struggle. What are its goals? How does the "Bill of Rights for Working People" apply this approach?

How does it present workers' real needs in terms they can understand? Discuss how this differs from reformist, sectarian, and ultraleft approaches.

9. Why is a revolutionary party like the SWP needed in the United States? Why must the SWP be an internationalist party? Why is a revolutionary party like the SWP the "historical key to victory"?

10. What are the tasks of a small revolutionary party like the SWP? Give examples from the daily activities of the party.

11. Why is the American revolution a vital part of the world revolution?

Series Prepared by Milwaukee Branch on the History of American Trotskyism

April 1975

Branches planning summer school series or new-member classes on this subject may be interested in a ten-class series being held this spring by the Milwaukee branch. The series will cover the history of the Trotskyist movement from its origins in the Communist Party down to the present. The classes will be held weekly between April 8 and June 10 and will be given by branch members.

Following is a summary of the classes with suggested readings, sent to the national office by the Milwaukee branch.

(1) Origins of the American Communist Movement: Impact of the Russian revolution on the U.S. socialist movement; early years of CP and political-economic conditions in the 1920s; relations between U.S. CP and the Comintern; formation of the Left Opposition; expulsion of the American Trotskyists.

Reading: The First Ten Years of American Communism,
pp. 15-34, 159-165

Additional Reading: First Ten Years, . . ., essays on Debs, IWW, pp. 245-310; The History of American Trotskyism, Lectures 1-4

(2) The Communist League of America: Dog days of the Left Opposition; beginnings of collaboration with International Left Opposition and Trotsky; struggles against sectarianism and opportunism in the party; break with Comintern after Hitler's rise to power.

Reading: History of American Trotskyism: Lectures 5 and 6

(3) The Turn to Mass Work: Lessons of the teamster strikes; fusion with Muste's American Workers Party; entry into Socialist Party and the international "French turn"; Spanish civil war, French popular front, and other world events; expulsion from the SP.

Reading: The History of American Trotskyism: Lecture 8
Additional Reading: History. . ., Lecture 7, Lectures 9-12

(4) Founding of the Socialist Workers Party: Founding congress of the Fourth International; pressures on the party with the start of the Second World War and the Hitler-Stalin pact; organizational and political issues in the fight with Burnham and Shachtman.

Reading: The Struggle for a Proletarian Party: "The New Stage in the Development of American Trotskyism," pp. 5-9; "Speech on the Russian Question," pp. 211-225
Additional Reading: The Struggle. . ., "The Convention of the SWP," pp. 242-247

(5) The Second World War: Minneapolis case defense; position of the party on imperialist war; party attitude toward the draft; proletarian military policy; the fight with Goldman and Morrow, a residue of the petty-bourgeois opposition.

Reading: Speeches for Socialism, "How to Put and End to Imperialist War," pp. 207-212; "Before the Minneapolis Trial," pp. 239-243; "Speech on the Way to Prison," pp. 245-252
Additional Reading: Letters from Prison, "Introduction," by Jack Barnes

(6) The Postwar Strike Wave and Its Aftermath: the campaign for a labor party; the strike wave; the 1946 convention and the "Theses on the American Revolution;" rapid growth and decline in party membership; the Kutcher case; the 1948 presidential campaign; the Progressive Party, the Henry Wallace campaign, and capitalist "peace" politics; discussion of the class nature of the states in Eastern Europe.

Reading: Aspects of Socialist Electoral Policy, Education for Socialists bulletin, Cannon's speeches on 1948 electoral policy, pp. 21-34

Additional Reading: Aspects. . ., "Campaign for a Labor Party," pp. 12-17

(7) The Cochran Fight: The capitalist witch-hunt and its impact on the party; proletarian orientation and trade-unionists within the party; discussion in the International and in the party of whether a party is necessary; Cochranites and Pabloites in the U.S.; the Pablo split in the FI.

Reading: Speeches to the Party, "Introduction," by Al Hansen, pp. 5-23

Additional Reading: Speeches. . ., "Theses on the American Revolution," pp. 325-337

(8) Steps Forward in the Late '50s: the civil rights struggle against Jim Crow in the South; debate over the use of troops to enforce civil rights; exposure of Stalin's crimes, Hungary, and regroupment around 1958 elections; beginning of the YSA and Young Socialist; Cuban revolution.

