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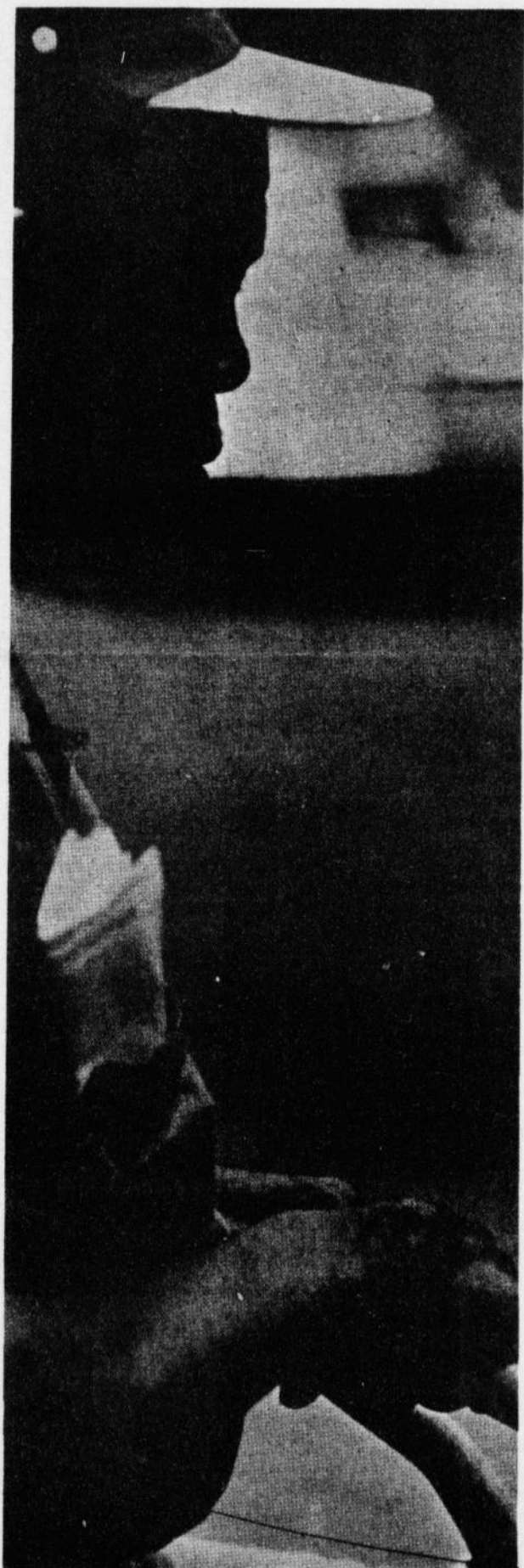
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# indicator

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Special on Racism



***The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown, and black.***

W.E.B. DuBois



## White Students and Racism

In order to better understand the issues and strategies involved in the BSC-MAYA proposal for Lumumba-Zapata College, it will help to put this struggle against racism beginning at UCSD in some kind of national context. Nationally, there have been basically two responses by white students within the Movement to struggles against racism initiated by people of color, (BSC, MAYA, TWLF, etc.). Whites have 1) either attempted to add 'white' demands onto black struggles in order to 'involve more white students' or 2) have uncritically supported demands simply because they were made by people of color. Now the fact that struggles against racism have been initiated in every case by people of color (not once have whites begun such a struggle) is fairly obvious proof in itself that latent, racist attitudes exist among even radical whites. But the important point is that once the battle has been joined, both approaches mentioned above were found to be incorrect. When the time came that whites had to put their bodies on the line (in the case of sit-ins, student's strikes, etc.) as well as their mouths, they were often found wanting. Why? Because whites didn't understand the basis of racism (see article, opposite page) and the nature of the fight they were waging. The way white radicals involve themselves - adding white demands or uncritically supporting demands - showed that whites didn't understand that the fight against racism was their fight too, a fight in their material interest.

