



# open process



## EDITORIAL

It is getting harder and harder to conceive of ever "going back to class."

Pure time lapse is part of it, of course, but it goes far beyond that: the impact of the strike, the questions it has posed about our lives and our education, the mere way in which those questions have been posed — not as something which can be dealt with evasively or inconclusively, but as questions which must be answered now, questions whose answers are awesome in their implications.

There has been a great deal of talk during the course of the strike about "contradictions," about conflicts which appear more and more to be fundamentally irreconcilable. Events over the Christmas vacation bear this out: after three weeks of "mediation" people are, if anything, more unable to conceive of any way the strike could be "settled," any possible sequence of events which could bring about its conclusion. Massive police power having failed for three weeks to break the strike, Reagan and Hayakawa sound less and less convincing when they talk of "opening the campus with fixed bayonets." Yet, the powers that be cannot address themselves seriously to the strike issues, for to do so would challenge their right to exist.

Outsiders have wondered at the way white students have responded to a "Third World strike." A few have refused to believe that they have responded in any numbers, save for the usual infinitesimal minority of "outside agitators, hopped up on drugs." The more enlightened ask why white students would want to jeopardize their own education out of sheer altruism. To explain it, they invent weird theories about generation gaps, youthful idealism and Clean Jeans. Inherent in such theories are some pretty basic and widespread misconceptions about the nature of education in America: social mobility, Ivory Tower enlightenment, the triumph of reason over irrationality.

But colleges are not enlightened or rational places. Their existence reinforces of the same social conditions that have always governed our life — racism, social stratification, poverty, injustice, violence. And while it is not always pleasant to see that kind

of irrationality come to the surface, there isn't much way it can be avoided. In any case, the average student encounters it as a functioning part of his daily experience. If he's poor, he can no more go from rags to riches by working his way through school than he can by playing the stock market — not when the stock market is responsible for his situation in the first place. If he can't "adjust" to the prevailing cultural standards of society he'll spend most of his time in school being told that his own cultural standards and his own experiences aren't legitimate — unless, of course, they're redefined and fed back to him in "acceptable form" by some patronizing, smart-ass professor. Competitive grading makes him aware that the only way to the top is over the dead bodies of his fellow-students. X's ability to get an "A" is strictly dependent on the existence of some guy named Y who has to settle for an "F." Of course, this means that X and Y, continually at each other's throats, will both be isolated from any sense of common needs, common interests, common understandings and common problems. The only thing they can dig is personal survival, personal survival for either of them. For neither X nor Y will have any say over their course of action in the Third World community, work, the people who "teach" it, or the way it is taught. Unable to control their own education, they are alienated from it; alienated from it, they find it is irrelevant to their needs. Instead of enlightened men and women, they are helpless pawns in a huge game of fear, authoritarianism, manipulation, exploitation, personal fragmentation and individual isolation.

Why haven't we been able to challenge this kind of thing before? Because we — white students, at least — knew of no real alternatives, because we had no larger perspective into which to fit our miseducation, because we had no community outside the college that we identified with or felt responsible to. The more our consciousness grew, the more estranged we became from our own people. Worse, we cling to the educational myths to possibly be negotiated? Either Third World stu-

dents have the right to determine their educational destiny, or they do not. The question cannot be answered relativistically.

For the first time, tactics have been employed which have avoided the ritual crowd of students locking themselves up in a building, courting arrest and busted heads with the demonstration ebbing away once the encounter with the police is ended and shock of it has worn off. These, too, are basically symbolic protests, based on the willingness of the participants to isolate themselves from their fellow students and from the community. The disastrous Moses Hall demonstration at UC Berkeley signified the end of the old era. The selective acts of classroom disruption and property damage and the "protracted struggle" at S.F. State signifies the beginning of a new one.

For the first time, on this campus at least, there has been a real and working relationship between white and non-white students. For the struggles of the latter

WORLD-HERALD: OMAHA, NEB., FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1940.



Just Around the Corner

have touched a responsive chord with the form-tend far beyond anything we conceived of at the and hopelessness, and beginning.

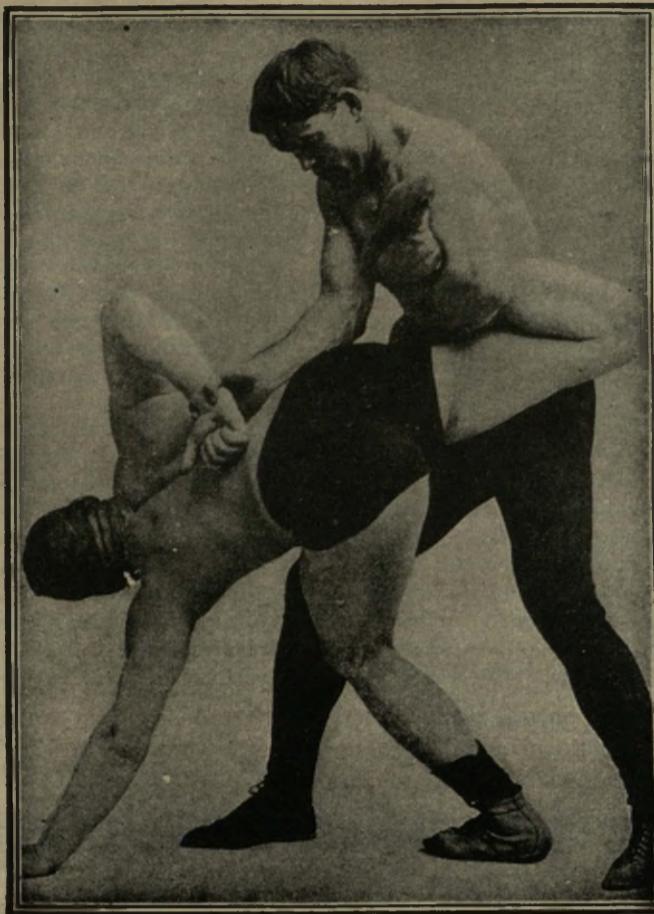
There is a hitch, of course — the white community. Neither white students nor white faculty have any real base in it.

We don't speak the same language as the stock from which we sprang. They aren't on the same wave-length as us. White taxpayers still entertain the old misconception about education as a privilege. They continue to complain of their tax dollars being spent on subversion, instead of recognizing that those tax dollars are subsidizing the education of the wealthy and the further enslavement of the poor. Lacking a readily visible enemy or a sense of national consciousness, comparable to that of the Third World community, they blame the failure of education for them upon themselves.

And our effectiveness in keeping this strike going is limited until we find ways of getting who runs the colleges, across what we have to what ends, and why — learned, and are in the all of it may yet make process of learning, to us catalysts in a social them.

# KNOW YOUR ALLIES!

by Bill Barlow



## (a critical history of the AFT)

For the faculty of San Francisco State College, discretion has always been the better part of valor. Indeed, the two concepts have been virtually indistinguishable, so far as faculty action goes. When, more than two years ago, faculty salaries were arbitrarily slashed 1.8%, the stout lads of the faculty contrived to roll with the punch. And when not so long after, the California courts ruled that the pay cut was legal, the faculty mustered up all of its discretion to supinely accept the fact that they had no binding contract rights at all. As a rule of thumb, the faculty has always been putty in the hands of those who rule over the State College system.

But all of this is beginning to show signs of change now, at least for about 30% of the faculty at SF State. They are starting to fight back . . . in their own tedious and cautious way to be sure, but then few people expected even that. No doubt the student strike, now on record as being the longest in American history, has been the main catalyst. After over two months of watching guiltily from the sidelines, something had to give within the faculty. And when it became apparent that neither the Academic Senate nor the various ad hoc faculty groupings were going to have any influence, the American Federation of Teachers finally threw its hat in the ring.

SF State's AFT local 1352 got into the act of mid-December by formally requesting strike sanction from the Central Labor Council of San Francisco. Strike sanctions mean that no AFL-CIO union can arise a picket line of a union striking with sanction. In San Francisco, known in some quarters as a "labor town," it also means that the Longshoremen and the Teamsters will respect the picket lines of a sanctioned strike. But in order to get sanctions, a union must draw up a list of grievances around which to negotiate. This the AFT did, and the stage was set for negotiations to proceed over the Christmas holidays. Unfortunately, there was one small hitch: nobody really wanted to negotiate with them. Rather, representatives of the Trustees and the college administration came only to "confer" with their disgruntled employees.

### BACKROOM BOYS

Though there was to be no negotiations between the AFT and its adversaries, the cast that was called together was a rather large one. The host of the proceedings was George Johns, executive secretary of the Central Labor Council and the key men in the granting of strike sanctions for San Francisco labor unions. The AFT had its "negotiating team" there, headed by Philosophy professor Art Bierman and including seven other professors, most of whom waited in the wings while Bierman talked to the boss. The AFT also had its lawyer, Victor Van Bourg, on hand at all times. Hayakawa's gang was there in the person of Frank Dollard of the Faculty Renaissance and Dean Daniel Feder. The Trustees sent in their attorney, Norman Epstein, and Vice Chancellor Mansel Keene. There were various "observers," most of whom were AFT sympathizers. And finally there was Ronald Haughton, ace mediator flown in from the midwest. In addition to acting as official mediator, Haughton was also keeping tabs on the student side of the controversy. Mayor Alioto had hastily set up a Citizens Committee with Bishop Hurley as its figurehead, while another mediator, Samuel Jackson, had been flown in from Washington D.C. to meet with students. Needless to say, his efforts proved no more fruitful than the AFT Trustees' attempt at mediation.

### BIRTH OF THE MONSTER

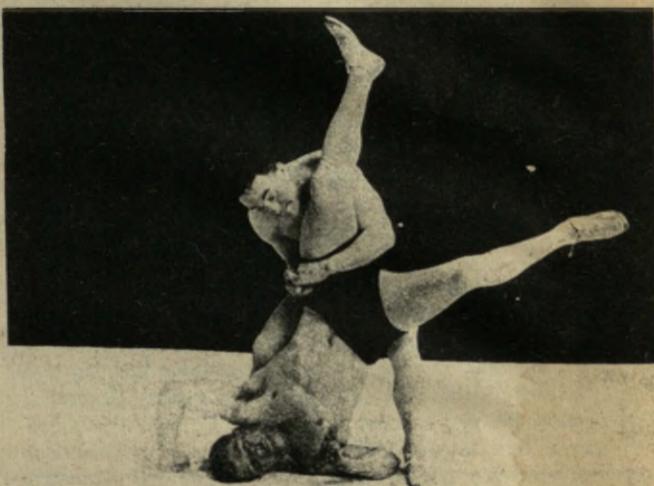
The AFT was originally set up at S.F. State during 1960-61, while the state colleges were being reorganized under the new California Master Plan for Higher Education. Under the old system, the state colleges were primarily teacher training institutions under the jurisdiction of the state Board of Education. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction functioned as acting despot, having the final say over all faculty appointments and all general educational policy matters. At the local level, the state college presidents ruled the roost, dictating the individual colleges' needs and dealing directly with the state legislature in matters of allocation of financial resources. The faculty was virtually voiceless in those days; it did little else but teach, and had no influence over college decision-making processes. Some of them yearned for a liberal arts orientation in the college, but they didn't have the foggiest idea how to begin to bring it about. In any case there was an abundance of peace and quiet, and that satisfied most of them.

Still, the number of students coming into the state college system was growing rapidly, and the burden of funding public higher education in general was becoming troublesome, even for the good liberals in Governor Brown's administration. Enter the Master Plan, calculated to save the state's budget, centralize all California public colleges under the Governor and his political appointees, and emasculate the state colleges while giving the appearance of liberalizing them. The budgetary scheme was roughly as follows: too many students were getting into either the state colleges or the University, and, given the resultant rate of growth of these institutions, the state tax structure was proving unable to finance them. Hence, students would have to be channeled elsewhere if the myth of relatively free public higher education was to remain unchallenged. To accomplish this, the tracking system was built into the Master Plan.