Reading: Aspects of Socialist Electoral Policy, "Regroupment and United Socialist Political Action," by Murry Weiss, pp. 47-59

(9) Preparing for a New Wave of Radicalization: rebuilding of the party and founding of the YSA; development of widespread nationalist sentiment and culmination of party discussion with adoption of Freedom Now resolution; defense of Cuba and debate on nature of Cuban revolution; Healyites split from world movement; Fourth International reunifies; Bloomington students case.

Reading: Freedom Now, 1963 Black Struggle Resolution published as Pathfinder pamphlet; The Nature of the Cuban Revolution, Education for Socialists bulletin, "Draft Theses on the Cuban Revolution:

Additional Reading: The Nature of the Cuban Revolution, "Cuba, the Acid Test," by Joseph Hansen

(10) The Party in a Deepening Radicalization: growth of the YSA and party; role of the antiwar movement; emergence of women's movement; defense of civil liberties, suit against the federal government; re-emergence of civil rights struggles.

Reading: 1969 Political Resolution, SWP Internal Information Bulletin No. 8 in 1969; 1971 Political Resolution, SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 29, No. 1

Additional Reading: May 1970: Birth of the Antiwar University; Feminism and Socialism, "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement," pp. 128-160

BASIC PROGRAM OF SOCIALISM

(taken from Organizing the YSA, Part 2)

Class 1. Why We Need Socialism

Required Reading: What Socialists Stand For, by Stephanie Coontz, (Young Socialist Pamphlet distributed by Pathfinder, \$.50); Socialism and Democracy, by Linda Jenness, (Pathfinder, \$.25), pp. 3-15; from America's Road to Socialism, by James P. Cannon, (Pathfinder, \$1.95): "What a Socialist America Will Look Like"

Questions:

1. Stephanie Coontz writes: "The most glaring fact about the modern world is the contrast between the potential to satisfy human needs and the reality of everyday life." Give some examples of this contrast. How has this contrast affected the course of the radicalization in the U. S. and on a world scale?
2. Give a few examples which show how capitalism is an irrational system.
3. What are the meanings of the terms "means of production" and "social product?"
4. How would you answer this kind of argument: "Capitalists have a right to own and control factories and natural resources, and the right to make profits from the products these things produce. They work for their profits -- think of the worry, risks, etc., that they take. Socialists just want to steal from the capitalists what is rightfully theirs."
5. What is wrong with the claim that human nature is an insuperable obstacle to the socialist goals of equality and freedom? Supporters of this position claim that the example of the USSR supports their argument. What caused the elimination of democracy in the USSR under Stalin? Why would it be virtually impossible for such a development to occur after a socialist revolution in the USA?
6. How would the nationalization of industry under workers control affect the priorities of production? The development of the productive forces? Working conditions? The attitude of workers toward their jobs? How would it eliminate obstacles to social progress?
7. Why do revolutionary socialists oppose every penny that the U. S. government spends for military purposes? What would be the basis of the international policy of a socialist regime?
8. Socialists contend that racism is not inherent to human nature, but is an outgrowth of capitalist economic and social relations. How is this shown by the experiences of Blacks, Native Americans, and Chicanos in this country?
9. How does the private property system determine the role of women in society?
10. We are taught in school that this is a free and democratic country because there are elections and civil liberties. Does the majority actually run the United States? How is it

actually run by a small minority of capitalists? How are U. S. foreign and economic policies determined? What do Watergate, the Vietnam war, and election laws reveal about democracy in America? How were these civil liberties that exist gained and how have they been preserved?

11. Give some examples of the broader concept of democracy that socialists are seeking in all aspects of political, economic, and social life. Why do socialists say that many people who are not involved in politics under capitalism will be active participants in discussions and decision making in a socialist society? Do previous revolutions and mass struggles give us any examples of how this will occur?

12. Anticommunists accuse socialists of wanting to destroy freedom and individuality. What do capitalists mean by freedom and individuality? How are real freedom and individuality stifled under capitalism and how would they flower in a socialist society?

13. Why can't the Democratic and Republican parties be vehicles for fundamental change in this country? Who do these parties represent? What is the role of these parties in the capitalist congress in preserving minority rule in the U. S.? What is the role of people like George McGovern, Ron Dellums, or Ramsey Clark, who say they can make these parties more responsive to the people?