OK. Let's try to concretize that by talking about whites at UCSD. Primarily, it is the uncritical support approach which has been adopted at UCSD. This attitude was perhaps best exemplified by the Tuesday the Ninth Committee (TNC), a once active, but now dead, group of concerned whites who were shocked enough by the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King last April to band together to do something about racism. TNC set itself up in cadres of 10-15 people which organized high school students, supported the grape-strike, and engaged in black-white dialogues. A basically liberal and moralistic approach to the problem however, resulted in its gradual demise. For instance, what the dialogues initiated last fall amounted to was a black student coming in and throwing the white students up against their own personal racism, which is ingrained in every white born in the U.S. A necessary first step, this level of discussion was never advanced. The suggestion was that white racist attitudes were the crux of the problem. An understanding of why whites have racist attitudes was never attempted. One was led to believe that there was some fundamental psychological antagonism that people of white skin had against people of color which, if it was purged would solve the problem of racism. The fact that historically and currently the material and economic base of capitalism fosters and sustains racist attitudes in order to keep whites and people of color from uniting against their common enemy was never explained. The vast majority of TNC people never realized that a fight against racism was not only in the interests of blacks and browns, but also was in their material interest!

So what was the result of this lack of understanding of the material base of racism (see statistics this page)? In times of inactivity or real stress such a liberal support group does not have the ability to keep functioning. TNC folded. The point is that TNC's uncritical support of black and brown struggles was, in fact, a patronizing and racist attitude. Why? First, such an attitude implies that people of color are inferior, that their oppression has made them less human, less strong, that their egos must be catered to. This 'charitable' attitude is patently ridiculous. Historically, black people never gave up to their oppression under slavery. The struggles of blacks from the great slave revolts of the 1800's to the Underground Railroad which allowed many black slaves to slip into the North before the civil war, is ample testimony. Today, the tremendous renaissance in black arts has led to a revitalization of American music, poetry, and Theatre to name just a few. Most important, today it is people of color who are in the vanguard of liberation struggles everywhere, from wild cat labor strikes at Ford and Dodge auto plants led by black caucuses to struggles on such campuses as Columbia and San Francisco State to Vietnam. Whites to not have to be patronizing; they only have to get off their asses and become part of that struggle. These criticisms of TNC have not been discussed to castigate individual members of TNC for being racist (the entire editorial staff of the *Indicator* was in TNC at one time or another), but rather to indicate how deeply ingrained white chauvinist attitudes, fostered by 400 years of racist myths and prejudices, still are.

Having learned from our experiences in TNC, the question now becomes how are whites to relate to struggles against racism at UCSD. It does not mean that whites, because the struggle against racism is their struggle also, should try to take over the leadership of such struggles. Such white supremacist ideas are another manifestation of liberal, capitalist ideology. These ideas were defeated in the early 1960's when blacks threw down the gauntlet of the civil rights movement, transforming it in to a black power movement (SNCC for example). White supremacist ideas will also be defeated at UCSD. What a struggle against racism at UCSD does mean is that whites must be open, honest, militant, and critical in their support. A spirit of cooperation between whites and people of color must be built. It is now time for blacks to move past an ideology of black power and for whites to renounce their patronizing liberalism so that a unified struggle can be made.

In the context of the student movement we must not allow racist administrators to divide whites from Blacks. Hayakawa of San Francisco State, who early during the State strike tried on numerous occasions to isolate blacks from whites (and was defeated), has been going around the country making speeches about how black student demands are good and white student demands are bad, in an overt attempt to divide the student movement on the same racist lines that much of the labor movement has been divided. It hardly needs to be said that the Chancellor would love to accomplish the same thing on this campus. White students who are concerned about the war in Vietnam and being asked to fight it, who are concerned about irrelevant education or meaningless life as a technician, or who are concerned about military recruitment must realize that these problems and the problems of racism have a common base.

Ultimately, we must realize that a fight against racism can only be waged by people of all colors together. Racism, like the war in Vietnam and imperialism, has its source in the class division of our society into workers and owners and in the need of capitalism to maximize profits. Ultimately, racism will only be ended by unity within the oppressed class. Ultimately, whites must realize that the man in the white skin can never be free until the man in the black or brown or red or yellow skin is free.

FIGHT RACISM.