Most of us have had some contact with the tracking system and all its inherent absurdities somewhere along the educational treadmill. Theoretically, its purpose is to separate the "college material" from the students who "aren't academically inclined." Functionally, it serves to reinforce an existing race and class bias within the educational system. White students and minority students are graded competitively, but according to white middle-class cultural standards. Naturally, the white students come out on top, so they get put in honors classes, have a little more money spent on them, and are pushed steadily towards college. The losers wind up in "remedial" or vocational training courses, for "slow learners," where they are told to adjust to their respective roles as the Janitors and Welfare Mothers of Tomorrow.

Under the old system, the top 70% of the graduating high school seniors in California could be admitted to the state colleges and the top 33% to the university. With the institution of the tracking system, admissions standards were raised to the top 33% for the state colleges and the top 12-1/2% for the University. Those who didn't make the grade were invited to attend the junior colleges, which were supported by the local tax base rather than the state. Of course, all of this tended to systematically exclude students from the lower-income strata, especially non-white students who receive an inferior education and are continually told they aren't college material. Witness what happened at S.F. State: In 1960, 12% of the student body was black; last year, just prior to the institution of the special admissions program, the figure had dropped to 3%. Part of the reason was that the College Board Scholastic Aptitude Tests had been incorporated into the entrance requirements. The SAT's, needless to say, represent the highest level of the tracking system, with their rigidified, standardized system of evaluating students according to percentile ratings--computed, once again, from their ability to relate to a set of highly specialized cultural and academic standards, rather than their own potential or their own educational needs.

SAT's and the grading system act not only as absolute criteria determining whether or not a student shall go to college, but what kind of courses will be available to him in high school, and junior high school, and even grammar school. It isn't hard to find examples of this; just take a look at a typical lily-white suburban high school, then compare it with the nearest ghetto high school. One set of curricula is college-oriented; the other is mainly vocational. One set of students will become "scholars"; the other is likely to end up washing cars.



### THE PUMP HOUSE GANG

Another important aspect of the Master Plan was its centralized power structure, which also served to reinforce the class nature and the racist nature of California higher education. Trustees and Regents were to be periodically selected to run their respective fiefdoms, while the Coordinating Council on Higher Education was created to run the whole show. The Trustees and Regents were appointed to eight- and sixteen-year terms, respectively; the CCHE members were given four-year terms, enabling each governor to take control of the apex of the educational structure through his appointees during his first term of office. The CCHE functions as the hatchet group for the Governor and the legislature. They make final recommendations on annual budgets, educational policy, and growth plans.

These three Boards--the Trustees, the Regents and the CCHE--bear final responsibility for the fate of higher education in California. Their memberships are supposedly chosen from the "general public," but naturally the qualifications for such an important job are rather imposing. Take the three most recent (Reagan) appointees

Continued on page 12

On Friday, December 13, violence erupted at the College of San Mateo. The story received sensational play in the news media. Subsequently, the relatively isolated campus was sealed off from the outside world and put under heavy police guard until classes let out for the Christmas holidays a week later.

The news media treated the incident in characteristic fashion — as something isolated, wrenched from a chain of events, apparently without cause or direction. Actually the violence was simply the last chapter in a long and agonizing story of how college authorities waged a bitter, destructive war of attrition against a unique and highly successful tutorial program run by and for Third World students on the campus.

Readiness Program began independently of the college. It never had more than two paid staff members, Bob Hoover and Jean Wirth, so most of its counseling and administrative work was done by the students themselves. The program grew rapidly, attracting national attention at the same time. That did not prevent the college administration from effectively killing it with financial and bureaucratic strangulation.

The administration used the violence as an excuse to drive the final nail into the program's coffin. Hoover and Jean Wirth were removed from their jobs and "transferred to other duties" as the Trustees brought the program under their direct control, altering its function so that it would serve mainly white students having problems with their schoolwork. This was supposedly to make the program operate "for all those in need." Actually it robbed it of its original purpose — to give a real educational opportunity to black people, chicanos, and Orientals, who had been cast off by the school system and needed to be awakened to their own true potential. Aaron Manganiello is a former CSM student, a volunteer tutor and friend of the program, and the Minister of Education for the Brown Berets. OPEN PROCESS spoke to him on Sunday, in the hope of filling in some of the holes in the coverage of the mass media.

*interview with Aaron Manganiello*

PROCESS: We're often told that the junior college system in California is set up so as to provide at least two years of college education to anyone who wants it, to make it available to everybody. Given that, why was something like the College Readiness Program necessary at CSM?

MANGANIELLO: Well, I think you'd have to go back into the history of this particular college -- and probably of other colleges as well. Between six and eight years ago the campus location was moved from the Coyote Point site to what they call the College Heights area now -- we're up on a big hill there. At that time the rationale of the college's policies and procedures was that there would be no public transportation, no housing on campus, for the simple reason that it was supposed to be a community college, and could serve adequately the needs of San Mateo County. Well, if anyone takes a look at the geographical location of the college now, he'd find out that the closest minority area is almost twenty miles away. Minority students don't have any way to get up there, not having cars, not being close to the college, which is right in the middle of middle and upper middle class white America. There is the first reason why you need a College Readiness Program. Because not only is the college inaccessible geographically; it's inaccessible philosophically, academically, intellectually.

The whole county school system is set up that way. The government has done surveys, Stanford has done surveys, of Ravenswood High School, which is almost 90 percent black. Those surveys revealed that kids are graduating from that high school with a third grade education. It's very difficult to explain this to the parents of these high school students. They say, "My son is doing great; he's making A's and B's and he's on the honor roll." And then you have to explain to the parent, "Yeah, he's on the honor roll, but he's making A's and B's at a second grade level." And he's seventeen years old. They don't understand that, so when you try to put them into a junior college without any preparation, without any kind of a tutorial program, and...

PROCESS: ...they're liable to flunk out.

MANGANIELLO: Of course. And the proof of that is that before the College Readiness Program came on campus, the dropout rate for minority students was 90 per cent within the first semester. In 1963 there were 39 black students on that campus; 90 percent of them had dropped out or flunked out before the end of their first semester. And I think the proof of the value of the College Readiness Program lies in the fact that the dropout or flunk-out rate of students in the program is less than for any other group of students on that campus.

PROCESS: How was the program originally set up?

MANGANIELLO: Let me go over the history of it briefly. It goes back to Jean Wirth and Bernie Allen. Bernie Allen was a counselor at Stanford, Jean Wirth was in the English Department at CSM. Jointly, with funds that were taken out of their own salaries, they set up a very small program, working with one student at a time. They would come to Ravenswood High School, or South San Francisco High School, Redwood City and Palo Alto High School, go through the records, find students who were either dropouts or were flunking out or who needed some financial assistance, and through their own funds and their own counseling and tutoring, would help the students out. That program later gained some degree of national recognition. Time Magazine did a story on it, and finally, after some hard struggling, they got some federal funds.

#### THE WHOLE STUDENT

Then they started to develop the concept that you had to take care of the entire student, in everything he did. Because it wasn't a matter of his just needing academic tutoring, but also that he oftentimes didn't have the type of environment that was conducive to study. You know, like you take an orientation class in the first semester of college, and they tell you there that you should have two or three hours every night in complete silence so that you

can read and study, with no radios or television going, that you should have the perfect type of studying environment and conditions. Well, most of the time that's impossible. You have five or six kids, you have the radio and television going on, you're taking care of the kids, and you're trying to study in between . . . and then you don't have money for books, you don't have money for food, for clothes; if you want to get out of that environment, you don't have money for housing; you want to get out to school, you don't have any money for transportation. The College Readiness Program sought at least in part to some of the

needs in all these areas. In fact, it has a guy who does nothing but find housing, a guy who sets up transportation in the way of car pools and things like that, a guy who does nothing but set up a baby-sitting service -- the Program is so beautiful, you know, at the beginning of this semester at any time of the day when there were classes going on you could go into the Readiness Center and there would be four, five children being baby-sat while their parents were having a class. We'd rotate taking care of those kids.

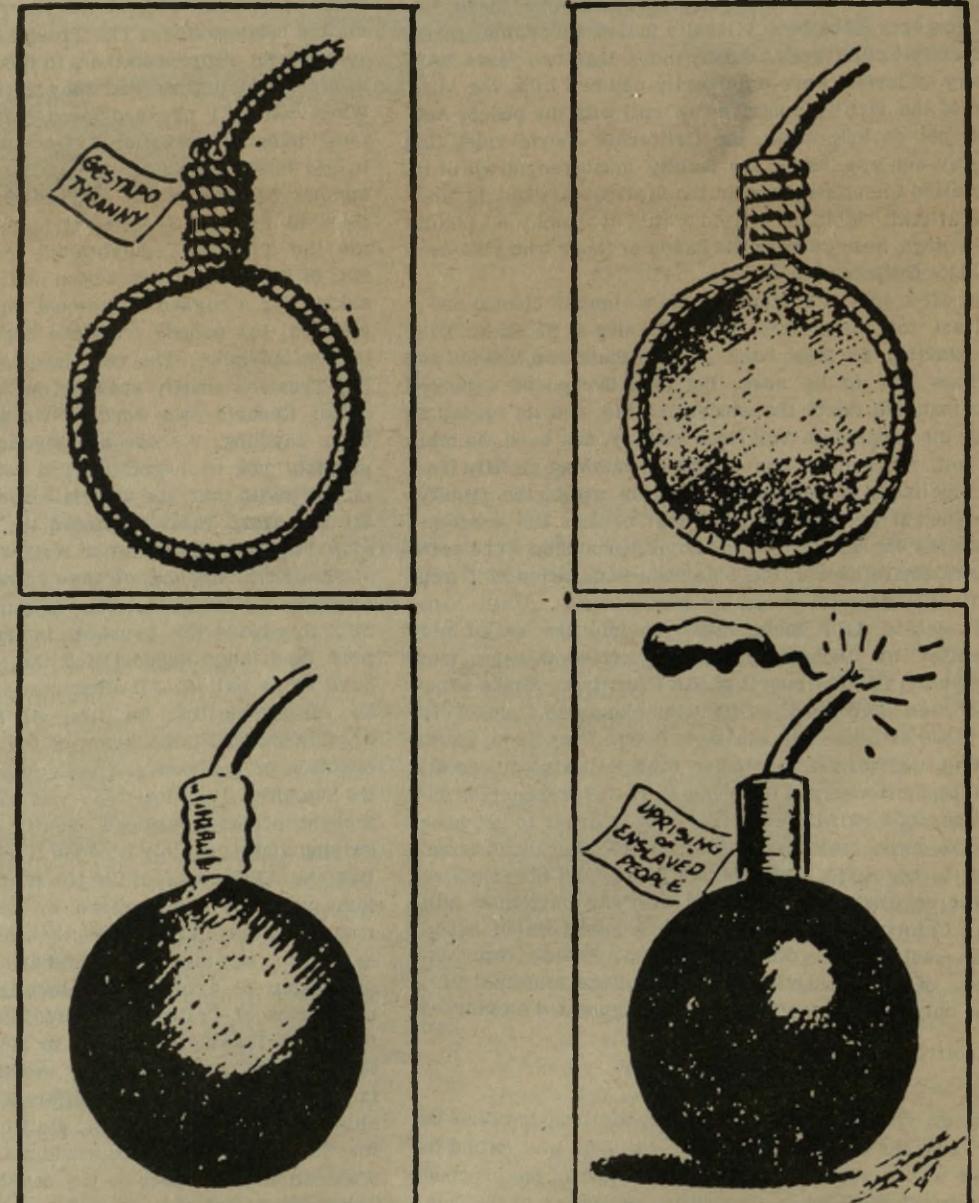
So the program really reached out and said, in a sense that you were a member of a family. In a very real sense, the program was with you 24 hours a day. We all became friends, there were social gatherings together, and when the program became big enough to have four or five hundred people it was easy to have several different social groups within that family. The program was pretty much autonomous from the rest of the college; we pretty much depended on one another and on the program for the survival of our academic careers. And in answer to your first question, that's exactly why we needed the program at the college. The college just simply is not prepared to help anyone; it's this sink or swim type of rationale that they're very proud of. They go out of their way to set up quotas to see how many students they can flunk out in their first semester.

