

[Undated. Probably early January 1969]

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# ON STRIKE



# SHUT IT DOWN

SAN FRANCISCO STATE STRIKE COMMITTEE

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## A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORSHIP OF THIS PAMPHLET

There may be some confusion as to the relationship between the Strike Committee and SDS. First, the Strike Committee is composed of white students supporting the strike called and led by the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front. Second, though the Strike Committee is made up of many different student organizations and unaffiliated individuals. The main political direction of the Committee has been led by SDS. SDS has fought hard to win striking students to its political outlook, and though not everyone has accepted our position, the major political position put forward by the Strike Committee throughout this struggle has been the position for which SDS has fought.

Gordon E. DeMarco  
Co-Chairman SDS  
Member  
Strike Steering Committee

Proceeds from this pamphlet will go to the  
General Bail and Defense Fund -



## THE DEMANDS

### Black Students Union Demands And Explanations (from a BSU position statement)

1. That all Black Studies courses being taught through various other departments be immediately part of the Black Studies Department and that all the instructors in this department receive full-time pay.

Explanation: At the present time the so called Black Studies courses are being taught from the established departments which also control the function of courses. In order for a brother or sister to teach a Black Studies course he or she has to go before the assigned department head to receive permission to teach, which clearly shows that the power lies with the departments and the racist administrators, not the Black Studies department chairman, faculty and staff.

At the end of the summer before the Fall of 69, the racist administration announced that 47 full-time teaching positions were unfilled. The Black Studies Department only receives 1.2 teaching positions out of the total number of 47. The Black Studies Department instructors should receive full-time pay like the various other departments on the San Francisco State College campus.

2. That Dr. Hare, chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full-professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualification.

Explanation: Dr. Hare is one of the best sociologists in the country and one of the most sought after, yet he makes less money than any Department chairman and all newly appointed deans and administrations.

3. That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department, chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the

destiny of its department.

Explanation: That the Black Studies Department have the power to grant Bachelor degrees; and that the Black Studies Department Chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire and fire without the interference of the racist administration and the Chancellor.

4. That all unused slots for Black students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions program be filled in Spring 1969.

Explanations: That the 128 slots that were not filled by so-called "special admittees", be filled by any Third World students who wishes to attend SFSC in the Spring of 1969.

5. That all Black students wishing so, be admitted in Fall 1969.

Explanation: In San Francisco 70% of all Primary, Jr. High School students are Third World, but at SFSC only 4% of the entire student body are Third World students. In other words the racist pig power structure does not want an abundance of "niggers" in their so-called "institutions of higher learning".

6. That twenty (20) full time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.

Explanations: At the beginning of the Fall semester 1.2% of a teaching position was allocated to the so-called Black Studies Department function off of such a small number of teaching positions.

7. That Dr. Helen Bedesom be replaced from the position of Financial Aid officer and that a Black person be hired to direct it, that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.

8. That no disciplinary action will be administered in any way to any student workers; teachers,



or administrators during and after the strike as consequence of their participation in the strike.

Explanation: That the racist administrators do not threaten the security and well-being of people who support and participate in the strike.

9. That the California State College Trustees will be allowed to dissolve any Black programs on or off San Francisco State College campus.

Explanation: On November 22-24 the California State Trustees will meet on the request of Pig Dumke to dissolve the Associated Students on all State College campuses throughout the State. This means that we cannot create and maintain programs on campus and off campus. Everything we do will be controlled by the pig Dumke. All Programs such as the Associated Students, C.S.I., E.C., etc., will have to have pig Dumke's O.K. If the Trustees dissolve on creativity on campus and off campus, we will use our creativity in a prolonged and protracted war against them.

10. That George Murray maintain his teaching position on campus for 1968-1969 academic year.

Explanation: That George Murray is one of the best English instructors on the campus. He was fired not because of his political philosophy. This is insane and absurd and he must be reinstated; to continue to educate and enlighten the Third World students in his classes.

### THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT DEMANDS

1. That a School of Ethnic studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be set up with the students in each particular ethnic organization having the authority and control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, and administrator, as well as the curriculum in a specific area of study.

2. That 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 of which would

be for the Black Studies program.

3. That in the Spring semester, the College fulfill its commitment to the non-white students in admitting those that apply.

4. That in the Fall of 1969, all applications of non-white students be accepted.

5. That George Murray and any other faculty person chosen by non-white people as their teacher be retained in their position.



Third World Liberation Front:  
School of Ethnic Area Studies

Throughout the entire educational systems in California, a complete and accurate representation of minority peoples' role in the past and the present conditions of this state is nonexistent. In every aspect from lectures to literature the educational facilities do not contain the information necessary to relate any facet of minority peoples' history and/or culture. Such an institutionalized condition of negligence and ignorance by the state's educational systems is clearly an integral part of the racism and hatred this country has perpetuated upon non-white peoples. The consistent refusal of State Education to confront its inadequacies and attain an equitable resolution between our peoples, make it mandatory for minority people to initiate and to maintain educational programs specifically based upon their people's background and present situation at intr and international levels.

The Third World Liberation Front is demanding a school of Ethnic Area Studies specifically organized to establish area studies of nonwhite peoples within the United States. At the present there are being developed area studies of Mexican American, Latin American, Filipino American, Chinese American, and Japanese American peoples.

The school's function is as a resource and an educational program for those minority peoples actively concerned with the lack of their peoples' representation and participation in all levels of California's educational institutions.