## Material Content of Racism

### Jobs

People of color are systematically kept as a pool of the lowest paid labor in the work force. Either unemployed, employed part time, or given the worst jobs, people of color suffer most from class exploitation.

Black working men make \$3000 per year less than whites on the average. Average white family incomes are double the average of black family incomes.

Median Income for Total Population and for Nonwhite, by Occupation in 1959 was:

Occupation	Median Income		Ratio
	Nonwhite	Total	
Bakers	\$3354	\$4633	.72
Carpenters	2320	4271	.54
Welders and flame cutters	4454	5116	.87
Elevator Operators	3122	3487	.90
Automobile mechanics	3173	4372	.73
Tinsmiths, coppersmiths and steel metal workers	4710	5542	.85

60% of all black families earn less than \$4000, whereas 28% of white families earn that amount.

The percentage of black women working and supplementing incomes in addition to husbands is more than double that of white women.

Half of the black workers have full-time year-round jobs; the rest work part-time or not at all, whereas more than two-thirds of the white workers actually work (1964)

Black high school graduates with full time jobs earn 25% less than do white high school drop-outs

black high school graduates have a higher unemployment rate than do white drop-outs.

Nonwhite Estimated Lifetime Income as a Percentage of White Estimated Lifetime Income at Three Educational Levels

Educational Level

Elementary school graduates	64%
High school graduates	60%
College graduates	50%

Black workers have a rate of 20% unemployment and are only 11% of the population, thus the unemployment of blacks is nearly double that of whites.

By the standard of \$1580 per year for a single person, and \$5090 per year for a family of seven or more, eleven million blacks are classified as poor; this is 55% of the Black population as opposed to 16% of the whites. Thus, as many as 16 million - 75% - live in poverty.

### Housing and Education

The businessmen and their government are able to continue making profits off the black and brown communities not only by keeping unemployment high but by providing inadequate schools, low quality services and extracting as much as possible in payment for bad food and old housing.

Whereas 44% of black housing is classified as substandard, i.e., slum, only 13% of white housing is so classified; and, a greater portion of the black population lives in the 44% slum areas than in the 56% above-standard housing.

In 1960-61, black families spend 10% more for food, housing and clothing than did white families.

In 1960, 40% of all nonwhite children lived in over-crowded housing, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

### Violence By Whom?

The conditions of the people of color worsen with each passing day. The standard living conditions these people are forced to accept create poverty and disease. The U.S. government also uses people of color to fill the ranks of its armies and forces them to fight in imperialist wars which oppress their Third World brothers throughout the world.

Maternal deaths (i.e. deaths during child birth) are at a rate four times greater for blacks than for whites.

The infant death rate (aged from birth to one year) for black babies is double that of whites.

The death rate for black people aged 25-40 years is double that of whites of the same age group.

10% of the population is black; 17% of those in the army are black.

Black soldiers are 40% of the men in Vietnam.

24.4% of the casualties in Vietnam are black. And the death rate of black soldiers is over 18%, whereas the rate for white fighting men is only 11%.

3% of the population is Mexican-American, while 18% of the casualties in Vietnam are Chicanos.

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# Historical Basis of Racism

With the Kerner Report, racism was finally recognized as an American problem. This report documented some of the systematic discrimination against Black people in American History, and it documented some of the realities of Black oppression -- concentration of blacks in the ghettos of the central cities, a higher rate of unemployment, lower wages, increasing income gap between whites and blacks, bad education, poverty etc. It documents the fact that living in this environment tends to perpetrate the situation. The pattern reinforces itself from one generation to the next, creating a 'culture of poverty' and an ingrained cynicism about society and its institutions." It sees "white racism" and "white society" as responsible for the ghettos and the discrimination which led to the riots it was to investigate. It tries to document the fact that "What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

But the report neglects to look closely at the white society and institutions it condemns. It would have us view the white society responsible for the ghettos as a joint enterprise of the white worker and the white factory owner, of the white welfare mother and David Rockefeller. It neglects to analyze the nature of the economic oppression of the American lower class -- regardless of color -- or to analyze the historical and economic uses of racism in the United States. The question must be asked -- Who in American society perpetuates and benefits from racism, the factory worker or the factory owner -- for racism is not just a psychological attitude of prejudice, but is a concrete material problem.

