

STRIKE

# open process



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## State Sails Off the Edge

by Bill Barlow and Peter Shapiro

The order from the Chancellor's office that George Murray be suspended may have been "unprecedented," to use President Smith's term, but it did not take place in a vacuum. Across the United States, the educational system is slowly being torn apart by its own internal contradictions. For years the schools have sought to perform a variety of functions: production of trained manpower, reinforcement of social stratification, technological research and development, ideological manipulation, and inculcation of young people with "acceptable" or "manageable" social values, prejudices, life-styles, and ways of looking at the world. In certain areas -- specifically, the ghetto schools -- they have even sought to be institutions of incarceration, keeping kids "off the streets." At the same time, they have tried to maintain the pretense of real education, occasionally redefining the concept of "education" to minimize the conflict between it and the social functions mentioned above. In any case, the ruse has failed miserably. A last ditch attempt to salvage the New York public school system with a Ford Foundation-inspired decentralization plan has resulted in a brutal and vicious teachers' strike which has thrown the city's schools into a state of chaos. San Francisco's high schools are also threatening to close, wracked with violence, racial turmoil, and disaffection, conflicts which show no sign of being resolved. Administrators threaten to "get tough"; teachers threaten to walk out; students, lacking the power of either teachers or administrators, search vainly for ways to articulate their grievances. Reagan and Raftery talk of "taking over" the University of California, which is going through a series of abortive upheavals. And

the Trustees of the California State Colleges, taking their cue from the politicians, have begun in earnest their systematic clampdown on any and all forms of student activism -- whether it be the anti-war agitation of SDS, the educational innovation and community organizing of the BSU and the student programs, or the simple and seemingly innocuous attempt by students to plan a human-oriented and badly needed college union in the midst of a stultifying campus environment.

In New York, perhaps, the conflicts have come closest to crystallizing. For some time it has been clear that the schools in urban ghettos like Harlem are in a hopeless situation. Thousands of black and brown kids have been forcibly removed, for six hours a day, from their daily lives and placed under the jurisdiction of petty functionaries who could not even begin to meet their needs, even if they wanted to. They wake up in the morning with rats and roaches crawling under the bed, dress and go to schools where they are told to accept a series of facts which are both totally alien and totally useless in terms of their daily experiencing. Failing to "learn," they suffer the consequences. Attempting to rebel, to make their needs known, they are met with repression. Driven further down, they respond with resentment, deliberate "stupidity," perhaps even minor acts of vandalism and violence. The institution tightens its grip; they must be "controlled" at all cost. The situation is self-perpetuating.

The rebellion against the schools became political. Parents recognized that their children were slowly being destroyed. Marches and boycotts were organized. The tactics became more extreme. A kind of small-scale civil war was imminent. Something had to be done.

The response of the Ford Foundation was a tentative plan for "decentralization," giving the community -- rather than the huge, unwieldy bureaucracy of the school district -- a measure of control over the schools. But this threatened the security of both the bureaucrats and the teachers. They fought decentralization tooth and nail and, when it was instituted, struck. They put themselves at loggerheads with the community. They charged anti-semitism (the teacher's union is predominantly Jewish). The community charged white racism. The Ford Foundation sat back and watched while two groups that have traditionally been exploited by the school system began to tear each other to pieces.

In San Francisco a similar situation seems to be developing. But the powers-that-be are considerably less enlightened or sophisticated than the Ford Foundation. The SFPD's notorious Tactical Squad patrols the hallways of Balboa High School. At Lincoln High, the cops are plainclothesmen, actually teachers imported from other schools. Isolated students perform isolated acts of violence, generally against teachers or fellow-students; lately, however targets have been selected a bit more carefully and deliberately. Poly students, meanwhile, tried to organize and did succeed in staging a peaceful and impressive march on City Hall. The reaction from Superintendent of Schools Robert Jenkins was apoplectic. "Student marches and demonstrations will not be tolerated," he said. "Police action will be requested whenever necessary and those responsible will be subject to prompt disciplinary action including permanent expulsion. We welcome sug-

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## Its Hit the Fan

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gestions, but students are in no position to make demands." Jenkins went on to blame "outside agitators" for the unrest in the schools, and concluded, "Unauthorized persons will not be permitted in school buildings and those who incite students or threaten teachers will be turned over to the police to be prosecuted."

(Incidentally, it is worth noting here that a group of Mexican-American students in Los Angeles who organized a successful student strike protesting the decimation of their cultural heritage by the school system were not merely expelled, but indicted for conspiracy).

### BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

The school system comes down hard on everybody, but it comes down especially hard on black people and brown people. While all students are victimized by alienation, manipulation, coercion and exploitation, minority students must suffer the additional indignity of being expected to permit their own social and cultural identities be rejected or wiped out completely while they accept as their own the white-middle class standards of their oppressors. They are at the bottom of the heap in American society, and the schools are one more means of insuring that they will stay there. In New York most white students attend private schools, a luxury few black or Puerto Rican parents can afford. Thus, the inferiorities of the public education system act most directly upon the minorities. In San Francisco, too, non-white students comprise over half the population of the public schools. Yet the colleges remain lily-white; even at SFSC, the ratio of non-white students is barely more than ten percent. This is not merely due to lack of tuition money. Minority kids come out of the ghetto schools totally unequipped to meet the necessary standards of college education. Most of them have been channeled into vocational training or courses for "slow learners" anyway. And it is not uncommon for black high school students to be unable to read simple English.