PROCESS: When did the program first start having difficulties with the college administration?

MANGANIELLO: From its very inception. The program has never been adequately funded. It's very difficult to explain -- you hear the term, "non-negotiable" -- that's a real symbol of the type of people we are, the type of people the administration has been dealing with, the type of people who are usually involved with programs like this, struggles like this. That is, in traditional America, you play

## College of San Mateo is not

### THE SHAPE OF THINGS THAT ARE COMING.



cartoon by Russell in the Los Angeles Times, August 1940

## STRIKESTRIKESTRIKESTRIKESTRIKE

can read and study, with no radios or television going, that you should have the perfect type of studying environment and conditions. Well, most of the time that's impossible. You have five or six kids, you have the radio and television going on, you're taking care of the kids, and you're trying to study in between . . . and then you don't have money for books, you don't have money for food, for clothes; if you want to get out of that environment, you don't have money for housing; you want to get out to school, you don't have any money for transportation. The College Readiness Program sought at least in part to some of the

the game and say, "non-negotiable" and then you sit down at a negotiating table. Or else you ask for two thirds more money than you expect to get. We weren't familiar with this kind of thing. When we wrote up job proposals or rationales for programs, or what type of funding we needed, we were very honest and very truthful: "We need X number of dollars to accommodate X number of students." We would put it that way. And since the administration had never played that game honestly, they would say, "Well obviously you only need 40 percent of what you're telling us." So that's how they would fund us.

And of course we would be short. Then we started to learn how to play those games, and we found that it didn't make any difference; it never did come across. We still weren't getting the kind of money we needed. One of the things that hangs the administration up is the whole idea of non-negotiable demands, when it's obvious that what we could do is sit down and write another five demands: we want a swimming pool in every classroom, we want grass for our P.E. classes, and then we could say we were ready to negotiate with them, and throw away those five extra demands after the first fifteen minutes. But we aren't playing those kind of games; these are our basic needs and we can't play those kind of games with respect to them. And they don't understand that.

#### HOOVER HIRED

So the program was never properly funded. And it would always run across stumbling blocks. As a matter of fact, Bob Hoover was hired in the same week that he was picketing in front of one of the Trustees' businesses, because of the way that Trustee was handling the problems of minority students on that campus. Out of that turmoil, he was hired. And that was when the program really began to get off the ground; as you can see, it was born under protest.

PROCESS: He was protesting inadequate funding?

MANGANIELLO: Inadequate funding, yes; also at the time the program was being housed in the fallout shelter of the administration building, underground. We had to squeeze ourselves in between all the survival kits, which they had in big boxes, to make ourselves office space down there. After that they moved us to the cafeteria. So we were protesting because of lack of space, lack of money, lack of adequate staffing and counseling, everything. So it's never really gotten off the line, so much so that even the

Then Bob Hoover would cash it and put it in this emergency fund that the Readiness Program had. Okay. Well, December 10 the Board of Trustees made a new rule that all donations and all donors to the College Readiness Program would have to be approved by them. In other words, if you wanted to give five dollars to the program, you personally would have to be approved by the Board of Trustees. And in order to enforce that, the Board empowered the administration to open all incoming mail to the College Readiness Program, to screen that mail and remove all checks. Those checks are approved by the Board of Trustees, and then they go into the hands of the Financial Aids Office. Then it would be allocated to ALL programs on the campus, not simply college College Readiness.

PROCESS: When the Program was first set up, how many black and Third World students were on the campus?

MANGANIELLO: Effectively, none. There was a small study done by Jean Wirth and some other staff, myself included, and there were 39 black students on campus, maybe one or two orientals, and a few students with Spanish surnames. But as I said, most of them dropped out almost immediately.

PROCESS: How many students in the college as a whole?

MANGANIELLO: Eight or nine thousand daytime students and eleven thousand night time students.

MANGANIELLO: Did the proportions change when the program was first instituted?

MANGANIELLO: Well, the first semester there were thirty six black students in the College Readiness Program, the number is misleading, because all those 36 made it through the two year program. The second year it was up to about 70. This is the third year and the first time active recruitment has gone to minorities other than black, and it came to around 650 kids. This is a fantastic jump; the administration blamed the College Readiness Program for the "overflow," but in fact at the end of the last spring semester, 1968, they were told by Bob Hoover and several staff members that the program was actively going to recruit, and shoot for a goal of a thousand minority students. It fell short of that by 350 students. And that gave the administration a full nine months to come up with the necessary funds. The administration at no time said they couldn't handle it. For one thing, they didn't follow the guidelines of the federal government, so they weren't eligible for more federal money; second of all, there was a mismanagement of money, so that this summer the Financial Aids Office spent money that was allocated for the fall semester.

#### SHADES OF HELEN BEDESEM

I'm not accusing the Financial Aids officer of embezzling it; I'm just saying the money was spent. Like, I was working for the Human Resources Commission this summer. And the college offered me three paid student assistants on a part-time basis, as work-study students. The same offer was made to several people; several of these students were put to work. I'm glad that those students got work, but that money was earmarked for the fall, and that's where the top priority lay. So we came on campus at the beginning of the fall semester, and for 650 students, there were \$2500 left. That went out to the first twelve students with loans from the federal government of \$1000 apiece. So between twelve and twenty students were taken care of, out of 650.

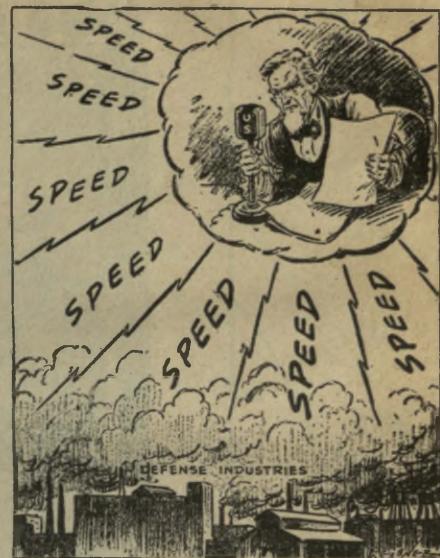
PROCESS: How did the rest of them eat?

MANGANIELLO: Right away, the Student Council recognized an immediate need and cut back \$28,000 from its own budget and put it into the program. There was also \$40,000 that Bob Hoover was able to get. That lasted through October, November, there was some more money that came in from the federal government. That lasted into December. But in October, anyway, there was a list of demands presented to the college by the students -- that was the first sit-in they had, on October 15 in the Administration Building. The very first demand was that the college, after three years, begin to follow the guidelines set down by the federal government, and revamp its Financial Aids Office. The second asked for more staffing. There was one major proposal, that the college appoint a proprietor of funds; Ravenswood High School has such an official, and he does nothing but go to private industry and try to get funds. Over an eight year period, he's averaged \$1.5 million a year. If we ever had \$1.5 million out of private funds, we'd never even have to go to the federal government.

Bob had talked to the administration about all of these things long before that, but they were presented as formal demands in October. They haven't gotten around yet to revamping the Financial Aids Office, or to hiring this guy -- they keep on talking about it. Now they say that they are going to do it -- under the new program, under their control, the predominantly white one.

The other thing is that funny things have happened in the Financial Aids Office. For instance, people would put in applications for financial aid, and a week or two later would come back and check on their applications, or see

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Messner in The Rochester Times-Union

Uncle Sam's Broadcast to Defense Industries

apply, and the money is given out on a first come, first served basis. Your applying has nothing to do with the process of allocating money, except that you have to if any allocation is going to take place. The Financial Aids Director was telling people they couldn't apply, and then last year he turned back \$8000 of federal money saying, "We don't have anyone on the campus who needs it."

PROCESS: Oh, man!

MANGANIELLO: Yeah. So this is the same type of game he's trying to play this year, and of course he comes out of it smelling like a rose, because here's this great guy who saved the taxpayers' money, when in fact in the long run he's costing them a hell of a lot more, because these students aren't being taken care of.

PROCESS: What kind of objections has the administration raised to the program?

MANGANIELLO: ... Well, what you have to realize is that what you're facing on the Board of Trustees is about six Hayakawas, they don't even make a pretense of trying in any way to provide a liberal education. They know, and are very proud of the fact that less than five percent of the students on that campus go on to a four year college, and that it took the College Readiness Program to change that. They are very proud of the fact that some of the biggest grants are given to them by industry, with the purpose of making that school a vocational training school, and that the airlines services, United Air Lines, American Air Lines, and so on, give big grants to the Aviation Department; the Police Department has a big Police Science thing there, and other industries, like Litton and Lockheed, practically support that college.

Now, the way Bob Hoover was put in that position with the College Readiness Program is that the black community requested him to take it. He was offered it after he was elected by the East Palo Alto community to the local school board, because they felt he understood what the black community needed in the way of services and help to make itself more self-sufficient, powerful, and self-sustaining. And what it needed least of all was more airlines mechanics and janitors and hairdressers. What it needed was more professional services: doctors, lawyers, schoolteachers, administrators, and so forth. In other words, people who are able to manage community affairs without having to go to Litton Industries to ask for help. So Bob started counseling students with the idea of giving them the confidence to go into fields other than vocational training. Giving them the confidence is probably the biggest job, because the majority of these students came out of remedial programs in high school. They were told all through high school, "Look, you're not smart enough to go to college, why don't you just take this remedial course?" And they get this incredible opportunity to go to college after all under the College Readiness Program, and again,

Continued on page 10

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URGENT WARNING

Found Poem  
December 5, 1968  
Beverly Pervier

# ready

federal government has complained to the college. Two years ago it told the college that it was either going to have to revamp its financial organization, or it couldn't get any more federal funds.

PROCESS: So the program was getting federal funds. Did the college administration provide the initial funding?

MANGANIELLO: No, never. As a matter of fact, even in this last year, the San Mateo Junior College District has put in less than 5 percent of all the money the program has received. The rest has come from private sources or from federal funding, and even that federal funding has not been gotten through the efforts of the college administration. Most administrations either have someone in the Financial Aids Office or someone who can write program and job descriptions and then go to Sacramento or Washington and lobby for these grants. Well, Jean Wirth and Bob Hoover have had to do these jobs themselves. This semester alone, Jean Wirth has spent three weeks in Washington, and Bob Hoover almost a month in New York, and other places around the country, writing these job proposals and so forth, and program descriptions, trying to get money out of people. The administration won't even take that job, and that is clearly their responsibility. We have this double standard, you see: the Board of Trustees refers to it as "their" program, simply because they okayed it and reserve the right to kill it, but they've never done any work for it. And they refuse to take responsibility for staffing or financing that program. Then they complain because the kids in the program are doing administrative jobs for which they aren't qualified. On the other hand, they want to make all the policies with respect for disciplinary action or political orientation, or whatever is involved in the program.

PROCESS: Have you had any problems getting federal money?

MANGANIELLO: It's always a problem getting federal money, but that hasn't really been a particular stumbling block. Except that -- well, for instance, this semester we got \$150,000 out of the federal government. It was in matching funds; that means the local district has to match the federal grant if we're going to get the federal money at all. We would not even consider asking the district to do the job of raising it themselves; we were perfectly prepared to set up our own committee and do it ourselves. But you have to have an okay from the Board of Trustees. Bob Hoover set up that committee, they finally found a chairman for it, and then it sat around from August until December 10, before the Trustees gave it permission to go ahead with its work.

And then, a week after they gave us that permission, they took away the whole program and said, "Now we're going to put it in our own hands, fund it properly and run it the way we want."

PROCESS: That was when they decided to make it pre-

# RIKESTRIKESTRIKESTRIKESTRIKESTRIKE

dominantly white?

MANGANIELLO: Yeah.

PROCESS: I assume all the money you did get went through the Financial Aids Office of the college. Did that cause any problems?