The question of who benefits can be answered to a great extent by looking at the statistic of Black oppression (many of which are in the Kerner Report itself). The Black worker on the average receives an annual income that is \$3000 less than the white worker (1965 dollars). This gap was only \$2174 in 1947 (measured in 1965 dollars). The Black family on the average receives one half the annual income of the white family. This income gap exists even when the white and Black worker have the same occupation (see statistics this issue). This income differential goes to the white factory owner, not the white worker; it creates \$22 billion extra profit a year for the owning class. In addition, the lower wages paid to Black workers lower the wages of all workers, again benefiting the factory owner not his white worker.

The fact that racism and the resulting black oppression is not just a psychological phenomena but is one related to the economic structure -- to the distinction between worker and owner -- can be seen more clearly if one looks at the history of American race relations. The first function of the black man in American society was that of the slave. The American colonies were built on slavery. The 18th century witnessed the establishment of colonies in North and South America, the slave trade, and the enslavement (or extermination) of the indigenous populations in these areas. The Northern colonies, the non-slave colonies, were primarily suppliers of goods to the slave plantations of the American South and of the West Indies. The American Revolution was to a great extent the result of a British attempt to cut off this trade. America's industrial and mercantile interests developed around the cotton and sugar produced by slaves.

During this period, the psychological aspects of racism developed into an ideology to justify slavery. The enslavement of a man was justified by saying that he was less than a man -- that he was inferior biologically, intellectually, and morally. Even religion -- i.e. the Bible -- was used to justify this. And on a material basis the pitting of Black against white was begun by using black slave labor to drive down the wages of white artisans. The white artisans was in reality competing with the plantation owner (much as a small grocery store is competing with the large grocery chain, not with the manager of the store near him) whose slave labor, financial resources, and political power gave him every advantage; but it was the black slave artisan who was now doing the work he had done, who was seen as the enemy.

During the Civil War the black man was given his freedom -- not out of humanitarianism but because the continued existence and extension of slavery was harmful to Northern industry. The slaves were freed in a battle for economic and political domination between Northern industrialist and Southern plantation owners. When the North won the war, the slaves were freed but nothing more. After the period of Reconstruction, Southern blacks were forced into a new system of peonage as share-croppers; in the North they were free to work for the industrialists at menial jobs and for low salaries. The distinction between 'black jobs' and 'white jobs' that had been formed during slavery was preserved after emancipation and the black man (along with the immigrant) got the worst jobs at the lowest pay. Blacks were now a reserve labor

force to fill jobs when business was booming and to keep wages low by increasing competition; racial and ethnic animosities were brought out by this use of blacks and foreigners to lower wages and break strikes.

Blacks were brought up from the South as strike breakers as early as 1855 in the New York dock strike and in 1863 against the longshoremen in half a dozen Eastern cities. Blacks from the rural south could be used as strike breakers because they often knew nothing about unions or even factories; they were never told of the strikes. In 1863, this use of blacks as strike breakers (300 Irish dock workers had lost a strike for higher wages largely because of the introduction of black labor under police protection) led to the New York City Draft Riots. The riots occurred among the Irish who saw the civil war as a war to free the Negroes and were bitterly afraid that even cheaper labor would flood the North when slavery ceased to exist. At this time the Irish lived in slums and worked at the lowest possible wages.

In mining strikes, in railroad strikes, in strikes of aluminum plants, in strikes such as the great steel strike, blacks were brought in from the South to work as scabs. The basic cause of the East St. Louis riots in 1917 was the importation of blacks to depress wages. Here railroad and factory owners brought up carloads of blacks from the South and dumped them in the city without regard to the minimum necessities of life. Housing and jobs were scarce, thus leading to depressed wages and the formation of ghettos. During the Steel strike of 1919, steel companies imported black workers; they shifted them from plant to plant often by marching them through the streets under guard, pitting them off against the white workers. In a Teamsters strike in Chicago only 800 out of 5800 scabs were black, but newspapers gave exaggerated reports of black scabs and raised the public "to a fever pitch of racial feeling."