It was to this situation that the Special Admissions program, a concession won from the Administration during last May's sit-in, sought to address itself. The program would have created vacancies for 427 Third World students to enter the college with normal entrance requirements waived. Implementation of the program has been abortive, to say the least, 128 of the vacancies have remained unfilled, and the Administration is threatening to do away with the program entirely at the end of the semester, claiming a "lack of funds" to extend it. The Administration did loosen its purse strings, however, to provide the Athletics program with a generous sum of money, taken from the slush fund of the Frederick Burke Foundation, to make up for its loss of an Associated Students subsidy. The AS Legislature had decided it had better things to do with its money than subsidize the PE Department. The administration obviously has a different set of priorities.

Another program with similar purposes, the Black Studies Institute, is likewise being crippled by administrative chicanery. The rationale for Black Studies is essentially that there is no point in black or brown students coming to the college if the education they get there is basically an extension of the irrelevant tripe they got in high school. With the help of sympathetic professors, and in spite of intransigent and reactionary department heads like Ray Kelch, the BSU succeeded in setting up individual courses in various departments geared to the educational

needs of black students. But these courses are not coordinated under any kind of formal program that is recognized by the Administration. At the beginning of the semester the Department of Black Studies was "legitimized" -- in name only -- by President Smith, but it had no faculty, no curriculum, no power to grant degrees. And in an old fashioned display of Jim Crow, its coordinator, Nathan Hare was given a salary which was only two-thirds the size of that of the lowest paid white faculty members with comparable jobs. Efforts to get the program operating on a de facto basis have been met as ever with chronic talking.

Much of the delays on both the Black Studies and the Special Admissions programs have been due to arguments over who should control them -- the students or the Administration. But the sacking of the Special Admissions program has its own unique significance. The program was adopted, not in the usual manner, on the administration's terms, but because a group of militant students sat down in the Administration Building and "disrupted the normal functions of the university." Another concession won by the student demonstrators was that Professor Juan Martinez be rehired by the College; Martinez was given a salary all right -- but he has not been permitted to teach any courses. The College is presently dropping \$14,000 of the taxpayers' money down a manhole essentially to prove a point: that there is nothing to be gained by the exercise of "student power", that is disruptive tactics do succeed in getting concessions from the powers that be, that success is only momentary because the administration reserves the right to undo it all once the demonstrations have abated. And if it doesn't kill a program, it reserves the right to dictate its scope and direction by assuming full control of it. President Smith is engaging in a kind of agit-prop theater, one which attempts to instruct its audience in the True Nature of Power.

Smith's attitude has nothing to do with any intrinsic merits or demerits of the Special Admissions program. But its consequences are still deadly. One of the things George Murray said in his speech in the Commons last Monday that the sensationalized newspaper accounts of it did not mention, was that the white power structure continues to determine which black students may go to school, how high a level of education they may attain, what form their education will take, and what cultural/political/social bias it will attempt to promulgate. If this doesn't meet the needs of black people, too bad. It does meet the needs of the white power structure, whose principal aim is to see to it that the existing power relationships in our society will remain unchallenged. As it happens, under "the existing power relationships," black people don't seem to have any power. As it happens, neither do students.

### CHANCELLORS AND TRUSTEES

A few weeks ago, Chancellor Dumke was extensively interviewed by "U. S. News and World Report". The overriding theme of the interview was (you guessed it) law and order, and how it should apply to American campuses. Dumke predicted that a new day was about to dawn in the California State College System. Protestors and agitators would be expelled. Violations of college law would not be tolerated. Moreover, the Trustees and the Chancellor intended to assume strict control over student activities in order to assume strict control over student activities in order to insure that the State College campuses not be

taken over by a tiny minority of "communists, anarchists and nihilists" whose credo was disruption for its own sake. It was a typically American rationale for repression, yet the events of the past few weeks tend to demonstrate that Dumke had others in mind in addition to the small "anti-social" minority. For he and the Trustees now seem intent on coming down on students in general, and specifically on those student activities which assume some amount of cultural and political autonomy.

The initial indication of this was the Trustees handling of the proposed SFS College Union. After students had voted to finance the Union from their own pockets, after they had hired a world renowned architect (Moshe Safdie) and sunk \$100,000 into the groundwork for his proposed structure; after all this, the Trustees voted to throw the whole thing out because it wasn't "comparable with the present architecture at SF State". Dudley Swim, who led the fight to have Safdie's plan rejected, went so far as to say that students at State "didn't deserve" a new college union . . . even if they were willing to pay for it themselves. Swim, a recent Reagan appointee to the Board, has also set himself up as high censor of student publications, in order to insure that they don't abuse "college policy". He has already attempted to suppress the Long Beach State publication that ran an article about growing pot; and it is certain that much more will be heard from Mr. Swim in the near future.