The school clearly intends to be involved in confronting the racism, poverty and misrepresentation imposed on minority peoples by the formally recognized institutions and organizations operating in the State of California. The pro-

cess of such clarification and exposure will be developed through the collection, organization and presentation through ethnic area studies of all information relevant to the historical and contemporary positions of the minority peoples throughout local, state, national and international levels.

As assurance against the reoccurrence of education's traditional distortion and misrepresentation of Third World people's cultures and histories, the School of Ethnic Area Studies is to be developed, implemented, and controlled by Third World people. Whether an area study is at a developmental or a departmental level within the school, the people of an area study will have sole responsibility and control for the staffing and curriculum of their ethnic area study. The operation and development of the School of Ethnic Area Studies is the responsibility and the control of those programs and departments within the School of Ethnic Area Studies.

### Latin American Student Organization

The Latin American students on this college campus have come together in Latin American Student Organization because for our survival, both as individuals and as a people, it is necessary for us to unite. Since the formulation of our organization, the Latin American people of this college have worked together in an attempt to better the conditions of our people both here in the college and in our community. We have attempted to bring more of our people on to this campus, a campus at which out of a student population of over 18,000, there are less than 200 Latin American people. A campus which is in a city with a population of 100,000 Latino people.

We have attempted to implement a studies program which is relevant to Latin American people, so that our people have a reason to come to this college, and a reason to stay in it.



We do this in view of the fact that the highest drop out rate in California schools is among the Latino people. We do it in view of the fact that the regular school system has made no more than token efforts at making education relevant to Latin peoples, so that they will have a reason to stay in school.

We, as Latin American people are engaged in a struggle for our survival, both here on the campus and in the streets of our community. Up to this time we have repeatedly tried to work with the administrators and faculty of this college. We have requested for the furthering of our work. We can no longer request; we must demand. This is not a matter of choice for us, but of necessity. For what we are demanding are not luxuries, but the bare necessities for our survival.

#### Mexican American Student Conferderation

The Mexican American Student Conferderation supports all of the demands of the Black Student Union and all of the other Third World demands.

MASC feels that the firing of George Murray by the administration is an overt racist attack on all Third World people. The administration needs to suppress the developing student movement. It needs to divert our potentially revolutionary direction, particularlyly our growing ties to Chican and Black working people in the Brown and Black communities. The power structure fears a united front of Third World students and militant off-campus groups in the Brown community and the Black community, which will wage an uncompromising struggle for Third World liberation.

We urge Third World students to join the liberation struggle and carry out a protracted fight until all of the Third World demands are met.

## Intercollegiate Chinese For Social Action

San Francisco State, a community college, exists in a moral vacuum, oblivious to the community it purports to serve. It does not reflect the pluralistic society that is San Francisco; it does not begin to serve the 300,000 non-white people who live in this urban community in poverty, in ignorance, in despair. The Chinese ghetto, Chinatown, is a case in point.

1. SF State has a Chinese language department that isolates the "Chinese Experience" as a cultural phenomenon in a language that 83% of the Chinese in the United States do not speak. Realistically, we can expect that a Chinese woman, living in the ghetto, who speaks Cantonese cannot explain to the scholar that she is dying of tuberculosis because she speaks a "street language" while the scholar mutter a classical poetry in Mandarin. SF State College does not teach Cantonese.

2. Chinatown is a ghetto. In San Francisco there are approximately 50,000 Chinese of whom the vast majority live in Chinatown. It is an area of old buildings, narrow streets and alleys, and the effluvia of a great number of people packed into a very small space. At present, more than 5,000 new Chinese immigrants stream into this overpopulated ghetto each year, an area already blessed with a birth rate that is rising, and will rise more. Chinatown is basically a tenement. Tuberculosis is endemic, rents are high and constantly rising, city services are inadequate to provide reasonable sanitation, and space is at such a premium as to resemble the Malthusian ratio at its most extreme conclusion.

There are no adequate courses in any department or school at SF State that even begin to deal specifically with the problems of the Chinese people in this exclusionary and racist environment.



## POLITICAL HISTORY OF SAN FRANCISCO STATE

San Francisco State, one of 19 State Colleges is a drab unimpressive paste-board like campus in the heart of upper middle classville in the southwestern part of the city. It has rightly been called a street car college, the M car passing right by the front door depositing most of the schools 18,000 students at the corner of 19th and Holloway.

San Francisco State is well known as one of the most liberal schools in the country. Its academic atmosphere is relaxed in comparison to its greedy, intensely competitive neighbor in Berkeley. A great many hip types go to SF State to do their thing. Dogs, flowers, music, the Experimental College with courses in witchcraft, and macrobiotic living are trade marks at State. But the most striking characteristic of the school is its political climate. It is this aspect which has superseded all the rest. It is student politics that moves State.

The first anti-establishment activities at the Lake Merced Campus began in Spring 1966 with the commencement of the tutorial program and the creation of the Experimental College. Though not actually challenging the class nature of the university it was the first serious attempt made to question the role of the university in our society. In Spring, 1966 politics began finding a home on the campus with the formation of SDS and BSU.

The Black Students Union was formed late in 1965. It became a solid force in the Spring of 1966 when it began organizing Black Studies and cultural programs in the Experimental College. The main concerns of the newly-founded BSU was that of developing a feeling of pride and identity through Black culture. But the Black artists went a step further and brought their black art back to the community. The more community work

done by the black students the more they realized the contradictions between what they learned in the white university and what was necessary for them to learn to be able to attack the problems in their community. While LeRoi Jones became a prominent figure in the 1966-7 school year, the year saw the introduction of a revolutionary political program by Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. As the contradictions between the interests of the University and the corporate capitalist state which controls it via the Trustees and the needs of the people in the black community the awareness among Black students became sharper that the politics of liberation and self-determination applied not only to the ghetto but to the black students at the college as well.

