

an interpretive look at...

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE



CRISIS

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SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

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Crisis at SF State

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During the first days of the strike (photo above), black students and faculty members entered classrooms to 'educate' students about the strike. Second from the right is Nathan Hare, proposed Black Studies Department chairman.

In turn, a dissident (photo below) makes his point by hurdling a trash can through a building door.



Several students (photo extreme left) return flag after demonstrators had taken it down.

An Overview

The strike at SF State

By Steve Toomajian

When Robert R. Smith began the fall, 1968 semester as president of San Francisco State College, he was ready to expect just about anything.

A teacher at SF State since 1949 after an education in Midwestern schools, Smith probably never had seen the character of SF State change as rapidly as in the past two years.

As recently as the early Sixties, SF State had been a relatively peaceful place, loose and lively, unusually liberal and not too isolated from the hectic noise of the city.

It was a compactly arranged campus with drab and uniform looking buildings and room for only 800 in its dormitories. A commuter campus. Its curriculum was general, mostly in the liberal arts, and its entrance requirements and admission fees were modest. It was not a place for the "student most likely to succeed." Instead it was a place for people about 22 or 23 years of age, many of them married, many of them with the military or other college schooling behind them, most of them working and few of them planning to take four uninterrupted years of study. Independent, hip, outspoken.

This liberal tradition was unique to SF State, possibly because the college was simply a reflection of "The City," San Francisco. If this is true, it may help to explain the changes Robert Smith witnessed while a professor in the college's Education Department.

San Francisco, like other cities throughout the nation, had ignored its long standing educational problems in predominantly black schools. In response, student-initiated "community action" programs sprang up at SF State, bringing into question both the plight of the cities and the purpose of a college education. Along with the tutoring and other community services, students established an Experimental College in which the lecture method of teaching was largely disbanded and subject matter was flexible from semester to semester.

As the community action programs grew in strength, America's continued involvement in Vietnam and the explosive racial tensions were bound to rub off. The campus' Black Students Union became more hostile with its revolutionary precepts, though President John Summerskill had entrenched a good number of young blacks into the college administration.

Radicalism spread to the student government, which gradually came to represent the aggressive community action groups more than the indifferent general student body.

When young radicals—more disenchanting than ever—grew weary of working within "the system" they so bitterly condemned, their power politics were met by the power of the State College Board of Trustees. And Summerskill's lib-

eral experiment came to an end.

Only a Matter of Time

Smith was also a liberal. But he was older, less inclined to make extravagant statements. He was a careful diplomat, was popular with the faculty and therefore seemed the ideal man for the presidency. With such deep discontent on campus, Smith's role was not so much to make everyone happy again, as it was to prevent another explosion.

But the Trustees and BSU upset the brief and precarious balance. State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke ordered Smith to suspend Black Panther-English instructor George Murray after a series of fiery, revolutionary campus speeches by Murray. Smith reluctantly complied. He was miffed that Dumke had not waited for a regular faculty committee to bring charges of "unprofessional conduct" against Murray.

A few days later, the BSU held a press conference to announce the 10 demands which would be the basis of a student strike Nov. 6. Murray's reinstatement was added to the demands, most of which called for faster implementation of the college's Black Studies Department.

The demands were similar to those made by blacks at scores of other colleges and high schools all over the nation the past year. Beyond a fully operative Black Studies Department, the BSU wanted the program to be run solely by blacks, and wanted the department exempted from the usual hiring and firing regulations. The BSU also called for a rank of full professorship for Nathan Hare, the department chairman, who had been with the college only a year. The BSU also called for the firing of Helen Bedesem, white financial aid coordinator, because she "represents the old antebellum plantation mistress, the showpiece of the slave-master who decides what the field niggers need and don't need." Finally, the demand which threw a scare into the general public:

"That all black students who wish to, be admitted in fall, 1969."

The BSU press conference was significant beyond the listing of the 10 demands. It set the tone for the weeks to come.

No white persons other than reporters were allowed in the room. President Smith tried to get in, but black students held the door shut. BSU spokesmen were regaled in black berets, Huey Newton buttons and leather jackets, and about 150 black students crowded the area, shouting "Right on!" whenever BSU Chairman Benny Stewart or fellow BSU leader Jerry Varnado raised a clenched fist. The target of Dumke's wrath—George Murray—remained in the audience.



"The demands," said Stewart, "are non-negotiable." Obviously, Murray's suspension had added fuel to a smoldering fire.

A week of confusion began with the first day of the student strike, Nov. 6. Using hit-and-run guerilla tactics, the blacks disrupted classes, initiated occasional scuffles (usually with press photographers) and damaged property, forcing the school to close the remainder of that first day. On the second day the Third World Liberation Front (composed of non-black minorities) issued five demands to the college administration. The demands called for a School of Ethnic Studies which would complement the proposed Black Studies Department.

While most students sympathized with the demands of the BSU-TWLF, very few honored the strike by staying out of class. Some white student activists—many of them members of Students for a Democratic Society—picketed classroom buildings and interrupted some classes to discuss strike issues. In terms of active support from the general student body, the strike was failing.

President Smith refused to discuss the demands until the disruptions ceased. But this really didn't matter, since the strikers made it clear they wouldn't talk to Smith anyway. An arbitration proposal by the college's Urban Studies Program was agreed to by Smith, but not by the strikers. The demands were still "non-negotiable."

In terms of faculty strike support, there was sympathy

for the Murray issue, but not for Murray. In a general faculty meeting attended by 700, a motion was passed calling for the resignation of Chancellor Dumke because he knew "that appropriate judicial procedures for the consideration of the case of George Murray had been undertaken at SF State (and he) chose to override such due and proper procedure." The issue was local autonomy, not college racism. The enemy was Dumke, not Smith.

However, 35 professors went on strike Nov. 13, demanding Murray's reinstatement. They carried signs reading "Support Local Autonomy" and "End Campus Racism." They would soon become the peacemakers on a day full of hate, and the core of a larger, stronger faculty strike in the coming weeks.

The Turning Point—Or, How to Create a Radical Without Really Trying

Nov. 13 was a sunny day. Students were relaxing, eating lunch on the Commons lawn. Class attendance was normal in the morning, there seemed to be no disruptive incidents or vandalism and the daily rally on the Speaker's Platform had turned into a small discussion group of 20 students.

Suddenly, down the center of the campus, they came. Helmeted, club-bearing police. Members of the anti-riot SF Police Tactical Squad, a specially trained unit.

They marched in close military formation, stopped at the BSU hut and immediately drew a massive crowd of protestors.

The garbage started flying and the air filled with shrieks as the officers broke ranks and chased two BSU leaders who were standing near the hut office. A general melee ensued, a free-form, brutal, hysterical battle. The students used rocks and trays and whatever else was handy. The police used their clubs liberally, and one officer brandished his pistol. A mob of students surrounded the police as they attempted to leave with their prisoners. Just when it appeared that another bloody scene would develop, the striking teachers—holding their signs high—filed serpentine-like through the crowd, then marched boldly in a circle around the bewildered police and eventually forced them to leave.

The incensed crowd flocked to the Administration Building. Smith squeezed through the crush of people on the building's steps and was met by resounding jeers when he tried to explain that he did not order the tactical squad onto the campus. (The story was never clarified. There apparently had been a photographer assaulted by a few blacks earlier in the day. One report said a plainclothesman was investigating the matter, his walkie-talkie went dead and the tac squad feared the worst. The other report said the tac squad had received word of a person hurt near the BSU hut.)

The effects of the incident were profound. The strike, which had been floundering, suddenly gained hundreds of supporters. Students once so critical of the black strikers' disruptive tactics became united against the tactics of the police, and momentarily submerged their criticism of the strike. For the first time, hundreds began to doubt the honesty of President Smith because of his explanation of the tac squad incident.

Internal dissension among the faculty began after the bloody police-student battle. The faculty met in emergency session and voted that the campus should be closed until the college's problems were solved. But many faculty members charged the vote was invalid, since some students were in attendance and not all faculty had been notified of the meeting. Bitter factions eventually developed.

But the most immediate effect of the Nov. 13 incident was that Smith officially closed the campus indefinitely. In so doing, he drew the anger of Governor Ronald Reagan and other public officials.

Nov. 14 was the first day of several marathon, emergency faculty meetings. The faculty demanded the reinstatement of Murray, but Dumke said he would not consider such an action. The Academic Senate rushed through approval of the

proposed details for a Black Studies Department, thus meeting several demands of the BSU. A task force was appointed to look into the TWLF demands. Mayor Joseph Alioto proposed an arbitration plan, which was never implemented.

In a dramatic session in Los Angeles, the Board of Trustees ordered Smith to "open the campus immediately," and further ordered him not to negotiate student grievances until "order is restored and the educational processes resumed."

The order effectively tied Smith's hands. If classes were resumed, the disruptions and police retaliation also would resume. If there were no classes, Smith would be defying the Trustees' order. If there was no negotiation of the student demands, the strike could go on indefinitely.

To complicate matters, the faculty—still angry at the Board of Trustees—voted not to teach, but instead voted to stage a "convocation" at which Smith and leaders of the BSU-TWLF could discuss the 15 strike demands.

Smith reached a compromise. He declared classes would resume, that the convocation would begin, and that students and teachers could go either to class or to the convocation. The event was piped through closed circuit television to classrooms throughout the campus, so only a few normal classes were held. The first day of the convocation served more as an airing of grievances than a specific discussion of the issues. Governor Reagan called it a "childish attempt" to avoid the Trustees' order. The next day, the BSU and TWLF strikers stormed out of the convocation, apparently angered that regular classes were being conducted. Strikers rampaged through the campus buildings, disrupted classes, and had frequent battles with police.

Not dismayed, the faculty worked over the weekend with Smith and black student leaders to set up another convocation. But the event began Nov. 25 with BSU leader Jerry Varnado insulting Smith, calling him a "pig," while in Los Angeles Governor Reagan told the Trustees that the BSU-TWLF demands "are utterly ridiculous."

While participants were finally making progress in the convocation Nov. 26, the Trustees were formulating a set of stern disciplinary rules for the state colleges, rules which Smith probably feared would remove the bulk of his decision making power. He flew to Los Angeles and announced his resignation. Chancellor Dumke appointed S.J. Hayakawa the acting president of SF State.

Photo by Lou de la Torre



The Hard Line

Hayakawa's appointment came as a surprise. Never before had he held an administrative job. A professor of English at SF State, he was on the campus only part-time. He is 62, a native of Vancouver, B.C., an alumnus of the University of Manitoba, McGill University and the University of Wisconsin. His chief claim to fame is as a semanticist. Up until his appointment as president, his chief association with the troubles on campus was a well-publicized speech he made Nov. 15 at one of the emergency faculty meetings. Excerpts follow:

"I wish to comment on the intellectually slovenly habit, now popular among whites as well as blacks, of denouncing as racist those who oppose or are critical of any Negro tactic or demand. . . . There are many whites who do not apply to blacks the same standards of morality and behavior that they apply to whites. This is an act of moral condescension. . . . We must permit no one to disrupt or dismiss our classes. No one—no matter how great his need to establish his black consciousness—has the right to break into my classes and tell my students that they are dismissed. When my classes are to be dismissed, I shall dismiss them. The conduct of my classes is my responsibility and not anyone else's and I shall continue to fight for the right to continue to do my duty."

Hayakawa's speech, like his actions and words as president, were popular with the general public and unpopular on the campus. Students and faculty alike criticized his appointment, charging that Chancellor Dumke did not consult the college's established Presidential Selection Committee. To make matters worse, Hayakawa was a member of that committee and had pledged that he would resign from the committee if he was being considered for the presidency.

Hayakawa, in the coming days, would show that he was an administrator who could act swiftly. His first official act as president was to close the campus Nov. 27, thus extending Thanksgiving vacation and giving himself more time to plan his strategy when the school reopened. By closing the school he obliterated any flickering hope that the convocation held for a resolution to the college's problems. Though not successful, the convocation had provided the closest contact since the strike began between administrators and strikers. Largely because of Hayakawa's Nov. 15 address, black leaders on campus were already primed for a showdown.

While Smith had always acted after receiving advice from either the Academic Senate or full faculty, Hayakawa would often steer his course without advice from the faculty. This contributed further to increasing faculty dissension, though many teachers said Hayakawa could not consult all parties since he was operating under a state of emergency.

Finally—and this may be the most important and tragic point—Smith had failed to resolve the campus' troubles in an atmosphere of peace and order. The first convocation was "Smith's last stand," a futile attempt to solve problems rationally. The second convocation was merely an anti-climax. Peaceful means had failed. Now Hayakawa would meet force with force.

When SF State reopened Dec. 2, Hayakawa's "state of emergency" regulations went into effect. No firearms or dangerous weapons would be tolerated. Use of sound equipment would be only through his permission. Use of the Speaker's Platform would be only through his permission. There would be "no interference with scheduled classes or any other educational function of the college." Hayakawa said there would be no more convocations. He called them "bull sessions." Faculty members not showing up for class

and students disrupting college activities would be "promptly suspended." A group of student supporters—the Committee for an Academic Environment—would be handing out blue armbands, signifying a desire to end campus unrest.

The opening of school Dec. 2 was an auspicious occasion for Hayakawa. Wearing his now famous tam-o'-shanter, Hayakawa leaped atop a sound truck which had been driven on campus by demonstrators and promptly ripped the wires from the loudspeaker. Hayakawa had said "no loudspeaker equipment without my permission," and he meant what he said.

Later in the day strikers staged a demonstration on the Speaker's Platform—illegal according to the "state of emergency" provisions. Two hundred police came on campus, a bloody battle ensued, several persons were arrested and five strike leaders were suspended.