With the College Union disposed of, the Chancellor and the Trustees are already moving on another front. Undaunted by the defeat of the Harmer Bill in the State Legislature, the Chancellor's office has drafted an even more sweeping proposal. Where the Harmer Bill would have subjected the administration of student body funds to outside control, the Chancellor's proposal attempts to bring not only student funds, but also most student activities, under the jurisdiction of the Trustees and/or the Chancellor. Every budgetary item, every student activity or organization would have to be approved by them; and nothing could be approved if the Chancellor or the Trustees felt it to be contrary to "college policy". A full analysis of this proposal can be seen on page six (Back to In Loco Parentis); suffice it to say for now that if implemented, The Chancellors proposal could virtually wipe out the Experimental College, the Black Students Union, the Community Involvement Program, TWLF, MAX, the Community Services Institute and the Tutorial Program. Moreover, it would end student control of the Bookstore and Commons, and it would seriously cripple all student publications.

In addition, the Chancellor's office has also prepared a revision of Title 5, section 41301 of the Administrative Code, regarding student discipline. The proposal revision spells out seven conditions for the suspension or expulsion of students, most of which are directly related to political demonstrations. These include "disruption of the normal functions of the college", "unauthorized entry into college property", "damage to property . . . under the control of the Board of Trustees", and "failure or refusal to comply with the directions of college personnel". Yet even with these new reprisals due to be passed on by the Trustees this month, the Chancellor has found it politically expedient to suspend George Murray in such a manner that the true nature of his ambitions and his use

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# Fanon

by Bill Barlow

## Part II

### III.

THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH is the culmination of Frantz Fanon's inquiry into the nature of racism, colonialism and revolution. It is most likely his greatest intellectual accomplishment, for not only does it contain a devastating analysis of the colonial Weltanschauung, but it also projects a theoretical framework for revolutionary activity that speaks directly to the peoples of the Third World. In Fanon, the Third World finds a formidable and indigenous ideologue; a man who warns them that they must close ranks in their quest for a new order, or else they will never totally be free of the encroachments of Western Civilization. Yet even with unity, Fanon is the first to acknowledge that the struggle will be a long and painful one. It will necessarily be violent, and its unfolding will yield both setbacks and incomplete triumphs. This is to be expected, for the stakes are nothing less than the total redirection of world history. It is only through such a collective endeavor that Fanon can visualize the salvation of the man of color. Only the transcendence of present historical conditions will allow man to rediscover himself; and the rediscovery is essential so that he may finally come to terms with this humanity in a humane world.

Those present historical conditions which Fanon finds so intolerable are best epitomized by the colonial world. This world is divided into two mutually antagonistic segments -- that of the settler and that of the native -- which creates, in Fanon's own words, a "Manicheis impasse." Historically, the settler brings the native into existence by establishing colonialism; and he also owes his own existence (property) to the colonial system. Functionally, the settler must deny liberty to the native since he constitutes a threat to the settler's existence by desiring something other than the colonial system. The native, for his part, can only gain his freedom by destroying the settler. In this manner, each comes to represent evil to the other. Within this impasse come the police and the soldiers who function as the institutionalized agents of the settler. These emissaries do not seek to hide the domination and exploitation of colonialism; they not only speak the language of pure force, but also bring the atmosphere of violence into the realm of the native. In this context, violence becomes a natural condition of the colonial situation.

Colonial manicheism solidifies by completely dehumanizing the native; he becomes the negation of colonial values. His response is often an attempt to avoid the reality and humiliation of colonialism by engaging in tribal conflicts. Yet even such clashes serve to open up the question of armed resistance. The very conditions of poverty and humiliation create an inherent revolutionary potential, for the native cannot help but envy the settler's possessions, and such envy eventually yields to the desire to take them by force.

This desire of the natives to reclaim what is rightfully theirs is one of the primary factors that leads them into the use of violence. On a psychological level, Fanon maintains that individual violence by the native against his oppressor is a cleansing process. "It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect." The extension of this is that it is integral to the creation of revolutionary consciousness. The dialectic of violence between the native and the settler unifies revolutionary commitment. Through action comes responsibility, and through conscious struggle a sense of collective identification is developed. The natives become aware of their common cause, national destiny, collective history -- in short, they begin to rediscover their own humanity. Colonial manicheism then becomes a potent weapon in the struggle for liberation, for the settler becomes the absolute enemy. At the heart of the drive for decolonization is the substitution of one species of man -- the native, for another species -- the settler.

The utilization of violence in the native's struggle for freedom can lead to serious reversals if it is seen as a panacea for colonial domination. While Fanon points out that the spontaneous eruption of native violence can initially be enlightening, he sees its persistence on that level as disastrous. When the native demonstrates his unwillingness to tolerate oppression, it is essential that he come to understand the nature of his rebellion, and that his use of violence must be organized if it is to be effective:

"Violence organized and educated by committed leaders makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives them a key to their liberation."

Violence is not only a weapon to use against colonialism, but when it is organized it also provides education and discipline for the native. In addition, the coming of the use of organized violence against the colonial structure sets the process of decolonization in motion, and its repercussions are felt throughout the colony.



Fanon's initial concentration on the situation of the native in a colonial society is the result of his belief that the native must be the basis of any revolutionary movement to overthrow colonialism. He does not see the native as a monolithic class of all people living under colonial rule, any more than he sees the settler as the only class of colonialists. They are, rather, most representative of the total situation; for they tend to set the context for both the dialectic of colonialism, and the roles that other social classes assume in a colonial society.

