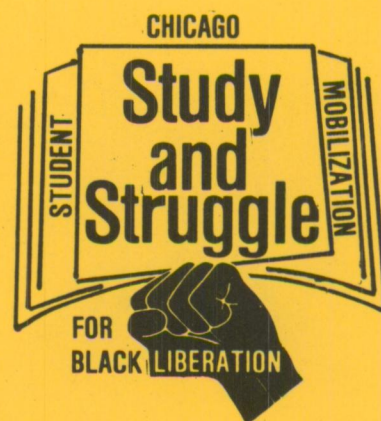


BUILDING

A FIGHTING

BLACK STUDENT

MOVEMENT IN THE 1980's



BUILDING A FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE 1980'S

PART I

STUDY & STRUGGLE
P.O.Box 6291
Chicago, Illinois

60680

TWO DOLLARS

BUILD A FIGHTING BLACK
STUDENT MOVEMENT
PART ONE

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I. INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is a joint product undertaken by STUDY AND STRUGGLE and PEOPLES COLLEGE. It sums up the main collective experiences and views the two organizations have gained through our current and past participation within the Black Student Movement over the past ten years and its relation to the broader Movement for Black Liberation.

PEOPLES COLLEGE is a ten-year-old organization of revolutionary Black people dedicated to the fight against racial oppression, imperialism and all forms of exploitation. Its goal is the total freedom of Black people, all oppressed people, and all who are victims of class exploitation.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE was initiated by Peoples College. It was founded in Chicago in 1979 as an organization of Black youth/students who are committed to the achievement of Black liberation through the fight against imperialism, racial and sex oppression. The main work of STUDY AND STRUGGLE is among Black youth and students, primarily on the campuses. Its task is to rebuild the Black Student Movement in order to make a bigger contribution to the struggle for Black liberation.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE has benefited from the nearly two decades of experiences, and ongoing participation and contact of Peoples College members with the Student Movement. Through our current participation within the Black Student Movement and the resurgent movement among students as a whole, STUDY AND STRUGGLE has gained invaluable experience in which important

lessons have been learned. These lessons have been learned by both negative as well as positive examples. They can be used to guide our present practice and future actions among students who constitute the bases for the new student movement. Although much more needs to be done, we believe that we have the responsibility to share the lessons gained from our experiences (and those of others) broadly among students--especially among these who are coming forth in new waves of mass struggle. These struggles are taking place around concrete issues effecting the majority of students on the campuses and among youth within the broader community. There is an urgent need to bring these separate and isolated struggles together into a powerful, militant movement fighting for basic changes in the conditions we face. This pamphlet asserts that there is a need for a greater level of clarity among the increasing numbers of students who are coming forth, raising questions and seeking solutions to the social problems which confront us.

This pamphlet is the first chapter in a larger book to be published by Peoples College, which will be distributed among Black students and shared with the broader movement. It will document the development of the main views of Peoples College over the past ten years, providing an analysis of the major issues facing students and the important problems confronting the Black Student Movement over the past decade. It will also raise a critique, not only of the broader societal forces to which the Black Student Movement has emerged in opposition, but of the various forces within this movement who have attempted

to provide solutions to these problems. It will also propose the direction the Black Student Movement must take in the 1980s, if it is to fulfill its role to make a bigger contribution to the Black liberation struggle.

But there is an urgent need for this pamphlet now! It can be used as a tool for political education, stimulating discussions and debate over its analysis, sharpening the clarity about the direction of the Black Student Movement. The central participants in this discussion and debate should be those who are actively involved in mass struggles around those concrete issues faced by the majority of students and youth. Further, the pamphlet can serve as a point of focus around which student activists who share common political stands--even if differing philosophically--can be united at some minimum level while we continue to engage in struggle with and work among students.

WHY THIS PAMPHLET?

This pamphlet took shape and emerged on the basis of the recent upswing in student activity and efforts among them to fight back against the growing attacks, hardships and reactionary policies being heaped upon them. These attacks have been the results of the deepening economic, political and social crisis in the world and inside the U.S. Like most Americans, students as a whole--Whites, Latinos and Blacks--are being hit hard by the current crisis. Across the country, local, regional and national networks are being formed among students who are doing something about these attacks. For example, in recent months a Progressive Student Network has been formed composed

primarily of White students active in various struggles: the War and the Draft, the Women's Movement and Reproduction Rights, against the KKKlan and Nazi menace, Jobs, Minority Rights and Affirmative Action, against government cutbacks to social services, etc.

In principle, these struggles should be supported as efforts to build broad resistance to the mounting tide of conservatism, racism and more naked exploitation of the majority of people.

Black students are being drawn into these struggles as students who are being effected by the impacts of the crisis on the campuses. However, because they are a part of a People who have been the historic victims of a special form of oppression (i.e., systemic, racism, discrimination, inequality of opportunity, etc.) their response has taken a special character, influenced by the intensification of societal racism and more blatantly reactionary attacks upon them. Black students have responded to these realities factors with legitimate efforts to build unity around their perceptions of the immediate problem and the source of the mounting attacks. Thus, Black students, who are hardest hit by the effects of the society-wide crisis, unite into organizations with a nationalist character--a righteous response to the reality of race and racial oppression. The right for Black students to form independent organizations and to put forth special demands growing out of their experiences, must be upheld and supported by all those who are serious about fighting against racial oppression.

However, a nationalism which remains narrow and holds back the ability of Black students to engage in mass struggle to change the conditions effecting them, must be fought against. Black students need to unite, building a militant, politically conscious movement on the basis of concrete struggle.

Students who are serious about rebuilding the movement among Black students must find ways to unleash the fervor of Black youth and students around those issues affecting their life situation. This will enable a new, progressive leadership to emerge--one that is committed to the fight for Black liberation. Today, the dominant character of Black student leadership is reformist. In some cases, it is reactionary. It is composed of many "student careerists" who mimic their counterparts in the Black Liberation Movement. They remain isolated from the people, yet claim to represent them. They put their narrow self-interests before the majority of students and Black people as a whole. This leadership must be exposed and replaced by one that has won its legitimacy by earning the respect of students through demonstrating a willingness to fight and to lead them in struggle.

This pamphlet, BUILDING A FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT, is needed because as the new upsurge among Black students swells a "top-down", reformist leadership will not suffice. We need a "bottom-up" progressive, leadership within the Movement that can fight against our past and present errors and mistakes. Among these errors were some made by forces who entered the Movement among Black students with "get-rich-quick"

schemes, ripping off the real fighters among Black youth and then they abandoned the Movement among Black students, leaving it to careerists and reactionaries who leached on it.

Black students today, have inherited a rich legacy of struggle. It was inherited from the past mass movements among the people in which many important gains were made--especially during the 60s and early 70s. Now most of those gains have been swept aside--or taken back. Primarily, this is a question of leadership.

The issue is not whether Black youth (or Black people) have become complacent nor is it that they have lost their will to fight back against the cut backs, against the sharp racist attacks, as some people contend. Miami, Chatanooga, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere across the country, the mass upsurges and recent rebellions confirm that they will. The issue is in which direction will they be led? In which direction will we aim our blows?

In the past, the Movement as a whole has been characterized by too little attention given to the role of theory as a guide to our mass struggle and political practices. It is the role of progressive leadership to point the direction in which the movement should go. But unless we anchor ourselves firmly at the side of the youth/students and make their struggles, our struggles, they will not recognize us and they will continue to follow the same old leadership down the same blind alleys. We must not continue "re-inventing wheels".

Therefore, there is a need for much more summation of

the real experiences of organizations involved in work among students/youth, waging battles around concrete issues affecting them. This pamphlet represents an effort toward this process. It is through this process of study linked with struggle, struggle and more study, that the movement can strengthen itself, rising above its present weak and isolated state.

While it is true that we need greater political clarity in the Movement--and over the long run this is a decisive element--the most immediate problem confronting the student movement is an insufficient level and quality of practice: mass struggle. If leadership is a question of correct views and political clarity, then it is only through deepening our practice that we can really come to know how to prepare ourselves for leadership. If we seriously want to build a Black student movement, we must come to know much more about the all-around conditions of Black students. The Movement is weak and fragmented and its progressive leadership is isolated. This pamphlet puts forth the view that if we, who would lead, want to make the greatest impact, strengthen the movement, transform the character of its leadership, then we must "sink in deeply" in order to make a broader outreach involving greater numbers of students. Currently, the leadership is too distant from the real day-to-day concerns of the vast majority of Black students.

The Movement can best be united when people in it who share different views can be united around some basic political principles guiding what they do in taking up mass issues. The proposals put forth in this pamphlet can serve a major role in

providing a pole, a center around which progressive student militants and activists involved in mass campaigns of struggles on key battle fronts can be united. The fragmentation which currently exists in the Black Student Movement can be overcome by a common program of unity, (i.e., THE 5-POINT PROGRAM FOR BUILDING BLACK UNITY among students, etc.). This pamphlet puts forth a call to a common program for united mass struggle around key issues facing Black youth and students, thereby giving definition, purpose and direction to the movement.