MANGANIELLO: That caused a lot of problems. One is that, this semester and the semester past, Bob Hoover and Jean Wirth had made a certain amount of money from speaking engagements and from asking individuals to contribute funds and that was pretty well taken care of because people would just send in a letter with their check.

whether or not they were going to receive money the next month, and would be told by the secretary that their forms had been lost. Now this wasn't just one or two cases; it happened repeatedly to several students in the program, and I personally helped at least a dozen students that I could name write two or three Financial Aids applications. Going back, they would repeatedly be told that the applications had been lost or misplaced, or hadn't been received. Then students were told, and this is very much against the law, that there was no use applying because there was no money. Well, in that type of program you

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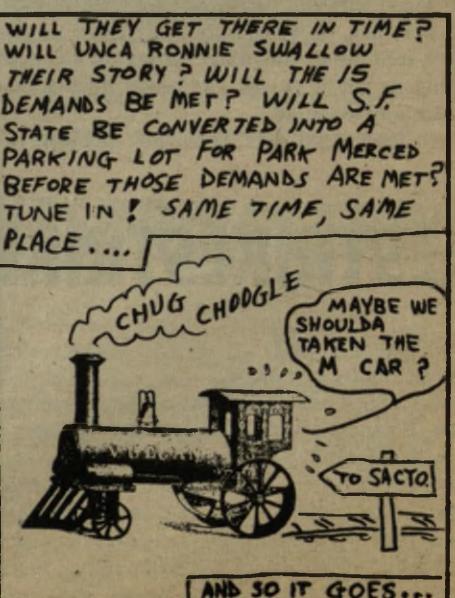
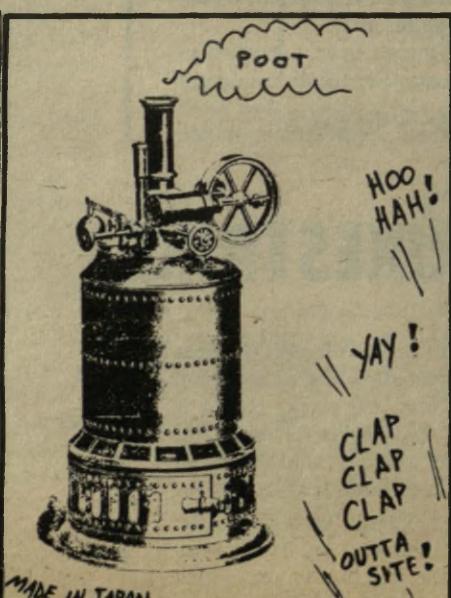
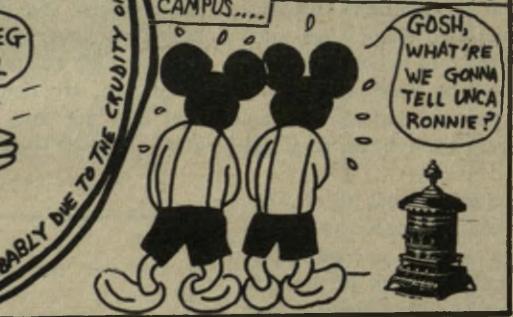
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## secretary resigned

by Anatole Anton  
Professor of Philosophy

There is no book of etiquette for secretaries. What written regulations there are make no reference to personal, social, or political feelings. Indeed, the secretary QUA secretary is not supposed to have personal, social or political feelings. As she knows that as a rule of thumb, she will have a far better chance of holding down her job if she disciplines herself to be a secretary QUA secretary, if she does no more than type, take dictation, answer the phone, and, for the rest of it, like the proverbial Victorian child, speak when spoken to, be seen and not heard. When it is made patronizingly clear that other than business matters may be acceptably discussed, she can indulge in friendly, frank conversation.

But if she should go further than the mere expression of moral and political feelings and convictions at the appropriate time, and act on those feelings, five will get you ten that she'll be out of a job.

At any rate, such has been the experience of the Philosophy Department. Over the protests of the entire department, despite the fact that the department has stated officially that we do not recognize her "involuntary resignation", and that we accept as valid her reasons for not being willing "to work on campus at specified times when police occupation is in effect", our department, most of whose members are now on strike themselves, has been deprived of its organizational backbone -- Priscilla Johnson, our secretary. She has been deprived of her job by one Joseph Glynn, Personnel Officer. Glynn worked the five-consecutive-days-absence-from-work - equals automatic resignation equation, at the same time refusing Miss Johnson's request for an open hearing PRIOR to any action taken against her. And though she determined to act in solidarity with the student and faculty strike, no one -- neither students nor faculty -- has determined to act in solidarity with her.

Miss Johnson's letter of December 5, 1968 to Hayakawa speaks eloquently for itself. It is evident of the kind of moral and political integrity that the state of California would like to quarantine immediately in its secretarial staff. Indeed, if Joseph P. Glynn could find the right vaccine, I'm sure he would immunize all of his office workers against moral and political convictions of this kind. As is, he made a clear example of an arbitrary dismissal out of the Priscilla Johnson case, as an example to any other member of the staff who may have moral and political convictions similar to hers. But unhappily for Mr. Glynn, Hayakawa, and the rest of them, Miss Johnson's open letter to Hayakawa also sets an example, an example which may yet be taken to heart by all staff employees and EOA office workers:

## but not beaten

December 5, 1968

I refuse to come to work on this campus while my safety is endangered by the presence of various San Francisco and other police details. The police have demonstrated that they are unable to exercise professional discretion or even minimal self-control. They made and continue to make unprovoked and vicious attacks on individuals and groups who are on campus not only legitimately but because they have been ordered to be here by Acting Interim President Hayakawa. No one has the right to order me to an open campus, promise to protect me, and then close the campus at whim temporarily and in sections so that the police may be unleashed. Either the campus is open and I may walk to the Commons without being subject to brutal and unprovoked attacks, or the campus is closed. Since I may at any time be subject to such attacks, I declare that the campus is closed.

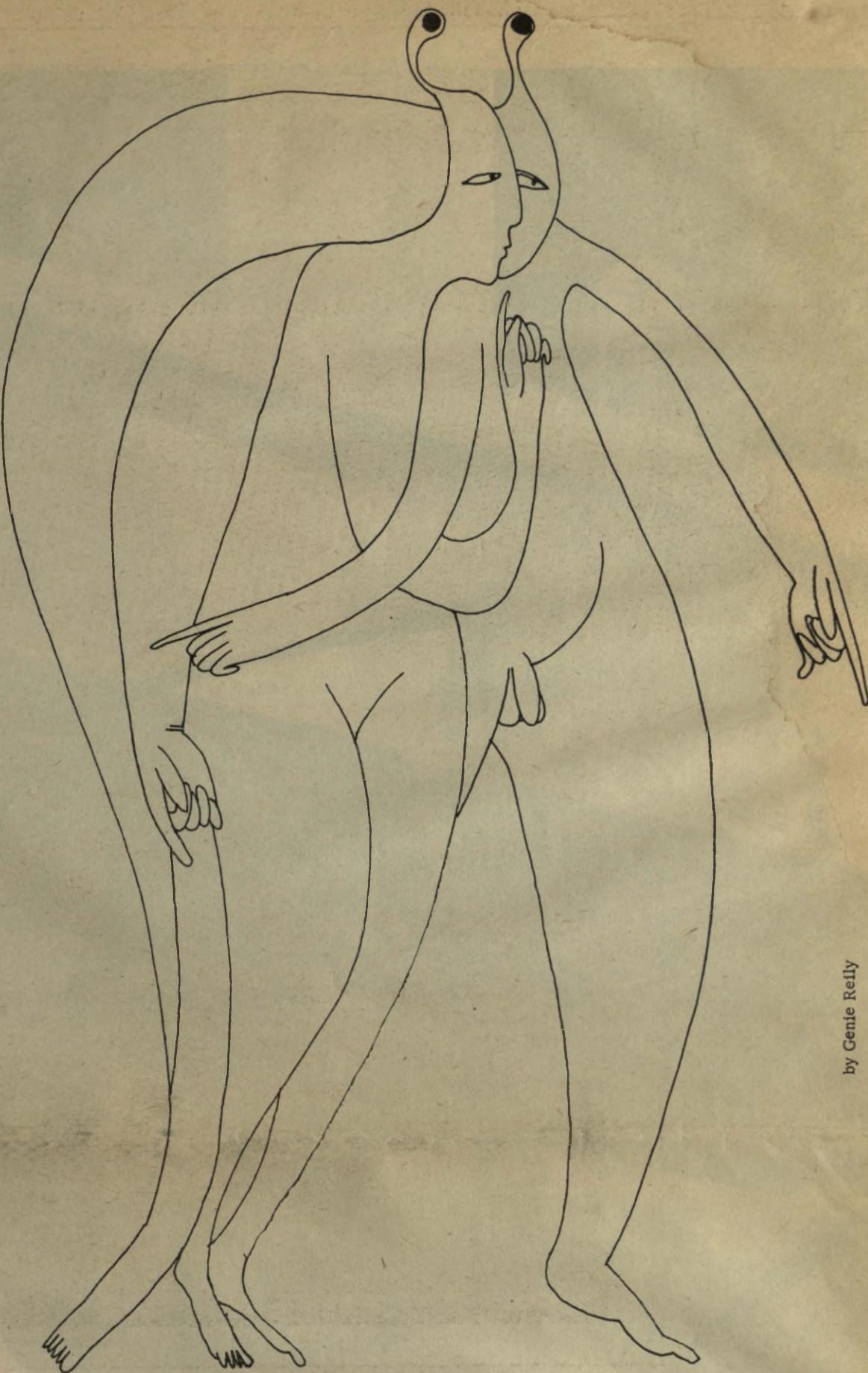
In an attempt to discover my right to be free from danger from physical attack while I am on this campus as an employee, and the state's responsibilities to provide such working conditions, I called every board and agency having to do with labor and working conditions from the National Labor Relations Board on down. I found that I have no rights and the state has no responsibilities. The state is exempt from its own laws. In small things that means that private businesses must pay

their employees twice a month and the state can pay its employees once a month. In large things it means that you can be ordered to work under any circumstances and any working conditions or forfeit your pay or your job. In plain words, you have no rights. You have what the state sees fit to give you. That is all part of the Big Brother mentality of which we are a part. Big Brother State will take care of its employees.

It does too. There is redress of grievances. The state handles it. If you claim that they have withheld your pay unjustly or dismissed you unjustly or been remiss in their duties and responsibilities, they decide, through the State Personnel Board, whether they have been so remiss. The STATE Personnel Board is a STATE agency, working for the STATE, and it decides whether you have a grievance against its alter ego, the STATE. Even the dimmest must see that that is a little peculiar and hardly conducive to real redress of grievances. In the future I suggest that state employees seek to have a grievance board which is completely separate from the state of California. But that is for another time.

In light of the above, I no longer claim my rights. At the present time, I have none. Rather, I accept my responsibility to secure my rights....

Priscilla Johnson  
Philosophy Department Secretary



by Gente Rely

## THE SCAB

AFTER GOD had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left with which He made a scab.

A scab is a two-legged animal with a corkscrew soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where the others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles.

When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and Angels weep in Heaven, and the Devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out.

No man has the right to scab as long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hang his body with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a scab. For betraying his Master, he had character enough to hang himself. A scab has not.

Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Judas Iscariot sold his Savior for 30 pieces of silver. Benedict Arnold sold his country for promise of a commission in the British army. The modern strikebreaker sells his birthright, his country, his wife, his children and his fellow men for an unfulfilled promise from his employer, trust or corporation.

Esau was a traitor to himself; Judas Iscariot was a traitor to God; Benedict Arnold was a traitor to his country. A strikebreaker is a traitor to his God, his country, his wife, his family and his class.