SDS began in 1966 as an avowedly anti-imperialistic organization and led several demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, class ranking, war recruiting on the campus, and the presence of AFROTC at State. Though SDS was thought of basically as an anti-war group it proved itself to be concerned with domestic problems specifically of workers and students at State when it led a 95% effective boycott of the cafeteria for higher wages, lower prices, and student control. Though in its early days SDS had no appreciable base of support its presence was clearly felt.

#### MAPS

Nov. 6, 1967 was the real beginning of student struggle at SF State. On that day members of the BSU (Black Student Union) went into the office of the student newspaper, the Daily Gater, a fight took place, resulting in the editor being carried out on a stretcher. The paper had a history of printing racist articles about Muhamed Ali, the Black student programs, etc. White students had ignored this policy of the Gater which constantly attacked the Black Students on campus. The progressive

white students viewed this incident as an act of self-defense by Black Students. The incident created a reaction of hysteria at State, bringing out the racist fears in the white students. The administration immediately branded black students who had been identified from photographs as the "the guilty parties" and suspended them. Following this was the suspension of two white students, writers for the student underground paper, Open Process, over an "obscene" poem. Almost overnight a list of demands were thrown together by white student and a movement was born. The demands concerned white student power and due process. The Political analysis that was behind this movement called MAPS (Movement Against Political Suspensions) was not well developed and only liberal in outlook.

The action that culminated the hastily organized MAPS was on Dec. 6 when black and white students moved on and occupied the administration building. The Gater fired up all the racist hysteria it could by saying that black students were bringing "Goons" from the community and there was a possibility of "Snipers" on the roofs. During this action several windows were broken, a few people were beaten and a fire was set.

Dec. 6 failed in that white students organized around due process rather than fighting racism. The political debate around fighting racism as the primary aspect of the movement rather than due process was sharp but the majority of students were not won to struggling against racism. However a week later about 75 students, mainly SDS people sat in the Administration Building, primarily around the racist nature of the suspensions of the Black Students. (It failed in that the students involved isolated themselves by moving too fast, entering into a tenuous coalition with Liberals, and not really trying to educate the rest of the white students as to the political nature of MAPS.) MAPS also failed because the white students involved found themselves apologizing for the violence that took place rather than by pointing out its



necessity in relation to the Black Liberation struggle, its liberating and oppressing aspects and its role in history.

But MAPS also had many positive progressive points. First, it was the first real mass action taken by white students at State around the question of racism. It politically sharpened the participants as to the mistakes of isolation, liberalism, struggling for correct political ideas etc. Also, probably the greatest success of Dec. 6 was that white students had torn down forever the previously impregnable walls protecting the "Academy" from the real world. From Dec. 6 onward San Francisco State was to be a part of that outside community full of real things that face the community every day - the violence, the intensity of oppression felt by the Black and Third World people, the police and institutional repression, San Francisco State could never again return to the business of doing its own, ivy covered, liberal academic thing.

### THE SIT-IN

The following semester (S'68) saw the formation of the Third World Liberation Front (a coalition of various campus ethnic organizations), dedicated to close ties with the community and self-determination for Third World peoples.

At the same time SDS was organizing for the removal of the campus unit of Air Force R.O.T.C., An Academic Senate and two student votes had also called for its removal.

On May 17, 1968 a sit-in was called to begin May 21. The student demands were (1) Admission of 400 "non-qualified" Third World students for Fall '68, (2) hiring 10 Third World instructors to teach them, (3) the rehiring of Dr. Juan Martinez, a Mexican American American professor instrumental in the formation of TWLF, who was fired from the history department for racist

political reasons, (4) the removal of A.F.R.O.T.C. from campus.

President John Summerskill, the bleeding heart liberal, at first said the demands could not possibly be met. The first night saw the clearing of 400 students from the building by police with 26 students volunteering to be arrested. The students reoccupied the building the next day and numbers of San Francisco's Latin community paid a call on Summerskill. That weekend Summerskill decided to leave the building "open" around the clock. By Thursday Summerskill had met 3 or 4 of the demands and agreed to set up a campus wide referendum on the A.F.R.O.T.C. issue. Summerskill cracking under the pressure, was fired, and split to Ethiopia. Friday the building was closed at 10 p.m. by the then ruling Troika of Don Garrity, Ferd Reddell, and Glenn Smith. More arrests resulted, but students organized over the insuing weekend and returned Monday carrying out a mill-in in the Administration Building. The troika was holed-up in an office for four hours, refused to give in, reneged on the vote arrangement, and eventually called the pigs again to clear the building. The following day a state of emergency was called and over 1,000 students marched into the Administration Building in defiance of the ban. However, the semester drew to an end and with it the struggle with the administration.

The May sit-in exhibited both positive points of developement and negative aspects to be overcome in future struggles.

For the first time at SF State a clear relationship was drawn between the nature of U.S. Imperial policies abroad and U.S. racist policies at home (specifically in the university). A fairly large number of students (700-1000) became involved in a somewhat long term struggle (8days). Some strides were made in communicating with the student constituency during struggle (limited classroom education). Also positive was the fact that we won three of the four demands.

Among the weaknesses were the inability to communicate with enough students, due largely to the isolation of the action (within one building). The lack of students actively seeking the support of or importance of the community was a major weakness of the sit-in. Finally, the general inflexibility of the action and the low degree of militancy in relation to the total aims was something that had to be overcome in the future. People weren't really politically involved in a mass way, thus limiting their education of the nature of the state, the class structure of the university and the need to wage a vigorous battle to change it. This may have accounted for the relative low level of militancy.



