

YSA

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 11, No. 6

January 1968

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30 cents

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

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LOCAL EDUCATION REPORTS

Albany

The situation in Albany is influenced by some specific factors which differentiate it from many others: 1) there is as yet no other comrade, though two people are interested in YSA; 2) the State University of New York has several "Marxists" who, though unaffiliated with any group, consider themselves "revolutionaries"; 3) several of them are in the campus antiwar committee and it is obviously necessary to maintain a good working relationship. Therefore, I have set up on campus a "Socialist Discussion Group," which includes these "Marxists," most notably Hal Levin of New York who ran for Congress in Brooklyn, and whose wife, Irene, is chairman of the local antiwar committee. My purpose, of course, is to interest the people who come to learn about socialism in joining YSA. So far, it has worked in reverse order. The two people are interested in joining YSA and are coming to the discussions to learn more about Marxism. The first meeting, I gave a short outline history of Marxism up to 1929. Next meeting, Hal Levin will discuss Lenin's State and Revolution. I would rather do as two comrades have suggested and discuss current problems, such as the Black Struggle or Cuba. Any suggestions which other comrades could make, and any materials that would help, would be gratefully considered.

Carol Anne French

Boston

Our educational program since the last convention has consisted of four series of classes: the contact classes, a series of regular classes given by an experienced party member, summer school classes, and party educationals to which YSA'ers have been invited.

The contact classes have been built around a minimal core of the Marxist classics: Marx's Communist Manifesto and Wage, Labor, and Capital, Engel's Socialism: Scientific and Utopian, Lenin's State and Revolution and Imperialism, and Cannon's Socialism on Trial and America's Road to Socialism. Pamphlets of more current interest which we have interspersed with the basics have included Breitman's How a Minority Can Change Society, Trotsky's Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, and Fanon's Wretched of the Earth. In general, the more we have tied up the texts with current political struggles the better response we have had.

We have had two series of weekly classes given by an experienced party member: one, a political history of the party, using as texts Cannon's History of American Trotskyism and The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, the other a history of the 3rd International, using as texts Trotsky's 3rd International After Lenin, James' World Revolution,

Serge's From Lenin to Stalin, and other books.

The main emphasis of our summer school classes was on Afro-American history. We covered, in separate classes, the following six topics: the Negro in the American Revolution; the Negro in the Abolitionist Movement, Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow, Marcus Garvey, the NAACP, and black nationalism. We also had two classes on how women won the right to vote, given by a Suffragette, and a class on the Spanish Civil War.

Members of the Boston YSA were also able to attend a series of party educationals on great figures in the history of American radicalism. Educationals so far have been given on Sam Adams and Daniel de Leon, while educationals are planned on Thaddeus Stevens, Big Bill Haywood and Eugene Debs.

Within the next month, also, we will be holding a series of short (30 minute) educationals on the '68 election campaign. Topics to be treated include: the campaign and the anti-war movement, independent political action, the campaign and the black freedom struggle, McCarthy, and other topics. By means of these educationals we hope to arm our membership with all the arguments for the whys of our '68 election campaign.

Tom Fiske

Chicago

The joint YSA-SWP Socialist Summer School in Chicago this past year was set up on a more intensive schedule than had previously been the case. The political level of the classes was to be higher--a more internal orientation reflecting the educational needs of the local. The Summer School ran about ten weeks with classes twice a week and required reading averaged 75-100 pages a week. The courses covered were: Afro-American history, the area in which it was felt comrades were weakest; the Permanent Revolution (and Cuba); Labor history; and the Revolutionary Party. In addition, George Novack came in to give a three-part series on "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." Other outside speakers included George Weissman on Afro-American History and Betsey Barnes on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination.

The Summer School was a success in meeting the main task: more intensive, higher level education of the comrades. The school was well attended by comrades and a larger number of new people than we had anticipated. This was especially so during the classes on Afro-American History when a number of new contacts with black militants were made. Two YSA'ers were recruited through the summer school.

Following the summer program and October 21 mobilization against the war in Vietnam, a different approach was taken to the regular, weekly educational. Before, they had followed the local business meetings, after a brief intermission. However, they were being postponed frequently to allow time for special reports and discussions. Now the educational are separate from the local meetings. Two short educational series were set up to initiate this change. Each comrade signed up to attend one or both of the classes. One class, "History of American Trotskyism" met two hours before the weekly business meeting, leaving the two meetings organically separated and allowing time following business meetings for special reports, etc. The other class, "State and Revolution," was attended by candidates as well as comrades and met on a week night. After these six-week series were concluded, a new program was to be formulated.