Class 2. The Objective Basis of the Struggle for Socialism

Required Reading: The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, (Pathfinder Press, \$.75), Socialism on Trial, testimony of James P. Cannon, pp. 17-114, (Pathfinder Press, \$2.25)

Supplementary Reading: From The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class, (Pathfinder, \$1.45) by Ernest Mandel and George Novack: "Can American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution?" by George Novack, pp. 40-64

Questions:

1. Part I of the Manifesto begins with the statement, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." Why do Marxists say that this is the only way to adequately explain history? How does this view help explain the struggles in the world today?
2. Did capitalist society always exist? How did it come into being? What does the process of its development indicate about the claims of capitalist propagandists that this system is eternal?
3. How has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that will bring death to itself and "called into existence the men who are to wield these weapons?" How does the history of the world since 1917 and the history of the class struggle in the

U. S. demonstrate this process?

4. What is exploitation?

5. Why is the working class the only truly revolutionary class in capitalist society? Why is no other class capable of building a socialist society? What about the middle class? Can it be an ally of the working class?

6. The Manifesto says, "the theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single sentence: Abolition of private property." What is meant by this? Does this mean the expropriation of the personal property of the masses (homes, cars, TV sets, etc.) or of small businesses and farms? How does Cannon deal with this question in his testimony?

7. Marx and Engels state: "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." How does this help us to understand the U. S. government? Cannon adds to this by stating: "Governments are primarily instruments of repression of one class against another." How do the activities of the U. S. government demonstrate this? Are its claims to "neutrality" in labor disputes, etc. justified? Does the "democracy" of the American government contradict this definition?

8. Socialists have stated that their aim is to replace the bourgeois state with a dictatorship of the proletariat. What does this mean? How does the use of the term "dictatorship" here differ from the common use of the term "dictatorship" to describe brutally repressive regimes that deny all democratic rights? Is a bourgeois state (even a democracy) the dictatorship of a class? Why is the dictatorship of the proletariat consistent with a qualitative widening of democratic rights for the masses?

9. Socialists have been accused of advocating violence to achieve their goals based on the Manifesto's statement that the abolition of capitalism "can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." How does Cannon expose the falseness of this charge in Socialism on Trial? Where does he place the blame for violence?

10. On pages 89-96 of Socialism on Trial, Cannon explains the methods the capitalists have employed to make a peaceful transition to socialism impossible. How did the trial of the Trotskyists in 1941, and recent government practices, verify this analysis? How did the U. S. government deal with a legally elected Chilean government that merely proclaimed socialism as a long range goal?

11. Why does Cannon say that after the socialist revolution the state will wither away and be replaced by purely administrative councils? What has blocked this process in the Soviet Union?

12. What does the Manifesto have to say about the position of women in capitalist society? About racial oppression?

13. Why is the Communist Manifesto written as an international document? Why is working-class internationalism a necessity?

Class 3. How to Fight for Socialism -- the Method of the Transitional Program

Required Reading: From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution: "The Role of the Transitional Program in the Revolutionary Process," by George Novack, pp. 32-71, (Pathfinder, \$2.45, also available in Education for Socialists bulletin, \$.40); How to Make a Revolution in the United States, by Peter Camejo, 23 pp., \$.25

Supplementary Reading: From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution: "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," pp. 72-112

Questions:

1. Why are the masses decisive for making a socialist revolution? What is wrong with the ultraleft approach of minority actions to educate and spark the masses into action?

2. Why is it important that struggles around particular demands be conceived as "bridges" between the present consciousness of the masses and the socialist revolution? Give examples of this approach. What is wrong with going to the masses with a demand for "Socialism now" or "All India must go Communist!" etc.?

3. Novack describes the transitional program as not only a list of slogans and demands but a method. What is this method? How does it differ fundamentally from the concept of reformists and ultralefts?

4. What is meant by Camejo's statement that the capitalists in the U. S. "can rule only through maintaining illusions?" Discuss the statement that "their (the capitalists) power is limited by the fact that the mass of the people believe in free speech, in free assembly, and in democracy." How does the approach of the transitional program help the working class in fighting to defend and extend these rights and at the same time help to destroy popular illusions about capitalism?

5. Define and give examples of: (1) democratic demands; (2) immediate demands; (3) transitional demands. Why do revolutionists support all three types of demands? How do revolutionists choose which demand to raise at any given time?

6. Why do democratic demands have such a powerful revolutionary dynamic in colonial countries, fascist countries, and in the Stalinist-dominated workers states? What has been the character of the central demands in the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions?