The Strike called by BSU and TWLF -

The strike at San Francisco State is now in its 7th week. It was begun on November 6th by the Black Students Union and Third World Liberation Front to press for implementation of 15 demands many of which had been fought for for over two years. The demands speak directly to the survival of non-white students in the university. From the beginning the policy of the administration, Board of Trustees and hack politicians like Reagan, Unruh and Mayor Alioto was to crush the strike. They had to do this because the demands sharply attacked their power. BSU and TWLF demanded George Murray instructor and Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party be re-hired. Murray was fired because he spoke to the necessity of Third World people arming to defend themselves against racist administrators, governors and bankers. The struggle for the liberation of Third World people, he said, must be directed by the gun against the oppressor (he was speaking directly to Reagan and the Trustees). A Second political point of the demands was for the immediate creation of Black and Ethnic Studies Departments with the power of hiring, firing and course content to go to the Third World people. They demand Third World people have the power to determine their own education; learning the nature of their oppression, who's responsible for it and what can be done to organize to change their conditions. It's apparent to see why Reagan and the Board of Trustees are shitting in their pants over the creation of a Third World controlled Black and Ethnic Studies Department. Since they are the ones responsible for the oppression of the Third World community. Charles Luckman, a trustee and multi-million dollar architect-developer, who designs and constructs urban removal projects, and a trustee said, when asked what he thought about Black students and faculty controlling their own education: "It's a frightening possibility!"

The third major political point of the 15 demands is the demand that all Black and Third World <sup>16</sup> students wishing to enroll at State be allowed to do so. This also is freaking out the ruling class. The university and state colleges in California and all other states is run lock stock and barrel by monopoly capital and their messenger boys (Del Monte, Lockheed Aircraft, Transamerica) . These are the dudes who hold state power in this country and run the universities and colleges to serve and perpetuate their interests. This demand attacks at the core the question of who runs the university and who it serves. This demand says we must fight to make the university serve the needs of the people in the community, the black, the brown, the yellow, and the white working class community.

## THE ADMINISTRATIONS

### The Smith Era

The administration of Robert Smith, a bumbling moderate tried very hard to serve his masters and break the strike. He did this by threatening the strikers with suspension, calling on cops to terrorize students and attempting to buy off the militancy of the strike by proposing a "cooling off" period which came in the form of 2 campus wide convocations. Students responded to threats from the Administration with threats of their own -- to shut the school down. Strikers responded to Pig terror by fighting back and chasing plainclothesmen and small units of the tactical squad pigs off campus.

Convo I and II was used by BSU andTWLF to explain their position and reach the so called "silent majority" and expose the administration. Instead of "letting the fever run its course" the convocation doubled the strength of the strike and Smith was through. He resigned, and in his place stepped a lunatic- Hayakawa.

### The Advent of the Hayakawa Era

17  
S.I. Hayakawa, faculty member, famed sem-  
anticist, and wellknown propagandizer of the  
right wing of the corporate ruling class, be-  
came President minutes after Smith resigned.  
We shouldn't get hung up on emphasizing that  
Hayakawa is a madman or a lunatic. In truth  
he is Smith-Summerskill unmasked. When people  
get together and fight for their right and really  
start bending the state, the harlequin mask of  
benevolent "freedom-of-this-that-and-the-  
other Liberalism" is quickly shed and the State  
begins to reveal its true nature. So then  
one might say, concerning SF State's administra-  
tions and its relationship to state power, a  
lunatic (Hayakawa) is a liberal (Smith and  
Summerskill) in the nude.

On the first day of Hayakawa's reign he attacked  
the strike committee's sound truck parked on a  
street in front of the school. He climbed on the  
roof and pulled out the wires to the speakers,  
pushing and shoving students who gathered to  
protest his actions. I'm President of this col-  
lege." After a brief skirmish he was whisked  
away by police and since then has not even left  
his office without the accompaniment of an armed  
guard.

Hayakawa has tried very hard to break the strike.  
He has banned public rallies, but the BSU and  
TWLF has had one every day. He has hired a  
public relations man to improve his image  
and think up groovy gimmicks. One such gimmick  
was to pass out blue armbands to students.  
The excuse behind this was that the "silent  
majority" would wear them signifying they were  
sympathetic to the demands but opposed to the  
violent tactics. Not only was this so-called  
majority silent, but it was invisible, only a  
couple hundred "hard core militants" wore them.  
The racist position behind the armbands was  
exemplified by the fact that people wearing  
them weren't sympathetic to anything except  
the cops. They weren't against violence either.  
They would point out strike leaders to cops,  
try to taunt strikers into picking a fight then  
running, leading strikers to the cops. What  
the blue armbands and the Committee for an



HAYAKAWA: "Well, things are normal now-- Class attendance is over 90%, except for a small handful of militants and revolutionary communists."

Academic Enviroment who pushed them did was to bring to the fore about 100 fascist "Hayakawa Youth!" They have been adequetely exposed by the strike committee and are in the process of being taken care of.

Hayakawa's most effective weapon has been his unflinching, gleeful use of the police. Only 250 were deployed on his first day in office, but he has since escalated to 600, with 1000 put in ready reserve. During his two weeks in office the cops have constantly occupied the campus to harrass, terrorize, beat and arrest students. To date 150 people have been arrested. After Tuesday Dec. 3, the bloodiest day of the struggle, in which cops and students fought for 3 hours, Hayakawa nonchalantly said, "This has been the most exciting time of my life since my tenth birthday when I rode



the roller coaster for the first time." 19  
Much to Hayakawa's and the trustees dismay,  
police terror has failed to break the strike.