In the past, progressive students and revolutionary-minded youth have allowed bad ideas and backward views to run rampant within the student movement. This was due to our weaknesses in combating them with appropriate tools. This pamphlet takes a firm position in opposition to these backward--even reactionary--views given currency by many of our so-called "leaders". They have served narrow purposes while holding back the capacity of Black students to build a movement of greater political significance and impact upon our position in society.

Owing to the current crisis in U.S. society, the dominant political leadership in this country is moving rapidly to the Right toward further conservatism. The election of Reagan--"Racist, Ronnie Ray-gun"--as president is a further indication of the realignment of political forces in the leadership of the U.S. political economy. No doubt Reagan's leadership will result in increased suffering and hardships for the majority of American people, especially Black and Latino youth and students.

It is only through united mass resistance led by a progressive, bold leadership can we successfully oppose this conservativist trend in U.S. politics and the political economic forces behind it. But Ray-gun's election as president also represents a clear danger to those progressive forces who dare to wage bold, militant and resolute struggle in opposition to these attacks. It is only through our deep ties within a movement organized from the "bottom-up" can we effectively resist the new repression.

BUILD THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT takes a stand in opposition to the reactionary political current gaining ascendancy in the leadership of this country, as well as as the reactionary and "sell-out" reformists who compromise the interests of the people in their fight for real power.

BUILDING A FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT calls for united mass resistance among Black students, linking their struggles on the campuses with the broader issues in the community. In this way, the 5-POINT PROGRAM For Building Black Unity among students compliments the TEN-POINT PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER in the 1980s (Peoples College Black Liberation Month News, Feb. 1980: copies available through Timbuktu: The Black Peoples Book Store, 2530 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago 60616).

Finally, this pamphlet is aimed at building unity in the movement particularly among Black students, many of whom are just becoming active in mass struggle. But it is not intended as a primer, nor is it a quick turn-on which substitutes

for patient disciplined study and analysis.

We desire to bring more youth, students and Movement activists in to honest discussions around the main issues raised in this pamphlet. The main point, however, is quite simply: we need to engage in deeper practice--the basis for our systematic ideas about the nature of society, the nature of the problems we face and the formulation of solutions to these problems. These ideas should then be used to guide our future practices.

We believe that most youth who came forward out of mass struggles are honest and sincere. They comprise the majority of students within the Movement today. They want to do something about the current situation and they desire unity with other forces who are capable of demonstrating their sincerity and commitment. On the other hand, there is a small minority of backward forces who serve the role of reactionaries, holding back the movement. These forces must be isolated.

In contrast, there are a relatively small number of people who came forth in struggles, who are recognized as true leaders among their peers because of their commitment and dedication. It is principally this group that we want to reach. On the campuses they are found giving leadership in three ways: through positions they hold in existing organizations, through leadership of students in action around key issues affecting students; and in meetings and discussions where they give leadership by the clarity and consistency of their views and opinions.

Thus, we must get this pamphlet into the hands of those who will read it, criticize it and strengthen it through its application to situations in which they find themselves and in solving the problems they face.

BUILD FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT !!
FIGHT FOR UNITY !!

NOTE: Part II of this booklet will be introduced separately. It consists of an analysis of (1) The History of The Black Student Movement and (2) The Role of Black Students in Building Anti-Imperialist Struggles among the masses(Why We Need A Resurgent Black Student Movement). This document will be available later this Spring 1981. Finally, this document is being circulated as a draft for discussion, study and criticism toward developing higher political unity among young liberators and warriors committed to the struggle to bring about basic social transformation of U.S. society and the fight for Black Liberation.

We welcome your criticism of this document in developing unity in the struggle to seize the future!!

II. JOIN THE MOVEMENT, JOIN STUDY AND STRUGGLE!

STUDY AND STRUGGLE is composed of a small number of Black youth/students drawn from Chicago-area campuses who have united under the leadership of Peoples College. We are bonded by our common opposition to imperialism, racial and sexual oppression. We are dedicated to the achievement of Black liberation and the fight against all forms of oppression. Our limited, but important experiences, constitute the basis for the views put forth in this document. They have been enriched by the experiences of Peoples College and its members who were active in the ranks and leadership of the Student Movement for nearly two decades--from the early 60s in SNCC, the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, in SOBU, the STUDENT ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK UNITY, in NABS, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BLACK STUDENTS and FFM, the anti-imperialist FEBRUARY FIRST MOVEMENT and other youth organizations of significance in the Black Liberation struggle.

The analysis presented below should be seen in the context of this broader history of struggle: a case study of the application of the lessons gained from the experiences by members of STUDY AND STRUGGLE.

The Conditions For The Movement Among Black Students In Illinois/Chicago

An assessment of the state of the Black Student Movement in Illinois must begin with knowledge about where Black students are located, the conditions they face, the issues they

see as important, as well as the social forces brought into motion around these issues. We must know something of these things, before we can define the needs of Black students or evaluate the status of the Black Student Movement.

We must make the honest admission that our knowledge of the Black student situation is primitive, and as yet, it remains quite superficial. It is only through deepening our practice among, and contact with Black students, waging systematic campaigns of struggle will we begin to narrow the gap between what is known and what is knowable about the status of Black students. STUDY AND STRUGGLE has only begun this process.

Illinois is among the leading states in higher education in terms of enrollments and monetary expenditures. It ranks third (behind California and New York) in total enrollments (ca 650,000 students in 1979) Black enrollments (ca 85,000 in 1979) and in money spent on public higher education. The Chicago city college system is the second largest in the country (New York).

In 1970, Illinois ranked third in Black post-secondary education with over 60 thousand Black students. Chicago ranked second in Black college enrollments with 25,000 Black students. By 1979, there had occurred a dramatic increase in the number of Black students in Illinois colleges of about 42%. In Chicago, Black public college enrollments alone increased by over 100%, (to ca 45,000) while total Black enrollments in all post-secondary schools increased to slightly over 60,000. Based upon the most current statistics Blacks constitute about 13 percent

of all student's enrollments.

The largest number of Black students are enrolled in public colleges. Four-year college enrollments totalled 21,000, while 47,800 were enrolled in two-year community colleges, mostly concentrated in the Chicago city-college institutions. Therefore, less than 16,000 Black students (or about 18%) were enrolled in private schools. More striking is the fact that nearly 3 out of 5 Black students (57%) were enrolled in two-year college programs.

In 1970, the percentage of Black population in Illinois was about 13% (1.11 million). By 1980, the state Black population increased to an estimated 1.8 million. The estimated Black population in Chicago alone exceeded the 1970 state-wide Black population. There are at least 1.35 million Black people in Chicago. When adjusted estimates are used, this would increase the Black population to about 1.5 million. About 45% of the city's 3 million people are Black, as compared to 45% White and 10% Latino population. (It is estimated that Chicago will be over 50% Black by 1983.) The public education system is already about 60% Black and 20% Latino (a further reflection of the young age of the Black population). It also indicates a discrepancy between Black-White higher education opportunity. Of the 650,000 students in Illinois post-secondary schools, over half are enrolled in Chicago schools (330,000 est.), about 1/5 are Black.

The significance of this data is not fully appreciated unless we take into account the fact that Chicago's Black

student population provides a regional, indeed national, recruitment pool for public and private schools throughout Illinois and the states surrounding Illinois (i.e., Missouri, Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, etc.)

This factor increases the significance of Chicago as a base for the resurgent Black Student Movement at the regional and national scope. Many of these students (including Black athletes recruited into schools across the nation) return to Chicago during the summer and at vacation breaks. Our experiences indicate that many of them can be attracted into campaigns and movement activities on some level at both these times. This provides an excellent opportunity for a progressive student network among Black students to be spread, giving coordination, cohesion and definition to its character and a political orientation to it as a movement.