7. What has been the impact of struggles around democratic demands on the class struggle in the U. S. ? How do democratic struggles (like the struggle of Blacks for the right of self-determination, or of women for full and unconditional equality) lead to a challenge to the capitalist system as a whole?

8. In struggles around any issue or demand, revolution-

ists use proletarian methods of struggle. What are such methods? How has the distinction between proletarian and reformist or ultraleft methods of struggle been demonstrated in recent years?

9. Why are the demands for a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of hours linked? What problems do these demands speak to? Why do these demands lead to a sharp confrontation between the workers and the capitalists? Why do they seem reasonable and democratic to the workers? Why can't the capitalists concede to these demands for very long, even if they make concessions in a given instance? Why does the struggle for these demands push the class toward creating organs of workers power?

10. Discuss the same questions as in question 9 in relation to the demand for opening the books of the capitalists. How can this demand be linked to the demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours?

11. The Transitional Program opens with the statement that the central problem of the working class is the crisis of leadership. What is the crisis of leadership and how is the transitional program a weapon for solving it?

Class 4. The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Workers States

Required Reading: The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Bloc, by Gus Horowitz (Pathfinder Press, \$.60); The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution, pages 102-106, by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder Press, \$2.45)

Supplementary Reading: From The Revolution Betrayed, (Pathfinder Press, \$2.95): "Social Relations in the Soviet Union," pp. 245-256; "Whither the Soviet Union," pp. 284-290; From Samizdat (Pathfinder, \$3.95), Introduction by George Saunders, pp. 15-44

Questions:

1. What was the character of the regime in the USSR under Lenin's leadership?

2. What is the Stalinist bureaucracy? What changes did Stalin's regime introduce? What were the conditions that made possible the rise to power of a bureaucratic caste? Was Stalinism necessary in order for the USSR to make economic advances?

3. Why do we call for political revolution in the Soviet Union and other Stalinized workers states? Why don't we call for social revolutions, as we do in capitalist countries? Why is it wrong to argue, as the Maoists and some others do, that the Soviet Union is "capitalist"?

4. What changes have occurred since 1924 in the conditions that allowed the bureaucratic caste to rise to power? How have these changes affected the outlook of the masses in the Stalinized workers states?

5. What are some of the demands that the workers have been putting forward in their struggles against the bureau-

cracy? What kinds of organizational forms did the workers develop in their struggles in Hungary in 1956? In Czechoslovakia in 1968? In Poland in 1970? What likely changes would a political revolution introduce in the economic priorities in the workers states? How would the economic plan be developed?

6. How would you answer the Stalinist claims that attempts to overthrow the bureaucracy by the workers, political dissent, and even artistic nonconformity, open the door to counterrevolution and should be crushed?

7. We support the civil liberties of artists and intellectuals in the workers states, even when they express reactionary ideas, as in the case of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's most recent statements. Why? What was the Leninist policy towards artists and writers, even during a civil war against outright counterrevolutionary enemies?

8. What is the attitude of revolutionary Marxists to the rights of political tendencies and parties to exist in a workers state and why?

9. How important are demands for democratic rights going to be in the political revolution? What is our position on freedom of speech? Freedom of assembly?

10. What demands would a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the workers states put forward on the rights of women?

11. What is the position of revolutionary Marxists on the rights of oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union?

12. What role have students played in antibureaucratic struggles? What kind of demands have they made?

13. What has experience shown about the ability of the bureaucracy to reform itself or to lead a struggle for democracy? What were the lessons of "de-Stalinization" in the Soviet Union? Of the Czechoslovak reform movement?

14. Why do we think that the working class is the only force capable of overthrowing the bureaucratic caste and instituting socialist democracy?

15. Why are political revolutions in the Stalinized workers states so important for the world revolution as a whole?

Class 5. Stalinism versus Revolutionary Internationalism

Required Reading: "Imperialism, Detente, and the Class Struggle," by Mary-Alice Waters, in the November 1974 International Socialist Review; from Nixon's Moscow and Peking Summits, by Joseph Hansen and Caroline Lund; "Roots of the Soviet Betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution," pp. 31; (Pathfinder Press, \$.60)

Supplementary Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The Unfolding New World Situation," pp 75-100; (Pathfinder Press, \$2.25) From The First Three Internationals: "Stalinism and Internationalism," by Fred Feldman, pp.173-204 (Pathfinder Press, \$2.45)

Questions:

1. What is the theory of "socialism in one country?"

Is it completely unrealistic? Why is it incorrect to say that the Soviet Union or any other existing workers state has achieved socialism?