Hayakawa has also taken great pleasure in signing  
two-dozen criminal warrants and suspending about  
60 students. The pressure has been so great  
on him however, that the suspensions have been  
temporarily lifted.

After bloody Tuesday, during which about 30  
students and 15 cops were injured, Hayakawa  
has decreed by executive fiat that it is a  
misdemeanor to be on the quadrangle (scene  
of demonstrations) and not in class. He has  
been unable to enforce it because, during  
the highpoint of the demonstration 6-8000  
out of the 8-10,000 students who are at school  
at any one time were out demonstrating and the  
cops were incapable of taking anything but a  
defensive action. He has also tried to invoke  
a state law making it a crime for non-students  
to be on campus. He has directed this speci-  
fically at the hundreds of community people  
who have come to campus to support the strike.  
The students participating in the strike are  
putting forth the political position that  
the college must serve the community and they  
have a right, even a duty to be on that campus  
participating in the struggle. Hayakawa  
by parroting his masters' voice (Trustees &  
Reagan) has made it quite clear that the com-  
munity has no business on the campus and in  
fact can be prosecuted for being there. Though  
this is the position of the rulers and their leg-  
men, the strength of the strikers and a solid  
commitment to the community made this edict  
by Hayakawa unenforceable.

Hayakawa, though he swears to the press that the  
"campus is open and will remain open," "80%  
of the students are going to class," "the  
violence and terror of the strikers will be ended"  
it is clear that he has been driven up against  
the wall and doesn't have too many tricks left,  
promotion man or no. On Friday Dec. 6, he tried  
to end the strike by conceding some points.  
The concessions amounted to about 3 or 4 of

the BSU demands. The move was to split the BSU from the TWLF, (he made no mention of their 5<sup>20</sup> demands) and also he stated they could get more in the way of concessions if they would repudiate the violence and the role of SDS and other radical organizations in the struggle.

But as Hayakawa blared out the concessions over the loudspeaker atop the Ad Building, the thousands of students gathered on the quad for the noon rally boomed back a one word answer to this "gift"--BULLSHIT.

"No deals," "We have 15 demands not 5," "We will fight until all 15 are met." These were responses from the BSU and TWLF at the Friday rally. They reaffirmed their position that no tricks, deals, or divide and conquer tactics would make them sell out. They vowed to fight even harder, now that Hayakawa was being backed into a corner. It was felt that he had begun to give in and if the pressure was kept up he would shortly collapse.

Having his "peace offer" rebuffed, Hayakawa embarked on a new tactic. This was red-baiting, a tactic of the lowest, foulest level used by people afraid of the strength of a growing militant peoples movement. What it is is a scare tactic, a ploy used to whip up hysteria and fear in people attempting to divert their attention from the real issues. Hayakawa, realizing that his cops, threats, and gifts couldn't crush a movement that was gaining strength among students and now great strength in the community, tried to refocus everyone's attention from the 15 demands and the strike to the "fact" that "outside agitators (SDS types) were converging on the campus from all parts of the country" and most of the demonstrators were "hopped up on drugs." Reagan went on TV on college campuses. He said these 'attacks against the people of California who pay taxes for the college are instigated by SDS, PL, BSU.' Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Education, told all the high school principals to be on the lookout for the SDS 'who is exploiting and perverting the minds of young high

school students.' Be mindful, Rafferty said, they will try to organize around such things as abolition of grades, improving course curriculum, getting rid of racist teachers, and trying to get ethnic programs. Watch these sneaky reds, Rafferty warned, they are out to destroy "our system of higher education." These are indeed the mad ravings of men scared, their empires shaking, and the masses of people arousing themselves to take action that will pierce through the problem --the schools are racist; they feed on the exploitation of non-white people; all this is possible, and necessary because the schools are defined, controlled and run in the interest of the small corporate class who gained their positions of wealth and power at the expense of all working people--primarily non-white people.

Only time, and a good political program, will be able to expose and defeat the tactics of red-baiting. At State, it has failed to divide the strikers from themselves, either white from Black, or SDS from the more moderate. It has also failed to turn the campus community against the strike. Though it has whipped up some fears among the citizens in San Francisco, many community people, longshoremen, painters, auto workers and phone workers have seen the unprincipled tactic of red-baiting thrown at them during their particular struggles, and therefore know what it is and have rallied to support the strike.

This past week was basically a holding week. The cops attacked our picket lines and picked off Third World and white leaders. People were tired and many were stricken with the flu. But no one's resolve to continue the struggle was shaken. The strikers, black, brown, yellow, and white were well aware by now of the meaning of "protracted struggle" and know that a bad day, or extra gross intimidation by cops could not break the strike. With this in mind the Third World students began building for Monday, Dec. 16 as "Third World Day". They had leafleted their communities, spoke to church and social groups telling them to come to campus Monday. They also reached a great number of high school students. During the previous two

weeks four San Francisco high schools had walk-outs and boycotts protesting their intolerable conditions and in support of S. F. State (their future college). It was expected that hundreds, if not thousands, of high school students and people from the Third World community, would be on campus Monday to express their solidarity with the striking students. In addition to Third World activities, the Strike Committee invited members of the white community to come to State on Monday. The call was sent out by the Strike Committee to other colleges up and down the State, asking them to express their revolutionary greetings by sending as many people as they could to participate in Third World Community Day. Students were coming from as far away as San Diego and L. A. and it was expected that many hundreds of students would be at State on Monday.