JACK LONDON  
San Francisco

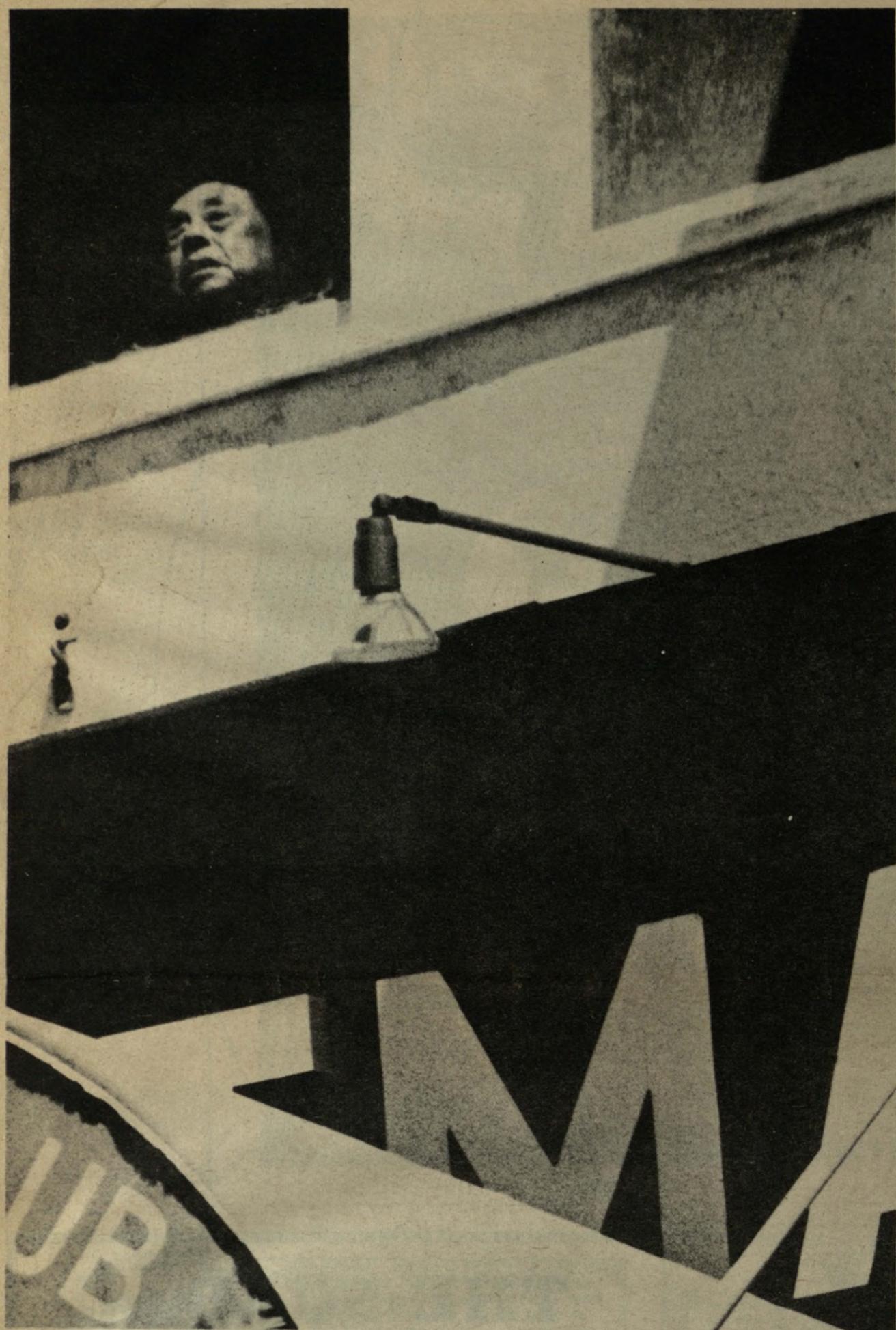


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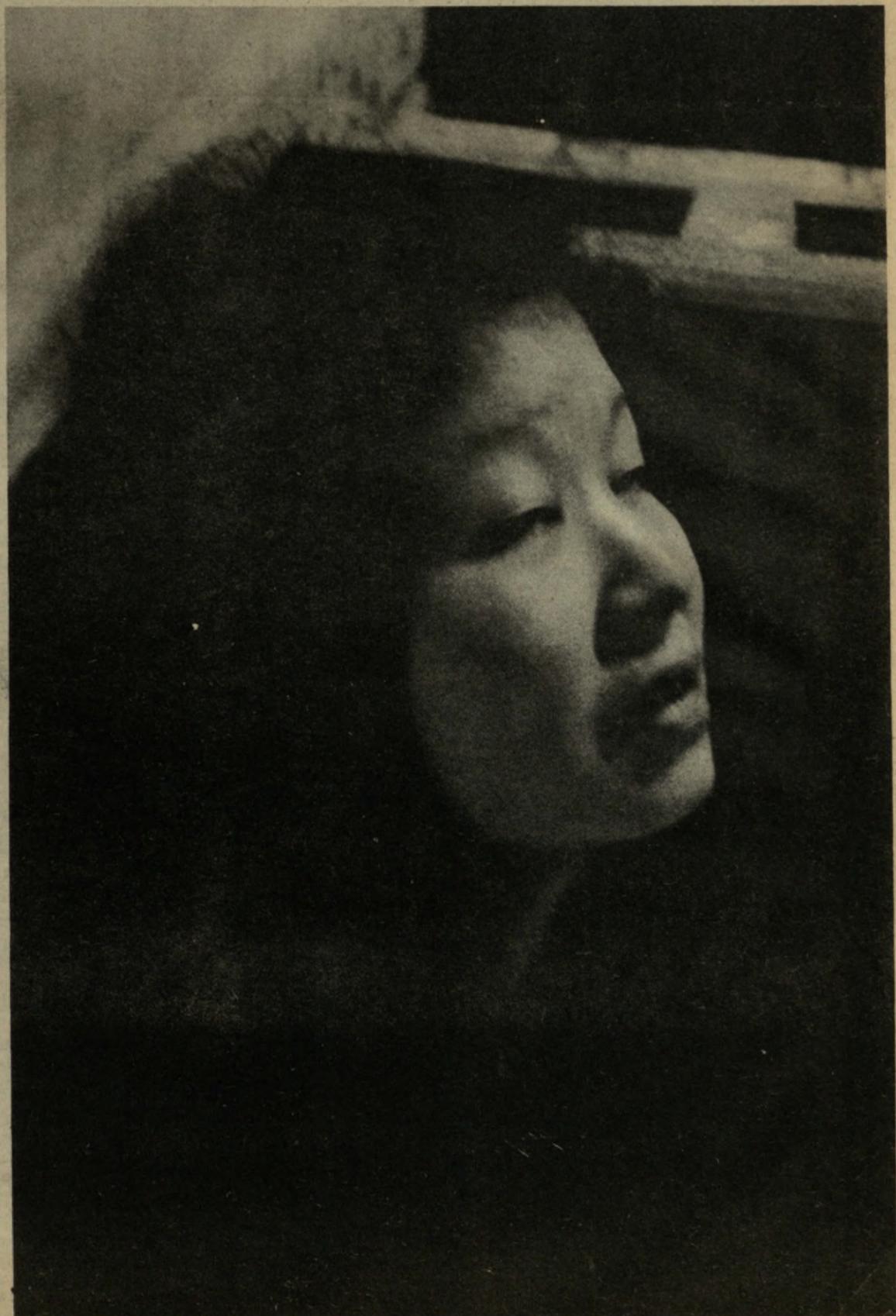
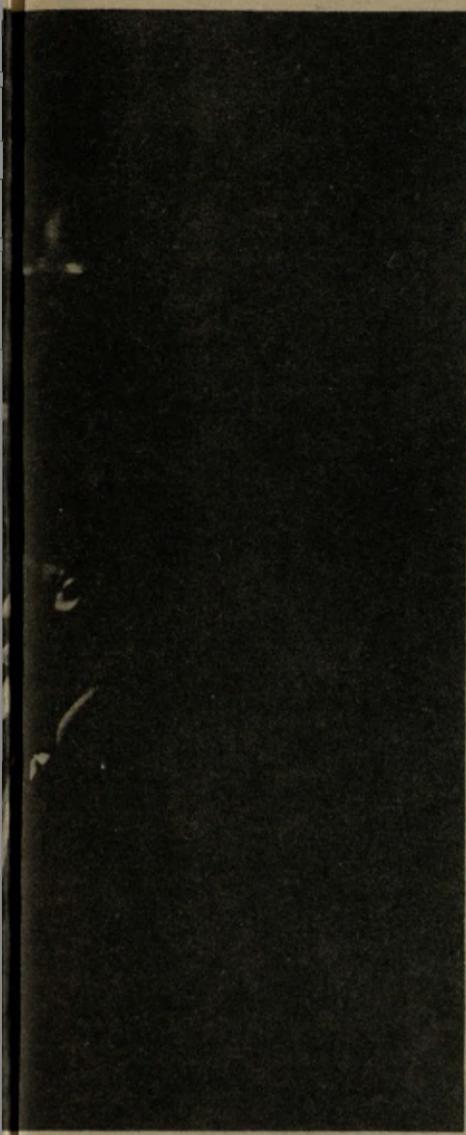
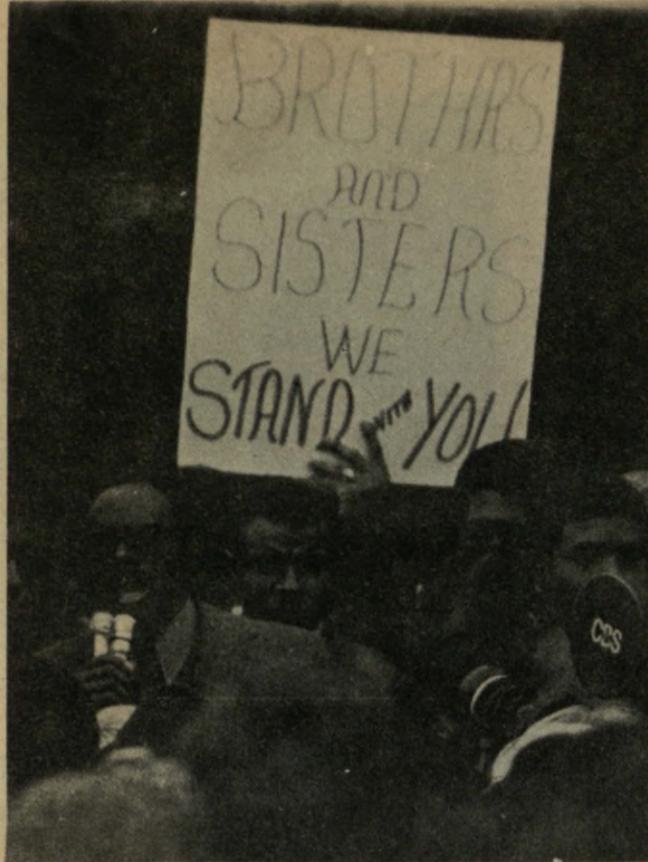


photo by Michelle Bain



## CSM From page 5

their lack of self-confidence tends to make them steer themselves into vocational training. Bob was telling them, "Look, you can be a good doctor, surgeon, lawyer," and that was blowing their minds.

### UNDO THE DAMAGE

I heard it put very well at a community meeting the other night: white students go into that college, you take them, and you start helping them along with their education. Minority students go into the college, and you have to start off be de-educating them, to undo all the damage that was done to them from elementary schools on up. Then you have to begin to re-educate them, to give them the confidence and the self-motivation to go ahead and do whatever they're really capable of doing.

So Bob was referring these students to English classes, humanities classes, political science and economics classes, so that they could go onto four year colleges instead of falling into the vocational bag. So we have almost 90 to 100 percent of the students who graduate from the program going on to four-year colleges. Hardly any of them at all go on to industry.

PROCESS: And in the rest of the student body, very few of them go on to four year colleges?

MANGANIELLO: About five percent.

PROCESS: Now, until very recently, CSM was the only junior college in the area, and you've just said it's almost totally a vocational school. Doesn't that penalize the community?