LEADING SCHOOLS BY TOTAL BLACK ENROLLMENTS, ILLINOIS

	<u>Black**</u>	<u>% Black</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Location</u>
Kennedy King	6900	85%	City College 2 yr.	Chicago
Chicago State	5380	75%	State College 4 yr.	Chicago
Olive Harvey	4500	75%	City College 2 yr.	Chicago
Loop College	3900	63%	City College 2 yr.	Chicago
Malcolm X College	3650	60%	City College 2 yr.	Chicago
Univ. of Ill.-Circle	3600	17%	State 5 yr.	Chicago
Roosevelt	2300	35%	Private 5 yr.	Chicago
State Comm. College	1875	80%	State 2 yr.	E. St. Louis
Southern Ill. (c)	1860	8%	State 5 yr.	Carbondale
Illinois State	1760	3%	State 4 yr.	Charleston
Southern Ill. (E)	1670	15%	State 4 yr.	Edwardsville
Thornton	1470	16%	Comm. 2 yr.	Harvey
Triton College	1370	8%	Comm. 2 yr.	Chicago - S
Loyola	1360	8%	Private 2 yr.	Chicago
DePaul	1350	12%	Private 5 yr.	Chicago
Governor's State	1280	24%	State 4 yr.	Chicago - S
NIU	1270	5%	State 5 yr.	DeKalb
Univ. of Ill.-Urbana	1200	3%	State 5 yr.	Urbana
Northeastern	1130	11%	State 5 yr.	Chicago
Truman College	1090	12%	Comm. 2 yr.	Chicago
Northwestern	1060	8%	Private 5 yr.	Chicago - S
University of Chicago*	278*	2%	Private 5 yr.	Chicago

Total Top 21 Schools	% of All Black Students
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47,980	.56
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* For illustrative purposes

** Enrollments recorded to nearest 10.

Source: Abstract of Illinois Higher Education
Department of Higher Education, 1979.

The chart above indicates several things: the large concentration of Black students in public 2-year and senior colleges; the larger concentration of Black students within 2-year (city) colleges in Chicago; and the relatively small number and percentage of Black students at private senior colleges. For example: the top 21 schools enroll nearly 60 percent (.57) of all Black students. But what is not revealed in this data is also important. In recent years there has been a trend toward declining Black enrollments, both in absolute numbers as well as relative proportions--particularly at private schools. Private schools like, Loyola, DePaul, Northwestern have experienced declining enrollments over the past five years. At Northwestern, Black student enrollment is down nearly 60% from the previous year.

In public senior colleges such as Illinois-Circle, Illinois-Urbana and Northern Illinois, the comparisons of enrollment trends for absolute numbers of Black students suggest no significant gains, but actual losses in some cases. But, since the non-Black enrollments have been increasing, the percentage Black enrollments have been declining.¹ Declines in Black student enrollments at senior colleges have been taking place while the Black population in Illinois and Chicago have been increasing faster than the White population rate (which shows an actual decline).

¹ Statistical information available from Illinois Department of Higher Education Abstract of Illinois Higher Education, published annually.

School officials at schools like Northwestern, contend that recruitment of Black students has become more competitive with schools outside Illinois (Notre Dame, Purdue, etc.) attracting larger numbers of Black students from Chicago.² However, a deeper analysis reveals that the general decline of Black students, principally at private senior colleges and secondarily at public senior colleges is more a function of the current crisis in the economy and of socioeconomic class. Schools like Notre Dame and Purdue have not been attracting significantly higher numbers of Black students either.

The crisis in the economy is having significant impacts upon the status of Black students. Higher tuition costs, increasing associated educational costs, declining sources of financial aid, along with changing recruitment policies, have all led to severe, negative impacts on Black college enrollment patterns. The socio-economic (class) pattern of these changes are suggested by the fact that Black students are being forced into the 2-year public college system which accounts for the increasingly large concentrations of Black students in the two-year public schools--if they make it to school at all!

Since a smaller proportion of Black students came from middle- and upper-income families (a class indicator), a smaller proportion of Blacks, relative to Whites, are able to afford the higher tuitions current at University of Chicago,

²Daily Northwestern Friday, September 24, 1980, p.3.

Northwestern and Loyola. For example, at Northwestern tuition has increased from \$3300 to \$5500 in 1980, an 80% increase over a three-year period. Moreover, the minority recruitment programs at Northwestern, Loyola and DePaul have been virtually abandoned, or severely curtailed, resulting in fewer Black admissions.

Meanwhile, the larger public senior universities such as Chicago-Circle, Southern and Northern have altered their admissions policies. This serves to further restrict access to these campuses dropping students from working-class backgrounds. The "selective index" at Circle would set more stringent admissions requirements for "first-generation college students". While this would affect all students from primarily working-class families, it would have the hardest impact on Black and Latino students.

Consequently, as a result of the financial crisis in higher education, and a return to more conservative admissions policies, the character of Illinois higher education has become more elitist. As a result, increasing numbers of working-class students--particularly Black students with restricted choices--are forced into the 2-year college programs as the "last shot" at obtaining an opportunity for advanced or higher education and the potentially improved life-chances that normally accompany this. But even here, the current crisis of capitalism rears its menacing head.

Currently, there are over 40,000 Black students enrolled full-time in the City Colleges of Chicago. Most are concentrated in central city and south-side campuses. Nearly

half of all these students in the CCC are Black. The CCC development demands a special analysis in itself. But let it suffice here to state that insufficient funds are put into these programs which offer essentially vocational and semi-professional programs, many of these causes lead to jobs that are declining in the labor market. Thus, many of these students find it increasingly difficult to find the jobs for which they were prepared; and in consequence, they wound up accepting jobs below their qualifications--hence "under-employed".

Since most students invest in higher education in order to enhance their (class) mobility, under-employment makes this investment fruitless. An increasing number of students, the majority from working-class backgrounds, pursue a lateral trajectory that leaves them still in the working-class due to the dynamics in the overall capitalist political-economy.

Since the majority of Black students are working class ("first-generation students"), the crisis forces upon them--even those who manage to graduate from a four-year school--situations of increasing competitiveness in a labor market being further restricted by rising unemployment.³ The racist character of institutional employment in the U.S. serves to enhance the competitive disadvantage of Black students--particularly since affirmative action programs are being dismantled or increasingly being neglected as part of business employment policies. Thus, the functioning of race and class

³The "official" unemployment rate was 9.4% in Illinois for December. It was over twice that rate for Blacks and over 40% for Black youth.

in the U.S. educational process brings Black students into increasing antagonisms with the system. These antagonisms provide the material basis for the development of a resurgent Black student/Black youth movement: for expanded educational opportunities and benefits, for more jobs and struggles to maintain affirmative action as progressive reforms.

The extent to which the system cannot meet these legitimate demands provides a context for student struggles to be linked with other political struggles progressively calling for a basic restructuring of the U.S. economy and its politics.

Thus, the objective basis for the Black student movement results from the conflicts students confront as students on the campus. In addition to these factors cited above, the financial crisis on the campus has led to further cutbacks in educational services and support programs. It is rooted in the same processes that lead to higher tuition costs (e.g., restrictions in foundation grants, endowments, etc.) generates more direct attacks effecting Black students more specifically, the funding in "good times" provided a cushion for prudent administrators to placate Black students/community forces by underwriting Black Studies programs, Black student organizations, remedial learning, and minority recruitment programs. But the university, like most other businesses, is being hit hard--some harder than others--by the current crisis.

For most campuses these are "bad times". Soft-line items like Black Studies and special recruitment programs are first to go. "Pet" courses which can't be justified, get the

axe along with "token" Black teachers, many who are without tenure. At Loyola, teachers have begun to pressure the administration to restrict students privileges to "drop" classes without penalty in efforts to save their classes from cuts. Many Black students have felt threatened by this move. But, jobs are on the line at Northwestern. Some "prominent" Black teachers have gotten the axe while Black students are forced to battle to maintain their organizational funding. At other schools, Black studies is under increasing attack. Even Black athletes at NU and NIU have been brought into sharp conflicts with the coaching staffs and the administration. Moreover, racism on the campus is becoming more pervasive.

At Loop College, Black students are being threatened by the North Loop Revitalization scheme supported by Mayor Jane Byrne, the Governor (Thompson) and developers who want to change the (class) character of Loop College in order to attract downtown executives and their staffs into skills development classes. At Kennedy King and Malcolm X College, declining enrollments in certain disciplines threaten their respective budget allocations. The administration at Kennedy King has responded by becoming more reactionary, censoring controversial student activities.

At Roosevelt and Chicago State Universities, women students have raised special issues like campus day-care and child-support services similarly to those offered at some suburban campuses in order to facilitate their ability to attend school.

All these developments have taken place on campuses in recent months, generating issues in which students have been brought into some degree of struggle to achieve their demands. Yet, the leader of the Movement has been very weak in responding to them and providing real leadership.

The Campus Community Link Among Black Students

Objectively, Black students, as students have had increasingly open antagonisms on the campus. But the character of Black youth who are students must be understood in an all-sided manner. For example: the table presented above made implicit recognition of the diverse character of Illinois/Chicago institutions (i.e., 2 year vs. 4 year, state vs. private). However, it was not explicitly noted that the nature of student life on the some 67 campuses in the Chicago area is conditioned by the character of the campus. Of the 13 Chicago-area campuses listed in the chart, virtually all of them (except the University of Chicago) are urban, commuter campuses versus residential ones. Four others have at least two campuses: one in part, residential; the other(s) is commuter (Northwestern, DePaul, Loyola, Roosevelt).