The Strike Committee didn't feel these students would be outside agitators. Quite the contrary, our fight concerned them very much. State was a testing ground whereby the powers who control the educational apparatus were attempting to crush one of the strongest student movements in recent times. If they were successful, then a precedent would be set by Trustees and political hacks like Reagan that they would be capable of handling student movements. Many students in California colleges realized the importance of what was going on at State. One student from Long Beach State put it this way "If you win, we win. If you lose, we lose." Perhaps that is a little dramatic, but the significant situation at State, but very much involved in what goes on there. In the larger sense State's fight is their fight.

The Strike Committee also got white working people to come to campus. We felt that the college was not serving their interests just as it was not serving the interests of the Third World people and that this fight was theirs as well as ours. The papers never mentioned the fact that we were gaining support from the white working communities, they did not mention that on Monday,

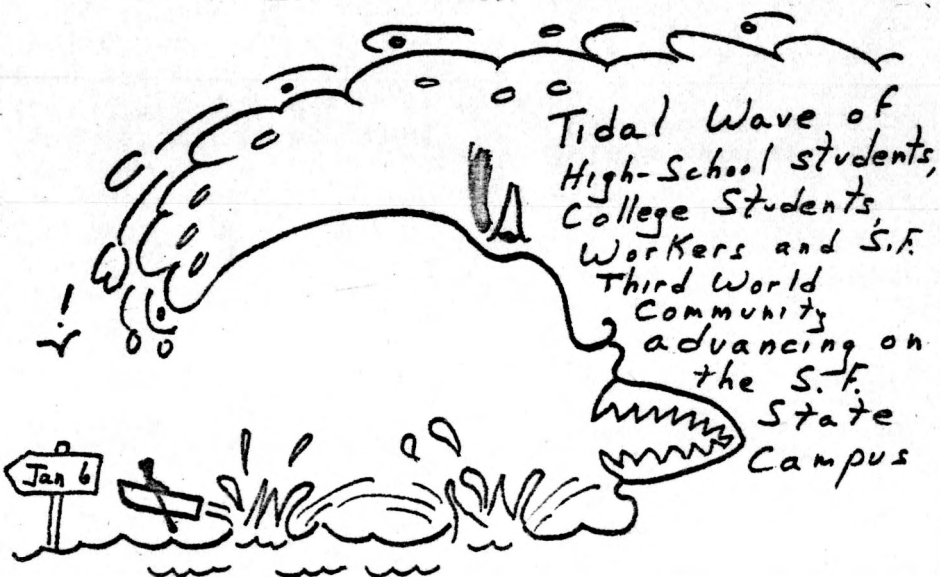


Dec. 9, 10 auto workers from the GM plant were on campus and led us up to the Business and Social Science Building to close it down, they did not mention that Local 4 of the Painters' Union had voted to support our strike and give us money for the bail fund. The prospect of students and working people getting together is frightening to the people that run the colleges. They realize that such an alliance is a beginning of the end of their control and a beginning of the end to imperialism.

Faced with the real possibility that the American Federation of Teachers would finally strike on Monday and informed in no uncertain terms that thousands of community people would be on their campus to demonstrate their support for the strike, Hayakawa, who had screamed to everyone within hearing distance since he took over, that the campus "will remain open at any and all costs" closed it down. He said it was a friendly gesture on his part to give students Christmas vacation a week early. The real reason he closed the school is quite obvious. The tremendous strength the strike has had for 6 weeks was going to focus on Monday, Dec. 16. Hayakawa, backed up against the vertible wall, must have realized it would take much more than his 600 regular troops to keep students and community people from closing the school down. So, instead of facing a total annihilation of his repressive administration, he took a gamble--to head off the show of strength planned for Monday, by closing the school a week early and trying to make everyone pretend that the Third World Community Day had nothing to do with his decision.

But no one was fooled. This step by Hayakawa was probably the greatest single victory of the six week old strike. It showed the tremendous power the people had in trying to break the tyranny of the garrison state. The garrison state was forced to shrink, to retreat in the face of masses of people engaged in a protracted struggle over specific goals (Third World self-determination). What the TWLF and the BSU has done in response to Hayakawa's closure order is to pro-

claim the week that school reopens (Jan. 6) as Third World Week. So, Hayakawa faced with just one day of Third World community support had to close the school, and is now going to be faced with five days of the same. The strike is on the offensive, Hayakawa and his masters are up against the wall and with Third World Community Week being put into gear to bring community people, high school students, parents, and students from other colleges on to State's campus, those who are now up against the wall will be pushed through it.



DR. HAYAKAWA (in boat) "I'm closing down this campus and getting out before somebody gets hurt!"

## Students and Cops

During the strike the level of development of struggle of students at SF State has progressed to a much higher stage. The May sit-in saw students voluntarily submitting to arrest and doing little more than taunting cops when they came on campus. The strike has changed all that. For the first time on State's campus students fought back against the cops in a mass way.

During the Smith tenure students beat up plain-clother cops on two occasions and were at the stage where they were willing to take on squads of tactical police. Probably the most significant happening during the first two weeks of the strike was students getting into the fray and attempting to free their fellow students who were being beaten by cops.

When Hayakawa picked up the standard of the fallen Smith, the heretofore harangues of an impending police state by radicals no longer was a harangue but a reality. During Hayakawa's two weeks in office, the campus has been an armed fortress with cops patrolling the halls of every building and on the roofs of most buildings spotting out students for future arrest. Also hovering low over the campus during the day is a police helicopter, which is used specifically to observe movement of students and direct the deployment of the troops--and there are over 600 of them including a squad on horses, who have been called on the campus everyday. The pigs are from all over the Bay Area. They have harrassed and intimidated strikers, breaking up small picket lines and pursuing strikers all over the campus. On one occasion they chased some outnumbered strikers, breaking into the cafeteria clubbing any student who happened to be in the way.