Crucial to any colonial structure is the role of the national bourgeoisie. In his analysis of this social grouping Fanon contends that they are essentially created by Western capitalism for consumer purposes, hence the total destruction of colonial capitalism will serve to dislocate them. Their privileged status in colonial society allows them to solicit the support of the native population through their political parties. This helps them to strengthen their political position, but it also tends, unwittingly, to awaken the natives to their oppressive situation. Since the national bourgeoisie have a real stake in the colonial system, they attempt to deal with colonial problems by advocating reform and accepting compromise with the colonial regime. Though they are often honest nationalists, they are rarely revolutionary in any real sense.

The political parties of the national bourgeoisie are modeled after their European counterparts to such an extent that they establish organizational priorities over social ones. Primarily urban centered, they court a native proletariat which is usually a small minority in the colonial society. In their attempts to promote westernization along the lines of the mother country, the national parties develop a deep distrust toward the rural masses who remain closest to the heritage of the traditional society. The rural natives, in return, distrust the imposition of any urban leadership or orientation. This antagonism results in the separate development of both urban and rural movements, and their lack of conciliation forestalls national unity and liberation. Moreover, the privileged position of the national parties in associating with the colonial regime produces in them an ambivalence toward the very notion of national liberation. "Inside the nationalist parties, the will to break colonialism is linked with . . . that of coming to a friendly agreement with it. Another social grouping that Fanon attaches significance to is the lumpen-proletariat:

"that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people."

The precarious social position of this group, fatally hovering between rural and urban identification, produces its erratic traits. If worked with by the advocates of national liberation, the lumpen-proletariat will line up solidly behind the revolution. But if ignored, they are apt to be manipulated into fighting for colonialism as paid mercenaries. Such divisive potential can only be overcome through this new historical stage that nationalism can lead to

extensive political education. Fanon holds that the revolutionary conversion of the lumpen-proletariat is a historical necessity if the revolution is to run its desired course.

The successful achievement of national liberation results in a new set of circumstances which can leave the revolutionary needs of the total population unfulfilled. Because nationalism is usually the common denominator in the ousting of colonialism, its inherent liabilities only become visible after independence has been accomplished. It is at social and political stagnation unless it has committed itself to a revolutionary program that will completely overhaul the society. Fanon maintains that it is the national bourgeoisie who are instrumental in bringing about this stagnation. Initially ambivalent toward national liberation, the national bourgeoisie join the struggle once the polarization between the colonialists and the colonized becomes ominous. With the arrival of independence they are inevitably best situated to take over from the colonial regime, but their assumption of power parallels their establishment of a bourgeoisie ideology fortified by nationalism. Since their experience has been one of identifying with Western society, they continue to emulate their former mentors. Class rigidity, neo-colonialism and piecemeal reforms are predictably the results of their endeavors.

While Fanon is firmly convinced that this phase of national bourgeoisie ascendancy is destructive, and suggests that it is up to the masses and the revolutionary intellectuals to undercut its entrenchment, he is hard pressed to define a practical solution given the underdeveloped conditions in the Third World. The pervasiveness of poverty in the Third World as opposed to the opulence of Western Civilization creates a serious dilemma for those nations achieving their independence. The capitulation of colonialism exposes their true economic condition, and thereby makes it all the more unendurable. If the colonialists withdraw everything, the new nation faces literal starvation; if they are allowed to continue their economic activities, the new nation faces neo-colonialism. Fanon's only immediate solution to this dilemma is that there must be a total redistribution of wealth in the form of colonial reparations. As for the future direction of the Third World, it is not simply a problem of choosing between capitalism or socialism. Both of these systems have not only been defined by the West, but they have also evolved into camps which now struggle for hegemony in the world. Though Fanon finds socialism to be the more humane alternative, he recognizes that it must be defined within the cultural context of the liberated nations if it is to provide a viable alternative to mankind.