Following October 21, there was an upsurge in recruitment. The candidate program--which before had operated on a one-to-one basis, that is, a YSA'er would work during the two-month candidacy period with one candidate--had to be brought in line with the reality of 8-12 candidates. To meet the need of education of the candidates, a ten-week series of classes was set up: "Dynamics of World Revolution" (4 wk.), "The Transitional Program" (2 wk.), "The Anti-War Movement" (1 wk.) "Black Power and Self-Determination" (1 wk.), "Socialist Electoral Policy" (1 wk.), and "The Organizational Basis of the YSA" (1 wk.). The requirements of candidates were clearly formulated. They are expected to attend local meetings and candidate classes regularly, attend the Militant Labor Forums, subscribe to the Young Socialist and the Militant, and if they have been working in an area where the local has constituted a fraction, they are to work along with that fraction. The emphasis, however, is on education, not activism during the candidacy period.

Currently, in order to release YSA comrades for the work ahead, the local has asked the SWP to take charge of the organization and teaching of an educational program for the next period. The program, which is to be on the same level as the summer school, has not yet been submitted to the local.

Richard Hill

Cleveland

During the summer the YSA and SWP participated in a joint summer school on the Russian Revolution. Classes were held two nights a week for ten weeks and most of them were

given by local comrades. Because of our intense involvement in the Vietnam Resolution Committee over the summer, the classes suffered in that many comrades did not find time to do the readings. Two of the best discussions after classes were on the nature of dual power and on the question of an all black party as a counterpart to the SWP.

While participating in the summer school the YSA also continued to have short educationals during meetings. These were 10-20 minute educationals on articles in The Militant and the ISR.

In the fall we began a series on the basics. Thus far we have had six such classes (Communist Manifesto, Wage Labor and Capital, Value Price and Profit, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, and State and Revolution). Until December the classes did not meet on a regular basis because of our building October 21 and because of the move into a new hall.

For the last month we have presented the basics in the following manner: a 30 minute lecture, after which the local (29) breaks up into three discussion groups. This approach has worked out very well: different comrades lead the discussion groups each week and all comrades are able to participate.

In addition to the classes on the basics in the fall, we also held the Cleveland Fall Conference in celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The series of talks reviewed the lessons of the Russian Revolution and applied them to the struggles of today.

Barbara Gregorich

Detroit

Following the YSA convention we organized two series of internal classes, one for members who had been in less than a year, one for members who had been in longer. The newer members partook of a basic socialism class which covered sections of Dynamics of World Revolution Today, State and Revolution, The Communist Manifesto, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and Wage-Labor and Capital. The more experienced members held a seminar on economics, beginning with Wage Labor and Capital, then covering the topics of equalization of profit rate and falling rate of profit, two sessions on Mandal's Imperialism bulletin, and Dick Roberts' article in the ISR on inflation.

For the Detroit summer school we planned a 7-session class on the Russian Revolution. We chose this over the topic of Stalinism because we felt it was desirable to give newer members a taste of the positive before getting into depth on the negative. Assignments were selected from the History of the Russian Revolution, the Essential Trotsky, and In Defense of October. A more extensive class was not possible because of the petition campaign to get the SWP on the ballot.

By the fall we had no organized series of educationals. After the YSA plenum we wanted to hold a series on black history, but a combination of personnel situation, strenuous antiwar activity and SWP preconvention activity caused a lag in implementation. However, in November we re-established the post of YSA educational director and set up a committee. The black comrades helped organize a series on black history, and we have already held four lively sessions on the pre-Civil War period.

Special attention is being given to teaching methods and we are consciously using visual aids, tapes, etc., to aid the learning processes.

We're planning to hold a Socialist Educational Saturday on the Dynamics of World Revolution, in January, and have begun a small seminar on Mandel's Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory. We feel that it is educationally important to have small seminar-type classes on special interest subjects which would not be mandatory for all comrades, but open to those who are interested and want to come. These will run simultaneously with other YSA educational class series being held. By keeping these seminars small we hope to be able to have more participation and discussion among members. The seminar on the Mandel pamphlet is the first seminar we've organized on this basis, so this method will remain to be evaluated.

In collaboration with the educational committee of the SWP, we are drawing up individualized reading lists for members who have been in for a certain period, to suggest things they might be especially interested in pursuing and to oversee and ensure their theoretical development. The individualized approach, though it takes the most time, is probably the most effective not only in being able to individually discuss ideas or in suggesting reading material, but also in training members to effectively present material themselves.