Despite the general features, all these campuses share in molding student life (i.e., classes, sports, student union, etc.) commuter campuses provide a more limited student life than do residential campuses. The latter have a more "dorm"-centered life and greater potential for the establishment of social and cultural traditions and activities, as well as formal and informal networkings. One of the major challenges

confronting the student movement in Chicago is how to maximize the limited time/access these students have together to establish and consolidate networks when the vast majority of students are commuter-oriented. Yet, this challenge must be faced and boldly overcome through study and our persistent work and creativity.

Aside from these differences in campuses, there are obvious (class) socio-economic differences between students on residential campuses (which are predominantly middle- and upper class in character) and the commuter campuses (which are predominately working-class in composition), particularly those in metropolitan Chicago. Although the (subjective) orientation of students tend to be similar, their (objective) necessities are different.

For example: it is not merely the issue that students at residential campuses don't have to work and those at computer schools (most 2-year college students) do. For most Black students have, to some degree, the financial necessity to work (estimates are 80-85% of all Black students receive financial aid) even if it's "work"-study. Rather, it is an issue of where they work and under what conditions they must work.

While most Black students are on some form of work study, and have to be--on the more expensive residential campuses, for the most part, their "work" experience is confined to the campus environment. They experience some boredom, but little hardship. On the other hand, a growing number of full-time students on the commuter campuses have at least a part-

time job--many work full-time. And, they work off-campus under conditions similar to most other young working people.

Moreover, they usually have more direct and regular familial responsibilities. Many are married with dependents, while others are single with dependents. This is critical to understand. Because they work, pay bills, including higher CTA fares, etc., they are more likely to have a greater interest in issues confronting the community as a whole. They tend to be more community oriented, as a matter of course, because there are more critical ways in which they experience direct conflicts in their relations with the broader society. They have greater necessities (responsibilities).

On the other hand, the key question is time. Objectively, having the time to get involved, requires a certain degree of freedom from necessity. The contrasts are striking. Commuter students have demonstrated a great deal of discipline, they have greater necessity and little time. But they tend not to waste it. Residential students generally have less necessity in these lives, and more time but they are more subject to waste it. The task on one hand, is to create more necessity in the lives of residential students--the responsibility of struggle. The task on the other hand, is to facilitate the conditions whereby the time commuter students do have can be used with maximum effectiveness.

These are real contrasts, real contradictions. But organizations, like STUDY AND STRUGGLE, must prepare themselves to deal with them. Our experiences and the urgent demands of

the "struggle", dictate that we go much more deeply into the state and conditions of Black students by intensifying our practical work with and among Black students in order to learn how to resolve these differences effectively.

It is only through deepening our practice among and contact with students, learning from our fellow students and struggling with them as fellow young activists, can we bring these contrasting, dynamic aspects together and truly BUILD THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT and make a bigger contribution to the Black liberation struggle.

There is an urgent need to unite Black students into a fighting movement, RIGHT NOW! Students on various fronts have demonstrated their willingness to struggle on the campus. They have shown that they can be brought into struggles around concrete issues affecting the people in the broader communities. Yet, the movement among Black students remains fragmented and weak. We believe that the key element needed to increase the fighting capacities of Black students is the nature and character of its leadership.

Within the movement today, the dominant character of its leadership is reformist. The leading element is mainly composed of reformist, "student careerists" and a few reactionaries who remain isolated from the day-to-day concerns of most Black students. This assorted group has consistently provided half-hearted leadership for Black students, holding back their ability to seriously struggle around the issues confronting them.

The time is NOW for a new leadership to emerge, by preparing itself through bold, militant struggle which gains the recognition of Black students. Only through gaining the respect of Black youth/students, by taking up their battles, can real unity on movement be built. STUDY AND STRUGGLE is preparing itself to assume a greater role in the resurgent Black Student Movement. It is preparing itself to assume greater responsibility for leading Black students into battles around the key issues that we face and in working for unity in the broader movement.

It is responsibility of STUDY AND STRUGGLE, and all progressive youth who desire freedom to unite on the basis of a clear conception of our tasks, clear analysis of our history and the current situation, and firm principles needed to guide our actions among Black students and in our relations with broader social forces.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE was founded in October, 1979 as the Chicago Student Mobilization for Black Liberation. We were drawn together under the leadership of Peoples College from among progressive BSU and SGA leaders and student-activists representing twelve (12) Chicago area schools. The conditions given rise to this initiative have been discussed previously. But the immediate events and developments which accelerated this process were the increasingly intense international situation: including the Zimbabwean Peoples struggle which was at a critical point, the Iranian peoples struggle, and the intense rivalries

between the U.S. and the Soviet Union--especially after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, inside the U.S. the domestic crisis of imperialism had generated increasingly sharp struggles: including KKKlan/Nazi murders in Greensboro, mass rebellions in Miami and Chatanooga against police violence and state repression, Carter's proposal to prepare for war by reinstituting draft registration, the increasing social service cutbacks, sharp struggles generated by the public school crisis and teachers strike inside Chicago, as well as outbreaks around various issues on the campuses. These events, and others, brought the message to us loud and clear: that Black students in Chicago must begin to do something by making a political response to these domestic attacks, while at the time, demonstrating our support (primarily) for the freedom struggles in Southern Africa.

Over a period of several months of internal meeting, small forums and attempts to reach out more broadly among students, the Chicago Student Mobilization for Black Liberation was able to achieve unity around its main principles and launch its first major campaign of mass struggle in opposition to the threat of imperialist war and the draft.

Our main principles were expressed as they are today as dedication to the goal for Black liberation by fighting against the three evils of imperialism, racial and sexual oppression.

- While our main political fight is at home, we

support the struggles of oppressed people against imperialism and foreign domination.

- The pursuit of academic excellence through study and social responsibility through struggle, linking the campus issues with the broader struggles in the community.
- While we desire unity with all honest forces in positions of leadership in the Movement, strategically we must maintain close links with Black youth/students, building unity from the bottom-up while maintaining an open face to the broader Movement among students.
- STUDY AND STRUGGLE recognizes the significance of a strong, national movement among Black youth/students to the Black Liberation Struggle. While we seek political unity with forces within this movement, organizational unity must be based upon our ability to engage in local struggle.

I. ANTI WAR, ANTI DRAFT CAMPAIGN

While STUDY AND STRUGGLE members achieved principled unity through meetings, forums and discussions our real unity had to be tested in practice. The Campaign against Imperialist War, and the Draft became an initial wave of struggle. This campaign began in February 1980, several weeks after President Carter's announcement to reinstate registration for emergency U.S. military preparedness. We correctly interpreted this as a means of legitimating the capitalist-state, and as an attempt to, not only gain a consensus for reinstituting military

conscription--a direct threat to Black youth--but also as a means to gain a consensus for a new round of imperialist war a threat to all youth and all peoples who desire peace (especially those peoples who are engaged in liberation struggles against foreign dominations).

In our anti-war work, we developed a programmatic approach which consisted of:

- Mass education--in the form of stickers, buttons, leaflets, etc. distributed broadly.
- Systematic outreach--campus to campus stickering programs (repeated) in the Chicago area.
- Forums--held on local campuses and city-wide combined with literature displays.
- Protest demonstrations--participation in movement anti-draft rallies, marches and internal political education--for people being brought into the work and for our own development.

In carrying out the campaign--we learned several very important lessons. Most importantly, we learned that a small group with political clarity about the tasks could achieve large victories. This required planning and professionalism in our literature; persistently taking out every aspect of the work as a battle--which means being prepared to go back repeatedly to replace weather-worn or sabotaged stickers, etc! It required learning that after achieving political clarity about the nature of the issue and the task, in order to score bigger gains means paying attention to organizational matters and follow up work. It

also required learning that practice, actually doing the task, is only a part of the process of political development. The other part is summation through review and self-critical evaluation of our strengths and weaknesses (the mistakes we made could be turned into future successes only through this process).

In carrying out our work, we raised these four main demands:

NO IMPERIALIST WAR, NO DRAFT!
HELL NO, WE WON'T GO!
OUR FIGHT IS AT HOME!
REGISTER FOR BLACK LIBERATION!

These demands were emblazoned on 25,000 leaflets, 15,000 stickers and 4,000 buttons, and at the center of our discussion in 22 forums on the campuses and in the community, many more small meetings and hundreds of conversations.

While we opposed the draft as a particularly bad policy which does not serve the interests of Blacks and the majority of American youth, we viewed it as important to educate people about the nature of imperialism which gives rise to wars--wars which are not in the interests of Blacks nor the vast majority of the people in the U.S. and the world.

HELL NO, WE WON'T GO!