2. What is the Stalinist theory of peaceful coexistence? What are the basic fallacies in this theory? Why can't the imperialists live at peace with the workers states? How are this theory and the theory of "socialism in one country" linked? How are they used to justify betrayals of revolution?

3. What is revolutionary internationalism? Why is this the only realistic policy for the working class to achieve social progress and the end of wars? What are the main differences between revolutionary internationalism and the Stalinist theories?

4. Are the Stalinist policies in the interests of the workers states? Why are the bureaucrats afraid of further gains for the world revolution?

5. How do the policies of the current leaders of the Soviet Union and China differ from those of the Soviet regime under Lenin and Trotsky?

6. What is the detente? What are the goals of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats in the detente? What are the goals of U. S. imperialism? How was the counterrevolutionary nature of the detente revealed by the welcome given Nixon in Moscow and Peking at the height of the bombing of Vietnam and by the subsequent "peace" agreement? Why is it incorrect to call this agreement a victory, as the Stalinists do?

7. Why can't the detente prevent war? Has the attitude of the Stalinists made the imperialists less able or more hesitant to go to war? What is the previous record of the policy of peaceful coexistence in preventing wars, for instance, in the 1930s?

8. Can detente put an end to revolutionary upsurges?

9. Why do the policies of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence lead logically to conflicts between workers states -- like the Sino-Soviet split -- and how do these divisions aid the imperialists?

10. It is legitimate and necessary for workers states to seek trade and diplomatic relations with capitalist powers. What do revolutionists object to in the way the Soviet and Chinese leaderships do this? How does their course contrast with the way the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky went about such dealings with the imperialists?

11. Why do advocates of peaceful coexistence and socialism in one country advocate class collaboration in their own countries (coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, support to capitalist parties like the Democrats, "antimonopoly coalitions," etc.)? Why do such policies fail to prevent reaction, repression, sexism, racism, and antilabor policies? Why can the working class achieve its goals only through complete independence of the bourgeoisie? What are the lessons of Chile in this regard?

12. How are the policies of peaceful coexistence and socialism in one country reflected in the policies of the Communist Party and the YWLL? Why are these policies against the interests of the American workers and their allies? What policies does the YSA counterpose to their stands?

Class 6. A Marxist Approach to the Labor Movement

Required Reading: "New Moods in the Working Class," by Carol Lipman in the November 1974 International Socialist Review (\$.75); Recent Trends in the Labor Movement, by Farrell Dobbs, (Education for Socialists Bulletin, \$.50), pp. 7-9, pp. 19-31

Supplementary Reading: Inflation: What It Is and How to Fight It, by Dick Roberts and Linda Jenness (Pathfinder, \$.25); Draft Political Resolution, 1973 SWP Political Resolution in SWP Discussion Bulletin, Volume 31, No.13 \$.50, especially the following sections: "The Evolution of Ruling Class Strategy;" "New Struggles;" "The Farm-workers Struggle;" "Inflation and Meat Boycott;" "Our Answer;" "General Characteristics of the Radicalization;" and "The Unions "

Questions:

1. What are the characteristics of the working class that give it the capacity to lead in the creation of a new society? How does the American working class compare with others in the world in potential social power?

2. Many radicals claimed during the 1960s that the relative prosperity of the workers assured that they would never again play a revolutionary role since they had been "absorbed" into the capitalist structure. What are the fallacies of this theory? Why does the nature of capitalist society bar the working class from becoming reconciled to capitalism?

3. What factors encourage workers to accept the status quo? What factors lead to their radicalization? How does the Yankelovich survey reveal the impact of the antiwar movement, Black movement, and women's movement on the consciousness of young workers today?

4. Why does the "bill of rights" sought by young workers according to the Yankelovich survey, presage a new wave of mass workers struggles?

5. Why is the ruling class seeking to lower the living standards of the workers? How do they use unemployment and inflation to do this? Why does this make the demand for sliding scales of hours and wages an especially important part of a class-struggle program for the unions?