Police-student battles raged four out of five days that week. There were sometimes as many as 600 police on campus. Adult leaders from the black community—publisher Carlton Goodlet, San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown, Rev. Cecil Williams and scores of others—participated in the massive demonstrations. Young blacks from the streets came to the campus and jumped anyone wearing a blue armband. Vicious fistfights often broke out between white supporters of the strike and white non-strikers. The American flag was repeatedly ripped from its flagpole at the entrance to the campus. Some students came to school not with books but with rocks, billiard balls, and sometimes the ingredients of a bomb. Hayakawa's voice resounded over campus loudspeakers, urging the innocent to move on. But police often clubbed anyone in their path. Police helicopters flew overhead. Police on horseback were seen charging up Holloway Ave., dispersing crowds in the midst of giant traffic jams. SF State was no longer a school. It was merely a battleground on which a regularly scheduled war was fought.



Photo by Tony Rogers

Most public officials and the general public applauded Hayakawa's tough stand against the troublemakers. Just the opposite of his restrained, diplomatic predecessor Robert Smith, Hayakawa dressed in vivid, distinctive colors and often wore a lei of flowers ("from my fans in Yuba City") at his press conferences. His trademark—the tam-o'-shanter—was quickly sold out of many San Francisco department stores. He exuded an effervescence that certainly would have rivaled Teddy Roosevelt.

After the bloodiest and most devastating of the police-student battles, Hayakawa remarked, "It's the most exciting thing since my tenth birthday when I rode a roller coaster for the first time."

Meanwhile, it was becoming nearly impossible for students to concentrate on their studies. As one teacher put it, "I can't hold the attention of my students for more than ten minutes."

The faculty was beginning to develop deep frictions. As a general body the faculty felt relatively impotent under Hayakawa. His hard line policies, plus his tendency not to consult the faculty, split the teachers into various groups—each proposing a different solution to the campus' problems.

The most organized of these groups was the American Federation of Teachers Local 1352, which included many of the anti-Hayakawa faculty. Partly to prevent further police action, partly to support student strikers' demands and partly to present their own list of demands, the AFT voted to go out on strike Dec. 16.

The AFT had given the Board of Trustees several days to agree to negotiations on the teachers' demands, but the Trustees refused to negotiate. The demands included shorter hours, higher wages, revised regulations on hiring, firing and tenure, and other matters.

The student strikers also had special plans for Dec. 16. "People from the community" were scheduled to flock to the campus in massive numbers.

Hayakawa waylaid these plans by closing the school a week earlier than scheduled, thus extending Christmas vacation for three weeks. Hayakawa hoped hostilities would cool during that period and that a complicated arbitration system set up by Mayor Alioto would accomplish something before the new year.

Alioto's plan was cumbersome. It involved the San Francisco Labor Council, the AFT, "observers" from the Board of Trustees, representatives from the SF State administration, and over 20 representatives from unions, church groups, business, city government and minority organizations.

Virtually nothing was accomplished during Christmas vacation. The school reopened Jan. 6 with the AFT picketing, strengthened by a sanction from the Labor Council and threatened by a court restraining order. Student strikers also picketed.

January was a lethargic month. There were occasional skirmishes between police and student-faculty pickets, but the confrontations occurred mostly at the entrance to the campus. (Hayakawa had banned rallies in the central campus area.)

By this time there was no food service on campus, as truckers honored the sanctioned AFT lines. Not only were AFT members out of class, but other teachers either discontinued class or taught off campus. The grading system

was revised because of the frequent disruptions throughout the semester. The campus was nearly deserted. On Jan. 23, the BSU-TWLF held a rally in the central campus, were quickly surrounded and 454 were arrested.

The fall semester ended with the students and administration far apart, and the AFT and Board of Trustees also nowhere near settlement.

Nobody Wins

It had been a tiring semester, and a futile one.

The striking students had lost their few gains: Hayakawa suspended Nathan Hare, black revolutionary, as chairman of the Black Studies Department. Hare had refused to operate the department until the BSU-TWLF demands were met. So there were no black studies courses offered as the spring semester opened. (There had been 22 before the strike was called.) Additionally, the State Attorney General's office froze the funds of the Associated Students government, which had been supporting the strike. The innovative "community action" programs which many of the striking students had taken years to build, were rendered inoperative.

Student strikers usually did not cross the faculty picket lines which had been set up at the entrance to the campus. This prevented the kind of bloodshed that hit the college in December. But the striking teachers accomplished little else. They had their pay docked and reached only partial agreement on their demands with the Trustees.

The Trustees lost little, but as problems on their campuses go unsolved they will continue to be faced with violent disorder. Their state college system, once regarded as among the best in the nation, will come under increasing attack from groups like the AFT until revisions are made.

But it was the conscientious student who lost most of all. As the new semester opened in February, 1969, he attended a college where he could not take the courses he wanted, because many teachers were on strike. He could not join student clubs or attend lectures and concerts on campus, because the student government which sponsored these events was no longer functioning. He could not get food on campus, because the cafeteria was closed and the vending machines were empty, and there was no longer a place to just sit around, relax and meet new friends.

As for Hayakawa, he could probably be considered a success. That is, he did what he set out to do. He squelched the radicals, helped get hundreds arrested, and saw the campus riddled of the student government he so angrily denounced.

But was this really success? At Hayakawa's address to the faculty, a speech given traditionally at the start of each semester, only 300 teachers showed up. Nearly all were Hayakawa supporters. The AFT members picketed outside. Hayakawa praised those teachers (the ones in the audience) who continued to teach their classes. He criticized those (the ones walking the picket line) who went on strike. He spoke of a hope for better days ahead, but he spoke at a time when the college was divided into seemingly irreconcilable factions. And he spoke as an advocate of one of those factions, rather than as a mediator of the campus' troubles. As Hayakawa began his speech, black faculty members and students climbed upon the stage and engaged the president in a shouting match. It was probably the first time that Hayakawa, Nathan Hare and Jerry Varnado had stood that close to one another.

"Gangsters in our Midst"

By S. I. Hayakawa

Acting President of San Francisco State College

The hardcore Students for a Democratic Society do not believe in democracy, do not believe in America, and are determined to discredit American institutions, beginning with the colleges and universities. A number of well-intentioned people, misled by the SDS slogans about "racial justice," "relevant education," and "peace," ally themselves with this form of student radicalism.

But the tactics of the SDS are identical with those of the Nazis in the 1930's, who attained power by disrupting and casting doubt upon German democratic institutions from the Reichstag to local police courts, thus paving the way to seizure of power. The same tactics of disrupting, of shouting down opposition speakers, of physical assaults on those who disagree with them characterize both SDS and the Nazis.

The members of the Black Students Union mimic the tactics of the SDS, but here the motives are somewhat different. The BSU leaders, a small minority of the Negro student population, are actuated by self-doubt and self-hatred. The only way they can allay their anxieties about themselves is to scowl at people from behind dark glasses, play Black Panther, and stalk around in gangs scaring little girls. All this behavior would simply be pathetic if knuckleheaded whites did not take them seriously.

But these whites, by giving in to their every demand, both

rational and irrational, have fed the ambitions of these blacks. So, along with the destructivists of the SDS, these blacks have joined the conspiracy against the rest of the student body and faculty. Corrupted by the power and money suddenly fallen into their hands through dubiously conducted student elections, these radical opportunists, black and white, have set forth systematically to frustrate the legitimate educational aspirations of the majority. They have sought to destroy scientific, cultural, recreational, and athletic programs by cutting funds. Those funds they have looted under a variety of pretexts for distribution among themselves and their henchmen.

What we have at the heart of the SDS and the BSU, therefore, is not a group of idealists impatiently agitating for a better world. What we have is a gang of goons, gangsters, communists, neo-Nazis and common thieves. This is the meaning of the drastic action taken by the Attorney General's office in placing in receivership the remaining funds entrusted to the Associated Students. Ensuing weeks will reveal all too clearly as Deputy Attorney General Joanne Condas makes her findings known, the truth of these allegations.

It is time that students took control of their own student government and restored it to the purposes for which it was intended.

Hayakawa as seen by a striker

By Carol Corville

Carol Corville, a journalism student and a Phoenix reporter is a strike supporter. She interviewed college President S.I. Hayakawa in December. Her first person account follows:

When I walked into his office to interview him, President Hayakawa stood in the middle of the floor to meet me.

"Look there, look out the window," was his first sad comment, putting on a hurt and plaintive face. "There they are marching, with signs saying, 'No Black Studies.' What's the matter with them: There's a Black Studies Department!"

I expressed some doubt about the manner in which he had met the demands, at which he said, "Have you read my press release, look here, read this!"

As I glanced at it, he kept walking about the room, shuffling the papers on his desk, opening the bathroom door.

"Go ahead, go ahead, ask your questions!" he said.

So I did. "First, you say there are no 'innocent bystanders,' and at the same time you say students should go to their classes."

His face tightened. "I didn't say that!" he interrupted. "I didn't say that there are never any innocent bystanders. At the particular moment when crowds begin to gather, and I make my announcement, that's when I say that if these students remain, then they're not innocent bystanders."

"Look, look, look at me," he waved, demonstrating. "Here are the police," holding his hands out in front of him as if he held a billy club. "Walking like this, their clubs in front of them. Look. One—two—three, walking very slowly," he faltered forward, "giving people plenty of chance to get away."

"And have you seen them, have you seen what those demonstrators do? Those girls, they just stand there in front of them, daring the police to strike them!" He shook his head angrily.

"Well . . . I haven't seen that too much," I said slowly. "I've seen the police charging into people more than anything else."

"The police haven't charged! When did the police charge anybody this week? When?" he demanded.

"Last Tuesday and Thursday," I said. "There were several times when I had to run because huge masses of people were being chased by the police."

Hayakawa shook his head. "The campus is a safer place to be because those police are here! The police aren't the ones going around planting bombs in the buildings! They're not the ones going around beating up students with blue armbands on!"



Photo by Lou de la Torre

S. I. Hayakawa
Acting President of
San Francisco State

"But they're the ones cracking people over the head with their clubs," I interjected.

"Ah, there you go, so much hostility towards the police! They're creating all this anti-police atmosphere, those students out there. They're saying all sorts of things about the police that aren't true."

"But I have heard personal testimony from people whom the police have arrested," I countered, "about police using their clubs, and wrenching students thumbs after they were already handcuffed."

"Personal testimony! Ah, see, that's their testimony, that's what they say. Look, people can say the same type of clichés without really knowing about the Negroes, too, like

the rumor that they're 'lazy and shiftless,' for instance . . ."

I stuttered a few times at the analogy and went on to the next question. "By keeping classes going you imply that you want to keep the educational process alive. However, you have denied the students of this college the constitutional rights of assembly and freedom of speech. Do you believe that these rights do not belong in the educational process?"

"I have not denied them these rights. I have not denied them freedom of speech," he said.

"But you forbid them assembling; you won't let them use sound equipment."

"There's a very great difference between freedom of speech and sound equipment. Even at that, I have permitted police to let them use sound equipment at times rather than have a confrontation."

I turned to another subject. "What about an Ethnic Studies Department?"

"There is an Ethnic Studies Department, starting this fall!" he cried. "Look there, read that, look, you haven't even read this," pointing to the press release. "Nobody reads it, and they go around saying I haven't met these things when I have!"

I looked over the release again, searching. "I don't see where it says there will be an Ethnic Studies Department."

He took the release from me, and pointed to a paragraph which read that a task force had been started to explore policies and procedures for an Ethnic Studies Department.

"This only says they will look into it. It doesn't say the department will begin in the fall."

"Look, here! It says 'report back to the College Senate in two weeks.' Why do you think that says report back in two weeks if fall isn't the target date?"

"What more can you ask for than what's there? Hmm? Nothing more, nothing more! It's all there, look! I put these out everywhere."

The date of the release was Dec. 6. I mentioned that I hadn't seen any of the releases anywhere on campus.

"Yes, you know why you haven't seen any," he said ominously. "Because the radical students have thrown them away."

"Why are your questions so hostile!" he cried. "Why don't you ask friendly questions?"

"How can my questions help but be hostile with the police out there? How can you expect friendly questions at a time like this?" I asked.

"You're talking like the Gater! Don't start talking like them. You're supposed to be the Phoenix. You're respectable, a better paper. Tell me, what's going to happen when both the Phoenix and the Gater are against me? It will really be awful then."

"Why? Why will it be so awful for both of us to be against you. What will happen?"

"This school will close, that's what will happen. And once this school shuts down, then there goes the rest of the country, too . . ."

"Why will it close just because we're against you?"

"Because there will be no one to tell my story," he said, shaking his head sadly, "no one to tell my story."

I watched him a minute, and then went on.

"\$30,000 a day is being spent to keep the police here. Why can't you raise that kind of money for the Ethnic Studies Department and the Black Studies Department?"