We united with the mass sentiment among youth that war and the draft were not in their immediate, individual interest (i.e., "I ain't goin'", etc.). But by pointing out why "we" need a movement to collectively resist the war and the draft, we created a scene for the movement.

OUR FIGHT IS AT HOME!

For Blacks, in particular, and the majority of American youth, the "war is at home" for better jobs, income, welfare, expanded educational services and against increased military expenditures, racial oppression and declining educational opportunities--especially for Black, Latino and White working people.

REGISTER FOR BLACK LIBERATION!

The immediate attack was the threat of "registration" for the draft. For Black youth who had done a disproportionate amount of fighting and dying in Viet Nam, only to be denied democratic rights on the basis of equality, this was a sham. We raised an alternative form of registration and for an opposite purpose--Black Liberation from oppression. For the movement as a whole, we demanded that it uphold this aspiration as a righteous demand, and among Black people it pointed to our collective responsibility to build the liberation struggle as an alternative social reality to racism, discrimination and domination under imperialism.

SUMMER STUDY AND STRUGGLE

From February 20 through early May, our main work was concentrated on the campuses. We wanted to build the anti-draft movement much more broadly. On May 4-5, a STUDY AND STRUGGLE delegation went to Kent State to participate in the Kent State/Jackson State Tenth Anniversary Memorial--a two-day conference and rally among anti-war, anti-draft forces was held. As a result of this experience, we learned that if we were to seriously prepare ourselves for a greater role in rebuilding a fighting Black Student Movement, we had to pay more close and conscious attention to organizational matters. We continued to deepen our understanding of this lesson in subsequent months while we increased our involvement in the community.

During the period from the end of May to the middle of August, we carried out a ten-week "Summer Study and Struggle

Program" composed of STUDY AND STRUGGLE members, friends and students home on college vacation. The program focused upon political education and mass community struggle, mass contact and outreach on a face-to face level.

During this period we took out the anti-war, anti-draft campaign broadly among Black youth, targeting key high schools, community centers, playgrounds and neighborhoods on the south side--including churches and city-wide organizations. We made direct contact with Black youth in efforts to build collective mass resistance to the impending draft registration period (July 21-August 2).

By involving out-of-city students mostly in schools outside Illinois, we also contributed to building the movement by "networking" (i.e., broadening our outreach, while concentrating on building a center for the movement based upon local struggle). We were successful in heightening awareness among Black youth about the nature of imperialist war. But the program had some shortfalls. First, the program failed to retain a high percentage of the youth who were brought into it. This was mainly an error of organization. But another significant error was our inability to measure our impact upon the movement.

The 5-Point Program for Building Principled Black Unity and Petition (i.e., "The 5-POINT PROGRAM" See Appendix) was developed toward the end of this program as an organizational tool and a means to further political education. It contributes to the idea of "scaffolding"--building political and organization

unity at various levels of commitment and responsibility. The higher the responsibility, the higher the commitment. It helps us determine and define who is in the "United Front" by what people support and what they are willing to do. In this way, we make a political statement while more effectively defining who are our real friends in the movement--those who help build it.

Since the petition was developed, it has not been used to its fullest effect. However, we have had enough success with it to know: that the straightforward stance and demands it puts forward work, that it corresponds to the sentiments and aspirations of Black youth, and that progressive forces in the Movement can be won to support it.

The 5 points as Principles of Unity are:

1. NO IMPERIALIST WAR: END GREEDINESS AT HOME AND ABROAD!
2. NO DRAFT!
3. JOBS AND INCOME FOR ALL!
4. FREE AFRICA! U.S. HANDS OFF!
5. POWER TO THE PEOPLE (Build mass resistance to conservatism and racism in U.S. politics)!

During the coming year, in taking out our 5-POINTS PROGRAM "Ray-gun" will become made a symbol of the growing consolidation of reaction in U.S. politics. Already he has enraged us by proposing a dual-minimum wage that will pit young working people against older workers, further driving a wedge between two of the potentially most progressive forces in U.S. society.

Already he has proposed further cutbacks to education and welfare spending while continuing accelerated spending for war preparations. His election has accelerated the climate where permissive, societal racism becomes more blatant and pervasive.

BUILDING A FIGHTING MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS

THROUGH STUDY AND STRUGGLE

One of the local campuses where STUDY AND STRUGGLE has been most active has been Loyola. A little more than 600 Black students are enrolled at Lake Shore in one of Loyola's two campus programs. The students have become increasingly active in recent years after a period of political dormancy. The key issues have been declining Black admissions, cutbacks in minority support programs including Black studies, higher tuitions, more stringent academic requirements, as well as attacks on funding of one of the two mainstream Black organizations: The Black Cultural Center.

Until recently, the character of Black student leadership was narrow, timid and it confined the programs of the BSU to bake-sells and "pizza parties". The progressive students had been isolated into a small group and were hesitant to do work among the students. During the Spring, (1980) under the leadership of STUDY AND STRUGGLE, this progressive core of students were persuaded to involve themselves in the social concerns being voiced by Black students. One of these concerns was the absence of any voice in student affairs. Through painstaking study of the situation, including a student initiated survey, STUDY AND STRUGGLE was able to launch several significant

motions, including the successful election of a Black student to the leadership of the student government. Moreover, the participation of students in the two Black organizations increased due to the fact that STUDY AND STRUGGLE members were able to struggle with the leadership for more progressive programs. When students began to see that the Loyola BSU was now willing to take up some mass issues, they began to support the traditional organizations. This was fine and was supported by us. Finally, students were able to launch a successful fight to preserve institutional funding for the Black Cultural Center.

The struggle at Loyola, is an ongoing one, no doubt. It was also significant because STUDY AND STRUGGLE became recognized by the Black students as a fighting organization willing to unite with other people on the campus, rather than splitting the movement. It was able to wage a successful battle for "recognition" by the administration only because it won support of the Black students, built unity with other student forces (i.e., Latinos), and was able to isolate the reactionaries among students and faculty who opposed it.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE has been engaged in similar struggles at Northeastern, Roosevelt and more recently at Circle; and other campuses are yet to come! Our success has not been as great. The Loyola experience only points out the possibilities, provided that mistakes are minimized, criticized and corrected.

THE ANTI-KLAN STRUGGLE AT NORTHWESTERN

Northwestern's Evanston campus has a well-deserved

reputation as being an "elite" school. There are about 900 Black students on the campus. The material conditions are similar to those cited above (Loyola). Over the past several years Black students have been involved in struggles aimed at basic and progressive reforms: including Southern Africa support; and the divestiture struggle (see Sell the Stock: an analysis of the struggle against imperialism and apartheid at Northwestern by the Chicago Committee for a Free Africa (CFFA) available through Timbuktu Bookstore: Chicago, Ill.).

In the most recent period, Black athletes have organized in opposition to what they describe as administrative and coaching staff abuse of their athletic abilities and "exploitation" of their talents to the detriment of their scholastic achievement. The BSU at Northwestern has been generally progressive historically, including the present leadership. While often vacillating it has most often been won to progressive struggles not generally taken up by BSU leaders on other campuses.

During the Fall (1980), Northwestern and Evanston were the scenes of a massive, if not militant, anti-Nazi protest rally. In response to the Nazi demonstration, the Evanston/Skokie Jewish and Liberal community held a mass assembly on Northwestern's campus. It was called only after the NAACP called for a counter-rally at the Nazi site several miles from Northwestern, on the Skokie/Evanston boundary (Lovelace Park).

STUDY AND STRUGGLE members at Northwestern initiated work among Black students (i.e., political meetings, mass

literature distribution, etc.) to build support for the counter-rally. Pointing out that Black students had unity with progressive forces who opposed neo-facism, nazism and racism, STUDY AND STRUGGLE noted that the Nazi menace had its unique aspects which dictated a special response on the part of Black people. Some groups among Liberals and the so-called "Left" wanted to liquidate this motion with their calls for "Black/White/Jewish Unity" on one hand or "Working-Class Unity" and "Down With Nazism, Zionism and Black Nationalism" on the other. The Liberals failed to recognize the special character of Black oppression in the U.S., while the "ultra-Left" failed to distinguish between the nationalism of the oppressor (White racism) and the nationalism of the oppressed (a spontaneous response to racist attacks). STUDY AND STRUGGLE was able to provide leadership to a successful mass demonstration consisting of 50-60 Black students, a contingent of Evanston Blacks (10-15) and 50-75 progressive White students and supporters. The marchers left the "Black House" across from the larger rally site, and marched 3½ miles to Lovelace Park. Picking up supporters along the route, a successful political response was made to the Nazis and to the Movement.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE was able to build unity with various elements among Black students, the Progressive Student Coalition at Northwestern, and Evanston Black leadership because it was able to do good ground work, educating Black students to the issues involved and the "bad lines" floating among various forces in this motion. It made a statement to the

Left that Black students can and will give leadership to progressive struggles and in a principled manner.