6. What is the union bureaucracy? How does it differ from a union leadership that is dedicated to working class interests? What is the attitude of the bureaucracy to the employers? To the capitalist government and the capitalist parties? How do these policies set it against the interests of the workers? How is this conflict reflected in the differing response of bureaucrats and ranks to the ruling class's offensive, for instance, in the San Francisco city workers' strike?

7. Why do the unions play a decisive role at this time in the working class as a whole? Why is it necessary to build a class-struggle left wing in the unions? Why can't the union bureaucracy reform itself?

8. What are the attitudes of the top bureaucrats toward the special problems of women and oppressed minorities? Why are these attitudes a threat to the working class as a whole?

9. How are the struggles of Black and women workers shaking up the union movement as a whole? What is the attitude of revolutionists towards a formation like CLUW? How does this approach differ from that of either union bureaucrats or ultraleft sectarians?

10. What are the dangers of pure "bread and butter" unionism, as advocated by the bureaucrats, which avoids the other issues shaking society? Why is this especially dangerous right now for the American Federation of Teachers?

11. Why should the main fire of a class struggle program be directed at the bosses and the government rather than at the union bureaucrats? How will this aid the struggle against the bureaucrats? How do reformists like the Communist Party and the Social Democrats differ from us in their attitude toward the bureaucrats? What are the errors of the ultraleft sectarians?

12. Why can't each union acting alone -- or even on an industry-by-industry basis -- beat back the attack on living standards? Why must such a struggle necessarily become a political struggle against the capitalist government if it is to succeed?

13. Why would the formation of a labor party based on the unions be a step forward for the workers? How is their struggle crippled by organized labor's support for the Republicans and Democrats? How do we answer the reformist argument that the formation of such a party will "isolate" the workers from other sections of the population?

14. Why do union bureaucrats oppose a labor party? What alternative strategies have they put forward and how have these worked out in practice?

Class 7. The Struggle for Black Liberation

Required Reading: From Black Liberation and Socialism, edited by Tony Thomas, (Pathfinder, \$2.45), "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," pp. 33-58; From Proceedings of the Thirteenth Young Socialist National Convention, Young Socialist Internal Information Bulletin Number 1 in 1974, \$.75: "Black Struggle Report," by Malik Miah

Supplementary Reading: From Black Liberation and Socialism: "The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution," by Derrick Morrison, pp. 13-32; "The Case for an Independent Black Political Party," pp. 59-83; From the International Socialist Review, October 1974, \$.75: "Black Liberation Today: How Far Have We Come Since 1954," by Derrick Morrison

Questions:

1. Why do revolutionists make a fundamental distinction between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism

of the oppressor? What are the objective roots of Black nationalism?

2. Why do revolutionists support the right of self-determination of Black people? Is that the same as calling for separation?

3. Why do Black people need an independent movement? Why do revolutionists regard the coming American revolution as a combined revolution?

4. Can Black people be liberated without overthrowing the capitalist system?

5. What is the role of the Democratic Party in the Black community? Who does the Democratic Party serve and how does its attitude toward the Black struggle demonstrate this? Why is a break from the two capitalist parties an indispensable step forward for the Black movement? What would be the class character of an independent Black political party? How would the formation of such a party spur independent political action of the workers as a whole?

6. The demand for Black Control of the Black Community is a democratic demand. What effect does capitalist opposition to such demands have in educating the masses about the reality of capitalist "democracy"?

7. What demands does "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" put forward to oppose the national and class oppression Black people face in unemployment? On the job? In the schools and universities? From the police? How do these demands relate to the present needs and consciousness of the Black masses? How do struggles around these demands tend to lead toward advancing the socialist revolution?

8. Why is it wrong to claim that support to preferential hiring divides the working class? How can the working class be united against the ruling class? Why does racist opposition to the demand for preferential hiring of Black workers tend to sharpen and reinforce the division of the working class?

9. Is there a contradiction between support for the independent struggles of Black people, including their right to self-determination, and support for working class unity against capitalism? What is the difference between the concept of working class unity against capitalism found in "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" and the so-called "working class unity" advocated by the Communist Party? By the anti-nationalist sectarians? What effect do the militant struggles of Black people against their oppression have on the working class as a whole?

10. How is the Communist Party's opposition to independent Black political action related to its attitude to the Democratic Party and to reforming capitalism?

11. How does "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" project the socialist perspective for the struggle for Black liberation? In what fundamental way is its approach to the Black struggle distinguished from ultraleft strategies? From class-collaborationist approaches?