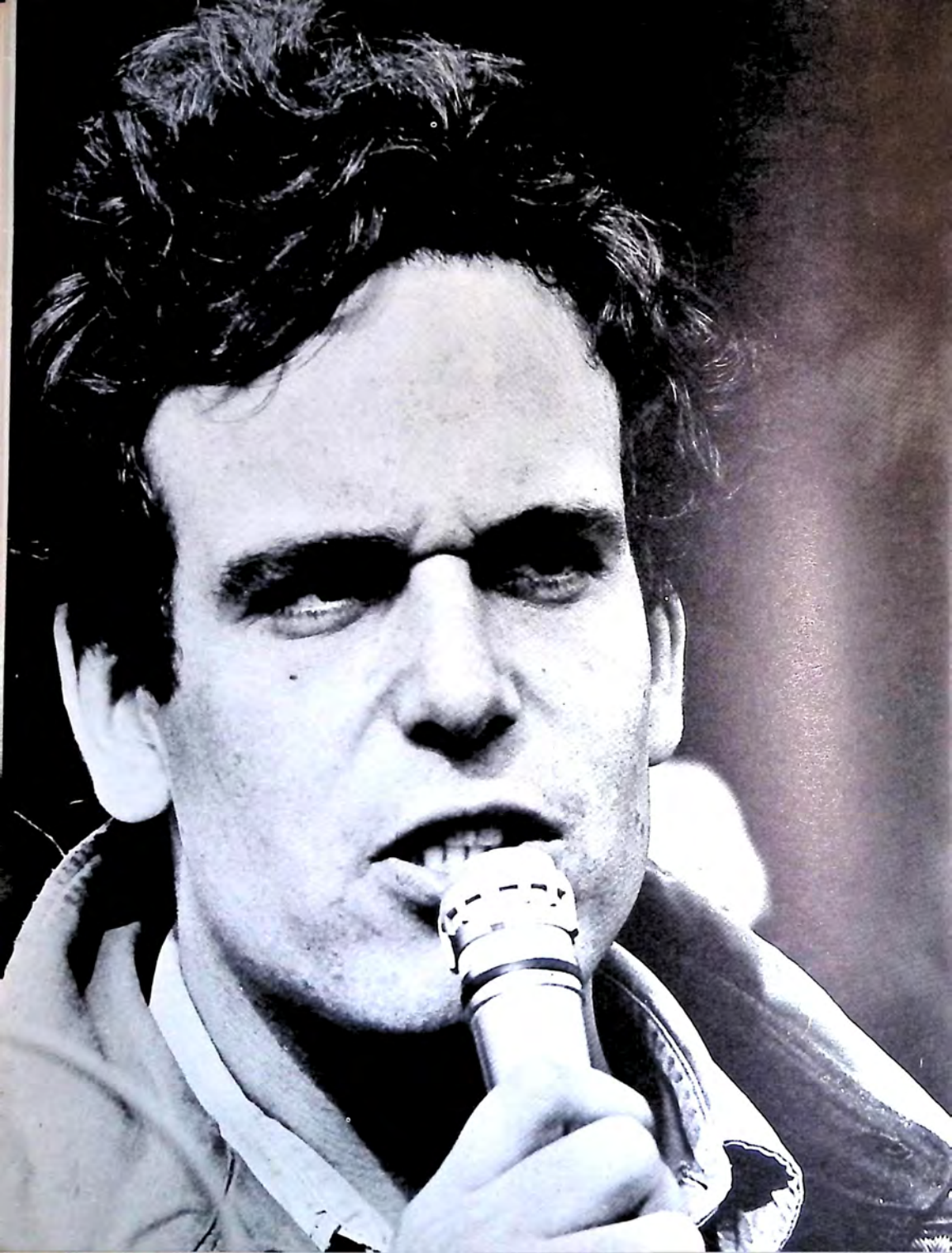
"That isn't my money. I'm not paying it. San Francisco and the police department are paying it. It's coming out of police funds in order to protect students against being beaten up—against gangs of hoodlums going around from classroom to classroom."

"I haven't seen any gangs of hoodlums. All I've seen are the police."

"You know why you haven't seen any hoodlums?" he cried. "Because the police are in each of those buildings now, that's why you haven't seen any hoodlums, not like last May when they went around disrupting classrooms."

I didn't have time to pursue the subject much further, for a few minutes later, he threw the door open and said, "Go on, shoo, I've had enough of your questions!" and waved me out the door.





The strike leaders

Interviews by Carolyn Skaug

Bill Middleton BSU

Carolyn Skaug, a San Francisco State senior and a member of the Journalism Department paper, Phoenix, interviewed several leaders of the student strike at the college. Her interviews follow:

* * *

Bill Middleton is both a graduate student and a part-time lecturer in the Department of International Relations. He is a member of Black Students Union, Black Faculty Union, and is a member of the Associated Students Legislature. Middleton recently returned from a tour of several eastern colleges, including Brandeis, Queens and Harvard where he was a speaker on the San Francisco State crisis. In this interview he talks about the problems in the college system, the goals of the strike, and the tactics for reaching the goals.

Reporter: Since the strike was called by George Murray on Oct. 26, there has been a great deal of confusion as to who is providing leadership for the strike movement. Who is it?

Middleton: First, George Murray did not call the strike—that should be made perfectly clear. The strike was called by the Black Faculty Union in the last week of September or the early part of October. What George Murray did was announce the date for the strike. That was decided upon by the BSU.

Reporter: Were the 15 demands drawn up by the Black Faculty Union when they called the strike?

Middleton: The demands were not formalized by the black faculty, but those same demands have been presented to the administration for the past three years. The BSU formalized the 10 demands, but all they actually did was to write up these old demands and add a couple of new ones for the protection of the strikers.

Reporter: What action on the part of the California administration will be necessary for you to consider the demands met?

Middleton: My position, as I told the Central Committee of the BSU, is that a written contract must be signed telling us what action has been implemented towards meeting the demands—no promises, no words, just a contract.

Reporter: Many people seem to feel that, particularly in view of the community and white student support for the strike, the issue has changed from one of "black power" to one of "people power" or "student power." Do you agree?

Middleton: I think that student power is involved as a by-product of black student power. Black students are demanding control of their educational destinies, and now white students are demanding the same control over their educa-

tion. The faculty involvement is essentially a strike for power, too—more power to deal with the power establishment.

Reporter: I assume then, that you think the strike was, in some sense, a result of the failure of the "power structure."

Middleton: Well—the power structure hasn't failed in its own terms. It has succeeded in doing what it set out to do.

The intention of the power structure was to "prepare" students in college—sort of like a trade school—to go out and join the ongoing productive pattern of the society.

The only trouble is that the pattern never included black people. Now the black communities are developing, and they are demanding training for their people, too.

Reporter: Students have traditionally had little to say about the educational programs of the colleges. Why are they now demanding a share of the power?

Middleton: Because the college is not responding to the needs of students of any color.

Students are dissatisfied because they have found that the college is geared to fit them into the productive system, and that there is no longer a place for them in that system.

A college degree is no longer a guarantee. Ph.D.s who used to start at a salary of \$20,000 are now taking jobs for \$6,000 or \$7,000. The productive system has no place for these professionals.

Consequently, the people who can see this—the students—are out to change the system into something more suited to their futures.

Reporter: How would you like to see the college system changed?

Middleton: I think the students and faculty, on an equal basis with the administration, should participate in curriculum decisions which would be acceptable to all three.

These decisions should be geared to the masses of the people in the country rather than to the corporate interests that are now being served. If this country is to do away with this "elitist" kind of structure, it has to stop acting by the old rules.

The black people are seeing the necessity for doing this. Students are putting on their overalls and going back to their communities to work, rather than aiming for a "productive society" they can't get into.

Reporter: How would you change the structure of the campus?

Middleton: What we have to change first of all is the Board of Trustees. That is where the power is. Each college should elect its own respective boards from among its own faculty and students. This would allow students equal power with

faculty and faculty power with administration. Of course, along with equal power comes equal responsibility.

Reporter: What is the BSU policy concerning violence and police confrontation?

Middleton: Policy is decided by the TWLF Central Planning Committee, of which I am not a member. BSU and TWLF leaders have not been involved in any acts of violence, however, because they know they are being watched by plainclothesmen, and anything like that will land them in jail.

As far as acts by any member of the strike outside of the Central Planning Committee—I've never known the Committee to apologize for any act by a striker . . .

Reporter: Was there no other way the protest for a change could be effectively made?

Middleton: This protest has already been made several times before, in other ways, but it has never succeeded because the pressure has never been strong enough, and the administration has just waited and assumed that the dissenters would eventually acquiesce.

This time, the conditions in the country and the city are right; there are many dissatisfied elements who want to apply sustained pressure for the change now.

Reporter: Do you think this strike is tactically effective in implementing the demands?

Middleton: I judge tactics after the fact. If the move was successful, the tactics were good. If the move fails, the tactics were bad.

Reporter: Is there any statement you would like to make aside from the questions you have answered?

Middleton: One thing that must be made very clear is that we are in a power struggle in this country. There is a demand for realignment of power relationships—between black and black, between white and black, and between white and white power elites.

Black students have said that white liberals will no longer control the black people's development. In 1964, when SNCC and CORE kicked all white people out of their organizations, they found that all black organizations were being controlled by white liberals, who held the policy-making positions.

If you look at the NAACP and the Urban League today you will find that the vice president, the financial secretary and the treasurer of both are white people.

Black students are saying that we no longer need that kind of help; if you want to help you will help at our request, you will no longer make policy.

In the context of black-black power, black students are saying to black communities that leadership and direction must come from within the community—the communities must not continue to work with the white image from without.

Race relations in this country are nothing but relations between ruling elites of both races. That is why integration has never taken place.

To paraphrase writer Lerone Bennett, what is not noted often enough is that the black rebellion, besides being directed against the white power structure, is also saying something to the black establishment. It is saying that the black establishment, too, must be responsive to the black people. Black students now are holding the establishment responsible not for the battles it lost, but for the battles it never fought.

Photo by Walter Conick



Benny Stewart (left), BSU Chairman, announces Nov. 6 BSU strike, while black faculty administrators Nathan Hare (center) and Joe White (right) look on

Hari Dillon TWLF

Hari Dillon, a part-time student at San Francisco State, is a member of the Mexican-American Student Alliance, one of the five ethnic organizations of the Third World Liberation Front. He is also a member of Progressive Labor Party, and a leader of the student strike. In this interview he discusses the Mexican-American student demands, and his views on racism on the campus and in society.

Reporter: When the strike was called the five demands of the Third World Liberation Front were issued separately from the 10 demands of the Black Students Union. Will you explain the background of the TWLF demands?

Dillon: Each of the groups of TWLF drew up its own demands, and they were coordinated by the Central Committee of TWLF.

Mexican-American Student Alliance's demands center around the creation of a department with a faculty in a School of Ethnic Studies. We are demanding that Dr. Juan Martinez, instructor of social science, be made chairman of this department.

This is a very important demand. The administration

tried to fire Dr. Martinez last year, when John Summerskill was still college president. As a result of student demonstrations, Dr. Martinez was retained, but only on a year's contract. And the administration which followed Summerskill's has not assigned him teaching duties, so essentially he now has a non-teaching contract which expires after the spring semester.

All of our demands are at least 1½ years old. Dr. Martinez made a proposal for a School of Ethnic Studies to the college last spring, but no action was ever taken on it. The Special Admissions program we now have is a result of the demonstrations of last May, and the demand to admit 128 more special admit students is a result of the administration's failure to complete the terms of the program.

Reporter: Has there been any change in the basic issues of the strike since Nov. 6?

Dillon: No. The basic issue is still racism.

The question in the strike is the granting of these 15 demands. The strike is necessary because the administration says a lot, but they never follow through with action—they are all rhetoric.

Reporter: Would you define "racism"?

Dillon: It is the specific part of the ideology which the institution perpetuates which goes hand in hand with the oppression of non-whites.

The average wage of a black or brown worker is 54% that of white workers. But taking that percentage and multiplying it by the number of black and brown workers, you find that a \$22 million profit is made annually by keeping non-whites in menial tasks.

This practice is hard on the working class in general because it helps keep the general wage scale down. The institution plays up the idea that non-whites will come in and work for less, and that white workers will get a promotion out of the menial jobs faster, which keeps working people divided along lines of racism.

Reporter: Will you explain what you consider racist about the college?

Dillon: Students from the third world working class have been systematically excluded on the basis of admittance standards. First, most of these students don't have the money to pay fees, and second, they are products of inferior elementary and secondary schools which don't prepare them academically.

Next, what is taught here is of racist content. What is taught from the first grade on is racist concepts of the third world. Such concepts are all-important to the maintenance of corporate powers which run the country.

Reporter: Do you see a difference between the racism of individuals and the racism of an administration?

Dillon: The administration of this college administers for the Board of Trustees. There are \$49 billion in corporate assets sitting on that board, and last year they represented \$29 million in profits.

Dudley Swim, for example, is part of Del Monte, which makes its profits by the exploiting of Mexican people.

But just because the college administration doesn't have any power doesn't mean that they are all good people. In the same sense that LBJ isn't a good president because he is in a difficult position. No administrator is a good administrator, just like no cop is a good cop. If they were, they would resign from the position.

Reporter: How about racism in individuals?

Dillon: I think individual racism is an ideology taught to whites and third world people. This ideology is not in the best interests of white or third world people, and more people are beginning to see that. That is what is happening in this strike the white students are seeing the racism and they are siding with the third world people. They see that the system is exploiting all the working people—it simply super-exploits the non-white people.

In this way, individual racism can change and is changing, as people come together in defense of common self-interest.

But racism cannot be eradicated in the present system. Only when this capitalist imperialist system is overthrown can racism be eradicated.

Reporter: Do you consider this strike part of the overthrow?

Dillon: This isn't an "overthrow," it is a reform for the betterment of the third world people's conditions. The Mexican-American studies department, after it is established, may be an effective beginning for changing the system, depending on the department content. If we have bourgeois professors, there will be no change.

Dr. Martinez will talk about the conditions of oppression and how to change them. This kind of content can bring about change, and this is why the administration is afraid of these programs.

Photo by Tony Rogers



George Murray is an example. He was talking about these kinds of things, and his students were responding. They can't remove the students, so they had to remove him.

Reporter: Can racist conditions be improved by a change in the state system?

Dillon: Well, I see the state as a microcosm of society. We can't change it all, but we can insist on specific changes. As far as ending the exploitation by a change in the state system—it can't be done that way.

John Levin SDS

John Levin and Alex Forman are spokesmen for the "white radical" students who support the strike. Levin is a member of the leftist-community Progressive Labor Party, and Foreman is affiliated with Students for a Democratic Society. Both students have been active in previous demonstrations and are recognized as leaders in the student activist movement. In this interview they talked about the relationship of the San Francisco State strike to other student demonstrations, and the political effect of the strike on the student movement.

Reporter: On the first day of the strike, you told me that the difference between San Francisco State's strike and the strike at Columbia University is that "Columbia lost, but we're going to win." Do you still think this is true?