BUILDING FIGHTING UNITY IN THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

In the midst of the "Summer Study and Struggle Program", STUDY AND STRUGGLE sent a delegation to the National Black United Front (NBUF) Conference held in Brooklyn, N.Y. (July 1980). The delegates were part of a larger contingent representing Peoples College at the Conference. Our main objectives were to monitor the NBUF proceedings and to build unity with Black youth who were present at the Conference.

Over 100 students were present, representing 35 schools from across the U.S.--mainly the East Coast, South, and Midwest. Within the student caucases and workshops, several themes were generally agreed upon. Despite the differences in views and political interests represented among the youth, some steps toward unity was achieved.

First, most thought that the concept of a "Black United Front" was a good thing. It represented a positive step and a contribution toward advancing the BLM. Second, the NBUF motion would only be significant if it does do something about the issues facing Black people and the Movement. That is, the main reason for a "front" is that it facilitates mass struggle around concrete issues; and the main task of the "front" should be building broad, principled unity by engaging in struggle.

Third, the Black youth present in the student workshops agreed to continue work towards building the united front among students by going back and doing some mass work on the

campuses and by participating in the BUF process.

Finally, we agreed that "networking" was a good thing, that must be continued. But the real task was to use political struggle as a criteria for defining the Black united front in student work and the organizational form it takes should come out of our work around concrete issues.

Since July, STUDY AND STRUGGLE has continued to participate within the Black United Front of Chicago. Within this group are two types of organizations and individuals: those who want to build the BUF--Chicago on the basis of abstract organizational principles and structures and on a narrow basis; and those who want to build the BUF--in Chicago broadly by engaging in some mass struggle around the burning issues facing Black people. The dominant "line" inside the leadership places emphasis on "organization" while a smaller group stresses developing an "organization of organizations" in the context of political practice. What is a "front", what good is a "front" if it doesn't do anything?

The central question currently facing BUF--and the Black Student Movement in Chicago--is who will lead it and who will decide who will lead? It is not a question of abstract ideology and philosophy in which case, people convicted around diverse views will not unite in this manner. It is a practical question that will be decided by the relationship of the leadership in the student movement--and in BUF--to Black students/people in taking up the issues they face, fighting them out to the benefit of the majority of people affected by the issue.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE, gives critical support to the BLACK UNITED FRONT motion and will struggle to build it correctly by engaging in mass struggles. This will enable new, militant forces to emerge who will then decide who shall lead.

BUILDING UNITY IN THE PROGRESSIVE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Black people need a fighting student movement. Primarily, this is a matter of the nature and character of the forces inside the Black Student Movement. However, we should never "wall ourselves off" from the vast majority of Black youth nor from other forces who unite with us in the fight against imperialism and racial oppression, nor from those forces who support our fight for Black liberation.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE is primarily concerned with taking up struggles among Black students, yet we attempt to keep an open face towards building broad unity among students who have common interests in fighting to improve the condition facing Black, Latino and the majority of American youth.

In the past, some serious errors have been made in the relations between progressive White students and Black students. These mistakes have had serious effects upon the Movement as we noted earlier. In carrying out our anti-war, anti-draft campaign, and in other student work, STUDY AND STRUGGLE has been on the scene with a number of predominantly White groups. We think this is important to build unity broadly while maintaining the right to criticize.

Because of our student work, STUDY AND STRUGGLE was invited to participate within the founding conference of the

PROGRESSIVE STUDENT NETWORK held in Kent, Ohio (November, 1980). This conference brought together over 500 youths and students active on various fronts within the broader student movement (i.e., anti-war, the draft, women's and minority rights, anti-nukes, anti-KKKlan/Nazi movements, etc.). Within these forces are some generally progressive and genuine people. But there are also a significant number of despicable elements who hold the movement among Black students in great disdain. Among them are the various Trotskyites splinter-groups like the Spartacist Youth League, INCAR and the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL)). In addition, there are a less significant number of individuals whose political stand (in support of the legitimate demands of Black people/youth and their right to form independent organizations, etc.) is poisoned by backward, reactionary and racist views in reference to Black people.

At Kent, STUDY AND STRUGGLE participated in the leadership of several workshops (i.e., Black Youth and Black Liberation, The Draft and Minority Outreach, Third World Women Struggles, etc.) and we played prominent roles in other aspects of the conference (i.e., literature display, caucuses, button and leaflet distribution, etc.). In each workshop, we had successfully adopted a resolution in support of the 5-POINT PROGRAM and the promotion of the Petition as an active campaign of struggle within the Progressive Student Network. This resolution was adopted in the plenary on the final day of the Conference.

Inside the workshop on "Black Youth and Black

Liberation" (which had been combined with the Minority Outreach Workshop), the RSL attempted to pass an amendment which had served dual role. It raised the level of political unity of the overall 5-POINT PROGRAM well above that of the basic resolution presented by STUDY AND STRUGGLE (anti-imperialism support for Black liberation, etc.). At the same time, the RSL amended served to take away the cutting edge of the main resolution by changing its specific character and its purpose as a political statement aimed at the racist and reactionaries inside the progressive student movement. RSL perceived this as a dagger that would expose them by cutting through the sheet that disguised their real identities. In the subsequent floor debate, the basic resolution put forth by STUDY AND STRUGGLE has passed without amendment, and the RSL resolution was passed by its standing on its own merits.

While at the Kent Conference, STUDY AND STRUGGLE was also heavily involved in building unity with Black students in the Conference and on the Kent State campus. We initiated the call for a Black student's caucus as we've done at several other national organizational conferences (i.e., the National Council for Black Studies Conference in Milwaukee, March 1980, etc.). Our main objective was building unity among Black students as a means of further strengthening the development of an interstate (national) "network" among any progressive Black students.

Among the Black students on the campus, our key objective was to learn more about the status of Black students

at Kent. We learned, among other things, that most Blacks did not know about the Conference nor that it had workshops in which they had a direct interest in the course of the discussions. Since Blacks were the subjects of discussion and the issues being discussed had an affect on their interests as Blacks, we encouraged them to participate. (It was learned that the BSU leadership had decided not to inform the Black students, although some of the BSU leaders played roles on the conference host committee... wild?).

STUDY AND STRUGGLE has taken the position that we should attempt to be on the scen whenever progressive students are discussing issues pertinent to Black students in order to insure that Black youth/student interests are being represented.

Thus, the activities of STUDY AND STRUGGLE have been extensive and at times, intense. For a small group of youth, we have made some important gains and a modest contribution towards building a fighting Black Student Movement. We have also made many mistakes and although we have attempted to correct them, our impact upon the state of Black youth/students in Chicago has been quite modest though not insignificant.

If we are to make a greater impact on the development of the Black Student Movement in the 1980s, the situation dictates that we contribute to bringing new forces into the struggle around those unfolding issues that are likely to have the most significant effect upon the Movement overall.

Thus, we are embarking upon a long march among Black students in Illinois/Chicago using our anti-war, anti-draft

5-POINT PROGRAM as a key tool for building unity as we engage in struggles around the burning issues confronting Black youth and students. There will be many battles and many setbacks may be incurred. But we stand resolute, for we shall win without a doubt!

JOIN THE MOVEMENT!

JOIN STUDY AND STRUGGLE!

III. KEY ISSUES AND BATTLE ZONES FOR BUILDING STUDENT STRUGGLE IN THE 1980s

The 5-POINT PROGRAM as advanced by STUDY AND STRUGGLE (see Appendix) and the TEN-POINT PROGRAM for Revolutionary Black Power in the 1980s as put forth by Peoples College, represents minimum and maximum programs for building unity through mass resistance in the Black student and Black liberation movements respectively (see Black Liberation Month News, by Peoples College, February 1980, 1981).

These programs for building unity among Black people/students reflect the concrete summations of the general historical and current conditions facing Black people, the source of the problem influencing and shaping the nature of the Movement, and the main battlefronts in which Black people have raised progressive demands for immediate social reform and revolutionary change in the basic institutions in U.S. society.

The following pages present an elaboration of these key issues and main battlefronts in which Black people are emerged in struggle. These are likely to remain the main issues and main battlefronts throughout the 1980s. We believe that a fighting Black Student Movement can best be built by its leadership rooting itself deeply within the mass struggles generated by these and related issues.

1. FIGHT FOR JOBS AND INCOME!

In 1975, the U.S. government reports put unemployment among Black youth (ages 16-19) at 37%, almost five times the

national rate of 7.8 percent for Whites. For White youth, the unemployment was as high as 18%. Thus, much of the brunt of the unemployment crisis is falling on youth who cannot get jobs today and will be without skills and work experience in the years ahead.

On top of this, the inflation rate for 1980 was 12.4 percent. This worsens the conditions for youth, the result of spiraling rises in the prices of such necessities as clothing, food, and public transportation.