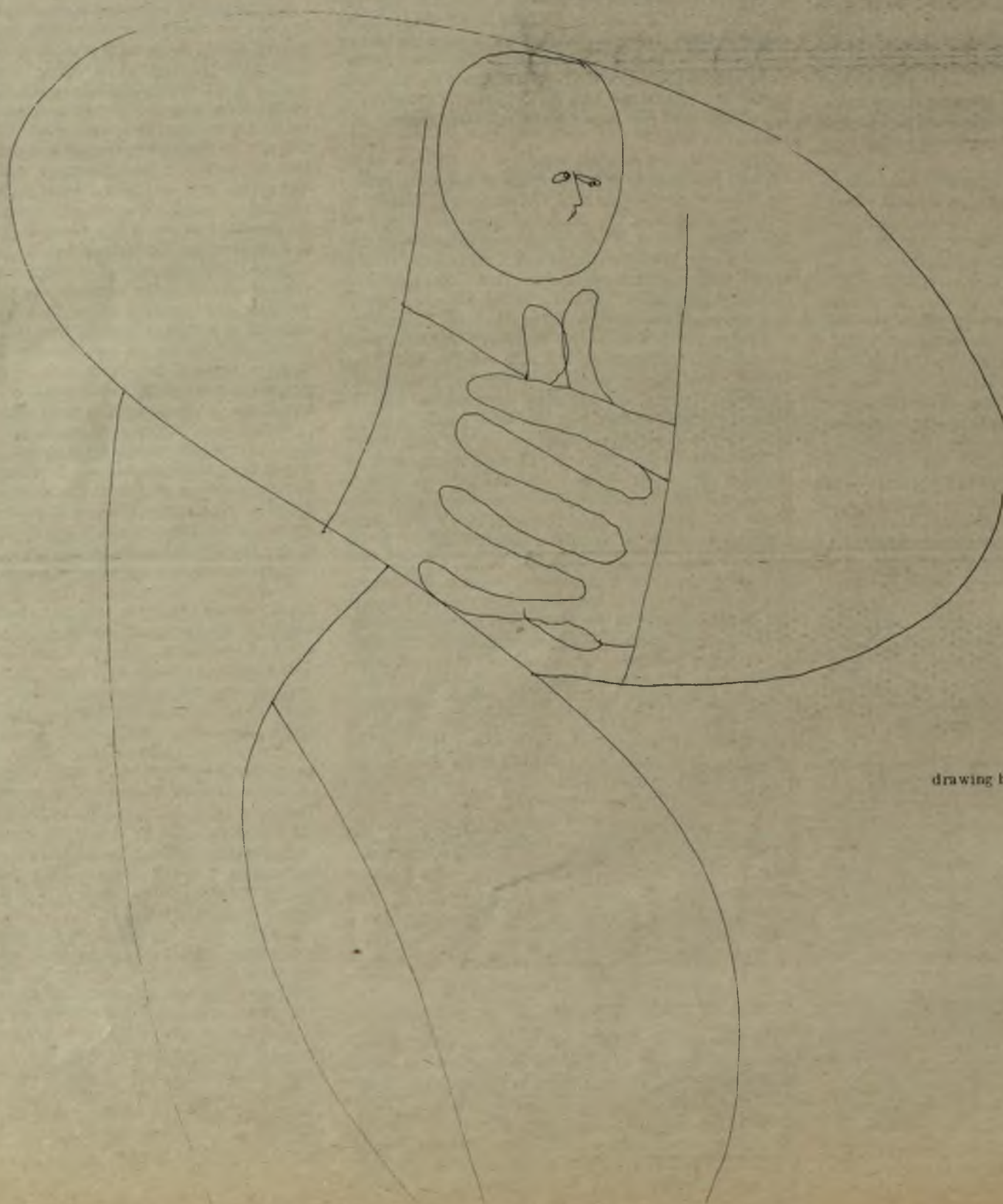
If culture is to constitute the foundations on which the new social orders are to be built, then it must have a reciprocal relationship to the potential of the people it defines. The reciprocity cannot be created by a culture that relies on a racial or a historically nostalgic matrix; instead, it must open up the future by affirming consciousness and hope. Since colonialism is still the decisive factor in the condition of the Third World, a national culture in this area should exist as the basis of the struggle for liberation. In this sense, culture must essentially be the expression of a national consciousness -- one that takes on revolutionary connotations:

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photo by Michelle Bain



drawing by Genie Reilly





## TOTAL CONFUSION OF NONsenCE

*The tranquillities that surround me,  
Are enourmously attainable, because  
The never ending soaring trails, of  
Problems and desent, are winding their  
Way through the corresponding cells  
Of my ever-so confused mind.*

*But in time, the elevated staircase,  
Leading to success and self-understanding  
Will be reached.  
And upon meeting others; superficially  
Absorbed in their predawned environments  
A lesson you should teach.*

*The patent pending elements of Life  
Itself are enriched.  
The scorching sun is visibly clear now;  
Birds are gliding freely now;  
The flower on its way to maturity,  
Blooming in bountiful buds.  
The jets and artificial spaceships,  
Always seeming to zoom,  
The sound which occurs  
Enters the mind, recklessly journeying;  
Up and down, till at last, the mind bending screech  
And HALT.*

*Love is kind, until the deserted victem  
Falls down through the crevice of lovesick feelings.  
Love is blistered;  
But after the painless swelling,  
And waterless tears are shed,  
Love occurs once more—  
Begging all to stay,  
And redeem the freshly frozen air,  
of thoughts swept through a drafty mind.*

*All is lost, yet constantly, Flashes;  
Colorless scenery of the past.  
Your hope revived you pray that next  
Acquaintance will not be of superficial inclination,  
To destory and mutilate your soulful heart.*

Joyce Bruger

photo by David Calloway





## Back to "in loco parentis"

A Student Position Paper on the Chancellor's proposed "Guidelines and Policies for Operation of Auxiliary Organizations."

The recently released proposal by the Chancellor's office on auxiliary organizations is a direct attempt to control the educational functions and activities of state college campus organizations by placing them entirely under the jurisdiction of the political appointees on the Board of Trustees. It is no accident that student organizations have been specifically singled out as the target of this proposed revision of the State College System's decision making structure. Just as the University of California Regents have effectively destroyed the fiscal autonomy of the Berkeley Associated Students, as well as the right of students and faculty to determine their own curriculum; so now the Chancellor and the trustees are moving to secure absolute power over the direction and content of student programs, be they campus or community oriented. We see this as part of a statewide political assault on student activism by a reactionary state power structure, one consciously conceived to emasculate the growing political strength of students in the State College System. Not only does the Chancellor's proposal threaten to wipe out whatever power and self-determination that auxiliary organizations (i.e. student organizations) have managed to gain over the past few years; but it also attempts to undermine local control of the educational process by centralizing the decision making powers over college activities into an administrative hierarchy ruled over by the Chancellor and the trustees.