Who benefits from racism was made clear by an official of Carnegie Steel: "As far as I am concerned I believe the Negro has been a life saver to the steel company. When we have had labor disputes, or when we needed more men for expansion, we have gone to the South and brought up thousands of them. I don't know what we would have done

without Negroes."

Employers are able to both keep wages down and also to break strikes by selective use of black labor -- by promoting racism. Not only did owners use blacks as scabs, but they used racism to prevent unionism from even occurring. When unions sought to organize blacks (not all unions are or were racist), they were often unsuccessful because the black men were afraid they would lose their jobs by joining or felt that a union was a 'white' organization that would not help the black man. When blacks and whites went on strike together, efforts were made to separate them. Often racist leaflets were issued by companies. When the workers went to their jobs, the black strikers often found themselves at lower paying jobs.

White workers are filled with prejudice as the Kerner Report indicates. White chauvinism does exist and has aided the attempts of employers to divide workers (for example unions refusing to admit blacks because they had been used as scabs or white workers striking against black workers). But it would be difficult to imagine how there would be no prejudice after centuries of slavery and a system of education, entertainment and communication dominated by racist doctrines. The problem is not simply white racism -- namely an innate hatred of blacks among white workers. The solution does not lie in more corporate or federal aid to the ghetto or in black capitalism as the Kerner report suggests. The answer to the question -- Who perpetuates and benefits from racism? -- should be clear. It is the factory owner who uses racism to keep down wages and prevent united struggles -- not the white worker. It is the division of society into owner and laborer, capitalist and worker, not just the division into black, brown, and white and the need to maximize profits that lies at the base of racism.

### Sources:

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## Racism in France

France has the reputation of not being a racist country. However, I believe that this springs from the absence of a particularly oppressed minority rather than from a French "virtue". Indeed the one important minority France had in the past, Jews, were confronted with varying degrees of anti-semitism.

Anti-semitism is still pretty much alive in France, but active racism implying discrimination in employment, housing etc... is more directly aimed at a variety of minorities consisting of foreign non-qualified workers.

As other "developed countries" of the Common Market (such as Germany, Switzerland etc...) France is now "importing" workers from the less developed nations (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece etc... and Northern Africa: Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia).

Racism in a clearly spelled out form has been directed mostly at the Northern African workers, especially Algerians; in addition to the economic factors tending to stimulate racism from the French, which I'll examine later, there was for a long time the wars being fought in Northern Africa which gave a special impetus to racism. Newspapers like 'Minute' (a fascist publication) were at that time inciting the French to racist murders by concentrating on the 'Algerian rapes' (of French women of course). These incitations and the war climate allowed the police to commit a series of murders intended for intimidating the National Liberation Front affiliates in France without really strong reaction from middle class Frenchmen -- even when they learned about bodies of North Africans being found in the river Seine.

Today police brutality is not as systematic toward minorities. It remains stronger towards the Arabs than toward the other minorities of workers I mentioned before.

Racism is more "de facto" than the expression of hysterical hatred toward such and such groups. That is, the workers coming from poorer countries (usually not really immigrating but intending to go back to their country with some of the money they earned in France) are given the most dangerous and hardest jobs. Their salaries are low (they usually are unskilled workers). Often they are hired

under illegal or very precarious conditions. Discrimination in housing manifests itself in the following forms: they live mostly in 'bidonvilles' (in shacks on undeveloped streets or sleep twenty in a room, a room rented at an exorbitant price.)

The precariousness of their employment and their low salaries place them in a bad situation toward other French workers: they are often used as scabs for instance. In times of unemployment they are the first to be fired. Of course not knowing French and being disoriented by the life in France, they become disunited from the rest of the working class, and are often called "Those stupid foreigners" by racist Frenchmen. During the general strike in May a special effort was made to ensure their cooperation in the strike, and with considerable success. However, the repression which followed hit them hardest together with the leaders of the Strike.

