

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

December 23, 1974

TO ALL DELEGATES AND EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a new study guide, "Basic Program and Concepts of Socialism." This study guide is a first step towards increasing national collaboration on the YSA's education activities.

It has been developed through collaboration between the YSA National Office and the SWP National Education Department. We feel that it could be useful in several different ways:

1. It can be used by locals as a 10-part series for local educationals after business meetings. The readings and questions can serve as a guide to the comrade preparing the class as well as the basis for the local's discussion. Locals may want to modify it to better suit their needs. If a local is involved in a particular struggle, for instance in the women's movement, new questions and readings could be developed that would place special emphasis on our strategy and tactics in that particular struggle.

2. One or more classes could be used as part of another local educational series that would better suit the needs of the local members.

3. The series could be modified to serve as the basis for new members and contact classes.

4. It can serve as an individual study guide for at-large members or comrades in center locals where this particular type of educational need is not being fulfilled through organized classes.

The National Office is making this guide available to delegates and education directors to encourage comrades to begin to think out spring educationals and so that suggestions on this study guide can be made before it is printed.

We plan to print this study guide and make it available to all members by the end of January. If you have suggestions on other study guides or additional ways to increase national collaboration on YSA education activities, please raise them at the education workshop or send them into the YSA National Office.

Comradely,

Ginny Hildebrand
Ginny Hildebrand
YSA National Office

BASIC PROGRAM AND CONCEPTS OF SOCIALISM

December 1974

ten classes

Class 1. Why We Need Socialism

Required Reading: What Socialists Stand For, by Stephanie Coontz, (Young Socialist Pamphlet distributed by Pathfinder, \$1.00); 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. How is it 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 first 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. Anti-communists 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 Republican and Democratic parties be vehicles for fundamental change in this country? What 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 the 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 \$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 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 the system is eternal?

3. How has the bourgeoisie "forged the weapons that bring death to itself" and "called into existence the means to wield these weapons?" How does the history of the world since 1917 and the history of the class struggle in

U. S. demonstrate this process?

4. What is exploitation?

5. Why is the proletariat 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 the 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 Revolutionary Process," by George Novack, pp. 32-71 (Penguin, \$2.45, also available in Education for Socialists Bulletin, \$4.00); 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 ultra-lefts' 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 Inroads must go Communist!" etc.?

3. Novack describes the transitional program as not a list of slogans and demands but a method. What is this method? How does it differ fundamentally from the conciliatory approach 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, revolutionists

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, \$.45)

Supplementary Reading: From The Revolution Betrayed, (Pathfinder Press, \$.95): "Social Relations in the Soviet Union," pp. 245-256; "Whither the Soviet Union," pp. 284-290; From Samizdat (Pathfinder, \$.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 of 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 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 of 1968?

14. Why do we think 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 King Summits, by Joseph Hansen and Caroline Lund: "Revelations of the Soviet Betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution," pp. 31-33 (Pathfinder Press, \$.60)

Supplementary Reading: From Dynamics of World Revolution Today: "The Unfolding New World Situation," pp. 75-100 (Pathfinder Press, \$.25) From The First Three Internationalisms: "Stalinism and Internationalism," by Fred Feldman, pp. 204-210 (Pathfinder Press, \$.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 the 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 Readings: 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. 5, \$.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 do 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 inflation and unemployment 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 in against the interests of the workers? How is this conflict reflected in the differing response of bureaucrats and ranks to the ruling class 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 attitude 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? In 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 social 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 toward 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 Readings: From Feminism and Socialism: "The Family," by Dianne Feeley, pp. 72-86; "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement," pp. 129-160; Feminism and the Marxist Movement (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 candidate 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, 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 creation of CLU? 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 working class 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 do students by themselves change society? What impact do 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"logan? 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? What is it wrong to focus 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 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 revolutions? 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 1 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 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 "non-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 organization of a socialist society of the future in its organization and internal life? Why are attempts to build a party on this basis utopian?

7. Do the victories won in China, North Vietnam, Cuba 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 big 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 the vanguard party substitute itself for the masses in major 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 SWP to pass beyond the stage of propaganda groups?

13. What is the crisis of revolutionary leadership? Does it exist? What obstacles do Stalinism and social democracy present in building a real revolutionary party?