MANGANIELLO: No, you're talking about kids -- well, for one thing, you've got Stanford University in the immediate area, and not too far away you've got U.C. Berkeley, San Francisco State, San Jose State. Besides that, you're talking about a community -- San Mateo County -- that has the second highest per capita income in the state, Marin County being the first. You're talking about places like Hillsborough, Los Altos Hills . . . the Hillsborough area has Shirley Temple Black, the Bing Crosby family, people like that. That's the type of neighborhood, the type of income level, that you're talking about. Community colleges are of no use to them, not when they've got Stanford. They can send their kids just about anywhere they want.

PROCESS: So the function of a place like CSM in San Mateo County would be to provide vocational training for the middle and upper middle income kids who couldn't make it academically at places like Stanford.

MANGANIELLO: Right.

PROCESS: And by and large, until the College Readiness Program came in, most of the kids at CSM were pretty wealthy.

MANGANIELLO: Oh, yeah, no doubt about that. There's another large segment of the student body at CSM that's enrolled in the Business School. It's the second largest business school anywhere in the peninsula, second only to a private college in Menlo Park.

But it wasn't just that the Readiness Program was changing the orientation of the college. The kids in the programs were being politicized. One of the things that angered press, that angered the President and the police more than anything were the posters they found on the walls of the Readiness Center, posters of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Marcus Garvey, and I think there were a couple of Che Guevaras. This reportedly angered the administration very much; in some form of symbolic retaliation, I suppose, they made the Center the headquarters for the police when the police took over the campus the week before Christmas?

PROCESS: Let's backtrack a bit. What was the outcome of that sit-in back in October.

MANGANIELLO: The outcome was another game being played on us. The sit-in itself was rather effective because it got people sitting down and talking. The demands were presented, and out of the demands came the negotiations. They verbally granted several of the demands, and then turned around and never actually implemented them. So that's what led up to what they call the "riot" on December 13. The demands that were drawn up for December 13 were in fact nothing more than a re-wording of the original demands that had been given to them in October.

PROCESS: What sort of demands?

## DOCTOR HAYAKAWA'S NEXT DUTY AS SAMURAI (a tanka: to be chanted)

The flower is cut  
Your honor is a flower  
Why will it not bleed?  
If you cut open your heart  
Blood will wash out dishonor  
—Richard Gumbiner

MANGANIELLO: I mentioned some of them a while ago. There were financial demands, which I went into; curriculum demands -- there is no minority studies on campus as such; there's a black music course, I think, and an anthropology course, but that's it. The third was with regard to staff; they wanted Pat Sumi and myself, specifically, to be hired as counselors, but they also wanted four other counselors of their own choosing. The administration flatly refused to hire me, because of my political activism, and that was the reason they gave. They hired Pat Sumi, later found out that she was involved with a GI Peace March, and told her that she would have to find herself a replacement, and finally that this was her last day of work -- this was about three weeks after she started work.

PROCESS: They didn't give her a reason?

MANGANIELLO: No. There was another guy by the name of Ben Lazzada, that the kids wanted, who had an M.A. from the University of Missouri, in Latin American history. They held him dangling -- we're gonna hire you, we're not gonna hire you -- for about two weeks, then they found out he had been active in organizing the Delano grape strike, and they said he was too activist and he couldn't be hired.

PROCESS: They gave that reason?

MANGANIELLO: That was what they told HIM. It was very funny; with Bob, when they told him he was being reassigned after the December 13 thing, and he asked for the reasons to be presented to him in writing, the head of the Board of Trustees told him he could take notes. They wouldn't put anything in writing themselves; neither would they write down why they wouldn't hire me, or Ben Lazzada. All we can really believe is what I know they told me, and what Bob tells us, and what Ben Lazzada tells us.

### HOOVER FIRED

One of the reasons given in Bob's case is that he never took the side of the administration, he always took the side of the program -- which is a funny thing, he being the director of the program. They also said that he wasn't getting enough kids into vocational training -- we went into that before --, that he wouldn't tell the kids to leave the Administration Building on October 15, that the College Readiness Center was used to plan both demonstrations, the sit-in and the December 13 thing, that he was held responsible for the violence on December 13 -- I don't think he was even on campus that day. These are some of the reasons given.

You know, when they told Bob he wasn't putting enough students into vocational training, he kind of laughed and said, "I didn't know I had a quota." They said, "You don't, but you still should have put more students into vocational training." And of course he's been trying to tell them all along that black and minority students don't NEED that, that he was trying to meet the NEEDS of the minority students. They can't understand that.

PROCESS: How would you describe what happened on the 13th?

MANGANIELLO: Well, this was not a planned thing by a long shot. What happened was that there was a rally, then the demands were supposed to be presented and there would be a march around the campus. When this plan was announced at the rally, the administration promptly locked the building and sent the office workers home. This angered the students somewhat; the other thing was that there were about two or three hundred white students wearing blue armbands. They were harassing the minority kids all day that day. It was pretty tense; what finally touched off the violence was that a black girl was spat upon by two white guys inside one of the buildings. She fought them herself until some brothers came to her aid.

that was when things really exploded. Every window in at least three buildings was shattered; about twelve people were put in the hospital, including, I think, eight professors.

But that was not a political or in any way planned kind of an incident. It was mainly an emotional outbreak. Those kids were really pretty desperate by then. One story which particularly sticks out in my mind is one of the girls in the program -- she's 26 years old, a mother of three children -- the school had promised her \$140 a month to live on. Now, this is an incredibly paltry sum for a woman with three kids anyway. But after two months, completely without warning, her next check was \$12.75. All checks of any size were cut down so that the biggest check that was being given out was \$40. This was a result of that hassle in the financial Aids office over the summer.

PROCESS: And it was after the December 13 outbreak that Bob Hoover and Jean Wirth were fired?

MANGANIELLO: They weren't fired, actually, they were told they were going to be reassigned. In other words -- you see, it's really a hassle to fire somebody, but you can reassign them very easily. That is, you take someone who teaches anthropology, and you make him the football coach even though he's not qualified to do that. Then next year, when you have a losing football team, you say he's not doing his job and you refuse to renew his contract. That's exactly what's going to happen to Bob and Jean. Neither one of them expects to be there come the end of the year.

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## Fun with Ray.

By Stephanie Mines

The use of academic tenure as a political weapon by several departments at San Francisco State College during the strike has destroyed the illusion that the college is neutral ground. The most recent actions of the History Department have provided further evidence of this fact.

The History Department is a feudal castle in the BSS Building, ruled by a king or queen who takes orders from God. Two professors have been indicted by that monarchy recently -- history professor Lucille Birnbaum and Philosophy's Anatole Anton. They are but the newest in a long line of victims.

Lucille Birnbaum never kept her politics a secret from Department Chairman Ray Kelch. During the 1968 spring semester she took a leave of absence in order to finish up a manuscript she was working on and "to express my anti-war, anti-racism convictions by doing volunteer political work." That work consisted of serving as a press secretary for the fledgling Peace and Freedom Party, and then acting as coordinator of Dick Gregory's presidential campaign. Returning to State this fall, Professor Birnbaum immediately ran afoul of Kelch and his court. She was the only member of her department to object to a report on "college governance" prepared by the History Department faculty, criticizing it because it in no way dealt with the problems that were plaguing this institution. On November 4, two days before the strike, Chairman Kelch invited Professor Birnbaum to lunch. His purpose was to conduct an inquiry for the History Department's Hiring, Retention, Tenure and Promotions Committee (HRTP), of which he is not an official member. Kelch said he had serious questions about Birnbaum's "commitment to the life of the mind". He then proceeded to ask her views on the George Murray case and the impending strike. Birnbaum responded that she felt Murray had been unjustly removed from his teaching position and that she was sympathetic towards the strike and the demands of the black students.

Four days later, with the strike now in progress, Kelch summoned her to his office to ask if she was "supporting the strike by not meeting classes." She reiterated her support of the BSU and TWLF but said that she was meeting some of her classes off-campus. At that point Kelch informed her that the HRTP Committee had decided not to grant her tenure and that she had no recourse save to accept their decision.

The case of Anatole Anton is, if anything, a more blatant case of political retaliation. Kelch charged Anton with "unprofessional conduct" because of a letter Anton signed that was printed last August in the New York Review of Books. Anton's letter, which eight other professors -- from U.C. Santa Cruz, U.C. Riverside, the University of Arizona, and several California state colleges -- also signed, was brief and relatively innocuous. Essentially, it called for an investigation of the San Francisco State College History Department by the American Association of University Professors. It charged that the Department was "racist and reactionary" and that it had arbitrarily dismissed several of its professors. The Department's response was quick and ineffectual; it threatened a libel suit that never came off. Now Kelch, who shows no signs of taking the matter to court, is after Anton's job, and has sent the appropriate letter of condemnation to the Grievance committee of the Academic Senate.

How writing a letter concerning departmental matters to a national magazine could be construed as a crime is uncertain, since Marshall Windmiller, John Bunzel, Rudolph Weingartner, and several other prominent S.F. State professors have indulged in the same practice this year. What is really interesting about Kelch's move is the timing of it. Anton has publicly identified himself, as has Lucille Birnbaum, as a strong supporter of the strike. He is a vocal member of the AFT and a well-known faculty radical. He clashed with Kelch over the History Department's dismissal of Juan Martinez and Richard Fitzgerald. And presumably Kelch is taking advantage of the Hayakawa reign of terror to push through an action that wouldn't have a prayer of a chance under normal circumstances, to pay off an old grudge and put a vocal strike supporter -- two vocal strike supporters -- out of commission.

If it seems curious to Anton's philosophy students that they should be deprived of a competent teacher, they can take a few shreds of comfort from the fact that no department judges academic competence on the basis of a professor's success with his students. This college is not a place where learning is advanced but where political pay-offs are made. Birnbaum and Anton don't have the right politics and Kelch intends to make them pay for it.

Over the last two years no less than five history professors have lost their jobs for reasons which had nothing to do with their academic abilities. Mike Gardiner was hired as a teaching assistant by Lucille Birnbaum for the Fall '67 semester and retained by Birnbaum for Spring '68. The department quickly overruled her. Gardiner was one of about four-hundred students and faculty who entered the Administration Building on December 6, 1967, to protest the suspension of several students for political reasons and to press for student control of student publications. Shortly thereafter Gardiner received a phone call from Professor



Birnbaum telling him that he was out of a job. She had been informed by Joseph Illick, a high-ranking Department official, that Gardiner's grade point average was not high enough for him to remain in his position. Gardiner protested and informed Illick that his records showed him to have a grade point average of 3.0. The Department then claimed that this was not good enough. Obviously, the requirements for grade point averages for history t.a.'s is subject to constant reinterpretation since Gardiner had the same record when he was originally hired. In complete disgust, Gardiner transferred to Social Science Interdisciplinary studies.

The cases of Juan Martinez and Richard Fitzgerald are relatively well-known to the campus by now. Martinez had taught for nine years at the Arizona State University as a tenured professor when he was offered a job at San Francisco State where a "Latin American expert" was needed. Martinez took the job with the understanding that it was a permanent one.

When he arrived at State, Martinez responded to the needs of his students by arguing vociferously for Ethnic Studies courses. He complained about the absence of Chicanos on the student body. At the beginning of the Spring Semester, Martinez learned that the History Department's HRTP Committee had voted to give his permanent position to someone named Johnson. Martinez was then, and still is, the only Chicano on the faculty.

The Martinez case was a crucial issue in last May's sit-in; his retention was demanded by the Third World students. Kelch has never been able to answer the question of why Martinez was fired and black-balled from every department in the school. As a result of the May demonstration, Martinez was finally re-hired by President Summerskill, who left for Ethiopia the next morning. This year, though technically a faculty member, Martinez has not been permitted to teach any courses. One of the TWLF demands in the present strike is that he be permitted to teach "the history of la Raza."