Levin: I don't think Columbia "failed," though you might say in a sense that it didn't completely succeed. Yes, I think that we can win the demands here. I think the activity at the beginning of the struggle had a lot to do with our success.

Reporter: Would you say that Columbia was not successful because its demands were not all met?

Levin: Partly that, and partly the political and organizational mistakes they made. They didn't continue their struggle.

Reporter: Why do you think the San Francisco State strike can win?

Levin: I think it will win because we have better political leadership; the Third World Liberation Front is playing a much more substantial role here than they did at Columbia; we learned from the mistakes Columbia made; we are learning from the mistakes we are making.

Reporter: What is the relationship between the American Federation of Teachers and the student strike?

Levin: The AFT is supporting the TWLF strike, and as long as they don't try to usurp leadership from TWLF or BSU I think the relationship is good.

Reporter: Do you think the demands of the two strikes are related?

Levin: I think they are related in the sense that AFT supports the 15 demands, and we recognize that the teachers have similar rights. That is, they have a right to collective bargaining.

Reporter: Does the AFT strike help the student strike politically?

Levin: It could help, or it could not. It could be bad or it could be good, depending on the relationship of forces within the AFT. They could decide to sell out the students. But if they hold to their position, which is good on paper, they will be a substantial help to the strike.

Reporter: Many people believe that the strikers are anarchists, bent on destroying the college. Do you consider this an accurate assumption?

Levin: To the people who would say that, in a sense, it is a true charge. The people who would assume something like that want to keep the university open to serve the Trustees, the ruling class. We are bent on destroying a university which serves the ruling classes and building a university which serves the people.

I don't think we're anarchists; I don't consider myself an anarchist. But we do want to destroy the political racist values of the university and construct new values.

Reporter: How would you like to see the college run?

Levin: In the hands of the people.

Reporter: By "people" do you mean students?

Levin: No, I mean students and community working people, not Trustees and corporate interests.

Reporter: Do you consider this strike an attack on the "system?"

Forman: Yes, it is an attack on the foundation of the university system. This strike is destroying the ivory-tower myth about the university.

All the problems of society exist right here on this campus, and we are forcing people to recognize these problems and confront them.

Reporter: What is the relationship between the TWLF and white strikers?

Forman: The white students are here in support of the TWLF strike. It is not "our" strike and we are not running it. When the strike was called, SDS sent a committee to volunteer support, to see what TWLF wanted us to do, and we have been essentially organizing ourselves strictly in support of the TWLF policies ever since.

Reporter: It has been suggested that the white students are being "used" as bodies to be counted. Do you think this is true?

Forman: I don't think we are using anybody or being used by anybody in this strike. We support the demands, and that is what the strike is about.

Reporter: What effect do you think the strike will have on relations between white and black students on this campus?

Forman: I think we have seen and will see more cooperation between black and white students as the strike progresses. Once white students prove they will act, then black students will trust them. Our best interests actually lie together.

Educational crisis

Former President Robert Smith talks with a student after one of the mass rallies.



Photo by Lou de la Torre

By Robert Smith

Former President of San Francisco State College

The participants and close observers of the turbulent events on the San Francisco State College campus continue to search for the "real meaning" of the several related conflicts in which the college and community are entangled. I am engaged here in that search.

The student strike called by the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front brought several underlying disorders of the larger society to a head on our campus. That our struggles are not an isolated set of events should be obvious. They are rather a distinctive expression of a growing world wide rebellion against traditional institutions by the post-World War II generations of both students and faculty. The schools and colleges have become major focal points in these growing struggles. I expect them to continue.

The student strike, focused on the fifteen demands of the BSU and TWLF, reflects one of the large social disorders of the community and the nation, the chronic blocking of the aspirations of minority groups. The growing commitment of young minority adults and their allies among the "new left" to direct action to force change quickly and on their own terms has run afoul of a college and a governance system tuned to moving at its own pace with its priorities set by the interplay between the faculty, the Trustees and the legislature. The college's reputation for flexibility and innovative action is well merited in relation to the style of most colleges and universities. In the eyes of student and faculty militants, the college appears obstructive. As the conflict on campus

has progressed, the militants pressing for "unnegotiable demands" have come to view the college as punitive and retaliatory. Those attempting to restore order on campus, as a prelude to further consideration of the demands, see a need to defeat the disruptive tactics and strategy of the strikers as a first priority.

As I write, the campus portrays a rough scene projected nation-wide. In one sense, it is everyman's ink blot test. Angry, anxious and frightened people project into it their attitudes toward education, youth, race and ethnic relations, faculty, administrators, all shaped by their ideology.

The ten Black Students Union strike demands, termed non-negotiable by those planning the strike, were released to the press and later discussed in a news conference by TWLF student and administrative spokesmen before they were presented to college administrators. Just before the strike began on November 6, it was made clear to me and to college Vice President Devere Pentony, who also met with the strike committee, that all demands must be met on the spot and that the strike was to go on regardless of college action. My efforts to turn the meeting to exploration and negotiation of the demands was rejected. I had made it clear that the demands could not be accepted as a non-negotiable package though the college was moving energetically on several of the demands. The five demands added by the Third World group also required negotiation. The meeting was broken off by the BSU committee after less than ten

minutes of discussion.

The concept of non-negotiable demands coupled with the "flea attack", guerrilla warfare tactics of the strike are joined with revolutionary ideology and strategy described by strikers both from the platform and in writing. The three most recent presidents of the college have been described as racist and suppressive. The struggle is for power and for control over the college including absolute control over the programs. The strike is seen by some strike leaders as part of a protracted struggle for Third World liberation with the college as a primary arena.

My intent, prior to leaving the presidency, was to work as hard as possible to meet the educational needs of minority students and to interpret the changes being proposed to the college community, the Trustees and the public. At the same time, we attempted to contain and turn back the patterns of disruption, verbal and physical assault, bombings and arson to which the campus has been subjected, hence the effort at restrained use of police through November, coupled with efforts to open new avenues for negotiation, conciliation and open campus discussion of the strike issues through departmental and class meetings and convocations.

The parties on all sides of the issues willing to accept escalation of the conflict have had their way for now. They include: some students, faculty members and administrators, some community leaders and the majority of Trustees; the Chancellor, the Governor, and a large section of the mass media and the public.

As this is written in mid-February, 1969, the struggles on the campus and in the state tend to be dominated by the most militant and revolutionary factions within the striking groups, their faculty and community allies and the most trenchant of the "hardliners" among the countering groups. The power struggle has swamped efforts to adapt the college to emerging educational needs of minority groups and has seriously impaired development and reform of existing programs. The extent of legislative retaliation against higher education is not yet clear but promises to be grave. The cycle of calculated campus disruption and public retaliation in reduced support is already well established.



Projection for the immediate future at the college appears to be continuing attrition rather than conciliation. In California, many of the middle-aged and elderly are moving sharply to the "right" while the youth and young adults are moving to the "left" in increasing numbers. Nationally, the "non-negotiable demand" has caught on, and guerrilla tactics are being added to confrontation strategies. The early infusion of "massive" police and military forces in campus disruptions is becoming a more frequent response, coupled with mass arrests and disciplinary action.

Those who consciously or unconsciously seek polarization, prefer violence, and enjoy sharp struggles for power are doing well. Those who deny the promise of relationships based on mutual respect, the use of intelligence, and democratic methods of problem solving in conflict situations are having a good year. Yet, out of sight of the cameras and beyond the range of the bullhorns and the public facades of cold hostility or passionate rage, can one not already detect a slow stirring of concurrence among diverse groups that major changes in higher education are already foreshadowed and that the movement must be in the direction of several of the strike demands?



Photo by Lou de la Torre

Black Studies

By Carolyn Skaug

At the heart of the San Francisco State struggle is the question of black studies, and what kind of a program it shall be.

Last September when then-President Robert Smith announced the formation of a Black Studies Department, its very existence was a radical innovation. Many who had heard of the new approach at SF State were watching the program and considering possible programs of their own.

Today, the existence of the Black Studies Department is no longer unique. At least a dozen schools—including Harvard, University of Chicago and most recently the University of California at Santa Cruz—have begun black or Afro-American studies programs, and scores of other schools are offering black studies classes through traditional curricula.

The "radical newness" of SF State's black studies program involves not the fact that it exists, but the kind of

program it promises to be.

Unlike most of the already-established programs which deal primarily with the sociology and history of Africa and the Negro race, SF State's department has done away with the ivory tower. It is here-and-now oriented, and it takes its direction more from Malcolm X than from Margaret Mead.

The program originated with the black students—with people like former Black Students Union Chairman Jimmy Garrett, who said in 1963, "white education is basically irrelevant to us. We need an educational system of our own."

In conjunction with community projects which are a part of SF State's student government, the black students developed a black arts and culture program on the campus, and began offering a few black studies classes through the student-run Experimental College.

Students found enthusiastic support for their campus and community programs in John Summerskill, the former

college president who left SF State in the wake of student demonstrations last spring. Summerskill appointed Nathan Hare, sociologist from Howard University, in February 1968 to coordinate a program of black studies and to write a proposal for a Black Studies Department.

The proposal which Hare wrote has the same pragmatic approach as the programs of the black students. Its orientation is basically one of working in and for the black community.

All black studies majors will be required to take 12 "core" units (black history, black psychology, black arts and humanities, and a survey of sciences: method and history); plus 24 units in a concentrated area of either black arts or behavioral and social science; and an additional 12 elective units to be selected with the help of an advisor. This requirement of 48 units is larger than the unit load required in most majors at SF State.

The "area concentration" classes include psychology, political science, economics, geography, drama, mass communications, literature, music—a smattering of all the traditional disciplines as they relate to black people.

Nearly half of the classes involve field work in the black community. Some proposed projects include:

—black cultural councils to sponsor community events and establish black holidays.

—black community information centers.

—a black community press.

—a "drop-back-in-school" campaign modeled on the door-to-door methods of a voter registration drive.

—a bureau of black education to coordinate aid available to black scholars.

According to its official written proposal, the black studies program hopes to turn out people "competent in black community problems and development." Graduates could be "probation officers, case workers, poverty workers, or (with graduate schooling) lawyers, social workers, teachers, scholars, professors, research scientists, businessmen. . . in the black community."

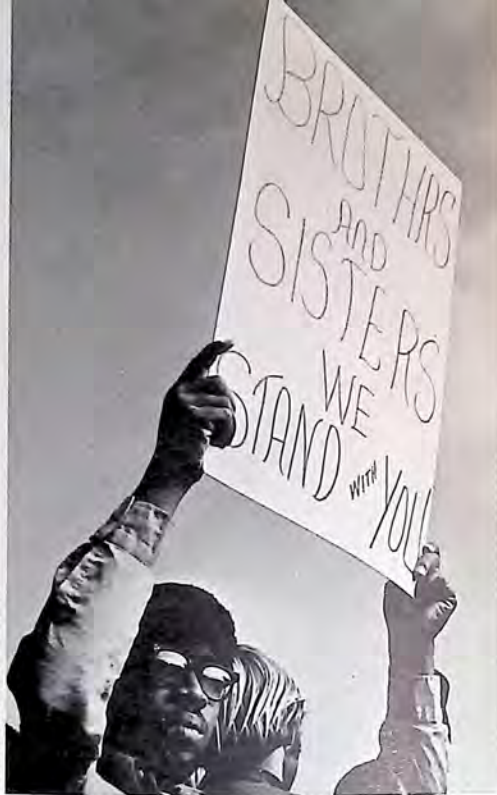
Like other departments, black studies is not completely goal-oriented. There is room in the course offerings for the non-major, the abstract theorist and the idle dreamer as well as the social reformer. Conceivably, one could drift through the black studies program untouched by stimulating thoughts, individual interest or active involvement, just as one can do in the traditional disciplines of the college. But Hare's approach is aimed at making this harder.

SF State's black studies program, then, is not only a first step in education, but also a first step in constructive black nationalism. It is directed not at challenging white education but at supplementing it, at relating information not towards the successful, productive area of the American system, but towards the problem-ridden area of the poverty ghetto and the black race.

Many of the innovative aspects of the program which black students and faculty feel are essential to its success, however, are still unresolved. These changes tend to be lumped together into the nebulous demand for "department autonomy," or the control over the program's functioning.

Hare has mentioned hiring "experience-qualified" rather than "degree-qualified" professors. He stated in his degree proposal that he wants to use criteria "supplementary to or exclusive" of the standard criteria for evaluating the department's prospective students. He proposes to teach some of his classes off the campus, in community halls where non-student neighborhood residents can attend, and he intends to encourage professors to "rotate" classes and give exchange

Photo by Lou de la Torre



lectures.

What "autonomy" seems to mean here is authority to make academic decisions without review by college administration. The college has granted autonomy to the degree that the department hiring, retention, promotion and tenure committee is being selected by the black faculty members "from among their own ranks, or from the academic community at large."

As a general rule, HRT committees make their own decisions, and the seal of approval from college administration is merely a formality. Decisions regarding program changes are generally made at department meetings or the department chairman's office, and reviewed by the Vice President of Academic Affairs.

At this point, even those people who have completely supported the black studies program have some reservations about giving its administrators a free hand. They fear that a block of militant activist professors could turn the classes into revolutionary training programs. They fear that the "new criteria" for evaluation may exclude all white students and faculty from black studies. They fear that "old white lies will be replaced by new black myths," and that the department could become as one-sided in perspective as black students claim white education is today. And, of course, they fear any change in procedure which might—in the eyes of the "Establishment"—lower academic standards. They believe that the value of any SF State degree will be lowered correspondingly.

From the beginning, the basic problem with black studies

on the SF State campus has been the two incompatible perspectives of the black faculty and the white administration. The college administration sees black studies as part of the whole academic scene, and it tries to mold the program to fit the requirements of the state academic Master Plan for Higher Education, the college budget, and the campus growth plan. The black faculty sees black studies as an innovative idea which was developed precisely because the aforementioned "standards and requirements" were providing inadequate education, and they look upon attempts to "adjust" their program as sabotage.