Class 8. Women's Liberation and the Socialist Revolution

Required Reading: "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume 10, No. 22, \$.50; From Feminism and Socialism, edited by Linda Jenness, (Pathfinder, \$1.95):

"Why Women's Liberation is Important to Black Women," by Maxine Williams, pp. 40-47; "Questions and Answers on the Equal Rights Amendment," by Betsey Stone, pp. 63-71

Supplementary Reading: From Feminism and Socialism:

"The Family," by Diane Feeley, pp. 72-86; "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement;" pp. 129-160; Feminism and the Marxist Movement, by Mary-Alice Waters, (Pathfinder, \$.60); From SWP Discussion Bulletin, Volume 31, No. 19, \$.20. "The Abortion Struggle: Where We Began and Where We Are Going" by Betsey Stone and Mary-Alice Waters

Questions:

1. Have women always been an oppressed sex? What is wrong with the argument that women's inferior position is biologically determined by childbearing, etc.? Why and how did women become an oppressed sex?
2. How is the oppression of women rooted in class society? Why is the liberation of women inseparable from the replacement of capitalist society with a socialist society?
3. What is the role of the nuclear family under capitalism? Why is it a "fundamental pillar of class society?" What is wrong with the Stalinist argument that the working class family can be a revolutionary force?
4. Why not raise "abolition of the family" as a demand? How do socialists propose to make possible the elimination of this reactionary institution?
5. Are all women oppressed in class society? Are they equally oppressed? How does the oppression of working women or middle class women differ from that of ruling class women?
6. What is the special importance of women's liberation to Black and Chicana women? Is the issue of women's liberation as important in the colonial world as in the advanced countries?
7. What are the social causes for the betrayal of women's rights in the Stalinized workers states? How do our demands for the rights of women in the workers states relate to our overall program for instituting workers democracy?
8. Are most of the demands in the resolution democratic or transitional? Give examples of both types and discuss the difference between them. How does the system of demands differentiate the program of revolutionary socialists from that of reformists, sectarians, or bourgeois tendencies?
9. What determines which demands take center stage at a given point? Does the fact that the Supreme Court made a concession on the demand for abortion rights mean that it was a mistake to struggle over this issue rather than on some allegedly more radical one, as sectarians claim? What were the basic accomplishments of the struggle for legalized abortion?

10. Why do revolutionists support the Equal Rights Amendment? What is wrong with the argument that this expresses confidence in the bourgeois state or will injure interests of women workers?

11. How does the question of methods of struggle act as a dividing line between reformists, ultralefts, and revolutionists in the women's movement? How was this reflected in the abortion rights struggle?

12. Why are independent women's organizations necessary? Do such organizations fighting for the demands of women contradict unity of the working class as a whole? Why don't we have women's caucuses in the revolutionary party or youth organization?

13. Why are we opposed to calling for a women's party? Why are we opposed to the Women's Political Caucus' approach of backing female capitalist candidates as a solution to the problems of women?

14. Why do we have a united-front type approach to building the women's movement? What are the pitfalls of other approaches?

15. What was the position of the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League at the beginning of the women's movement? What sectarian and opportunist positions does it still retain on this question? What are fundamental reasons for its position?

16. What is the significance of the formation of CLUW? What does it show about the claim that the women's movement is a "middle class" movement? What does it show about the impact of the women's movement on the workers as a whole?

Class 9. A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth

Required Reading: From The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution, (Pathfinder, \$2.45): "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth," pp. 181-203 (also available in pamphlet form as a Young Socialist pamphlet, \$.50); "The Student Movement Today: Prospects for the Seventies" by Sally Whicker in the October 1974 Young Socialist.

Supplementary Reading: "The State of the Student Movement," by Andy Rose in the May 1973 International Socialist Review (\$.75) and in YSA Discussion Bulletin, Volume 17, No. 1, 1973, \$.30; "Changing Youth Values in the 70s," by Daniel Yankelovich, reprinted in SWP Party Builder, Volume VIII, No. 2, 1974, \$.30

Questions:

1. What are the underlying causes of the youth radicalization? Why have students tended to respond to social crises earlier than more decisive social layers? Why can't students by themselves change society? What impact can their actions have on social struggles?
2. What has been the relationship of the Black movement and the Vietnamese revolution to the student movement? How have changes in these struggles affected the students and other youth?

