

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

January 15, 1975

TO ALL ORGANIZERS, RECRUITMENT AND EDUCATION DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a study guide on "The Struggle Against Racism." As the YSA actively organizes a national campaign against the racist offensive in Boston, it will be important for all YSA members to be familiar with the YSA's position on the central political issues of this fight and how it fits into the development of the Black struggle in general. The study guide can be the basis for individual study as well as a YSA class series.

Locals can consider organizing a YSA class series on campuses as well. Such a series would be a valuable forum through which to discuss our political ideas with campaign supporters, activists in local student committees against racism and other contacts and students we work with.

Malik Miah's Political Report to the YSA convention takes up many of the questions in this study guide. All comrades should read and distribute it to people interested in the YSA as soon as it is available in February.

There are several supplementary readings to this study guide including articles in Black Liberation and Socialism. Derrick Morrison's two articles, "Malcolm X and Independent Black Political Action," (pp. 84-91), and "The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution," (pp. 13-32), as well as "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," (pp. 33-58), are particularly valuable. The February YS will carry several articles on Boston and the Black struggle which can be utilized. In addition a series on how to fight racism will be printed in The Militant beginning with the Jan. 24 issue.

Comradely,



Ginny Hildebrand  
YSA National Office

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM**  
a four class series

**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. 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?

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

6. 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.

7. 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?