This is not the first time that an attempt has been made to cripple student politics by utilizing the concept of auxiliary organizations. In April 1968 the Harmer Bill was introduced in the State Senate. Central to this bill was the formulation of rigid regulations and restrictions affecting all auxiliary organizations in the State College System. There were, and still are, basically three categories of organizations which qualify for auxiliary status as originally defined by the Chancellor. First, "student associations" such as student governments and those related student organizations which use the resources of the college or the student governments. Second, "non-profit corporations" that operate such commercial activities as food service and bookstore. And third, non-profit foundations which receive grants to conduct educational programs such as the Frederick Burke Foundation. Though the Harmer Bill died in the State Legislature, its basic assumptions were incorporated into the present proposal being pushed by the Chancellor's office. The only major difference is that where the Harmer Bill placed the control of auxiliary organizations in the hands of the Trustees and the State Director of Finance, the Chancellor's proposal gives that same authority to the Trustees and the Chancellor.

The major political thrust of the Chancellor's proposal is contained within the draft of the "Proposed Revision of Administrative Code Title 5, Subchapter 5, Auxiliary Or-

ganizations." On the first page of this section of the draft, the following paragraph has been deleted:

Because, however, self-government in student affairs is desirable and because some activities cannot be operated effectively and without undue difficulty under the usual governmental budgetary, purchasing, and other fiscal controls, activities may be undertaken by an auxiliary organization in order, in the former instance, to foster self-government in student affairs and in the latter instance, to provide effective operation and to eliminate the undue difficulty which would otherwise arise under such controls.

In the context of the revision, the deletion of this entire section serves to deny students their right of autonomy and self-government while participating in their own organizations. As a substitute for this section of the code, the Chancellor's office has drawn up a set of bureaucratic procedures, ostensibly to provide fiscal and managerial guidelines for student organizations.

However, the real intent of the substitution becomes evident on the second page of the proposed revision. Here, the State College president is appointed "to exercise his responsibility over the entire college program, he shall have the authority to require that all auxiliary organizations operate in conformity with the Board of Trustees and college policy." This authority is manifested in the following passage:

... the president shall require that such auxiliary organization submit its programs and budgets for review at a time and in a manner specified by the president. Should the president determine that any program or appropriation planned by an auxiliary organization is not consistent with Board of Trustees and college policy, the program or appropriation shall not be implemented. Further, should a program or appropriation which had received approval, upon review, be determined by the president to be operating outside the acceptable Board of Trustees and college policy guidelines, then that program or appropriation should be discontinued by direction of the

president until further review is accomplished and an appropriate adjustment is made.

The above two sections spell doom for student organizations, insofar as they function in any manner which is displeasing to the Board of Trustees. Since the Trustees have the ultimate authority to set all college policy and since, in fact, they are political appointees functioning as the ruling elite of the entire State College System, any move to bring student organizations under their tutelage serves to relegate the organizations to a position of subservience by subjecting them to the whims of the Trustees' political judgments. And by appointing State College presidents as the enforcers of the Trustees' policies the Chancellor's office expands the powers of its police force, while fostering the illusion of campus autonomy.

To insure that student organizations "shall conform to college policy with respect to all of its activities and functions," the Chancellor's office suggests that "the president of the college shall have representation or membership on the governing body of all auxiliary organizations." (Underlining indicates additions to the existing code). And if this wasn't enough, the proposal further delineates that "No new auxiliary organization shall be established after January 1, 1969, unless a recommendation accompanied by a justification is submitted by the president of the college, and approval is given by the Chancellor of the California State Colleges."

With the sustained growth of student participation in their education and communities over the past few years, there is an increasing necessity for greater decentralization and sharing of institutional controls by those individuals directly involved in the college. The Chancellor's proposal is an extremely sophisticated and well-organized plan to thwart this present trend of student activism by instituting a system of hierarchical decision making and centralized policy, buffered by administrative bureaucracy. Under the present provisions of the proposal, all current and future student activities and finances could only be conducted with the express approval of the Chancellor and/or the Board of Trustees. In addition, no new educational venture within the State College System would be initiated unless it conformed with State College policy as defined by the Chancellor. Since the sections of the proposal quoted in this paper did not previously apply to student associations, it is our conclusion that the Chancellor is consciously reacting to the increasing political development of students by attempting to strangle any radical innovation and direction in student organizations. Therefore, we categorically oppose the Chancellor's proposal, and urge all students to resist its implementation.



photo by Jeffrey Chop



## Know Your Faculty

(A Statement by URBAN WHITAKER, Democratic Nominee for Congress, San Mateo County).

By calling for "guns on campus" George Murray is doing more to hurt the cause of justice for Black people than any other person, Black or White, in the San Francisco State College community. I want to urge him, publicly and fervently (SIC) to retract his suggestion (reported by the San Francisco Chronicle, October 29th) that students bring guns to the campus on November 6th. Mr. Murray and other students and faculty members have strongly opposed having guns brought to the campus by policemen. I cannot imagine how he can justify the presence of guns on campus in the hands of anybody else. Guns have no educational function. They are instruments of intimidation which could easily become instruments of violence. George Murray's own recent statements about the desirability of killing and putting bullets in people's heads have provided an especially dangerous environment into which he now proposes to bring guns. I strongly agree with Mayor Alioto that if there is not a law against guns on campus there ought to be. And if the LAW does not prohibit guns on campus, GOOD SENSE ought to.