This is a typical tactic of the pigs, seek out and break up small groups of students terrorizing them as much as possible. Their attitude is different however when students are in massive numbers. When 5,000 students are gathered in the quad, it

is all 600 of the cops that are called. The cops have attempted to take action against small groups, because they realize they are working from a less than strong position when they engage masses of students committed to action as a unified body. On Bloody Tuesday (Dec. 4) white students following the example set by members of BSU and TWLF defended themselves and engaged the cops in a 3 hour battle. Students set up a barricade using the furniture of the cafeteria and breaking down chairs using the legs to protect themselves from police assaults. Students fought the cops again on that Thursday when cops tried to prevent thousands of students from disrupting the strike breaking classes.

Though the level of struggle has reached the point that students at State are beginning to overcome their fear of the cops, and are beginning to defend themselves, there is still much to go in the way of development before masses of white students take militant offensive action in fighting against something as vital as racism and the class structure of the university.





## An SDS Position

The strike call of the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front was answered by white students who formed a supportive strike committee. A struggle over political leadership of this committee developed from the first mass meeting between SDS and the Programs - a conglomerate of liberals and radicals involved in community service programs, Experimental College, Community Services Institute, etc. While SDS maintained that the main issues of the strike were racism and the class nature of the university the Program people maintained that campus autonomy was key and the 'road to victory' was the establishment of 'liberation schools' rather than fighting the State. "Racism is too amorphous," explained the Program leaders, "White people can't relate to it."

Basically, SDS put forward the position that the main issue of the strike was racism and the class nature of the university. As white students we maintained that the Black and Third World student should be in the leadership of their own strike. Further we argued that our main role should be to build support among white students for the strike, which could only be done by directly struggling against and confronting the racist ideology which had been pounded into students heads. Particularly, SDS felt that it would be chauvinistic for us or other white students to try to direct or act as a brake on the struggle of the Third World students.

We felt that the attitude pushed on most white students by the system is one of "me first" and "my education first and foremost" and it does its best to conjure up racial fears that allowing non-white, "non-qualified" people to college would destroy the quality of the institution. SDS felt that these and other attitudes which keep white and Black students from struggling against racism had to be vigorously attacked. On the one hand (as stated in the first point) the role of white students in relation to the Black and Third World peoples' struggle for self-determination

through this strike should be one of support. On the other hand white students must take the offensive in fighting racism - racism in their fellow white students, in course structure, and in the highest institution of racism itself - the university.

Many honest people attending the mass meetings felt that the Programs people were correct in saying racism was too "amorphous" an issue to win support from the white students. "White demands" had to be attached in order to elicit that support. SDS maintained that the addition of 'white' demands would be yet another case of white people using the backs of Black people for their own ends and further - that racism was not a vague issue, but one that could be seen as an oppressive force that affects all oppressed people. In capsule form, our position was that racism acts as a divisive force keeping oppressed people fighting among one another rather than uniting to fight the common enemy. While we pointed to labor battles to bring out the true role of racism, the local bourgeois press, the SF Chronicle, gave us another example. Their "objective" reporting of roving bands of non-white militants disrupting classes gave a vivid example of how racism was used to divide white and black students. Specifically the average white student would gain the impression that he had more in common with the administration (because they are also white), than with his fellow non-white students.

We are not educated, but trained as highly paid workers to serve the ruling class and spread their ideology. The role of higher education in this society, as well as all other formal institutions in this country, is to serve the ruling class. The Black and Third World Students at SF State are attempting to make the University serve the interest of the community. White students must follow their example and build an alliance with the white working class community. The BSU and Third World Liberation Front are a

vanguard force that is leading this struggle. The role of white students in this strike is to join with the vanguard in making the trustees yield on these demands. This struggle is the beginning of the fight to make the colleges and universities serve the masses of the people and not just the ruling class.

Another hotly contested battle raged over the question of campus 'autonomy'. The Programs people said the major problem on campus stemmed from the authority that the Trustees wielded over SF State. They reasoned that we, as a community (administration, faculty, students) should reign jointly over the campus and solve our own problems. SDS pointed out that the college could certainly be autonomous (i.e. controlled even by students) as long as it still served the interests of the ruling class. Campus autonomy was one of the cries of the Academic Senate of SFSC who publicly bemoaned the fact that George Murray was fired by the Trustees just at the time that they were going to fire him themselves!

The demand for student power or campus autonomy does not challenge the class nature of the college, and reinforces the mistaken idea that student intellects are a privileged group and that the university should be isolated from the community. The Board of Trustees were more than happy to let students at SFSC run their Experimental College as long as the EC did not challenge the power and control of corporate giants by encouraging its students to join with oppressed people and fight against them. Students must see that their interest lie in making the college serve the interests of all working people in the community and that the only way to stop the college from serving the interests of big business and make it serve the interests of the working community is for students to ally themselves themselves with working people and fight our common enemy.

Another idea championed by the Program leaders at the early meetings was the concept of liberation schools or parallel institutions. As it was proposed, it denies the basic premise of the Third World Student Strike. In fact, it is a slap in the face of Third World Liberation. The concept of liberation school abandons the intense struggle to change the existing nature of the university. The people who argue for liberation schools are essentially saying that the university, corrup and exploitative as it is, can go its own way while the students will go create their own university which will be free from corruption and exploitation. Extending this argument, those who advocate the counter-institution beleive that students should not confront the corporate giants and fight to change the university, but rather should set up alternative schools. This type of thinking changes nothing. An ethnic studies department still exists only on paper. George Murray remains suspended. The powers that reign supreme continue to use the universities as an instrument to keep people down.