French Graduate Student

Editor's Note:

This article gives an understanding that racism is an international phenomena, that it is intentionally a tool of oppression materially as well as psychologically. That racism is not just some hysterical fear of the color Black or Brown, but that that initial hostility towards people of color can be taken and used for profit and exploitation. And that the initial hostility is reinforced and played upon by business men in order to break strikes, divide people, maintain low wages, and extract essentially slave-labor from these peoples.

What must be made clear now, is that we are not only helping these people by fighting racism but helping ourselves and that the oppression of these people is an exploitation of us as well. For, it is our wages that are held down by the use of racism in labor relations, and our strikes which are broken because these people are used as scabs.

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## BSC-MAYA Press Release

On April 4, 1969 Chancellor McGill in his inaugural address publicly proposed that a junior college be built on the UCSD campus for minority students and did not mention what changes, if any, should be made in the University. MAYA and BSC feel that the proposal by itself is a third-rate commitment to the minority communities and that as a substitute for Lamumba-Zapata College it is considerably inferior. McGill's proposal views the minority people as a problem which white America must solve; and it lacks any way of giving the minority communities a voice in the University they help to finance.

Specifically, the Black Student's Council and the Mexican-American Youth Association object to the Chancellor's proposal for the following reasons:

Permanent changes must be made in the University. An "experimental junior college" would not change the University so as to benefit our communities.

Whites plan to set up, control, and run the junior college. For the last 100 years whites have set-up, controlled, and run things for minority peoples without letting them ever set-up, control, and do things for themselves. The Lamumba-Zapata College proposal comes from our communities and, therefore, must be set-up and controlled by minorities peoples to insure that Lamumba-Zapata College is a first-rate institution which satisfies our needs.

The implementation of the junior college would be 5 to 10 years from now. We demand immediate changes for the very reason that the Chancellor stated in his inaugural address. Changes must be made in the University before it becomes an "Ozymandias in a wasteland."

The Lamumba-Zapata College calls for immediate changes in the areas of students, faculty, employment (permanent as well as construction), curriculum, and education; while McGill's proposal only deals

with qualitatively preparing students for UCSD. Qualitative preparation must begin at the junior and senior high school levels. McGill should have criticized the secondary school system for not doing the job.

To attend the junior college for two years and then enter UCSD as a freshman or sophomore creates a conflict with the draft board since presently, the draft board allows only five years for one to complete his higher learning. Furthermore, one already may attend the junior colleges throughout San Diego and then enter UCSD as a sophomore or a junior.

BSC and MAYA have worked out a High School Program which now functions at Lincoln High School in San Diego. If more programs of this nature can be started at all schools where Chicanos and Blacks attend then a more meaningful step can be taken to solve the problems of the minorities.

McGill intends to make his junior college a first-rate one so as to prepare students for UCSD better than the other area junior colleges. Changes in area junior colleges would be more to the point since more students can be reached.

A junior college for minority students would put us in the back of the bus once again. The preparation needed by minority students can be achieved best by working in the high schools by making changes in area junior colleges and by programs in Lamumba-Zapata College. What is needed is a first-rate commitment by the University to solve the problems which means that the University itself must be changed. This means that charity or behind the scenes work by faculty wives is not enough.

Minority communities must make the suggestions, plan programs, and implement them. If we cannot do this then, indeed we will have an "Ozymandias in a wasteland."

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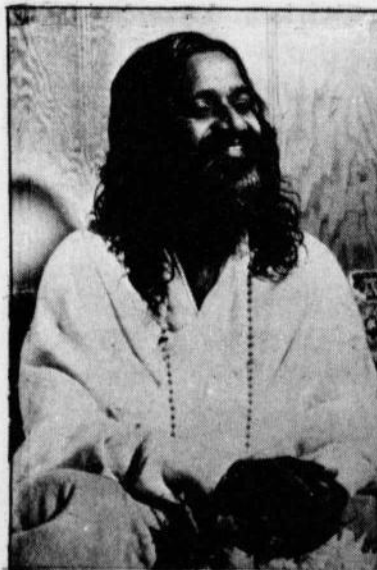
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