Black studies has been plagued with misunderstanding and distrust at the administrative level ever since the program was first introduced. The result was the venomous eruption of the strike, which left the administration completely baffled.

The administration's plan was to develop black studies in exactly the reverse order from the usual procedure. Ordinarily, black studies would be offered first as a "program" of classes for a few years, then as a major and finally as a separate department.

But black studies was created by first forming a department, then a program and an approved major. The intent was to demonstrate the college's commitment to the black studies program.

The effect, however, was exactly the opposite. There was deep resentment among black faculty that the new "department" was "a paper one, with no faculty, no classes and no funds."

Hare had believed that the 22 black studies classes offered in other disciplines would be moved to the black studies department when it was formed in the fall. Vice President of Academic Affairs Donald Garrity said that the college had never intended to transfer the classes until a degree program had been approved by the Board of Trustees.

In comparison to other programs, black studies was making rapid progress. But the poor communication between program sponsors and white administrators resulted in disillusionment which grew with every step of progress.

Cuts in the beginning program (for budgetary reasons) were interpreted as discrimination by program sponsors. Questions by members of campus policy committees were interpreted as attacks. Absences from meetings became personal affronts. Every time a change or modification was required by administrators, it was considered a deliberate block to progress. All of the red tape, considered an irritating fact of life by the white administration, seemed an irrelevant

Epitaph:

The Black Studies Department, as envisioned by Nathan Hare, may never come about at SF State. On Feb. 16, President S.I. Hayakawa removed Hare from his position as chairman of the department. Two days later, Hayakawa suspended Hare after Hare and other black teachers and students disrupted the president's address to the faculty.

Hare refused to put the program into operation in spring 1969, until all 15 demands of the Black Students Union and Third World Liberation Front were met. Ironically, one of the early gains of the strikers was permission to begin the department in the spring.

Hayakawa is interviewing candidates for the chairmanship of the department, which he says will begin in fall, 1969. Though it is too early to tell, the department probably will not be modeled on the black nationalist ideologies of Hare.

stall to the black studies sponsors.

The turning point in the black studies/white administration relations might have been a meeting held in October at which the question of faculty positions was discussed. Vice President Garrity had proposed to grant 3 to 5 positions to black studies—the maximum number he could arrange without asking other programs to cut back.

A campus administrative committee, however, had sent to Garrity's office a recommendation for 20 faculty positions. They reached the figure by estimating that black studies enrollment would approximately double in size by next fall.

Later, another committee recommended that the department be given 11.3 faculty positions—a 1% cut from each of the seven academic schools.

At the October meeting, Garrity explained that the method of estimation used in recommending 20 faculty positions was unacceptable. The college makes its estimates in terms of FTE (full-time equivalent) numbers, and the college had no FTE surplus for expansion. Perhaps believing that the seven schools would not be willing to forego 1% of their own FTE, he talked the committees into approving the 3 to 5 positions he originally proposed.

To Hare, the situation undoubtedly looked like a sell-out. He walked out of the meeting. The 11.3 positions were later granted by the deans of the academic schools.

The future of the black studies department is now out of the hands of the college administration. It rests with the state administration and the leaders of the strike. Black studies officials say "there will be no black studies department until the student strike is successfully resolved."

There is little else the college administration can do to implement either specific demands or the less specific "autonomy" the department desires, and Hare clearly credits the student militancy for the demands gained thus far.

"I won't sell the students out now for 11.3 faculty positions," Hare said. "Not unless the students who got me those positions agree that 11.3 is an acceptable figure."

But if they (the administration) will meet the specific demands, then we can sit down and talk about what I mean by department autonomy and things like that."

Colleges—and communities—around the nation are watching to see how SF State resolves its problems in the black studies department. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins has said he considers an autonomous department a step towards segregation. California State Assemblyman Willie Brown, who held a press conference to voice support of the strike, apparently considers it a step towards black self-realization.

SF State's department of black studies has the potential for leading the way in creative ethnic education. It can lead the attack on race-discrimination, class-discrimination, welfare-poverty-ghetto concepts which plague America. Or it can become a four-year therapy retreat for frustrated, bitter individuals.

Its future depends on the spirit of the men who run it, the spirit in which the educational establishment and the general public accept it—and most importantly, a new, more flexible method of communication within the campus community itself.



By Carolyn Skaug

Putting together a program of black studies at San Francisco State has been a trying task, according to Nathan Hare, former coordinator of black studies who was recently appointed chairman of the new department.

"From the time I came to the college in February of 1968, my biggest problem has been time," he said. "I have a program to put together, but I found that I was expected to go around and explain to everyone from administration to social clubs what the concept of black studies means."

At the same time, Hare continued, people "never seemed to agree" on the steps he should take to get his program off the ground. "First, one person tells me one thing, then another person says I should be doing something else," he said.

Hare, a fast-walking, fast-talking man, directs all his energy to his program, and he has little patience with administrative procedure.

The 34-year-old sociologist came to SF State last February in the wake of a conflict concerning his position at Howard University. Although Howard students voted him their favorite professor in 1965, his contract as an assistant professor of sociology was not renewed, allegedly because of disagreement with the administration over his "controversial" ideas.

"In essence, I was fired for being black," Hare said. Reportedly, he told students of the predominantly Negro college that they should be proud to be black.

Hare holds a doctorate in sociology from the University of Chicago, and he studied journalism for a year at Northwestern University. His articles, dealing primarily with black sociology and education, have appeared in several magazines. In 1965, Hare was named one of the Outstanding Young Men of America, and was named one of the Outstanding Personalities of the South in 1964. He was a member of the advisory council for the first National Conference on Black Power.

As the most influential man of a most significant new program, Hare's comments are unfailingly interesting. During the last week of the fall semester, for example, he was quoted as saying to different sources:

"I don't dislike all white people, just most of them. I have found out since I started working here that some white people can be trusted to see what we are doing and to help out all they can. These people are our friends.

"On the campus, most of the differences between the administration and myself are rhetorical. In terms of black studies, they have done just about everything they have the authority to do."

Nathan Hare

Power of being Black

"On strike—shut it down."





Fight for a college

Photos by Lou de la Torre



Why strike SF State?

By John Davidson



John Summerskill, former college president.

The strike at San Francisco State College is no chance happening. For the last year and a half the Bay Area campus has been moving toward this "final showdown."

One of the strike's key issues, the demand for local autonomy and an end to outside interference into campus functions, was brought to the forefront in the wake of an attack on the campus student newspaper, the Daily Gater, on November 6, 1967.

Following the attack, in which several students, the editor Jim Vaszko, and an instructor were beaten, nine members of the campus' Black Students Union were suspended by former college president John Summerskill. The suspensions were indefinite, pending a college hearing.

SDS and BSU maintained that Summerskill had denied the black students "due process of law" under the Fourteenth Amendment. They argued that the suspensions were prompted solely by political pressure on Summerskill by local and state politicians.

Later that month Summerskill suspended two more students for their part in publishing an allegedly obscene poem in the campus' "underground" newspaper, Open Process.

Again Summerskill acted before the students had a college hearing. And again SDS and BSU charged Summerskill with bowing to political pressures.

The student's charge of "political pressure" appeared to have some merit. For some time previous to the suspensions, politicians, notably Governor Reagan and State Assemblyman Leo Ryan, had been openly critical of events at SF State.

Both the attack on the student newspaper and the publication of the allegedly obscene poem caused a number of politicians to call publicly for swift and severe disciplinary action by Summerskill.

SDS and BSU members said that they would resist this "political interference."

Early in December, 1967, these two groups became the nucleus of an organization called Movement Against Political Suspensions (MAPS).

On Dec. 3 MAPS demanded that the 11 suspended students be readmitted at once.

Summerskill did lift the suspensions of the two Open Process writers, but refused to take action on the nine black students (later, following their college hearing, only four of the nine were suspended; but all nine were convicted in municipal court of misdemeanor battery).

On Dec. 6 some 500 members of MAPS moved in protest on the college's administration building. The building had been emptied and locked in anticipation of the protest, but the students broke in a window and a glass door and poured in.

Elsewhere on campus roving bands of students broke windows, set small fires and attacked other students., Summerskill was forced to close the campus for the day, but he did not call for police help to control the disturbances.

Summerskill was applauded by faculty members, students and San Francisco Police Chief Tom Cahill for his handling of the disturbance. But it was a different story with the politicians and the State College Board of Trustees.

Spurred into action by Reagan, Ryan and other public officials the Board of Trustees called an emergency meeting in Los Angeles to review Summerskill's actions on Dec. 6.

At that meeting Reagan joined with other conservative Trustees in criticizing Summerskill for not calling police to control the disturbance.

This criticism led the Trustees to pass resolutions that in essence removed Summerskill's discretionary power in dealing with future campus unrest. They also requested an investigation of Summerskill, from which he eventually received a clean bill of health.

On February 22, 1968 Summerskill resigned. He complained bitterly in his resignation statement that "colleges are now vulnerable to politicians at every turn." His words would prove to be prophetic.

Summerskill announced that he would remain at SF State until September 1, 1968, but events were to prove otherwise.

During the 1968 spring semester four minority-oriented campus groups (including BSU) formed the Third World Liberation Front. Their first action was to demand that 400 minority students be admitted to the college under a special state college provision for disadvantaged students.

TWLF found another rallying point in the cases of instructors Juan Martinez and Richard Fitzgerald.

Martinez and Fitzgerald each had been hired on a one-year contract as a history lecturer. During the spring semester each was notified by the college that his services would not be required in the fall.

Martinez had been hired on a one-year contract as a history lecturer, as was Fitzgerald (who was also an adviser for BSU.) During the spring semester they were notified by the college that their services would not be required in the fall.

So, to the demand for admission of 400 minority students TWLF added the demand for retention of Martinez and Fitzgerald.

TWLF found an ally for the protest in SDS.

SDS had been agitating all semester for the removal of an Air Force ROTC unit from campus. To support this demand SDS pointed to a resolution passed during the spring Associated Students elections, which requested that the administration cancel the college's contract with AFROTC.

SDS's agitation prompted the college's Academic Senate (a faculty policy making group) to pass a resolution supporting AFROTC's removal. The resolution was later defeated in a vote of the entire faculty.

SDS and TWLF agreed to support each other's demands and worked in close cooperation for the remainder of the semester.

The two student groups presented their demands to Summerskill in May. When Summerskill did not immediately comply, they staged a week-long sit-in in the Administration Building.

The sit-in drew much criticism from politicians, who publicly demanded that strict measures be taken against the demonstrators.

Under such pressure, Summerskill made his resignation effective immediately.

In Summerskill's absence administration officials called police on campus four times to empty the building. More than a hundred persons were arrested and a number were bloodied by police.

Before the semester ended Robert Smith, Dean of the School of Education, was named as Summerskill's successor. Smith was to inherit Summerskill's problems and himself eventually resign because of "political pressure."

Less than a month after the 1968 fall semester began Smith found himself the target of political sniping concerning the status of George Murray as an instructor at SF State.

Murray, 23-year-old Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party, had been the focus of controversy since the Nov. 6 attack on the Daily Gater (Murray was one of the four students suspended following the college hearing).

On October 24, 1968 (during the height of the controversy about Eldridge Cleaver's position as a lecturer at UC Berkeley), Murray made what Gov. Reagan called an "inflammatory" speech to students at Fresno State College.

In that speech, Murray called on black students to arm themselves and called for "political assassinations" of government leaders.

At a subsequent speech at SF State, Murray again called for black students to arm themselves. A number of public officials immediately demanded that he be suspended.

State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke requested Smith to suspend Murray late in October, but Smith refused on the grounds that Murray was being dealt with through normal campus procedures.

On Oct. 31 Dumke ordered Smith to suspend Murray. At first Smith refused again, but eventually did suspend the Black Panther leader.

BSU reacted immediately by demanding Murray's reinstatement. BSU leaders combined this demand with nine others (including immediate recognition of a black studies department) and on Nov. 6 began the marathon strike that has nearly paralyzed the campus.

Photo by Bill Owens

Melee between black students and white reporters in campus newspaper office.



Most of the present unrest at SF State can be blamed on a shortage of money.

The budget for the state college system has remained at essentially the same level in recent years, due largely to the policies of the Reagan administration.

Yet enrollment has skyrocketed during the same period. The 1961 attendance at SF State, for example, was 12,500. Today some 18,000 students attend the Bay Area campus.

As the 1967 fall semester opened Summerskill was faced with a shortage of 46 full-time faculty members. He had to fill the positions with part-time instructors.

Summerskill had difficulty in attracting faculty members to SF State because the pay scale here is lower than at some junior colleges. And, an instructor at SF State is expected to teach a minimum of 12 units, while the minimum at many other colleges is 9 units.

In addition, the state college system has a shortage of funds for faculty research and travel.

Also, Summerskill had to operate under a line-item budget, which means that money budgeted for a specific purpose could not be spent for anything else.

For this reason, Summerskill was not able to comply with many student demands (such as increased minority enrollment).

Smith inherited this financial pinch from Summerskill and fared no better in dealing with it.

At the beginning of the 1968 fall semester the Special Admissions program (set up following the May sit-in in the administration building) ran into financial difficulty as the administration could not provide funds promised for the program.

Students protested Smith's failure to produce funds, but there was little he could do about it.

Smith faced the same predicament in dealing with demands being made by student and faculty strikers at the beginning of the strike.

He could do little to speed formation of a Black Studies Department or provide for increased enrollment of minority students.

Smith also faced a \$750,000 deficit when he assumed office (caused by an unexpected increase in enrollment).

When he faced the decision of firing faculty members to make up the deficit, he chose to resign.

Among the list of American Federation of Teachers demands was a reduction of their teaching load to nine units.