The Reagan administration has proposed to abolish the minimum wage, introducing a two-tier wage system. This will put older workers out of jobs, replaced by youth hired at near-starvation wages. And the same administration that attacks minimum wages is also asking for massive increases in the war budget. Public support for a bigger war budget has been carefully whipped up by the "hostage crisis", in particular, and the overall international situation.

The struggles for jobs and income--union jobs at union wages and a livable income--represent the most essential areas of struggle for Black youth and students. Without a decent income, it will be impossible to continue education or to lead productive lives. If we allow ourselves to be exploited by being hired at below minimum wages, we simply make it more difficult for many of our parents to find work.

FIGHT FOR DECENT JOBS AT DECENT WAGES FOR ALL YOUTH!

2. NO TO IMPERIALIST WAR AND NO TO DRAFT REGISTRATION!

We oppose draft registration and imperialist war. The reasons should be obvious. For many years and for many wars--Viet Nam, Korea, World War I, World War II, and others--Black people have fought for "the red, white and blue" and fought to make the world safe for democracy. Then we returned and find that the nation we fought for was still oppressing and exploiting us and did not democ for us. As the scholar-activist W.E.B. DuBois wrote in 1919, after World War I: "But today we return. We return from slavery of uniform which the world's madness demanded us to don, to the freedom of civilain garb. We sing: this country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land. It lynches. It disenfranchises its own citizens. It encourages ignorance. It steals from us. It insults us. This is the fatherland for which we fought! But by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if now that the war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land! We return from fighting. We return to fighting!"

We should learn from our history and not make the same mistake again, realizing that our fight is here. Today, we find the Reagan administration slashing social programs to "re-arm" the U.S. for imperialist aggression (so that capitalist corporations can make a killing on defense contracts), while we are killed fighting their war. Today, we find Black youth and students forced into the military to serve as cannon fodder

because opportunities for decent jobs and quality education are not available. Today, we find WAR being suggested as the only solution to unemployment in a stagnant economy. There is a way out!

Black youth/students must refuse to fight another "rich man's war". We must say no to the draft registration which is a step toward war. We must fight the imperialist propaganda about the Iranian "barbarians" and other lies. These statements are intended to whip up patriotic support while building up the U.S. war machine. Instead, we propose building up social programs and meeting the concrete needs of people.

Black youth and students must echo the sentiments that were expressed by Black people and others during and after the Viet Nam War:

NO DRAFT!

NO IMPERIALIST WAR!

HELL NO!

WE WON'T GO!

OUR FIGHT IS HERE AT HOME!

3. MAINTAIN AND EXPAND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND SUPPORT SERVICES! DEFEND BLACK STUDIES!

The growth of Black student enrollment at the college level has leveled off and is declining. The number of Black full-time students actually decreased by one percent between 1976 and 1978. The number of Blacks in all graduate programs declined by 2.6 percent during this same period. The Association of American Medical Colleges says that the ratio of Blacks

among the nation's medical students is 5.7 percent, down from 6.2 in 1975. These figures are especially disturbing given the fact that Black people are still not equitably represented in higher education.

These figures are just a few indications of the problems facing Black students. The pattern of declining enrollment is not explained by Black students being disinterested in obtaining a college education, or "incapable of doing college level work". They merely indicate the tip of an iceberg of problems facing Black students and youth. Racist and biased admissions tests are being used more and more as the main basis of admissions. Financial aid--scholarships and loans--are being cut at the same time that tuitions and fees have been dramatically increased, making it harder for most students--Black or White--to go to college. Many academic support services like tutorials and counseling are being cut out. These are some of the factors contributing to the decline of Black enrollment.

Of course, we must add to this the "Post-Bakke syndrome"--the attitude that Black people have already gotten "too much". Rather than look at enrollment patterns which show a continuing decline in the access of Black people to higher education, these racists stick their heads in the sand, ignoring the long history of racist abuse, and yell that "affirmative action" is "reverse discrimination".

Black studies and Black faculty are also under attack. Just like Black people are the last hired and first fired on the job, Black studies is often the first program to be cut due to the "financial crisis". Black studies is often the only place where students--Black and White--can learn about the Black experience in a comprehensive way, especially the history of the struggle against racism and for Black liberation. Black studies provides an important basis of information for students who will go on to specialize in other fields in which they should know the history of Black people.

As Black students and others fight to maintain and expand educational opportunities, we must also fight to defend Black studies as an important advance won by the struggles of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

4. FIGHT AGAINST CUTBACKS! UPHOLD AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND OTHER GAINS OF THE 1960s AND 1970s!

The cutbacks that Black students face on the campuses correspond to the cutbacks in social services that Black people are facing in the broader society. Gigantic capitalist corporations, especially oil companies, continue to report record profits. But this is only possible because the standard of living is being slashed and the quality of life is declined.

Racist Ronald Reagan ("ray-gun") is talking about cutting our the food stamp program and unemployment benefits which many people must depend on because they have lost their jobs. Social security--which workers themselves have paid for

with years of their own blood, sweat and tears--is also on the verge of collapse. Reagan's only Black cabinet member--Sam Pierce--should really be named "Uncle Tom" Pierce because he is singing Reagan's tune--cutting social services in the health and human welfare department (though of course he adds that he will "not forget the poor".) Pierce "is out the box"!

Mao Tse-tung once said that students and youth could be considered as doing good work to the extent that they did not narrowly focus on the problems of the campus, but also took up the problems faced by the masses of people. Thus, rebuilding the student movement in the 1980s means that we must pay attention to joining with the community in its struggles to resist the cutbacks in vital social services. Likewise, we must fight to expand affirmative action and other programs which attempt to overcome long years of racism and give Black people an equal shot at opportunities in the society. In doing so, we will further expose its basic contradictions.

5. STOP RACIST ATTACKS AND POLICE/NAZI/KKK REPRESSION!

RACISM is on the rise in America! While racism has never been abolished and cannot be abolished under an exploitative capitalist system, the last few years have been a decade of "liberalism". Survey research supposedly shows that fewer Whites say that they are racists, that is, would not want to live next to a Black person, etc. But things are changing. We are witnessing the rapid increase in three kinds of racist attacks:

(1) Individual racism--where lone Whites or small groups attack Blacks, as in Chattanooga, Buffalo, Miami, Chicago, etc.

(2) Institutional racism--where more subtle and more "objective" forces operate to keep Black people oppressed and outside the mainstream of American institutional life (e.g., like the declining admissions of Black students in higher education because of biased admissions tests, the increased tuition costs, etc.).

(3) Societal racism--a pervasive sentiment throughout society fueled by such notions as "affirmative action is reverse discrimination", "the niggers have been given too much already", and Moynihan's "benign neglect". These function to create a permissive atmosphere for acts of individual and institutional racism.

Thus, many of the attacks we read about (i.e., Buffalo) and many of the negative trends (declining college admissions, increasing income gaps between Whites and the masses of Black people, etc.) reflect this pervasive atmosphere of societal racism. Even if the Atlanta Assassin is Black, we will still have to condemn the racist sickness of a society that produces such a warped mind--be it Black or White.

We must struggle against individual acts of terrorism. But we must not forget to direct our main blows at the more deliberate and conscious attacks on Black people by major institutions, especially the instruments of state/political power. If the government seeks to overturn affirmative action,

then individuals think that it is right for them to "help out" by attacking Black people. If the police escalate their unprovoked attacks and murder of Black people, then individual Whites will lend a hand. The U.S. prison system is the high point of this repression as disproportionate numbers of young Black people (and poor, uneducated) are incarcerated there.

Black students and youth must study and try to understand what underlies racism in a capitalist society. The real culprit in many of these racist attacks is not the individual White terrorist who attacks us. It is the capitalist system which spurs these misguided attacks and benefits because Whites are striking out at Black people rather than attacking the same system which oppresses them.

Note: The same system which killed McDuffie in Miami and let his killers free also set free an insane White Miami cop, who raped a teenage White girl from a working-class family! The same system is filling the unemployment lines with Black and White workers though Black people are hardest hit. It is the same system that is the enemy which all who are exploited and oppressed people must fight--and not each other.

Black students and youth must join the struggle against these racist attacks and destroy their root cause.

6. DEFEND THE BLACK COMMUNITY! FIGHT FOR RESPONSIVE AND RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP!

The Black community and poor peoples communities across the U.S. are under a state of siege. The land is being

grabbed by capitalist financial/real estate interests. Housing is allowed to deteriorate so that Blacks and the poor can be displaced for expensive rehabs, coops, and condos. Vital social services are being cut--hospitals, public transit, libraries, and the like. These kinds of attacks are being fought by the people and Black students must lend their support.