The Black Students Union has the greatest vested interest in campus racial peace of any group in this academic community. If the news report is accurate, Murray is jeopardizing every gain which has been made by the Black Students in many months of hard and productive work. If the report is not accurate, I hope that he will deny it quickly and firmly.

I am in the closing days of a long political campaign. I have been losing votes for months by telling predominantly White audiences that race relations is the No. 1 problem of this country and that White Americans must "go an extra step" to help Black Americans break out of the vicious circle of poverty and discrimination. Mr. Murray's dangerous and irresponsible demagoguery makes that argument look silly to thousands of people who otherwise would be willing to help. I am not as interested in winning votes as I am in getting people to realize how desperate the race relations problem has become and how much they ought to be doing to solve it. I call upon George Murray to abandon the calculated emphasis on intimidation and violence which has characterized his recent leadership (SIC). I urge him to consider the incalculable harm which his call to arms may do to all people, Black and White, on November 6th. Only if he is willing to work without a gun can we preserve the major gains of the past year and hope to move forward. And only if he is willing to work without guns on campus should he expect to remain on campus -- as an instructor, or a student, or at all (SIC). We have lots of room for ideas. We have stretched the room for his particular ideas. But there is no room for guns or intimidation or violence. And if these are his tools, there can be no room for him.

NOTE: Urban Whitaker is a Professor of International Relations at the College. He delivered these remarks during a speech in San Carlos, October 30th, at a "Candidates Night" sponsored by the First Baptist Church. Whitaker was Chairman of the Faculty Committee which recommended the suspension and subsequent dismissal of John Gerassi, the instructor who led the student break-in at the College Administration Building last December. Shortly after the Gerassi suspension Whitaker was threatened with assassination and the College was forced to abandon plans for him to teach the remainder of one of Gerassi's courses.



No matter where you march in this parade, you're a killer Army leadership, gives you the confidence people respect.

**BOYS and GIRLS!**  
You can Help your Uncle Sam  
Win the War



Save your Quarters  
BUY WAR SAVINGS STAMPS

PLACE  
STAMP  
HERE

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"The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or content of the people's culture.

It is through this process that Fanon sees the emergence of a new humanism . . . one constructed in defiance of Western Civilization, yet ultimately saving it from its own inhumanity. In struggling to free itself from colonialism, the Third World must also transcend the artifacts of Western culture; and from this metamorphosis will crystallize the missing dimensions in the quest for a humane world. "It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this two-fold emerging is ultimately the only source of all culture."

NOTE: Open Process  
will publish an issue  
next week.



## Strike Demands

- 1) *The Black Studies Department be able to grant a B.A. degree in Black Studies.*
- 2) *Hare receive a salary "comparable" to his qualifications.*
- 3) *Unused slots for black students in Fall, 1968 be filled in the Spring.*
- 4) *All black students wishing to enter S.F. State in Fall 1969 be admitted.*
- 5) *20 full time teaching positions be allocated to Black Studies.*
- 6) *Helen Bedesem be replaced as Financial Aid Officer by a Third World person.*
- 7) *No disciplinary action be taken against students, faculty, staff, or administrators as a consequence of their participation in the strike.*
- 8) *The Board of Trustees not be allowed to dissolve any black programs on or off the campus.*
- 9) *Retention of George Murray.*

## Strike Demands

### The meaning of the "Murray Crisis"

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of authority become clear. The question relevant to the Murray suspension, besides its legality, is not who has the authority to suspend; but rather why the suspension took place when it did?

#### THE MURRAY CASE

On the surface, George Murray was suspended because of the content of a speech he made in the Commons last week. Those who heard the speech, and who are familiar with the rhetorical style that Murray and other Black revolutionaries have been using for the past year, know that it was essentially a demand that the administration end its subtle strangulation of the Black Studies program. Readers of the Chronicle and Examiner, however, heard no such thing; they were told only that Murray had advocated an armed attack on college officials in conjunction with the Black Student's strike on November 6th. On the basis of this "information," Dumke issued orders to can Murray, various law enforcement agencies began "criminal investigations" which came to nothing, Mayor Alioto made a series of inflammatory statements, and President Smith "defied" Dumke for a total of twenty-four hours.

Of course, Murray's "crimes against the state of California" are many. He is the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party; he advocates that Black people should carry guns for self-defense; he took a trip to Cuba this summer; and he maintains that the men who control the institutions of this state are racists in need of being "offed" by whatever means necessary. It is basically for these "crimes" that Murray is being prosecuted. Not for unlawful activities or "unprofessional conduct," but because he maintains a political perspective and is identified with a political party both of which are anathema to the prevailing ideology of this country. If nothing else, the controversy over Eldridge Cleaver at U.C. Berkeley should have indicated that the moment Murray opened his mouth, he would become the welcome target of those same politicians who demanded that Cleaver be denied access to U.C. Berkeley. On the basis of the Cleaver affair, establishment politicians ranging from "reactionaries" like Reagan and Rafferty to "liberals" like Cranston and Alioto (and even our own L. B. Whitaker) have been demanding that Black Panthers be barred from our college campuses. The outcry against Murray and Cleaver is symptomatic of a hysteria which is being generated strictly as a means of persecuting the Black Panthers.