The case of Richard Fitzgerald is probably the most deserving of our attention at this point because it sheds the most light on the inherent viciousness of the History Department's personnel policies and indicates how dirty and rotten the halls of academia are. Fitzgerald is convinced that the History Department refused to retain him as a result of his offer to sponsor a black studies course. The course, which was drawn up by the BSU and was to be taught by Roland Snelling, an acknowledged expert in African history and brilliant poet, was strenuously resisted by the department. They maintained that Snelling was "incompetent". Immediately after offering to sponsor the course Fitzgerald was summoned to Kelch's office and

charged with "unprofessional conduct." When he returned home that night, a letter was waiting for him; it directed him to disregard the previous letter of retention because he had not been re-hired. It is impossible to discover the official reasons for Fitzgerald's -- or anybody else's -- firing. The History Department's HRTP Committee meets in secret and keeps no records of any kind.

The History Department not only fired Fitzgerald but Kelch took it upon himself to sabotage Fitzgerald's attempts to get a job at Chico State College. When he heard that Fitzgerald was applying for a job at Chico State, Kelch told the History Department there that the American Federation of Teachers had found that Fitzgerald's grievances against the SFSC History Department were invalid -- a flagrant distortion of the AFT Grievance Committee's position.

Fitzgerald, like all of the professors discussed here, never kept his radical views a secret -- e.g., he openly opposed the firing of John Gerassi. He did not brown-nose the tenured members of the department, isolated and unable to defend himself against the invisible charges and an invisible tribunal, Fitzgerald found himself lashing out without coherent direction in his efforts to get his job back. That, of course, did not help his relations with fellow faculty members, who saw the protests of a man who knew he was being screwed as further evidence that he was "unprofessional." Fitzgerald is currently unemployed, and is teaching without pay for the Experimental College.

Lucille Birnbaum, Anatole Anton, Michael Gardiner, Richard Fitzgerald, Juan Martinez -- their cases did not take place in a vacuum. No formal investigation has ever taken place -- no one really knows why Gardiner, Fitzgerald and Martinez were officially fired. One thing, however, is crystal clear. They were not harassed because they failed with their students. All have good rapport with their students and excellent MAX ratings. The fact that Anton, Birnbaum, Fitzgerald, Gardiner and Martinez openly expressed their political positions -- positions that threaten the dirty little uptight men that run the History Department -- cannot be ignored. They were fired -- or, in the cases of Birnbaum and Anton are threatened with firing -- because they are politically and actively in favor of forcing the college to serve the needs of the community. They are young, inventive teachers who demand that the department revise its curriculum to make it more relevant and to encourage self-determination for students. This cannot be tolerated by the History Department or any other department because it leads to an eventual questioning of the whole college structure -- which, among other things, permits academic tenure to be used as a political weapon.

Could Ray Kelch withstand that kind of scrutiny?

## The rise of the AFT

From page 3

to the CCHE: Lorenzo Hoops, Vice-President and Director of Safeway stores; Robert Hornby, President and Chief Executive Officer of Pacific Lighting Corporation; and Kenneth Rearwin, Vice-President of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith. One of these "educational authorities" has no college degree at all, though he once took some courses at the Harvard School of Business Administration. The other two have business degrees and no more. Their qualification, obviously, lies in the fact that they happen to be a part of the corporate elite that controls the California economy. Rearwin and Hoops are tied together by interlocking Boards of Directors. Pacific Lighting is a holding company which interlocks with and overlaps a number of California corporations.

Such men are appointed by Democratic administrations in Sacramento as well as Republican ones. Charles Luckman, the most articulate member of the Neanderthal wing on the Board of Trustees (he recently declared in a Commencement address at San Diego State that the primary purpose of education was to fight communism), was appointed and subsequently reappointed by Governor Brown over the protests of the State College faculty. Luckman is a multi-millionaire architect whose creative energies tend towards designing elaborate military installations and urban renewal projects like the Bunker Hill Redevelopment Program, which made thousands of Los Angeles blacks homeless. In any case, the point is clear enough: the men who control California business and industry control California higher education, and it is not unreasonable to assume that they control it with the preservation of their own economic power in mind.

The final effect of the implementation of the Master Plan has been the slow emasculation of the State college system. The structure of the Master Plan allowed the Universities and the private colleges, both represented on the CCHE, to gang up on the state colleges. Private colleges were fearful of rising faculty salaries in the state colleges, since they would force the private colleges to shell out more to keep their own professors happy. The University wanted to maintain its dominance where graduate education and research were concerned. This would assure them of little or no competition from the state colleges for lucrative federal and other grants for special research and graduate programs. Together, the University and the private colleges managed to give the state colleges an undergraduate status and keep its faculty salaries at a bare minimum. Both Brown and Reagan enthusiastically pursued this policy of second-class citizenship for the state colleges, since it saved the state some money while lending a liberal arts facade to the state colleges, owing to the relative opening up of their curriculum.



THE SILENT GENERATION  
LEARNS TO WHIMPER

During the early years of the reorganization of the state colleges under the Master Plan, the AFT was a febrile voice in the wilderness. It was the only faculty group that was vocally critical of the Plan. Its eighty-odd members at S.F. State condemned it for relegating the state colleges to second-class status; moreover, they saw the newly created offices of the Chancellor and the Trustees, as well as the CCHE, to be serious stumbling blocks in the path of their long-range desire for collective bargaining. As a newly established union, however, the AFT also found the going difficult at the local level. There was (and still is) the entrenched faculty bias against trade unions, which are supposed to be "unprofessional." There was the fear on the part of tenured faculty that their positions in the academic hierarchy would be threatened by the union. Finally, there was a mistrust of the AFL-CIO from right-wing faculty (who saw it as "corrupt") and left wing faculty (who thought it was a sellout).

On the other hand, the overall tendencies of the state college system seemed to work to the AFT's advantage. Given the arbitrary power relationships of the college with respect to salary, workload, and personnel matters, a strong union offered perhaps the only means of protection for the individual faculty member. Collective bargaining would clarify lines of authority and give the faculty a means of asserting itself in a unified fashion. Many thought it only a matter of time before the union would come into its own, but as time passed and the humiliations increased, optimism was hard to come by.

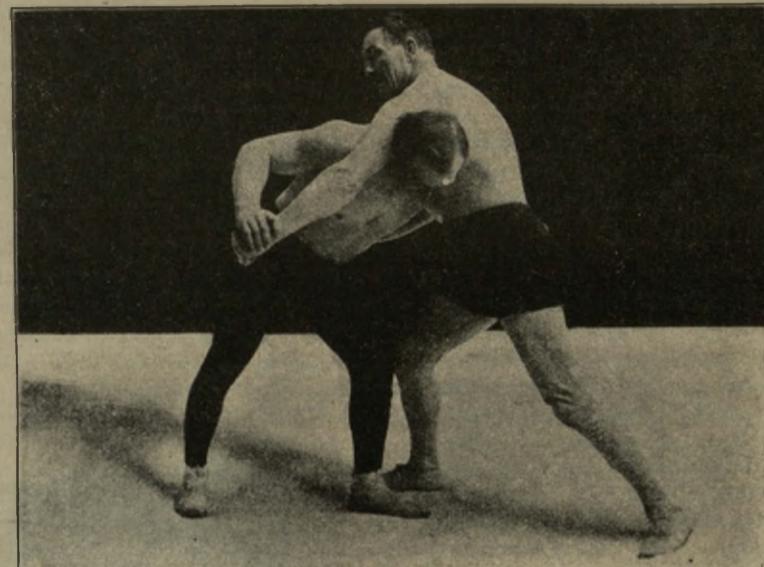
The first Chancellor of the state colleges, a sort of spiritual forefather to Robert Smith, lasted only seven months on the job. Then Glenn Dumke, then president of

S.F. State and co-author of the Master Plan, was given the job by Jesse Unruh and his political cronies. The AFT protested, again ineffectually. In 1964 Dumke got his revenge; the faculty received an across the board pay cut of 1.8% which violated the understandings under which most of them had been hired. Several AFT members took the matter to court and lost on the grounds that those understandings had not been in writing; in other words, the faculty had no legal contract rights.

Things began to pick up a bit in 1966 with the election of Reagan. The scourge of Academia tried to impose tuition on the state colleges and university, ostensibly as a reprisal for student activism. Actually Ronnie-babes

police during the December 6 demonstration. The AFT called for a full faculty strike in support of Summerskill, a suggestion which went over like a lead balloon. The union then quietly considered and quickly rejected the idea of going out on their own. And when Summerskill was finally fired by the Trustees at the height of the May sit-in, the AFT was nowhere in sight.

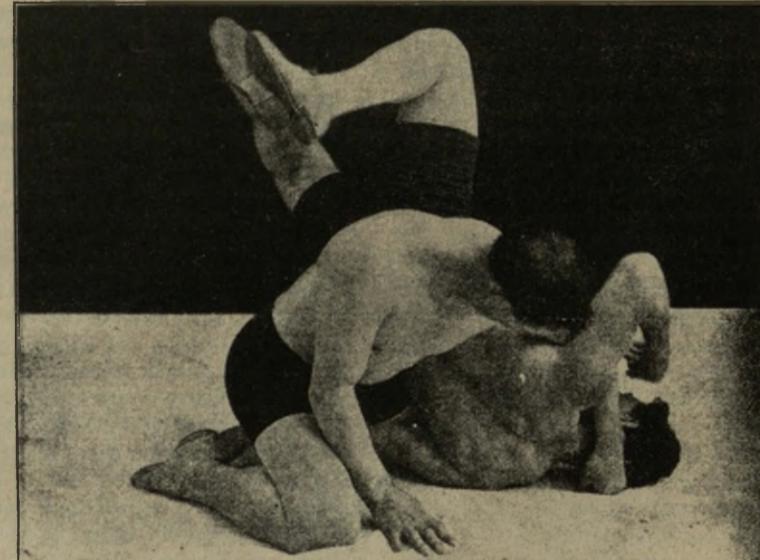
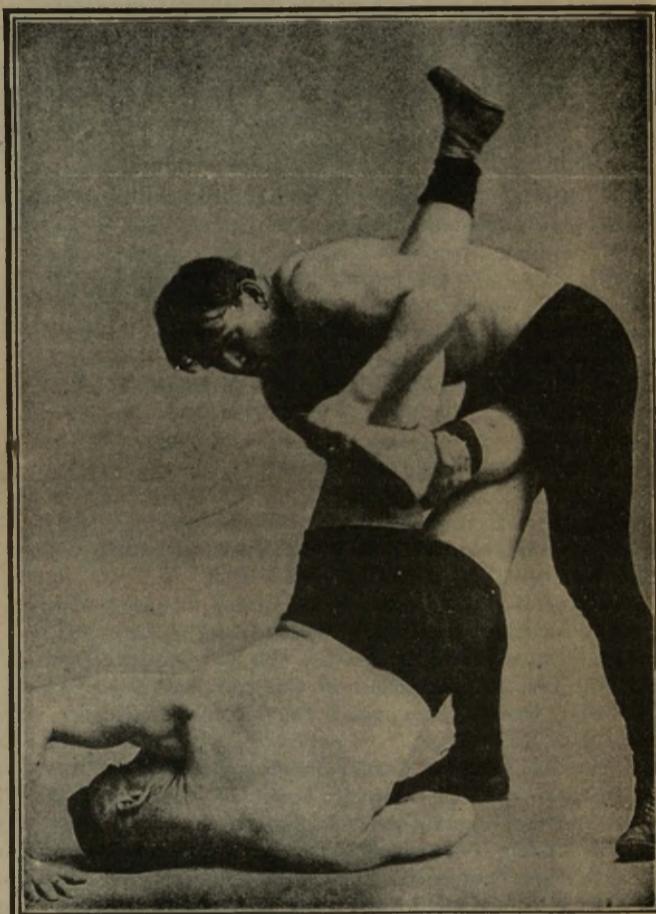
Fall 1968 found the AFT working on a merger with the ACSCP around the issue of the nine-unit teaching load. The merger seemed likely; only the details of it remained to be worked out when the student strike began on November 6. The AFT held back at first, but when the strike showed no signs of abetting after six weeks, the



was trying to resolve the fiscal crisis wrought by the inherent inconsistencies in the Master Plan, with its deliberate starvation of the state colleges and its uncertain tax base, by phasing out public-supported higher education in California altogether. Reagan's tuition scare caused students to raise their heads, but it was the AFT that made the first move. They called for a student-faculty March on Sacramento, then tried to manipulate its structure and political content for their own recruitment and propaganda purposes. Most of the skullduggery was initiated by the California high school AFT leadership, and when students protested, the state college AFT, including the S.F. State local, sided with the students, bringing things back under control.