Recent revelations during the corruption trials (labeled "Abscam") again demonstrate that the political leaders and representatives who we might look to as defenders of our interests have been selling us out. This reality has been the major reason the Black people are fighting for political power. This struggle is destined to intensify in the future.

Black people should be able to select and elect representatives and leaders who will look out after our interests--and we should be able to remove them if they don't. But this is not the case. Chicago has a 60% Black school district population, but the school board is appointed (stacked?) by the mayor. The recent result was a Black school superintendent, other than the preferred choice of the five Blacks on the eleven-person board. The issue is not who was selected, but who shall decide. With Chicago approaching a 50% Black majority, taking control of the mayor's office has been put on the agenda. The realization of this demand is Black power. This is Black power! But we have learned from hard experience that a Black face will not necessarily solve the problems that Black people confront. A Black mayor of Atlanta fired hundreds of Black garbage workers and destroyed their union, simply because they

fought for a decent living wage. What is necessary are Black political representatives who will fight for power and use it in a bold way to bring about basic and fundamental changes in the way capitalism operates to exploit and oppress Black people and others. This is revolutionary Black power and a fundamentally new and more humane system must be the goal of a fighting Black Student Movement.

7. FIGHT TO END THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN!

Black women face a special "triple oppression": class exploitation and poverty, racism, and male supremacy. Because of this, Black women face problems and have special concerns that are particular but that are not isolated from the problems faced by all Black people. The facts speak for themselves. Over 52% of all Black people in the U.S. are women. Because women play a special role in the bearing of children and in the family, and a large number of them are working as wage earners, they are increasing as heads of households. Yet, Black women face greater discrimination than any other group in the society--in income, in job opportunities, in education, and in other vital areas of social life like housing, maternity benefits and assistance, and child care.

Consider these examples:

	White Males	Black Males	White Females	Black Females
Median Income (1974)	12,434	8,705	7,021	6,371
Education College Enrollment (1824)	28%	20%	22%	16%
Unemployment	3.5%	7.3%	5%	8.7%

While racism clearly operates in the above examples to place Black men below White women in some cases, it is clear that racism, poverty, and male supremacy operate to put Black women on the very bottom. This is the evil that we must fight, and it can only be fought by fighting the system which creates it.

In organizing efforts, Black youth/students must pay particular attention to such problems as the day care needs of young mothers with children. We must encourage and assist women to take full leadership roles in institutions and organizations. We must combat attitudes and actions based on male supremacy, like assigning women to "women" jobs, and taking advantage of women in any way.

Only to the extent that we fight against the oppression of women can we expect women to be full participants in building a fighting Black student movement and fighting for Black liberation in the 1980s.

8. IMPROVE SECONDARY EDUCATION! QUALITY EDUCATION AND NOT MINDLESS DEEGREGATION IS THE PRIORITY!

One recent Black community struggle over the quality of education in Chicago (Mollison) correctly labeled the secondary school system as "a factory of failure". This characterizes much of secondary education. Young minds are often being "jailed" for several hours each day but not taught. Some studies even show that many children come out of various grades and schools knowing less and scoring lower on tests than they did when they entered. This is de-education.

The problems are many. A large number of Black students, for example, are placed in special classes for the mentally retarded. One White teacher on Chicago's southside recently called his students "dumb niggers", degraded their families, and told them that he was a card-carrying member of the Klu Klux Klan. He did not know that some students had mentioned his antics to their parents, who later came to the school and listened outside his classroom where they heard these insults.

But the major problems facing public education have the same basic cause: the capitalist system in crisis. Through special financial arrangements and loan (fraud) schemes, the school system is being milked of valuable dollar resources. Profits are soaring in the private sector but many good teachers are underpaid, while many bad teachers are not forced to "shape up or ship out". Finally, many Black schools that are struggling to achieve greater community involvement and quality education are being destroyed by mindless school desegregation plans, as is the case with North High in Milwaukee.

Black youth and college students are products of these secondary schools. Many of them remain unemployed, underemployed or ill-prepared for college because of the failures of the public schools. Many of us still have younger brothers, sisters, cousins and friends in the school system. We must therefore take up the struggle for quality education at the secondary school level as part of our responsibility to ourselves and our next generations.

9. FREE AFRICA! SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE OF AZANIA
AND NAMIBIA!

The liberation of Zimbabwe which came only after years of hard fought armed struggle has ushered in a new phase of the freedom struggle in Africa. The central target now is the racist minority state in South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Black students and youth have historically played a major role in building the African liberation support movement in the U.S. This was especially true of the role of the Youth Organization for Black Unity (Y.O.B.U.) in organizing the first African Liberation Day in 1972: Youth in that organization and others (including Peoples College) played major roles in building the African Liberation Support Committee.

The militant Soweto outburst of rebellion demonstrates that youth and students will play a vital role in bringing about a FREE AZANIA. The militancy and sacrifice of these youths should inspire youths in the U.S. to support their struggles even more, while we get on with the task of freeing ourselves.

U.S. investments in South Africa totaled more than a billion dollars. These investments had a rate of profit of about 40% in mining, or 40 cents on each dollar invested. This contrasts sharply to 6 cents or 7 cents on the dollar that we get on a savings account in a U.S. bank, or less than 10% for the profit rate of U.S. investments worldwide. This 40% rate of profit is only possible because Azanian workers are paid

less than starvation wages and because they are not permitted full political participation under a system of majority rule. This is a situation which we must help end.

There are three main ways that we propose that Black students/youth (and the Black liberation movement and all progressive people) support the African liberation struggle.

A. CAMPAIGNS OF STRUGGLE. We must wage battles against the role played by U.S. imperialism and the U.S. government in South Africa. This includes campaigns against the sale of South African goods like the Krugerrand gold coin, the continuing struggle to get university investments out of corporations doing business in South Africa, and to end U.S. investments and loans to South African corporations and to the racist regime. We should also fight to end visits to South Africa by U.S. athletes and entertainers, and to end U.S. diplomatic recognition.

B. MATERIAL AID. We must collect monies, educational materials, and medical supplies that can be sent to the freedom fighters as a concrete indication of our political and moral support.

C. POLITICAL EDUCATION. We must combat the imperialist lies and distortions spread by the media about Africa-- that things are improving in South Africa, that Africans are content and are not fighting back, and that Africans have opted only for nonviolent social change, and that Africans think that all Black people in the U.S. support imperialism like Andy Young and do not want our support for their struggle. We must

learn the truth about the political situation and struggles in Africa and then use this truth as a weapon in our continuing struggle.

Things are rapidly changing in Africa. As direct colonial rule by outsiders comes to an end, African countries are the scene of intense internal class struggle among themselves. The main question is: in whose interests will African countries operate, that of a homegrown capitalist elite or that of the African masses. This is perhaps the key question in the 1980 and we as Black students and youth must carefully study these developments so that our support efforts are on the strongest footing.

Finally, we must learn more about and support the struggles of all oppressed and exploited people throughout the world.

10. BUILD UNITY FOR THE STRUGGLE IN THE 1980s!

The 1980s signaled a new decade and for many people was a time for a renewed effort to get the struggle for Black liberation back on track. A key theme was building Black unity. Students and youth must join and build these efforts.

In the 1981 Black Liberation Month News, Peoples College put forward a "theory of three unities" which describes how Black unity is being built in the 1980s: through concrete struggle, in conferences through education and persuasion, and through various cultural activities. We unite with this and will seek to contribute to these unity building efforts in these three categories.

In 1980, a number of key meetings were held across the U.S. and many of them included student caucuses. These included the annual meetings of the National Black United Front, the National Independent Black Political Party, and the National Council for Black Studies. Many of these meetings will be repeated in the 1981, and a national conference of Black students has been called for the Fall of 1981.

Black youth and students should begin now to find out more about these meetings. The key task in these meetings are: (1) summing up local conditions and problems and local campaigns of struggle. What were the political lessons learned, both positive and negative? (2) Building a national agenda for coordinated campaigns of struggle. (3) Building a network for ongoing communication and coordination.

Too often these national meetings become a stage for "showboating" and we leave without having accomplished very much and having learned even less than that. Usually no mechanism for coordination and followup has been established.

We have also learned that the only way to build a fighting Black student movement in the 1980s is from the "bottom-up" and to root it in local struggle. Thus, the key questions are: What have you done to support Black liberation and what are you going to do? What can we do together? Only by clarifying these questions and taking bold and concrete action can we hope to

REBUILD A FIGHTING BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE 1980s!



BUILD THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST PLANE
OF STUDY AND STRUGGLE!!

JOIN AND SUPPORT STUDY AND STRUGGLE!!

CONTACT: CHICAGO STUDENT MOBILIZATION FOR BLACK LIBERATION
P.O. BOX 6291 CHICAGO 60680
2530 South Michigan Ave. Chicago, ILLINOIS 60625
(312) 842-8242

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