With new members the education committee is working out reading lists for them also and suggesting basic works for them to read. What is projected, however, is that probably after the YSA convention we'll have internal classes on the basic works again for our new members.

At present we have a high school contact class in progress which is using Socialism on Trial.

Evelyn Kirsch

Los Angeles:

We are presently involved in a number of educational, internal as well as external, and have a very ambitious program for the near future.

We are finishing up an educational series on the black struggle, (course outline included in this bulletin). This series was primarily for YSA'ers, but we have invited a few contacts when we thought that the educational could be instrumental in recruiting them. The series was rather extensive and was separated into 8 sections, dealing with the black struggle chronologically starting with slavery and going up through the black power movement. Required readings were kept to pamphlets and articles to assure that all comrades would have time to read the material, but we did prepare a lengthy list of suggested readings that would deal in more detail with the subject. Greater emphasis was placed on the question of self-determination for blacks and with the more recent developments. We had very fruitful discussion around Trotsky's pamphlet on Self-Determination and Black Nationalism, and found it very useful in explaining our movement's present views on the black struggle. Aside from educating comrades, the class served a second purpose, as it gave comrades who never have given educational valuable experience in this very important area. We found that a presentation could be kept relatively short as long as comrades did the assigned reading, thereby leaving most of the time for discussion which proved quite valuable.

In addition to this series, a series of classes for newer comrades and candidates has been prepared and will start immediately after the convention. This is a review of some of the basic material of the YSA. It will include such things as a history of the YSA (using tapes) and discussions on some of our basic works in different areas. We plan on using "Socialism on Trial," "How a Minority Can Change Society," "Who will Change the World," "History of American Trotskyism" and similar material. Through this series, we hope to give newer comrades and candidates a start on the study of some of the fundamental ideas and works of our movement.

Besides these classes which are designed primarily for comrades, we have also been running contact classes on campus at UCLA. We have run two series so far, one on the black struggle and one on the Cuban Revolution. These

series of necessity must be shorter than the internal ones since a fairly large turnover occurs. Both the classes we have run were three sessions long. In these series as well, it has been desirable to keep the presentation to a minimum, allowing as much time as possible for discussion. It is frequently easier to explain our program to contacts in terms of their questions rather than through lecture form. Assigning minimal readings in these classes seems to present no problems and a majority of the contacts take these assignments seriously.

An important consideration in all these classes has been to involve as many comrades as possible in the teaching of at least one session. With the increased and increasing recruitment, internal educationals become ever more important, and the need for increasing the number of YSA'ers who can give classes accelerates.

Peer Vinther

Madison

Summer School

- A. Classes on basic reading
 - 1. Results and Prospects
 - 2. Revolution Betrayed
 - 3. Third International After Lenin
 - 4. In Defense of Marxism
- B. Tape Series
 - 1. Six tapes on the history of the party -- Harry Ring
 - 2. Two tapes on the Progressive Party -- Harry Ring
- C. Classes taught by individual comrades
 - 1. Egypt
 - 2. Bolivia
 - 3. Israel and Zionism
 - 4. Soviet Economic Reform
 - 5. Guatamala
 - 6. Cuba
 - 7. Peru

Fall Semester

- A. Two classes on the permanent revolution
 - 1. Permanent Revolution - Trotsky
 - 2. Theory of the Cuban Revolution - Hansen
 - 3. Catastrophe in Indonesia
- B. Three classes on the history of the black struggle
 - 1. Breitman pamphlet on race prejudice
 - Essays on Civil War and on Reconstruction in Marxist
 - Essays in American History
 - First Ten Years of American Communism, Pt. II - Cannon

2. Negroes on the March, Chap. 10 - Guerin
Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination
 3. Freedom Now - SWP and How a Minority Can Change
Society - Breitman
White Radicals and Black Nationalism - Vernon
Last Year of Malcolm X - Breitman
- C. Two classes on Electoral Politics
1. Trotsky on a Labor Party
1949 articles (FI) on Wallace campaign
SWP discussion bulletin on Wallace campaign
 2. Towards a Peace Ticket in 1968 - Gus Hall
YSA Educational Bulletin on the tactic of Critical
Support
ISR article on the United Socialist Campaign, Sp. '58
- D. Classes by individual comrades
1. Debray
Revolution in the Revolution?
Maitan article in ISR
 2. China, 1925--1927
Problems and Perspectives - Trotsky
Third International after Lenin, Pt. II- Trotsky

New York

Because of its size and continual growth, New York has had to experiment and make changes in the standard educational work. We realized that one class for the whole local did not meet the needs of the various educational levels of the comrades. Also, including all the comrades in one class made such a large group that intensive education and discussion became impossible. In addition, we found that candidates have particular educational needs which differ from those of the membership. Consequently, we initiated the following methods of education and have found them extremely successful.