Compliance with this demand would be unlikely since it would involve added expense for the state college system.

In addition to problems embodied within the state college system, SF State for the last year and a half has been bothered by off-campus issues—specifically the Vietnam war and the racial problem.

Summerskill referred to this in his resignation statement. "As long as our nation is involved in the Vietnam war and racial problems," he explained, "we will have protests on our college campuses."

SDS has carried the brunt of campus protest against the war.

In addition to their continuing effort to have AFROTC removed from campus, SDS members have sought to exclude "war-related" industries (Dow Chemical, for example) and military from recruiting activities.

SDS has long expressed sympathy for the plight of minorities, but not until December, 1967, did the all-white organization form a working alliance with campus minority groups (when MAPS staged its administration building protest).

SDS participated with TWLF in the May, 1968 sit-in in the administration building, and the group worked alongside BSU and TWLF in the strike.

The focus of campus protest by minority students has been demands for increased minority enrollment and an autonomous Black Studies Department.

Campus minority groups have also protested against the suspension or firing of minority students and instructors, such as Murray and Martinez.

BSU and TWLF have long charged that the administration is racist, and recently demanded the resignation of Helen Bedesem, financial aid coordinator, because she "did not relate to minority students."

Last April, black athletes charged that the Physical Education Department was racist and demanded the hiring of black coaches.

The current strike began originally as a protest by minority students. With the support of other elements, notably SDS and AFT, the strike became much more complex.

All of the dissatisfaction of students over the past year and a half has culminated in the strike, in many respects a "final showdown."

Jim Vaszko and the starting shot

By Steve Toomajian

The first day of the marathon student strike at San Francisco State was important in more ways than one.

It was, of course, a day of disrupted classes, minor vandalism and intimidation—an emphatic declaration by the strikers that force would be among their tactics as the strike wore on.

But it was also an anniversary of the first violent episode to hit the campus, on November 6, 1967. This was the day Jim Vaszko, then 21 and editor of SF State's student newspaper the Daily Gater, was beaten in the newspaper's office by members of the Black Students Union, including this year's prominent strike leaders George Murray, Benny Stewart and Jack Alexis.

No explanation was offered publicly for the attack, though BSU supporters maintained that the Daily Gater's news coverage of the BSU was inaccurate and implicitly racist.

Vaszko, previously uncommitted and carefree, was abruptly and involuntarily flung into the whirlpool of student turmoil that erupted a month after his beating into a demonstration-riot that paralyzed the campus and offered a preview of events to follow on campuses throughout the nation.

Instead of drawing sympathy for the beating, Vaszko became the whipping boy for campus radicals. He was accused of "racism" for bringing criminal charges against his attackers, nine of whom were convicted later of misdemeanor battery. Vaszko's editorship was challenged in hearings before the student-faculty Board of Publications. He received threatening phone calls. All but one of his assistant editors quit the newspaper.

As 1967 drew to a close, a new campus publications setup was arranged. Vaszko was phased out of his editorship, and he phased himself into obscurity.

Vaszko returned to his San Francisco home in late January after several months of travel in Northern Europe. He now has long, blond hair and a full beard. He wears sandals more



Photo by Fran Ortiz

often than shoes and socks. Formerly regarded as a conservative, he looks back on the now legendary "Gater incident" much differently than he did in 1967.

"It took me a while," Vaszko says, "But I really learned something from the beating I took. I learned that violence can be a very normal, human reaction. My own reaction to the beating (Vaszko's editorial calling for the expulsion of the BSU) was also very normal. I had been kicked in the head, and I reacted by striking back with that editorial. I figure my attackers had been kicked in the head, too—probably literally in a lot of instances, and certainly figuratively."

Some campus observers see Vaszko as a representative middle class student—a member of the "silent majority"—who is personally affected by the wave of student protest whether he wants to be or not. His friends see Vaszko as a more distinctive, happy-go-lucky character with an inexplicable penchant for bananas and apricot nectar. Journalism students at SF State recall many of his escapades, including the time he went barefoot to a fancy banquet.

But Vaszko does concede that the Gater incident forced him to confront such issues as the Vietnam war, the draft, and black revolutionary and civil rights movements—subjects he had previously been concerned with only slightly.

His restlessness and disillusionment with America were among his reasons for going to Europe. He visited London, both East and West Germany, Prague and Holland. He purposely riled an East German border guard by packing in his

suitcase a book called "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich." Later, in Amsterdam, he was low on money and found himself in jail for a few days as an "undesirable alien"—a far cry from the super-straight image affixed to him by the student body when he was a student at SF State.

Upon return to San Francisco, Vaszko expressed mixed feelings on the turmoil at the college.

He said he fears that students now opposed to the "Establishment" could become another establishment. He pointed to the Associated Students government at SF State, dominated by strike supporters, as an example.

"But at least the strikers are bringing adventure to an American populace that is much too apathetic, much too content with personal and material security," Vaszko said.

"On the other hand, both the students and the administration are operating at the lowest human level. It's the 'I'm right, you're wrong' attitude. Each side has set up ultimatums to which the other side can't accede. So now everybody's hating the other guy's image and it's turned into an is-

sue of who is strongest. And naturally," Vaszko said, "nobody wants to be proven weak. If there was really respect for other people's ideas, there would be no ultimatums."

Vaszko paused a moment, then reflected on the career of John Summerskill. President of SF State during the Gater incident, the liberal Summerskill was pincered continually by both the "Establishment" State College Board of Trustees and radical student protestors. Eventually pressured out of office, Summerskill's failure as SF State president signalled the rise in a hard line approach by both state college officials and student dissidents.

"The public seems to picture Hayakawa as a strong figure. And they look back on Summerskill as a weak president," Vaszko said. "But Summerskill always listened to the students. He had respect for everyone's ideas—but, of course, he failed as president. Maybe he failed because he was weak. Or maybe he was just ahead of his time. . . ."



Former Gater editor, Jim Vaszko, lies dazed in his office following an assault by black students on November 6, 1967.

Photo by Bill Owens



Governor Ronald Reagan



State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke

Power people

By John Leighty

"The Supreme issue, involving all others, is the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many"

---Robert M. La Follette---

The word "power" is flung around San Francisco State College like an unaimed billiard ball from a blind man's slingshot. The targets for such an unwholesome term would seem to be the Trustees, school administrators, and Governor Ronald Reagan (plus a few of his sidekicks such as Max Rafferty). However, misguided misnomers have the habit of hitting on the head anyone who happens to have a stake in the action--student groups included.

Logically the officials are the ones dissident students and irked community leaders think of first when uproars begin, resume or flounder. The students blame these established leaders for the problems, and the community clamors for the students to end the troubles. But who is really wielding the big stick? At SF State even the famous Wisconsin progressive La Follette would have trouble distinguishing who was encroaching upon whom.

The front runner in the type of power struggle being waged at SF State is a toss-up, with militant students setting

the pace. The militants did bring the college functions to a grinding crawl. Their demands have been the focus of discussion, their tactics the basis of dissension. The administration has scurried madly to get some of the black studies programs and minority needs off the desks and into action.

Students also have a greater voice than ever in running college affairs. They serve on policy making committees. They help shape curriculum. They choose visiting speakers. They enforce dormitory rules and have unions for student employees. Students have always been a base of power. Perhaps this generation is the first to make its power viable. Perhaps, like other sources of power, students haven't fully realized how to use it effectively.

"BIG POWER--PIG POWER" chant the radical fringe. It's an easy phrase to hide behind in the midst of a nebulous "enemy." And the big names get prize usage by the slogan makers. One noted behavior scientist, David Reisman, candidly discussed the SF State situation and suggested that what is needed is less talk about power and more talk about influence. "Everybody is talking about formal power, abstract power, concrete power when they should be talking about influence."

Reisman believes if we were aware of who influences whom

the steps needed to end the turmoil would be clearer. Different factions would like to see the SF State struggle ended, but not if it meant a loss of influence (power) for their side. The Black Students Union originally wanted money for a black studies program. But money has ceased to be the issue. The BSU, like other radical groups, wants to gain and maintain power. It wants to have influence over college affairs. The rest of the curriculum, however, cannot be ignored. For a college to function it must have money, a faculty, and students. If the BSU were given their demands unequivocally, they would have authority, but over what?

TRUSTEES of the state college system have influence, but their role has been exaggerated by students and faculty members. Their primary function, although changing, is mainly to raise money. To stick the Trustees as a target in the administration gearwork is not only misleading but dangerous. Naturally they're in the position to exert limited influence in state college affairs, but they don't have the formal power many persons ascribe to them. Reisman thinks the Trustees should remain completely separated from administrative affairs. He sees their primary role as a financial overseer, and their secondary function as a buffer between the school and the outside community.

Today the Trustees direct 19 campuses in the statewide system. These are multi-purpose institutions granting bachelors' and masters' degrees in practically every academic field including such professional fields as engineering, business and education. The Trustees try to see that each gets its fair share of funds. Looking at the record, the Trustees have done their job pretty well. The majority of the board has always assailed the budget as being inadequate for educational needs. The makeup of the board has changed recently and might be less eager to fight for funds when colleges are being maliciously defaced.

CHANCELLOR GLENN DUMKE has attacked the recent budget as inadequate. Dumke explains that while the \$278 million budget provides a substantial increase over last year, the amount will only take care of continuing operations and increased enrollment and not furnish aid to academic programs or educationally deprived students. He said without substantial improvement in the educational opportunities program for educationally deprived students, "I believe we will have difficulty in resolving the serious problem of unrest involving both faculty and students."

"SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE" shout rebellious students as they sling four letter epithets in the direction of the state capitol. Ronald Reagan, movie actor turned governor, is a "natural" big name power to be despised by militants. He exerts more influence than the Trustees, or the administration or the students. And Reagan has shown little sympathy for the militants' demands. The Governor also has a plus and the students a minus by the fact that he was swept into office in 1966 by one of the largest majority votes in the state's history. If anyone can claim to speak for the people, it's Reagan.



Photo by Tony Rogers

In a swift move police surround 450 demonstrators while dissidents were having a noon rally on the campus lawn.

His successful campaign was chiefly a law and order stance salted with promises to "clean up the universities" and expel the troublemakers. This was in the days of the Free Speech Movement. Now it is a clenched black fist that is stirring angry protest at San Fernando, San Jose, San Francisco State and other colleges. But the Governor's attitude isn't likely to change because the cause has, and with another election year around the corner, the "hard line" approach to disorders is expected to stiffen. Reagan also has more to his advantage now than when taking office. The shakeup in the legislature has given the Republicans a slight edge, and for the first time since taking office Reagan appointees control the majority of votes on the Board of Trustees, of which he is a member.

MAX RAFFERTY's name probably shouldn't be mentioned in this power wrap-up, but he's too interesting to ignore. Rafferty is State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and he's not only hated by the radical students, but is generally despised by all the students. He's been known to make some fiery speeches, but otherwise is relatively harmless.

Rafferty looks at progressive education as a "sick, sarcastic, and profoundly alien philosophy." He talks about God, homosexuality, academic freedom, phonics, history, kindergarten, dirty books, the American heritage, and the Good, the True and the Beautiful all in one breath. He was catapulted to national attention in 1961 with a speech entitled "The Passing of the Patriot." He was asked to run for his present position the following year and won the eight-year seat.

He once suggested an "indoctrination" course through which students would begin "to hate communism and its creatures," and become "clear-eyed to the filthy menace of communist corruption." He suggested this as an alternative to an objective course on economics.

Rafferty exploded in September of 1967 when San Jose State's first football game of the season was cancelled because the United Black Students for Action threatened to disrupt the game unless steps were taken to eliminate alleged racial discrimination at the college. "If I had to ask the President to call in the whole United States Marine Corps that game would have been played," he declared.

In 1968, Rafferty ran for the U.S. Senate seat of Thomas Kuchel. He won the primary but was defeated in the general election by Democrat Alan Cranston. Rafferty once said that as a Senator he would have voted against seating every member of the U.S. Supreme Court because they were "ideologists, hacks and child-marrying mountain climbers."



OUTSIDE community forces have an influence on political decisions, and any outpouring of social protest against campus demonstrations is certain to affect actions by the legislature. Some people demand that all rule-breaking students be expelled from tax-supported campuses. They want stated rules which would force punitive action on professors and administrators who deal lightly with offenders. Many say radical student groups should lose their campus charters, thus depriving them of a source of funds. The legislature can be expected to seek stronger action in an effort to curb campus disorders. One bill, introduced by Republican Don Mulford of Piedmont, provides for a one-year suspension of students in the California higher education system found guilty of committing an act of force or violence on a university, state college or junior college campus. Such a bill would effectively bypass much of the due process procedure in the colleges now.

Some show of support for the SF State student strike has been evident from the outside community, but it has been weak at best. Assemblyman Willie Brown and publisher Carlton Goodlett were among prominent leaders who backed student demands. But their influence was slight and even the students didn't allow it to linger long. While these community leaders called for peaceful confrontation, radical students carried on destructive acts.

When the American Federation of Teachers Local 1352 decided to strike in the midst of existing turmoil, they gained the support of several unions, but also lost the support of several. They decreased their base of influence by seeming to be striking for student demands rather than their own. President S. I. Hayakawa responded angrily, and state legislative leaders have generally applauded his handling of the affair. If AFT President Gary Hawkins had waited until attention could be focused on the teachers' demands instead of the students', the striking teachers would have been in a stronger position.

THE ADMINISTRATION at SF State is geared to keeping the college running smoothly according to the Master Plan for Higher Education. The faculty often has more influence in hiring, firing and departmental decisions. But the administration is the closest organ of the "Establishment" and a likely target for students. Three college presidents were literally forced to resign after their influence became negligible. But those preceding Hayakawa had tried for compromise and discussion. Hayakawa is convinced these methods won't work without first showing where the power lies.