3. What is the "red university" strategy? In what ways did the antiwar universities that emerged during the May 1970 struggle express the meaning of the "red university" slogan? How do struggles to win or maintain Black, Chicano, or Puerto Rican studies departments controlled by students and faculty fit in with the "red university" strategy?

4. Why is it a sectarian error to ignore struggles around specifically campus issues? Why is it wrong to limit the student movement to such struggles? Why does the structure of the universities and high schools tend to give rise to such struggles? How does "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth" avoid both errors? How do the current struggles over budget cuts and tuition hikes show the link between on-campus student struggles and the interests of the whole working class?

5. What were the accomplishments of the May 1970 student upsurge? What was its fundamental limitation? How has the absence of mass action by the organized workers as a whole affected the course and outlook of the student movement?

6. What are some of the basic weaknesses of the student movement? How can a revolutionary youth organization combat them?

7. Are students isolated from the rest of society? What do recent surveys indicate about the relationship between the spread of radical ideas among students and their appearance in other sectors?

8. What has been the role of students in the worldwide radicalization? Give some examples.

9. What are some of the key demands raised by student struggles in the imperialist countries? The deformed and degenerated workers states? The colonial and semi-colonial countries? How can these demands lead students towards understanding the need for proletarian revolution? How can such demands threaten the capitalist system, even though students by themselves cannot overthrow the system?

10. What factors are ignored by those who claim that the youth radicalization has collapsed since May 1970? Why is a new upsurge of student activity inevitable?

11. Why is it valuable to have revolutionary youth organizations? Why can't they replace the function of the revolutionary party? What should their relationship be to the revolutionary party?

Class 10. The Need for a Revolutionary Party

Required Reading: From Fifty Years of World Revolution, (Pathfinder, \$2.95): "Vanguard Party and World Revolution," by James P. Cannon, pp. 349-359; From Dynamics of World Revolution Today, (Pathfinder, \$2.25): "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (Sections 2 and 5), pp. 119-235, 176-188

Supplementary Reading: Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Movement of His Time, (Pathfinder, \$.50); The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party, Education for Socialists Bulletin, \$.35

Questions:

1. What role did the Bolshevik Party play in the Russian Revolution of 1917? Why is it incorrect to consider the Leninist party simply an exceptional product of Russian conditions? Why is such a party needed in all countries?

2. Why can't a youth organization, trade unions, or a coalition of different movements or a common front of left groups replace the function of a revolutionary party?

3. How does the uneven rate at which the working class becomes class-conscious determine the need for a party?

4. What is the objective of democratic discussion in a Leninist party? Why is democracy a necessity in such a party? How does this differ from the attitude toward democratic discussion in Stalinist, social-democratic, or "new left" type formations?

5. Why is centralism vital for a revolutionary party? Why is loyalty to the party necessary for it to perform its function?

6. Why can't the revolutionary party imitate the socialist society of the future in its organization and internal life? Why are attempts to build a party on that basis utopian?

7. Do the victories won in China, Cuba, and North Vietnam without Leninist parties mean that such parties are no longer necessary for the colonial world? Why not? Why do even Cuba, North Vietnam, and China still require the creation of a revolutionary party? Why are Leninist parties indispensable in the advanced industrial countries?

8. Cannon writes that: "It is not possible to step over and even less possible to leap over, the preliminary stage in which the basic cadres of the party organize and reorganize themselves in preparation for, and in connection with, the larger job of organizing and winning over broad sections of the masses." How does the strategy of guerrilla warfare in the colonial world, and of minority violence on a world scale cut across both of these tasks? Why can't the vanguard party substitute itself for the masses in making or sparking the revolution?

9. What is the relationship between the revolutionary party, the working class, and the allies of the working class in making the revolution?

10. What is the importance of principles for a revolutionary party? Why do violations of principle in order to gain members or influence lead to disaster? Discuss and give examples.

11. Why does every revolutionary party necessarily begin as a propaganda group? What is the Trotskyist concept of propaganda? How is the concept of building the party through propagandistic activities reflected in the work of the SWP in the women's, Black, Chicano, and trade union movements? What vital role does a newspaper play in this process?

12. How will it be possible for parties like the Socialist Workers Party to pass beyond the stage of propaganda groups?

13. What is the crisis of revolutionary leadership? Why does it exist? What obstacles do Stalinism and social democracy present in building a real revolutionary party?