Internal Education

We now organize 3 or 4 classes on various topics and at various levels. Attendance is handled in a number of ways. Sometimes the local is divided and the membership assigned to the classes. Sometimes everyone just chooses the class he'd like to take. In the latter case, recommendations are sometimes made to newer members and candidates as to which class would be best for their education. The group of classes usually represents different areas of study -- the basics (Lenin, Trotsky, Marx, etc), Afro-American history, party history and one which covers the basic ideas in a "modern" format. For example, a study of the Cuban revolution goes over most of the basics, brings them up

to date and offers a living example. Because of the level of hectic activity, we try to offer study guides or mimeod questions to each class. These aids to study are very important. They map out a plan for members to follow and make it easier to get the most out of reading and discussion. (The course outline for Afro-American history is included in this bulletin.)

We also hold educationals after meetings. This one hour time period is often used for major reports -- antiwar reports, conference, e.g. SDS, NCNP reports, etc. In addition, we plan several "straight" educationals to be on the agenda whenever we don't need a "report" type educational. These range from the history of SDS, YSA, DuBois, etc. to our position on World War II. With many new members and candidates, we find it necessary to go over and over the recent history of the youth and antiwar movements.

Candidate Education

At first, we simply sold each new candidate what was called a "candidate kit." It contained some basic works we expected him to read. However, since that time we have found that much more is needed. We began to assign each candidate to one member. The two would meet once a week and go over basic ideas and readings. For example, each candidate and his "guide" would read The History of American Trotskyism, convention documents, constitution, and assorted other current basic pamphlets. This worked very well until we didn't have enough comrades with the necessary time to spend with each candidate. We have now organized a candidate class. In addition, each candidate is assigned a "guide" with whom they can talk, ask questions, etc. on a less intense level than previously. We have also found that because we are recruiting on a more basic level, we need to go over our very basic ideas in the candidate class. We now use the Communist Manifesto, convention documents, etc. Stress on our position in the antiwar movement has proven to be important.

Contact Education

The usual "basics of socialism" educational for contacts is still used. However, we have organized its timing and setting for maximum contact work. First, we serve dinner before the class. This provides for political discussion and a "friendly" atmosphere. We've even been fortunate enough to have a couple of contacts work with comrades on preparing the dinner! We also hold the classes right before the Militant Labor Forum -- almost all contacts then stay around for the forum and this provides for more contact work in addition to giving them a good dose of revolutionary ideas in one night. We have a leaflet for contact classes so that we can give them to the contacts we meet in all of our various areas of work.

Summer School

This year's summer school was co-sponsored by the YSA and the SWP branch. Four different courses were taught, and everyone was expected to take two of them. One course, on Socialist Politics and Electoral Action, was mandatory for everyone in the local. Each person then had a choice of a class on: 1) History of the Cuban Revolution, 2) Theory and History of the Afro-American Struggle, or 3) History and Organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

For most classes the reading assignments were quite heavy and despite a hectic summer of activity, most of the comrades kept up with the reading. Because of the small size of the classes (even the Electoral Action class broke down into smaller discussion groups for about an hour), and the extended period of time available to cover each topic, the summer school proved one of the most successful in several years. (The course outline of the Electoral Action class is included in the bulletin.)

Miscellaneous

We held a very successful series of Malcolm X tapes on Saturday nights. We viewed this as both educational to the comrades attending and a way to attract contacts to our hall. Though each session (4 in all) didn't attract large numbers, before we were thru, we had had over 80 contacts into the hall (some repeats) had sold literature, Militant and YS subs, and obtained a good number of new names for our list. We placed a leaflet on each chair announcing the fact that we hold classes on various subjects (Socialism, Afro-American History, etc.) and asked them to sign up. About 20 or more did. Before playing the tape, we would give a 5 minute presentation on why we support the ideas of Malcolm X. Our campus fractions also hold classes. Mostly, they are on the Marxist classics, but Columbia is now holding a successful one on Afro-American history.

Melissa Singler

San Francisco

The 1967 Summer School was different in several important ways from the previous summer political education program in its emphasis, intensity, purpose and organization. On the whole it was the best Summer School in the local's history.