The formal power structure within the college is vague and probably should remain so. Often groups with informal influence can get more done than those with recognized authority. Reisman thinks for this reason the discussion of division of power between the Trustees, faculty, administration, students and outside community is misleading, and any direct codification would lead to endless power struggles that aren't present now.

One thing is certain—there is unrest in nearly every camp. Students may win reforms, but they may pay the price in loss of academic freedom. Perhaps it's true that "the political philosophy of one generation becomes the political anathema of another." If that holds true we may be only a generation away from peace on campus.

Photo by Lou de la Torre





Photo by Lou de la Torre

Unidentified student being arrested by San Francisco police officers.

On getting busted...

By Bruce Campbell

After leaving the academic environment of this campus sometime in the future, perhaps I can say that getting arrested during the student strike was the most exciting moment in my life—perhaps more exciting than riding a roller coaster.

But there may be semantical incongruity in such an analogy.

On Thursday, Dec. 5, the police had swept the bulk of onlookers up to 19th and Holloway Avenues. As the crowd spilled onto 19th Ave., a sort of "let's do it in the road" attitude prevailed, and people began to block traffic.

Shortly, traffic was piled up for several blocks in all directions at the intersection.

Two "M" tram cars were halted by demonstrators and disconnected from their wires. A group of black and white demonstrators attempted to jam newspaper racks beneath one of the tram cars, but were dissuaded by the jovial

driver who smiled and waved at them, apparently grateful for an unexpected break.

Someone emptied a trash can onto the road and ignited the refuse as many of the frustrated motorists began to scream at the people blocking their passage.

An elderly woman gave one of the demonstrators some change in hopes he would let her go by.

At this point a contingent of about 30 highway patrolmen marched across 19th Ave. to clear traffic and were met by rocks from the demonstrators. More of the missiles hit cars and other students than patrolmen, however.

The patrolmen lined up near Ecumenical House while dozens of demonstrators took potshots at them. One demonstrator, carrying a camera, stood alone in the middle of Holloway and screamed at the patrolmen while hurling rocks with remarkable accuracy. He hit many of the officers in the legs and one of his rocks bounced off one patrolman's

chin. The injured officer rubbed his chin and said something to a fellow officer while pointing at the crowd.

Many demonstrators pleaded with the crowd to stop throwing rocks, but their pleas were useless. Jack Tipple—Phoenix cartoonist—tried to make a middle-aged man put down his rocks but was unsuccessful.

At this point four demonstrators rolled a parked wire service press car out into the road and pushed it into the thin line of patrolmen. Many people yelled for them not to do it, but again the pleas went unheeded.

As the car rolled toward them, the officers broke ranks and charged with incoherent cries into the front group of demonstrators.

Standing to the side, I was amazed that they could run so fast.

Several patrolmen veered toward the group of people I was with, and we began to run up Denslow Ave. off Holloway Ave. As I fled, I turned my head to see if the patrolmen were still coming, and as I did, someone collided with me and knocked me to the street.

Dazed, I tried to get to my feet. A patrolman raced by me and made an unsuccessful lunge for a girl. Seeing me, he stopped and began screaming epithets at me which are legally termed as "obscenities."

It occurred to me that many students had been arrested for such an offense.

I covered my head and assumed a frantic fetal position and the officer kept screaming at me, swatted me on the back with his club and pulled me to my feet. He then pushed me, causing me to fall and scrape my knees. My arms were jammed behind my back as I was handcuffed, and I was taken back to Holloway Ave.

At Holloway Ave., a group of patrolmen were still upset about being hit by rocks and I became the target of more obscenities as they grabbed me and pushed me against a Volkswagen. Someone grabbed my thumb and twisted it, causing me to cry out. I tried to get someone's badge number, but was prevented because my head was pressed flat against the roof of the Volkswagen.

A photographer attempted to take my picture but was shoved out of range by two patrolmen. Seeing that my knees were bleeding, two medical students offered to bandage them, but were also pushed away.

Two more persons were pushed against the car next to me. One, Robert Rivera, had a deep gash down the back of his head, and blood covered his neck and jacket. The other person, Robert Heft, learned after x-rays had been taken that his skull had been fractured.

A paddy wagon drove up and handcuffs were taken off us as we were photographed and searched. The officer who searched me kept complaining that my pants were too tight, and I almost expected him to tell me that my hair was not the correct length.

The inside of the paddy wagon literally was covered with blood. It was all over the walls, the ceiling, and huge splotches covered the floor.

Later, I was taken from the truck and searched again. I was informed that two ball point pens I was carrying were "dangerous weapons," and so they were taken.

At the Hall of Justice I learned I was charged with Section 243 of the Penal Code—assaulting a police officer.



Photo by Lou de la Torre

Sometimes the police were not always kind with the demonstrators.

Police on campus

By Steve Hara

There is a question today of whether the police are needed on the San Francisco State College campus or, as the striking students would have the public believe, whether police have a right to be on campus.

I personally believe that while the student strike is in progress, the police are not only needed, but that the students who have chosen to attempt to continue their education have the right to be protected from the oft blindly malicious acts of the strikers. This concern of protection supercedes any moral questions a striker can raise about the presence of police on campus.

Why are the police necessary? From the first day of the strike, November 6, the strikers publicly sanctioned any means at their disposal, violence notwithstanding, to achieve their ends. Before the appearance of any police, the strike was failing and in order to drum up support the strikers began throwing stink and smoke bombs into buildings, entering classrooms with threats of physical assault if students did not disband.

Since that first day, the strikers have repeatedly set the stage and have shown they are not afraid to be true to their word. Ranging from malicious mischief to assault, the strikers' tactics have been strategically clouded by a rationale

rooted in antiquity—the college is a sanctuary separate and apart from the rest of society and is therefore not subject to normal means of restraint—police.

However, in adopting this rationale, the strikers have opened themselves up to a blatant contradiction.

Whenever their situation allowed it, the strikers have prevented any semblance of education. They have destroyed the purpose of the college by their own hands, bombs, rocks and childishly revolutionary tactics.

These same students profess the desire to destroy the "antiquated, racist" college order and to replace it with their "better" one. In the meanwhile, they demand the sanctions and privileges of the old system.

There has been a cry, rightfully drowned, that the police have provoked most of the violence. To date, there have been incidents where the policemen's judgment might be questioned, but again the students have set the mood for the most part and must take the consequences.

I do not care to have police on campus as a permanent fixture. But in this situation when tempers fly from differing factions for the least significant of reasons, I find it more expedient and certainly safer—for all concerned—to have a restraining element about.

Police off campus

By Bruce Campbell

The emotional question of police being brought on a college campus is so camouflaged by public hysteria that relevant answers are often lost in an overwrought tangle of half-truths and middle class myth.

As in the case of San Francisco State, the campus is frequently viewed by the "tax-paying public" as a vest-pocket Vietnam overrun with Marxist professors and wild-eyed anarchists who probably get three class credits for bombing buildings and kidnapping administrators.

With this composite attitude, which is supplemented by the slick, superficial and inaccurate news coverage of campus disorders, the public feels supremely righteous in sending police to quell college "rebellion."

Unfortunately, however, bringing police on campus is a serious cop-out of responsibility on the part of the community—a kind of arrogant apathy which prefers force to reason and compassion.

And to complicate matters, bringing police on campus is almost a perfect way to escalate violence, rather than to diminish it.

In the case of the SF State student strike, the police should receive almost full credit for its amazing success. Whenever the strike threatened to sag, the police have almost magically appeared on campus, angering and frequently injuring students.

Perhaps the most blatant example of this behavior was early in November when the hated SF Police Tactical Squad marched onto a quiet but crowded campus to search for suspects involved in the alleged attack on a Channel 7 cameraman. To inflame the situation, they marched to the

BSU hut and charged into the gathering crowd to grab individuals unconnected with the cameraman incident. Nes-bit Crutchfield, a BSU leader, was tackled by several officers, repeatedly clubbed and then arrested.

In a matter of minutes, at least three thousand students were ready to fight the police and support the strike—many of whom had been previously hostile to the strike.

If the community continues to consider the police as the only answer to campus disorders, then they are affirming violence as the only channel of communication, and shouldn't retreat into hypocritical indignation when students reciprocate.

Besides revealing an apathetic community, bringing police on campus also reveals a tragic lack of administrators capable of dealing creatively with student problems.

This creativity vacuum stretches from the college campus to the Board of Trustees and governor's office.

SF State President S.I. Hayakawa may belligerently blame campus troubles on "pinheads, knuckleheads, and savages," and declare that the college is a sanctuary away from secular problems, but he is speaking of a mythical realm which is sustained by inflamed imaginations.

The very fact that police are on campus indicates that secular problems have already violated Hayakawa's precious sanctuary.

John Kennedy once said that those who refuse to allow peaceful change make violent change inevitable. Besides being a "factory" where vocational skills are learned, the college is also a center for creative change—change that will not be denied.

They love him

By Tony Rogers

Photo by Lou de la Torre



If President S. I. Hayakawa is despised by many students at San Francisco State College, he has become an idol for a great many Americans who have long waited for a man who would stand up to dissident students on American campuses.

Well over 10,000 letters and telegrams have poured into his office from all over the country. Almost all of these communications support his stand and many call for more stern action in handling the striking students.

A man in Fresno writes, "We are right behind you. Get tougher. Have the police get rougher and knock out a few more. Run the hippies and the black so-and-so's out of town."

A milder suggestion came from a woman in Foster City, California, who asked that "the lawns be sprinkled at 11 tomorrow to suppress unauthorized assembly."

From Modesto, California, came the cheerful idea to "dump the militants on some far away island to starve or give them the Mexico treatment."

Most of the writers seem to support Hayakawa for economic reasons. They feel that their tax money is being used to support student parasites who are trying to overthrow the government. Evidently many Americans no longer think of themselves primarily as "citizens" or "Americans," but as "Loyal Taxpayers."

A man from Northern California even signed his telegram of support "the taxpaying Smith family."

And despite the fact that almost all students at SF State are themselves taxpayers, most people who view the situation from the outside don't realize this.

The feelings of a majority of people who wrote to Hayakawa, and to many newspapers across the country, are revealed in this telegram from a couple in Detroit: "Keep up the good work. The taxpayers still pay the bills, not the students."

What becomes obvious from these letters and telegrams is that the average citizen has little conception of what the general student body of SF State is like. They seem to think that the students are all "young kids" who are receiving money from their parents or living at home. However, the average age of students at State is about 24, and well over 80 percent of the students are working full or part time.

So although few of these people would deny the right of the businessman to be represented in government when legislation affecting him is being considered, or the right of farmers to lobby, or the right of labor to strike when conditions become intolerable, they do seem to feel that students have no right to make demands on the administration of a college because in most people's eyes the students are receiving the benefits of society and not producing anything. Many feel students are too immature to participate in making decisions that directly affect them.

As one woman put it: "Don't spare the rod."

Another reason given for support of Hayakawa is the feeling that Communists are behind the strike and must be stopped before the movement grows and destroys the country.

There were also numerous references to "anarchy." A man from Seattle, for example, claims that "99 percent of the American people have lost patience with these filthy, bearded, anarchist swine."

And from a woman in Moraga, California: "We need more men like you to run them all out that don't love America."

A woman in Long Beach, California, must think that San Francisco State is a hospital. She wrote, "Don't let the inmates take over the asylum."

History lesson for the radicals



Student unrest erupted at scores of other schools, including Duke University, where police used tear gas to rout students.

By Elliot Carlson

"The movement"—as today's youthful rebels like to call their loose federation—appears to have entered a new and self-destructive phase.

Lately, New Left youths at the University of Wisconsin denied lecturers the opportunity to speak on South Africa, and radicals at New York University refused the podium to a South Vietnamese minister. At Harvard, students denied the faculty the right to meet in private session. Black militants at Brandeis and Swarthmore seized and held university buildings.

Just a few weeks ago members of the Students for a Democratic Society, onetime champion of "participatory democracy," smashed a student placement office at Columbia University after they were blocked from halting military

recruiting at the school. "We are showing the university that every time it helps the war in Vietnam we will exact reprisals," declared an SDS leader.

To young radicals, disruptions like these no doubt seem like innovative responses to a worsening political situation. But as its estrangement deepens and its tactics become more provocative, the youth movement itself, paradoxically, gradually seems less innovative—and, indeed, less novel.

The movement, to be sure, remains formless and elusive, a curious mixture of forces constantly in flux. Even so, it increasingly invites comparison with the ideological and emotion-charged youth movements of yesteryear that once shaped—not always for the better—European and Asian politics.

Even though rebellious groupings of alienated young people seeking drastic change are new to America, they have been staples of European life. Such movements were frequently short-lived, suggesting a recurring pattern of decline and fall. Idealistic at the outset, they often gave way to disillusionment when youthful passions failed to correct the grievances of the ages. Many youth movements had profound effects, although they were often the opposite from those intended.

Generally, youth movements project a progressive and forward-looking appearance, and sometimes they approximate the stereotype. In the 1830's, students backed movements that helped win democratic constitutions in Greece, France and Belgium. At the same time there emerged "young" movements in Europe like Young Italy, Young Poland and Young Ireland—all aimed at expelling foreigners ruling their countries.

But youthful idealism is a capricious force that has been tapped by mountebanks as well as progressives. Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian patriot who organized Young Italy, admonished: "Place the young at the head of the insurgent masses; you do not know . . . what magic influence the voices of the young have on the crowd . . . Consecrate them with a lofty mission; inflame them with emulation and praise; spread through their ranks the word of ire . . . Speak to them of country, of glory, of power, or great memories."

But not all the "lofty missions" with which youths have been consecrated have been progressive. Many youth movements have been downright reactionary.

Consider the Gymnasts, organized in 1815 by German students dismayed by Napoleon's military successes in their country. To break down class distinctions and create a feeling of national unity, the Gymnasts wore gray shirts and emphasized physical regeneration. Rowdy and crude, they invaded and broke up lectures of professors they considered anti-national.