The argument over Murray was never whether or not he should be suspended, but rather when and how he should be suspended. On the local level, President Smith maintained that he and the faculty should have the authority to fire Murray. His rationale was that by "following the proscribed procedure" of "due process", Murray's expulsion could be made in an atmosphere of "normality." Due process was the method by which the charges of "unprofessional conduct" could best be launched against Murray, who then would have to face a trial by faculty. Academic professionalism is, of course, a concept which is deliberately so left vague that it can easily be defined to meet the given needs of a political situation. Like the charge of "un-American activities, the charge of "unprofessional conduct" is impossible to prove, and equally impossible to disprove. In a crisis situation where the

accused has little support among the faculty (such as the Gerassi case last year), "due process" becomes nothing more than a handy vehicle through which the administration can dole out the necessary reprisals. Had Smith gotten his own way, Murray would have been dispensed with while at least the facade of justice could have been maintained.

However, the political situation proved to be too urgent for the time lag involved in "due process". The elections were about to take place, and the California Republicans desired the reappearance of one of their favorite issues . . . campus chaos and subversion. Murray was the perfect target, and if a confrontation followed over his suspension, so much the better. The Democrats, on the other hand, while having little love for Murray, still felt he should not be canned until after the election. But they failed because the Chancellor was in no mood for stalling. As the hatchetman, Dumke was hardly a neutral educator; with an inside track on being appointed as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Nixon cabinet, he had a direct stake in the success of the Republican strategy. What is important here, of course, is not whether Dumke's ploy succeeded -- the objective conditions on campus which have produced the present crisis would remain the same regardless of the outcome of the elections -- but simply that it gives us some idea of the way in which this college is used as a political instrument. It also shows how totally falsified the issues of the Murray case, as the official line would have us understand them, really are. For one thing, Murray has been using the same kind of rhetoric freely for at least a year, and not until very recently has there been any serious objection to it. For another thing, if the sentiments behind the uproar over "guns on campus" were really sincere, we would have gotten rid of Air Force ROTC long ago. Clearly the real question that is bothering the Establishment politicians -- very few of whom are pacifists -- is not whether or not there are guns but rather who has the guns. Even while they hysterically attack Murray (largely on the basis of a statement he never actually made), they continue to maintain that their own guns are inviolable. And so, for all the official efforts to confuse the issues of the case, certain larger issues have, as a result of those efforts, become unmistakably clear.

#### CONCLUSION

Under normal circumstances the power relationships within the educational system are so murky, so complex, so seemingly self-contradictory that they bewilder even those most inextricably caught up in them. Though the faculty wields life-or-death power over the students, it is all but powerless with respect to its own needs. The administration rules arbitrarily, seldom if ever accountable to students or faculty; dealing with it means either getting ensnared in endless negotiation, manipulation, red tape and "legal channels," or else throwing the campus into a state of chaos with disruptive demonstrations. Effectiveness is highly uncertain in either case. But the administration, too, responds to events without really being able to control them. The President's office performs a treacherous balancing act between the campus and the "outside world," the college community and the corporate/political elite. Above and beyond it all are the Chancellor, assorted politicians, and the Trustees -- remote, unreachable, abysmally ignorant of the processes

governing the day to day functioning of the educational machine. They relate to the campus through newspaper headlines -- those they read and those they would like to make. But in a crisis situation, the power relationships crystallize, the buffers and go-betweens disappear. There is them and there is us. They watch our every move; they try to exercise strict control over our every act.

The American educational system is rapidly approaching a permanent crisis situation. The college has never been "neutral," as most of us are by now aware; it plays certain specific roles in perpetuating certain given conditions of American life. But when it is functioning properly, the college is invisible. The educational manipulation of the young is carried on in silence, the research and development in relative secrecy. The college must be invisible, if it is to be manageable; made visible, it is too unpredictable, its innate power too strong.

But if there is any uniform law governing human history, it is that people can only be expected to take so much shit. Beyond a certain point, they will balk at being processed, resent the discrepancies between what they are told and what they are able to perceive for themselves, rebel at their own energies being used against them, and demand an end to the contradiction between their basic needs and the basic realities of their lives. Christopher Lasch observed recently that "changes in the social function of higher education have made the University itself a source of social conflict." But when it becomes a source of social conflict, the University loses its invisibility. The price the power structure must pay for its services becomes too great to pay, and yet economic realities of technological society make it less and less able to do without those services. No longer able to afford granting its subject even the most nominal kinds of power, the power structure becomes increasingly intolerable. The Trustees begin swinging their Big Stick.

This campus has experienced upheavals before; they have occurred with growing frequency over the last eighteen months. But never have the issues been so sweeping or clear-cut, and never have the stakes been so high. If the Trustees' power play succeeds, the college will continue to reinforce institutionalized racism, exploitation, manipulation and thought control, but we will lose whatever powers we might have had to counteract it within the context of our own education. If we challenge it successfully, we challenge the whole economic and political fabric of the state of California, and we open the way for similar challenges elsewhere.

Several weeks ago Eldridge Cleaver was on campus. Speaking to a large and enthusiastic crowd of students, Cleaver tried, thoughtfully, to link the problems of black people with the problems of students, the common problems of the disenfranchised and disenchanted. "We need history books," he said, "that all people can relate to." In twenty-one days Eldridge Cleaver is scheduled to return to prison; in twenty days, barring effective action on our part, the Trustees will drive the final nail into the coffin of decent, meaningful, human-oriented education in the California State Colleges.

The crisis is upon us.