After the April 15th antiwar demonstration, the local was confronted with the pleasant problem of educating a newly recruited layer. Additionally, the local needed to balance its activist orientation. Consequently, the summer school's emphasis was placed on how to approach the study of Marxism, on how to acquire the skill and technique of thoroughly understanding and mastering Marxist ideas. The reading assignments were heavy and most classes met twice weekly. The program also provided for the "training" of three comrades in class instruction. These three were assisted by already experienced comrades. For the first time the school was not organized on a regional level. Traditionally, the Berkeley, San Francisco, and San Jose (while that local existed) locals met once a week for an all day session. The transportation problem presented by much larger locals than in the past and the availability of sufficient numbers of class instructors on each side of the Bay, made this respectively impossible and unnecessary.

Three courses were offered: Introduction to Marxism, In Defense of Marxism, and the Theory of the Afro-American Struggle. Comrades were assigned according to their educational level, with a suggested maximum of two courses.

The course on the Afro-American Struggle was offered in recognition of the fact that almost the entire local had not gone through the discussions in the movement on the question of Black Nationalism, nor had it been through experiences such as the one in the Detroit area with the Freedom Now Party. In Defense of Marxism was probably the most rigorously conducted of all the courses.

No one was allowed to speak or ask questions without having read the assignment. Questions were asked in rotation to limit domination of the discussion by the more articulate and less timid. An atmosphere was cultivated wherein thorough comprehension of the material was maximized. Disciplined study was the watchword.

The Introductory course was significant in two ways. For the first time in the local's history, a whole layer of new recruits was given the best possible start in their political education with a rounded presentation of the fundamental ideas of Marxism. This class also revealed that the newer comrades studied harder than several of the older comrades in the local.

Since the summer school, internal education has been halted completely by the election and referendum campaigns. In late November, the comrades who went through the Introductory course began the study of In Defense and The Logic of Marxism. The intention here is to follow this class by The Revolution Betrayed and Struggle For A Proletarian Party.

The Experimental College

Beginning in September 1967, we took advantage of an on-campus "free school" program at San Francisco State and organized a course in Marxism. The class is well received by students, meets weekly at night, uses films and tapes and has provided a presentation of elementary Marxist ideas. Most of the comrades in the local have attended the class and have, like the non-members attending it, found it exciting and very worthwhile. Next semester, the course will be given for credit. It is taught by two party comrades.

The Spring Contact Class

Beginning in February, 1968, a six session class using State and Revolution, Imperialism, The Long View of History, two other texts and Cannon's recent ISR article on the Vanguard Party is planned. It will be given off campus, with a \$3.00 registration fee which will include cost of books.

Jim Kendrick

Seattle

The Seattle YSA's internal education program is based on two needs which are particularly important in a relatively new local. Our educationals have been designed to 1) educate us in the Marxist classics and to assimilate the Marxist method of analysis, and 2) to have general discussions of our political work in various spheres of activity.

Therefore, we have alternated our educationals to cover these two fields. In respect to the first, we have had or have scheduled sessions on Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Marxist Economics, Dialectical Materialism, State and Revolution, and the Communist Manifesto. For discussion of Marxist economics, we found Mandel's pamphlet invaluable.

In respect to the second field we have had discussions of the antiwar and antidraft movements, based on the discussion in the New York SWP, Electoral Action and Perspectives for Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle work, and reports by comrades from out of town on activities in their areas and nationally. These reports from comrades on tour or visiting Seattle have been especially valuable to us since Seattle is over 1,000 miles from the nearest local and has a hard time sending comrades to national actions and conferences.

Will Reissner

Twin Cities

I. 1967 Twin Cities Summer School

Section One: On the History of the Third International

-Revolutionary Strategy and the United Front

The First Five Years of the Communist International

-The Theory of "Socialism in One Country"

The Third International After Lenin

Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution

The Third International After Lenin

A Survey of Stalinism since 1928 (No reading assignment)

The Fourth International and the Transitional Program

The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the
Fourth International

Section Two: American Labor History (8 classes)

-Labor's Giant Step (Eric Reinhaller, guest speaker, gave
2 lectures)

Section Three: Negro History (6 classes)

-The Background in Africa and the Slave Trade

-Three classes by George Weissman on slavery, the Civil
War, Reconstruction, and the Populist movement (Suggest-
ed reading: Before the Mayflower, Bennett: The African
Slave Trade, Davidson; The Black Jacobins, C.L.R. James).

-Two classes by Betsey Barnes on the development of the
revolutionary socialist position on the Negro struggle
(suggested reading: Black Nationalism & Self-Determina-
tion, Trotsky: Marxism & Negro Struggle; Freedom Now
Resolution; How a Minority Can Change Society).