The "gray shirts" were finally crushed after they collected the books of anti-nationalistic writers and burned them in a huge public bonfire. But even though short-lived, they anticipated later youth movements that used the same techniques more effectively.

Though they may be influential for a time, youth movements seldom achieve their most cherished goals. The reasons are complex, but mostly they reflect the nature of youth revolt itself. For one thing, such groups are often unified by the naive faith that intractable problems—invariably identified with a morally suspect adult world—will yield in the face of youthful exuberance.

Despite their tender age, rebellious youths are perpetually in a hurry. They not only want freedom now! they also seem to want perfection now! In their haste they sometimes recall the pitiful children's crusades of the early 13th century, when thousands of French and German youngsters converged upon the Mediterranean believing—incorrectly, as it turned out—it would divide and allow them to cross to proceed to the wars.

Unhappily, this impatience frequently breeds an intolerance and an indifference to the means by which change can be accomplished. When its "magic influence" fails to work, youth groups frequently yield to authoritarianism. In so doing, they often set in motion forces that contradict their own aims and speed their demise.

A case in point is provided by the Narodniks, the Russian youths who preached agrarian socialism among the peasants in the 18th century. For years the students were almost the only group to engage in demonstrations demanding freedom



Photo by Lou de la Torre

and economic reform. But in 1881 they sought to accelerate the process of reform by assassinating Alexander II. As a result they helped usher in a more extreme tyranny, that of Alexander III.

Apparently there is something in the chemistry of youth movements that militates against balance. Chinese students in the 1920's understandably viewed Confucianism, the

Learning on the picket line

By Tony Rogers

It comes as no surprise that the American Federation of Teachers manned the picket line.

Most observers say it didn't have to happen. Professors are usually thinkers and talkers rather than activists. For years they have taken what they considered unjust treatment with scarcely a murmur.

Many of the faculty considered the appointment of S.I. Hayakawa as acting president to be the last straw. It seemed to most of the faculty that he was a "puppet" of the Trustees.

Hayakawa's propensity to talk to the "taxpayers" in his public statements rather than the faculty aggravated many professors' feelings of hopelessness. Finally about two hundred of them walked out of the classroom and onto the picket line.

The AFT strike complicated an already complex situation both for the administration and the striking students.

The administration was now faced with new legal questions which did not have to be considered when dealing solely with students. Whether or not teachers, as public employees, had the right to strike would have to be tested in the courts. Although Hayakawa had ordered the police to break up student picket lines, he wasn't as ready to treat teachers the same way.

Strike!

The first time many striking students saw Kay Boyle, they found her fascinating.

It was early in the strike, and the Tactical Squad had come on campus, confronting a group of angry students.

The police appeared ready to wade into the crowd at any minute, when suddenly about forty teachers carrying picket signs marched single file between the police and the crowd of students.

Some of the teachers were pushed by the police, but they were grimly determined to prevent further trouble, and quietly held their ground until the police withdrew from the campus.

Kay Boyle was among that forty. She marched almost proudly carrying a sign that read:

Now is the time for all good men to STAND WITH US
For a college free from political tyranny.
For a college free from Racism
SUPPORT THIS FACULTY STRIKE.

"I have never joined anything in my life until I joined AFT," she said.

Returning from a lecture tour in Europe last January, she rejoined the picket lines marching in what was to be a very wet and cold San Francisco winter.

She gives the impression that her attitude toward the strike is a quiet, low-keyed firmness. Quiet until she started to talk about Dr. S. I. Hayakawa.

"He's a little liar," she said. "When I first came here, he used to meet me in the hall and bow and scrape, telling me what an honor it was for him to be on the same faculty with me."

"He's incompetent."

She was very vague on exactly why she was on strike, only complaining softly about teaching conditions, and the decreasing number of black students at the school.

Miss Boyle noted that the black students in her creative writing classes were much more original in their writing than she.

She talked about Paris, and her novels that deal with politics, and her husband, who she said was forced out of the State Department during the McCarthy madness.

Most of the strikers are humanities students, and Miss Boyle's presence on the picket line seems almost natural.

As she carried her sign in the rain and talked about the strike with students one felt that she should have been dressed as an Elizabethan. She carried herself like a queen—tall and proud.



In January the demonstrators moved to the outside of the college and manned the picket lines along with the striking teachers. There proved to be many tense moments during this period.

The San Francisco labor movement halfheartedly supported the strike. The Labor Council's sanction of the AFT strike caused a stir of apprehension in the hearts of many union members.

However, many striking students were generally elated over the additional political leverage the strike had acquired, even though it was at the cost of some ideological preconceptions about the nature of unions in America.

By accepting the support of labor, the striking teachers and students were forced to enlarge their vision of the conflict. The strike became a little less of an academic argument, and more the tone of a labor movement—an entirely different thing.

Support from labor gave the strike a different tone. The implicit desire to keep up lines of communication by the AFT probably had the effect of moderating the struggle and forcing the students into a secondary role.

It was a role they almost accepted with grace—almost with gratitude. A situation which had begun simply as a strike of minority students against the administration of a second rate college in California had achieved a scope and magnitude undreamed of even by its most visionary leaders.

It is even possible that the whole nation would be caught up in the struggle that has started at San Francisco State.

Teach!

John Bunzel, chairman of the Political Science Department at San Francisco State, was introduced to the tactics of intimidation even before the strike started. On October 18, 1968 what appeared to be a bomb was found in front of his office door.

Although Bunzel would not speculate on why the bomb had been planted, it was assumed by many that it was in retaliation for his opposition to the establishment of a separate Black Studies Department.

At SF State Bunzel is regarded by many as a conservative. Actually, he is a liberal Democrat who was in the Kennedy delegation to the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

He is a thoughtful, deliberate man who has given a great deal of time and consideration to the implications of the strike and the demands of student militants.

"Certain facts should be clearly established," Bunzel says. "The AFT does not represent anything close to a majority of the faculty. Last year the AFT was rejected by the faculty as its bargaining agent in a democratic, secret

written ballot. Within the last month about two-thirds of the faculty voted its opposition to the current strike.

"One wonders why the AFT believes it has a right to expect the Trustees to negotiate with the union when the AFT has not even won the confidence of its own colleagues on campus."

Bunzel also points out that many AFT members strongly objected to the strike being called without having the full membership polled in a strike ballot.

"But there are even more serious reasons why I have not supported the strike," Bunzel says. "An academic community rests on a fragile consensus, which is to say that those who are part of it are constantly 'seeking' the truth but are never in possession of it.

"The present strike leaders, however, have divided the faculty into 'friend versus enemy.' In wanting to impose their own morality on the rest of us they have helped transform a community of colleagues and scholars into a cockpit of ideologies and fanatics."

Revolt comes to sports

By Joe DeLoach

A fullback on SF State's football squad, Glenn Baker is also a black man. And on this particular Saturday afternoon, just three days after the student strike began, he was the only black player on the field of SF State's Cox Stadium.

Fourteen varsity football players, plus every black junior varsity and freshman athlete and several basketball players, boycotted the athletic program to support the Black Students Union strike.

These players, other BSU members and police officers sat in the bleachers of Cox Stadium to see Glenn Baker lead the depleted Golden Gators to a 14-6 homecoming game-victory over Southern Oregon.

Following the contest Baker told the press, "Don't say anything about the boycott, just describe how I played the game."

The 5-7, 198 pound runner compiled 87 yards on 28 carries, scored one touchdown and was named "outstanding back of the week" in a poll of Northern California sports writers.

But the BSU had another opinion of Baker's performance. "That's about three yards a carry—a tackle could run that much. We feel that the press rewarded him for bootlicking and being an Uncle Tom," said one BSU spokesman.

The Glenn Baker episode is only part of the story involving black athletes at this strike-torn campus. Black athletes

boycotted spring sports in 1968, and the Associated Students followed suit by temporarily freezing the funds for the intercollegiate sports program.

"They promised us a black coach," said Ronnie Jones, a black member of the football team, "but that never materialized.

"They said a black person needs a masters degree and a knowledge of judo and all sorts of things to be a coach," said Jones.

"But they never mentioned Al Abraham, a white coach who was acting athletic director two years ago without any of that stuff," he said.

The majority of the blacks' grievances have been aimed at athletic director Jerry Wyness. According to Wyness, no promises were made to hire a black coach in spring, 1968. "We just hire the best people we can," he said.

As for the fall, 1968 boycott, Wyness believes the black athletes were reacting to "social pressure" applied by the BSU. "The BSU is trying to polarize everyone, including the black athletes," Wyness said.

Vern Smith, a former basketball player at SF State and now the BSU athletic organizer, discusses the so-called "pressure charges" cited by Wyness.

"Everytime a black athlete takes a stand the coaches are surprised because black athletes are supposed to be just a happy lot—institutionalized toms who perform for white peoples' enjoyment," he said.

"They are not supposed to feel the racism like other blacks."

Smith accuses Wyness of telling "hang Huey" (Huey Newton) jokes to black athletes.

Wyness admits the charge to a certain degree. He says he told black athletes who were wearing "Free Huey" buttons on two occasions, "that I should wear one saying 'Lynch Huey.'"

"However, I'm not necessarily in favor of hanging the man, but I just wanted to point out that there are two sides to every coin."

Smith also cited an example of the athletic coaches' "racism"—the barring of striking black players from the locker room at the Southern Oregon game.



Glenn Baker moves through the Southern Oregon line. Baker was the only black not striking on the football team.



Vern Smith, BSU athletic coordinator, reads the list of demands presented to the Physical Education Department during last spring's short lived black boycott.

"The brothers were told that only suited football players could go in after the game. But that did not prevent some white boys who played last year from entering without suits," Smith said.

"What they were saying to us was, if you're willing to be good Negroes and not make any trouble you can come in, but if you are not, then 'get out, niggers.'"

Jones was upset over the way Wyness handled the homecoming queen election.

"He wanted the football team to elect the queen, but Gator head coach Vic Rowen thought the issue would divide the team," Jones said. "Then Wyness wanted the queen to be elected by an all-white rally committee. But we told him that either all the students get a chance to vote or there will be no queen at all."

Gloria Tyus, sponsored by the BSU, won the election. She became the first black homecoming queen at the college.

Three black football players dropped out of school prior to the homecoming game. It was rumored that the players left because militant BSU members had threatened the athletes and their families.

John Doyle, a black member of the squad, said the players

left because of discriminatory policies used against black athletes.

"Part of the reason why they quit was because they could not find jobs and housing like they were promised when they came here," he said. "Wyness said they were pressured, but I know them and they weren't pressured," Doyle added.

The striking football players were demoted to the junior varsity team as a form of punishment by coach Rowen when they returned to the squad following the game with Southern Oregon.

But the punishment didn't stick. "Rowen told us he'd take us back when he discovered the black freshman players were on strike also, and he didn't have anyone to replace us," Doyle said.

It is difficult to say what effect the crisis at SF State has had on recruiting of athletes. One coach said it is impossible to get "blue chip" athletes because of the adverse publicity the college has received.

However, another coach said the school's publicity helps recruiting. "Some of the kids who play my sport like all of these revolutionary-type things," he said. "And by coming to our campus they enter into the big leagues."

The press

The effects of the news media on the 1968-69 crisis at San Francisco State College will be long debated—and never resolved to everyone's satisfaction.

Generally, all the news media and virtually all of their reporters tried conscientiously to present a fast-moving, complex and confusing story concisely and clearly.

The effects of news coverage depend as much on how groups in the society view the various media as on how the media see themselves and their tasks. For example, television is a highly emotional medium, confined in the interests of viewer demands to reporting dramatic action and editing every event into three minutes or less on the screen. Some experts refer to the "television generation" as the group of young people who have received more information and more education inadvertently from the tube than from all other sources combined. Television as a medium—not just the news arm—generates the idea of instant solutions for all problems, through commercials offering instant cures for social and medical problems and through 30 and 60-minute documentaries that can take any world or national problem and report, dissect, analyze, interpret and solve it within the established time limit, including time out for commercials.

On the subject of television, the question is raised frequently whether some of the mass action and violence may have been averted if the cameras were not present. The answer seems to be in the nature of the crisis and the plans of its perpetrators. Essentially this was an internal crisis, with many implications for the outside community. From the beginning the plan seemed to be to cripple the instructional process to create broad interest in the issues and to force action by the college administration and higher authorities. Thus, it seems, television and the other news media were incidental to the objectives of the strikers. What happened, whether by plan or not, is that the extensive television coverage focused on the violence which could be photographed easily instead of the issues which are not photographable and a large share of public opinion was thus formed. The same results probably would have been evident without television, but after a longer period of time.

Newspapers probably had more influence on the course of events during the crisis than most people realize. Most of us view them merely as recorders of events. We see them as daily history in print and exert enormous amounts of energy to be sure our positions and facts reach the editors in time for the early editions. But what few people realize is that the newspapers were virtually the only medium of communication among contending groups for most of the crisis period.

One conclusion after months of continuous struggle on the campus is that the daily newspapers had a greater effect on the strike action than the other media. Radio offered immediacy and a sounding board of a segment of public opinion. Television created the emotional impact with action film, but only for those who happened to be watching during the scheduled news periods. Magazines are after the fact, important for a cool assessment of events and trends. But newspapers are instant history. They are read at the readers' convenience, reread and digested, and the information they convey frequently causes actions on the part of people far removed from the scene.

In retrospect, it would appear that the news coverage of the San Francisco State crisis did involve many communities outside the college family, probably in ways that the people directly concerned with the issues and events never anticipated. It is doubtful that news coverage alone could be blamed for events because, despite intense feelings that were aroused in many public groups by reports of the crisis, relatively few outsiders ever came to the campus to participate directly. The crisis was a family affair, regrettable and probably unnecessary, but there, reported and a chapter in history.



By Harvey Yorke,
Public Information Officer
SF State College



Photo by Lou de la Torre