After the march the AFT, in conjunction with the Association of California State College Professors, (ASCSCP), its rival organization, conducted a statewide collective bargaining poll. The AFT lost the statewide election, but won a plurality at S.F. State, where a minority voted for no collective bargaining at all. When the latter votes were re-cast in the run-off, the ACSCP won, but it failed to take advantage of its mandate and make any headway with the Trustees. No one felt like striking, so collective bargaining remained a chimera at S.F. State.

By 1967 the AFT had switched its attention to the faculty's work load, one of the heaviest in the nation. At S.F. State, 600 faculty signed a pledge not to teach more than nine units in the Spring 1968 semester, but spring came and went and no strike materialized. About this time President Summerskill was being raked over the coals by the Trustees for his failure to call in uniformed



### SEMANTICS

In the camps there were admittedly final solutions for most of the administrated personnel,  
But for some children nurseries  
With cartoon animals on the walls.

In Mississippi there's a town called Liberty,  
In Washington a department named Justice.

Flower Power: before a student is beaten by police,  
his college president gives him an orchid.

—Jefferson F. Poland

union waded into the fray with its own list of demands. On January 6, almost a decade after it was founded, the AFT officially went out on strike for the first time. It was the first faculty strike in the history of California higher education.

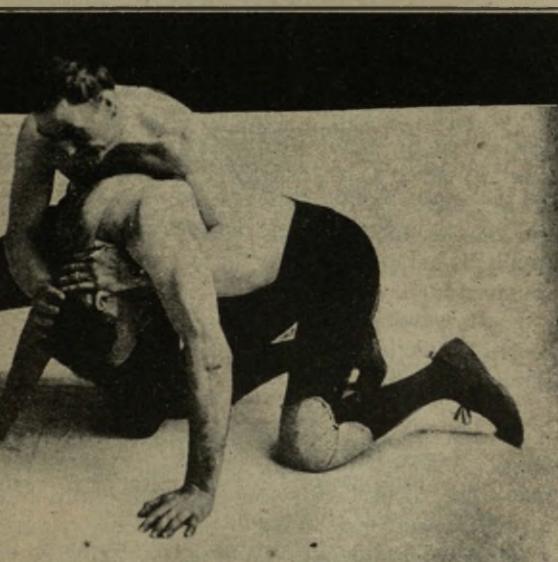
The actualization of the AFT strike and the demands underlying it can be considered as a radical move on the part of those participating faculty members. But there are serious questions about its relationship to the student strike. Initially, it is important to point out that without the development of the student strike, and the political ramifications it has caused throughout the state, the AFT could have never even begun to think in terms of striking. It was the momentum of the students that has given the AFT a new lease on life and that has demonstrated to AFT membership that a sustained non-compromising struggle can be waged against the powers that control the educational system in this state. In return, Third World students and their community allies would ask no less than the AFT's full support for their fifteen demands and their right to self-determination. Yet the AFT has avoided doing this; instead, one of their demands states

that the "Black students Union and the Third World Liberation Front grievances must be resolved and implementation assured." This, along with demands that the student union be approved and the proposed changes in Title Five be rejected, are the only AFT demands that relate specifically to students. Whether the AFT hangs tough on these demands remains to be seen. In the meantime, Third World students can only be suspicious of the AFT, for just as they entered into the struggle late, they may well decide to leave it early.

The differences between the student and faculty perspectives needs clarification in another important area . . . that of the nature of the two sets of demands. Some AFT members have maintained that their demands are more radical than those of the Third World students. From, say, a Trustee's perspective, and in an immediate sense, this statement has some validity; but there are underlying contradictions that need to be examined. The faculty, being the employees of the Trustees, quite naturally threaten them more directly when they demand a share of the power. They are closer to the Trustees within the context of the existing state college system.

They are--so to speak--the Mensheviks, seeking hopefully to resolve the contradictions of the system by enhancing their own power so as to reform it. The demands of the Third World students, on the other hand, can only have an opposite effect . . . that of heightening the contradictions; for they were conceived to give Third World students power over their own lives, not to make them share it with a bunch of reactionary businessmen and politicians. This distinction may seem to be a fine one at this juncture, but it may well become critical in the future.

Meanwhile, as the strike continues, the AFT could serve as a vehicle for spreading it to other state college campuses . . . something the Trustees and their allies fear. As employees, professors are in a much better position than students with respect to shutting down the machinery of a college. Moreover, they represent a valuable commodity to the labor establishment, which has its eye upon the growing unionization of public service employees. Hopefully, they will not follow the same pattern as their predecessors in the American labor movement; but then, that may be asking too much of history.



### STRIKE ISSUES OF THE SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE AFT, Local 1352

- I. Strike Issues Directed to the President and Administration at San Francisco State College:
  - A. Negotiation of and adoption of comprehensive rules and regulations governing:
    1. Grievance procedures related to faculty affairs.
    2. Personnel decisions (hiring, firing, tenure, promotion, demotion, suspension, lay-off).
    3. Conditions under which pay can be reduced or docked.
    4. Sick leave and other fringe benefits.
    5. Unit and class load assignments for full and part-time faculty.
    6. Stipulation of prerogatives and delineation of authority at various administrative levels.
    7. Guidelines and standards for professional perquisites (sabbaticals, travel, research leaves).
    8. Faculty involvement in decisions on academic matters (curriculum selection, assignment of faculty and staff, grading, graduation requirements, determination of calendar, admission requirements).
    9. Faculty involvement in decisions governing all local administrative matters (office space, parking).
    10. Recovery of faculty positions bootlegged for administrative purposes.
  - B. Protection of Constitutional Rights
    1. Amnesty for all faculty, students, and staff who have been suspended or have been subject to other disciplinary action and/or arrested, and withdrawal of outstanding warrants as a result of activity to end racism at San Francisco State College.
    2. No disciplinary action for exercising constitutionally protected rights.
  - C. Black Students Union and Third World Liberation Front grievances must be resolved and implementation assured.
  - D. All agreements on the above to be reduced to a written contract.
- II. Strike Issues Directed to the Trustees of the California State Colleges:
  - A. All agreements made with the local administrations under (I) above shall be binding upon and accepted by the Trustees.
  - B. Sufficient funds shall be provided from current reserve and emergency funds to:
    1. Maintain the present faculty positions (this will prevent the lay-off of 100-125 faculty in the Spring Semester, 1969).
    2. Gain new positions to replace those given by various departments and schools to staff a Black Studies Department and a School of Ethnic Studies.
    3. Protect the revised work loads presently scheduled in many departments for Spring, 1969, and assure the same for everyone who requests it.
  - C. Rescission of the ten disciplinary rules passed by the Trustees on November 26, 1968.
  - D. Approval of the Student Union plan presented by the Associated Students at San Francisco State College.
  - E. Cancellation of proposed changes in Title 5 that would take away student control of student body funds.
  - F. Recognition of college constitution that emerges from the Constitutional Convention called by the Academic Senate at San Francisco State College.
- III. Strike Issues Directed to the Governor and the Legislature:
  - A. That a special joint committee of the California State Assembly and Senate be appointed to conduct negotiations with the State College Board of Trustees and the Union to agree on systematic and continuing financing for the proposals under I and II above and to provide the necessary increases in salary required to maintain a qualified faculty at San Francisco State College.
  - B. That when the special Legislative Committee, the Board of Trustees, and the Union have reached agreement, the Committee report to the next session of the Legislature so that necessary monies may be provided to put the agreement into effect.

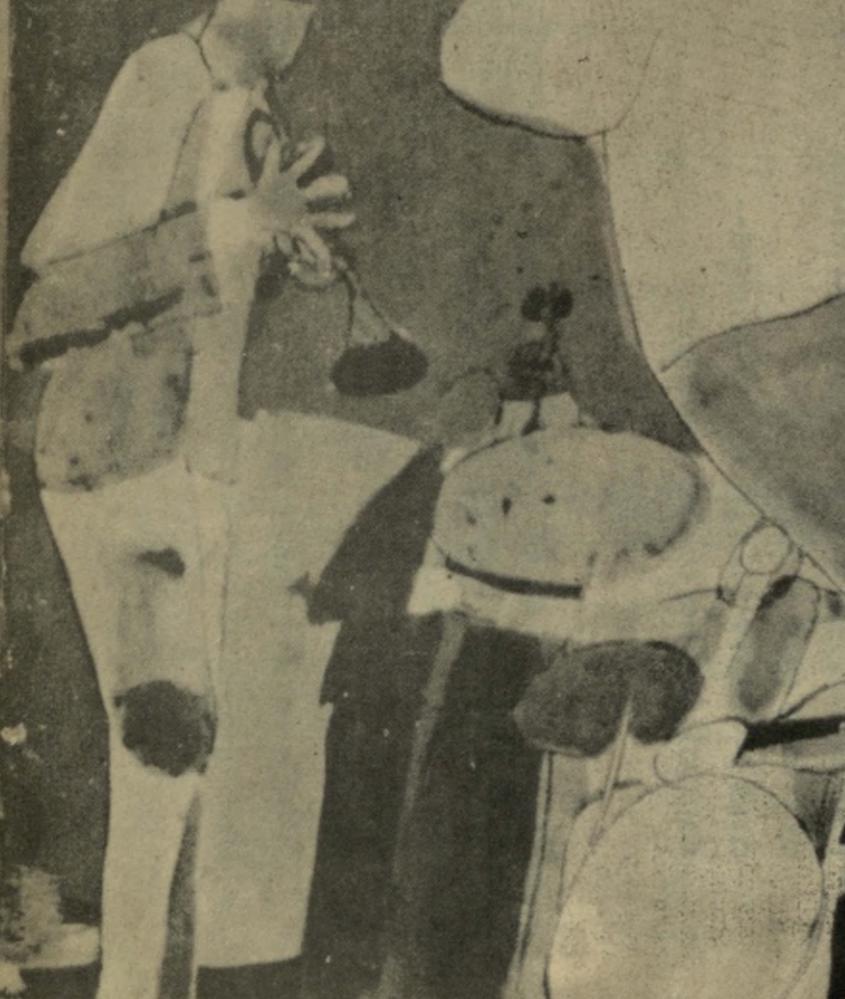


Once upon a song

STINGIN' freaks

HOWL

THE BLUES



all out  
Lollipops



Dancing on that sanded floor,

FOLK

you man

Foot Joy

Mother never told me  
HELL

Mother never knew.

TIME OUT  
LOVERS

Robert Frost is dead.

Whole land masses  
wretching to rid their sanitary countries  
of the Revolutionary Mind  
Adamant against the Truth spliced  
before their scurrying eyes  
Grasping shredded social standards  
tattered patches of Reason  
schedules, dockets, degrees, and condolences  
Goose-stepping to the dron and drone of  
mutilated mankind.

Mind masticating mouthpieces of hate  
puppeted parleying:  
nasal notations, anal analyses,  
redundant reiterations of objectivity.

Objectivity! I will go Mad  
before I tame this tongue  
to monkey mime.

Looming on their darkness  
screeching mouth spitting  
thorn torn and bleeding  
hollaring my sacraments  
to their trained ears--barking  
at the foreign feel of Truth.

A straight-jacketed caterpillar--  
my nation moaned for metamorphoses  
Cocooned crying to that democratic mirage  
long ago led us  
then spit a greasy moat at our feet  
that sprouted billion throned vines  
of thorn and thistle  
and swallowed the drawbridge--  
the toll being twice as high

Revelations of Revolution:  
that startled mad joy of day  
tossing its meadow mane  
leaping green and golden spilling  
from the sun  
When from concentration camps of chrysalis characterizations  
the Wings of Freedom rising  
naked to the noon.

Pam Edwards