II. YSA Classes at University of Minn. & Macalester College
in Basic Marxism

-Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx

-Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Engels

-Value, Price and Profit, Marx

-The State and Revolution, Lenin (2 classes)

-Results and Prospects, Trotsky (2 classes)

During Winter Quarter we plan on continuing these classes with the following texts: The Revolution Betrayed; Trotsky: Imperialism (Lenin and Mandel); Dynamics of World Revolution Today; America's Road to Socialism, Cannon.

III. Class for Candidates and Contacts (begun last week and to continue for 6 lessons)

Socialism on Trial and History of American Trotskyism, Cannon.

IV. Class in Party History (for comrades who have been in a long time)

In Defense of Marxism, Trotsky; Struggle for a Proletarian Party, Cannon.

V. Educationals to the Local

While we have had educationals on various subjects, (SDS National Convention, Past Election Campaigns, etc.), the most successful one was perhaps the following series on the Black Struggle (held this Fall):

-Black Nationalism and Self-Determination, Trotsky (2 sessions)

-Freedom Now Resolution

-Recent developments in the Black Struggle

David Thorstad

Washington, D.C.

Last spring the D.C. local held internal educationals on The History of American Trotskyism and on the Transitional Program.

During the summer a contact class was held on Vietnam and the antiwar movement. This class was attended by 4-7 contacts plus three or four comrades. The class developed into discussion on basic socialism and from the class 3 contacts became candidates and two of these are now in the YSA.

For the period immediately before October 21st the local limited its educationals to the pre-convention discussion bulletins of the SWP.

Since October 21st classes have been held on the three SWP convention bulletins containing the convention Youth Report, Independent Black Political Party Report, and Political Report. A class is just terminating on the Struggle for a Proletarian Party and Socialism on Trial will be studied next.

Linda Wetter

Series of Classes on Black Nationalism
Given in New York, Fall 1967

I. Roots and Nature of Black Nationalism

Readings:

- a. "White Radicals and Black Nationalism," Robert Vernon, ISR, Winter 1964
- b. "Malcolm X on Afro-American History"
- c. Marxism vs. Ultra-Leftism, Ernest Germain, pp. 50-59

Extra Reading:

The works of Franz Fanon

Topics of Discussion:

- a. The necessity for black people to establish an identity through the rejection of racist America and the study of Afro-American and African history; the necessity to see yourself in light of your own history and struggles, not as you have been defined by your oppressor.
- b. The Afro-American revolution as part of the world colonial revolution.

II. Black Nationalism, Separatism, and the American Revolution.

Reading: Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination.

Topics for Discussion:

- a. The application of the theory of the permanent revolution to the democratic struggle of black people for self-determination.
- b. The perspective for the growth of nationalism in a revolutionary upsurge.
- c. The democratic demand of self-determination as a more radical step beyond the demand for equality; the democratic demand for self-determination as the revolutionary demand, the democratic demand for full equality as the liberal demand.
- d. The necessity for unconditional support for the democratic right of black people to determine their own destiny; the role of the revolutionary party in rallying white support for self-determination; unconditional support to the right of separation as the acid test for revolutionary workers on the national question.
- e. Black people as the vanguard of the American revolution.

III. Lenin on the National Question

Reading: Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, V.I. Lenin

Topics of Discussion:

- a. The importance of the fight for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination in the epoch of imperialist decay as part of the struggle for socialism.
- b. Denial of the basic democratic right of self-determination of an oppressed nation as an indication of chauvinism.
- c. The need to oppose the use of cultural nationalism by reactionary sections of the Ukrainian, Jewish, etc. bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in contrast to the wholly progressive nature of the study and use of Afro-American culture and history.
- d. The necessity to fight against the substitution of cultural self-determination for political self-determination; the cultural awakening of black people can aid the political struggle for self-determination.
- e. The need to unite both black and white revolutionary socialists in a single national combat party.
- f. The role of the revolutionary workers party in fighting for the right of separation of oppressed nations and minorities.

IV. The Power of Black People to Change Society and the Strategy of the Afro-American Struggle Today

Readings:

- a. "How a Minority Can Change Society," George Breitman
- b. "The Case for an Independent Black Party," ISR January-February, 1968.
- c. "The Death Agony of Capitalism, and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (The Transitional Program of the Fourth International)

Topics for Discussion

- a. The call for a mass independent black party based on the nature of black people as a national minority. Self-determination as the central demand of a black party.
- b. While the revolutionary nature of the black struggle flows from its character as a struggle against American capitalism for national self-determination, the Afro-American nation's proletarian composition means that black workers raise transitional demands along with their democratic demands for self-determination, and this enhances their ability to play a leadership role in the class struggle for workers power in the United States.
- c. The relationship between the democratic slogans demanding self-determination and proletarian transitional demands in the black struggle.

V. Garveyism as a Forerunner of the Nationalist Upsurge Today.

Reading:

Marcus Garvey, Adolph Edwards

Topics for Discussion:

- a. Basic ideas and nature of Garvey movement
- b. Assessment of reasons for rise and decline of the Garvey movement and the implications of this for the struggle today.
- c. Errors in the CP's Approach to the Garvey Movement.

New York Summer School---1967

Socialist Politics and Electoral Action

Development of the Socialist Workers Party position on the Labor Party and its tactical application; third party formations from 1948-1966; Socialist electoral activity and the tactic of critical support.

A. Development of our Labor Party position; 1932-1942

1. View of the Labor Party up to 1936

Required Reading:

The Labor party in America by Trotsky, Section I

Supplementary:

The problem of a Labor Party, by Schactman,

New International, March 1935 pp. 33-37

Will Roosevelt be Re-elected? by John West

New International, April 1936, pp. 33-36.

Is a Third Party Coming? by Arne Swabeck

New International, August 1935, pp. 145-148.

2. 1936-42

Required Reading:

The Labor Party in America, by Trotsky

Sections 2-4, pp. 5-37

The Labor Party, a debate between Burnham, Schactman
and Draper, New International, August 1938

Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA by Trotsky

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay, by Trotsky

How the Labor Party Began by Brian Pearce

Supplementary:

The Labor Party, by Burnham, New International, March
1938, pp. 71-73

The Labor Party and Progress by Goldman, New International,
September 1938, p. 279.

B. Labor Party Campaign --1942-47

Required Reading:

The Campaign for a Labor Party, by Cannon, Fourth In-
ternational, August 1943, p. 230-5.

Labor's Giant Step, by Art Preis, p. 237-253, "Labor
Political Action

The Case for an Independent Labor Party, by Farrell Dobbs,
Militant, April 3, 1967.

Supplementary:

American Workers Need a Labor Party, by Joseph Hansen
Build a Labor Party Now! by George Clark
Fight Reaction, Build a Labor Party, Chevy Local 659,
UAW, Flint
1946 SWP Political Resolution, Fourth International,
January 1947, p. 14-21
August 1947 SWP Plenum Political Resolution, Militant
The Significance of the SWP Election Campaign, F.I.
October 1946, p. 291-292

C. 1948 Wallace Campaign and the First SWP Presidential Campaign

Required reading:

'Peace Politics vs. Revolutionary Politics: Henry Wallace
and the 1948 Presidential Campaign, by James P. Cannon
Class Forces in the Truman Victory, FI, Feb. 1949, p. 59
The 1948 Presidential Election Campaign Under the Two
Party System, FI, Jan-Feb 1948, p. 6
Labor's Giant Step by Art Preis, "The Wallace Campaign
and Truman's Victory," p. 363-370

Supplementary:

The Radical Vote in 1948, by George Clark, FI, February 1949, p. 48
A Momentous Decision, the First SWP Presidential Campaign,
FI, Jan.-Feb. 1948, p. 38

D. United Socialist Campaign - 1958

Required Reading:

What Policy for 1960, and Three Years of Regroupment,
ISR, Fall, 1959, p. 98
Which Way for Supporters of the Progressive Party? by
Harry Ring, ISR, Spring 1956, p. 45
The Struggle in the Communist Party, by Harry Ring,
FI., Spring 1958, p. 52
Two Concepts of Socialist Unity, by Murry Weiss, ISR,
Winter 1957, p. 3
The Socialist Election Policy in 1958, by James P. Cannon
How to Build an Antimonopoly Coalition, by Wm. F. Warde
and Joseph Hansen, ISR, Summer 1957, p. 85-95

Supplementary:

Three Radical Parties and the 1960 Elections, by Murry
Weiss, ISR, Summer 1960
For a United Socialist Ticket, ISR, Spring 1958
The End of the Stalin Cult, M. Stein, FI, Spring 1956

E. Independent Black Political Action

Required reading:

1967 SWP Resolution on Independent Black Political Party,
ISR, Jan.-Feb. 1968

Report on Independent Black Party, 1967 SWP Convention,
Clifton DeBerry

Labor Party and Freedom Now Party, by Tom Kerry

1963 SWP Freedom Now Resolution, section on the Freedom
Now Party

F. The Atkinson Campaign

Required reading:

SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 7, especially
"Fundamental Aspects of the Atkinson Question,"
by Farrell Dobbs, p. 20-37

Supplementary:

SWP Endorses Independent: Negro Runs for Mayor of Cleveland,
Militant, July 26, 1965

Cleveland Negro Almost Upset Machine, Militant, Nov. 22, 1965

Stokes Cleveland Victory, Militant, Oct. 16, 1967

Stokes-Hatcher Victory: A Real Gain for Blacks?
Militant, November 20, 1967

G. "Independent" Campaigns and the Tactic of Critical Support

Required reading:

"Independent" Campaigns and the Tactic of Critical
Support, by Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard

H. The 1968 Campaign

Required reading:

Toward a Peace Ticket in 1968, by Gus Hall

1967 SWP Political Resolution, ISR, Jan.-Feb. 1968

New Politics Convention, by Harry Ring, Militant,
Sept. 11, 25, Oct. 2, 9, 1967

The McCarthy Campaign, by Harry Ring, Militant,
December 18, 1967

The Black Struggle in America

(Given in Los Angeles, Fall 1967)

The general outline covers the early period of slavery in America to the present Black Power Movement with emphasis on the major economic and political events through these years.

The sessions will run for a period of 8 or 9 weeks with each YSAer giving a session. The basic required reading is listed along with supplementary reading. The required reading is being kept to a minimum so everyone can read it. The class instructors should read as much of the supplementary reading as possible for their class.

Outline

1. Slavery and the American Revolution
2. Nature of the Second American Revolution
3. Reconstruction to the First World War

Since the reading material overlaps in these periods, for the first three sessions the following will be required reading:

Marxist Essays in American History
Negroes on the March - Daniel Guerin
Emancipation Proclamation - Warde - ISR, Spring 1963

Supplementary:

1. Slavery and Capitalism - Eric Williams
Malcolm X on Afro-American History
Anti-Negro Prejudice, How it Began, How it Will
End - George Breitman
Strange Career of Jim Crow - C. Vann Woodward
2. Life and Times of Frederick Douglass
Documents of Upheaval - Wm. Garrison
Black Reconstruction - W.E.B. DuBois
Camejo's articles in May-June 1965 and July-August
1965 Young Socialist
4. World War I to World War II period, and The Theory
of Self-Determination and Nationalism

Required reading:

Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism - Lenin

A Further Note on the Problems of Nationality -
Trotsky
Black Nationalism and the Right of Self-Determination - Trotsky

5. Black Struggle in the World War Periods - (events, organizations and role of radicals)

Required reading:

Russian Revolution and American Negro Movement
(First Ten Years of American Communism, Part II)
The Struggle for Negro Equality - Saunders and Parker
Negroes on the March - chap. 10
Fourth International, May-June 1950

6. World War II period to 1954
The economic and political struggle
Revolutionary socialist relation to these developments

Required reading:

On the Negro Struggle, Nationalism and Self-Determination, George Breitman, SWP Discussion Bulletin, A-21, 1954
Negro Revolution through Revolutionary Socialism, Fourth International, May-June 1950

Supplementary:

Negroes in the Post War Period - Albert Parker
The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality - 1956
SWP Convention Resolution
Fanon's works - The Wretched of the Earth
Studies in a Dying Colonialism
White Face Black Mask

7. The New Militancy - 1954 to Today
A. Historical chronology of events from Supreme Court school desegregation to Black Uprisings
B. Political development - nonviolence vs. self-defense, Freedom Now, Malcolm X, Black Independent Political Party

Required reading:

Pamphlets by and on Malcolm X
Freedom Now! - 1963 SWP Convention Resolution (or Fall 1963 ISR)
Black Ghetto - Vernon
Black Uprisings - Novack
1964 YSA Convention Resolution on the Black Struggle

Supplementary:

Negroes With Guns - Williams
Marxism and the Negro Struggle - Cruse, Breitman,
DeBerry
Revolt in the South - Dan Wakefield

8. Black Nationalism and White Radicals
 - A. Present black organizations and leaders
 - B. The task of revolutionary socialists

Required reading:

White Radicals and Black Nationalism - Vernon
How a Minority Can Change Society - Breitman
Black Power - Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton
Carmichael speeches and interviews - World Outlook

Supplementary:

Question of Alliances in the Negro Freedom
Struggle - ISR - Winter 1965

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