The Columbia rebellion showed the danger of liberation schools. There students, believing in the efficacy of counter-institutions, gave up a valiant fight against racism and set up model classes on lawns and in houses. Meanwhile, while these classes were meeting, Columbia continued to drive black people from their homes in Harlem, and continued to work with IDA.

What should be done? Instead of setting up liberation schools, classes should be organized among people involved in the strike towards advancing each other's understanding of the struggle and not deserting it. The liberation school poses an alternative to the present system. Yet, it is the Trustees we must confront and it is they who define the role of the university, systematically exclude third world people and institutionalize racism in our education. The



strike's course shows that the alternative to the present system is not to ignore it but to fight for change.

After a few days, when it became clear that the great majority of students attending the mass meetings rejected both the analysis and the tactics put forward by the Programs people, the latter stopped attending the mass meetings and called meetings of their own. Those people whose names were in the hands of the Program people soon received calls explaining that a new group was forming comprised of people who were in support of the 15 demands but could not "relate" to SDS. While they (the Programs leadership) said they were principally in agreement with SDS, both their tactics and strategy smacked of 'ulterior motives' (i.e. we were using this struggle for our own ends). This SDS baiting was no different from our past 'liberal administrators', from U.S. Congressmen and from the dirth of red-baiting used in the struggle waged by the working class during the 30's and 40's. It was the same inasmuch as those who supposedly agree with the ends of a "left organization" (which the programs did not) attempt to put that organization down on organizational grounds other than the politics (i.e., the organization is controlled by reds). Red-baiting represents the use of (and thus the reinforcing of) ruling class ideology to enforce the fear of communists in this country. The use of red-baiting must be exposed and sharply attacked.

### The Need To Fight Cops

The weapon that the rulers always fall back on when all others fail is their armed might. In this case it was the police forces from San Francisco and some surrounding counties. Haya-kawa thought that if he used enough police police terror we would quit and give up the strike, but instead of rolling over and playing dead we fought back, and met their clubs and mace with rocks and bottles. Several plainclothesmen were

beaten up when they were discovered. This was a big step forward for many white students; they overcame their awe and fear of the pigs and followed the leadership of Third World people and helped defeat every attempt to smash the strike.

This was also a big step forward for the White student movement in another respect. Pacifism is very strong among white students. It has its roots in the class background of most students who come from the middle class and who have been taught that struggle should be avoided and violence is wrong. Pacifism obfuscates the class nature of violence and is used by the ruling class to keep movements from winning. The ruling class uses any means necessary to keep people in their place, and we must use any means necessary including people's violence to defeat them. When white students began to follow the example of Third World students and began to fight back they increased the chances of winning the strike.

### Conclusion

We have learned many lessons from this fight at State. We learned that people united and fighting can beat the armed might of the state, that sharp struggle not counter institutions are the only way to defeat the rulers, that the struggle against racism in our own ranks as well as in the institutions is important for the development of a movement, and most of all that it is important to build ties and alliances with working people if we are ever to defeat the rulers of this country.

## 38 DAYS ON STRIKE

## Introduction

This section is comprised of reprints of leaflets. The majority of those reprinted are many of the daily leaflets issued by the Strike Committee and aimed at students (a few on campus leaflets here were done by the Campus Progressive Labor Party).

In addition to campus leaflets included here are leaflets done by the Strike Committee aimed specifically at the white working class community, and some of those issued by community groups supporting the strike.

The intent in reprinting all these leaflets is not to barrage the reader with extraneous material, but to afford him the opportunity to see first hand the day by day progress of the strike, both chronologically and politically.

Chronological Background -  
September 27- December 13

Thursday, Sept. 27 -

In the wake of the Eldridge Cleaver controversy at the University of California. The State College Trustees move to have Black Panther Minister of Education George Murray removed from the S.F. State faculty. The Trustees "request" that S.F. State President Robert Smith place Murray in a non-teaching position.

Tuesday, Oct. 1 -

Smith, feeling that the time is not right and the issues not clear enough "refuses" to act on Trustees "request" regarding Murray.

Thursday, Oct. 24 -

Murray delivers speech at Fresno State College calling for oppressed people to take up a

"struggle against their slavemasters." 34  
Trustees meeting on the Fresno State campus  
fire veiled threats at Murray.

Monday, Oct. 28 -

Black Students Union (BSU), seeing that all proper channels for the implementation of the Black Studies Program have been exhausted call a student strike as a means of achieving their demands to begin on November 6th. Murray delivers speech suggesting that oppressed students may have cause for armed struggle on campus to protect themselves from racist administrators.

Wednesday, Oct. 30 -

San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto blasts Murray's Monday speech and has the police Red Squad investigate the matter.

Thursday, Oct. 31 -

State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke orders Smith to suspend Murray. Smith balks at the order.

Leaflet issued Nov. 1 by SDS

#### SUPPORT GEORGE MURRAY

Why are the Trustees frantically trying to save us from George Murray? The Trustees, contrary to liberal myths, are not rabid right-wing fanatics, but competent, successful businessmen - like Dudley Swim, member of the Board of Directors of Del Monte. They are successful because they are able to extract super-profits from the labor of Black, Brown and white workers. When George Murray says that Black and non-white people have a right to rebel against being exploited by Dudley Swim and his ilk, he is directly threatening the corporate interests which control the State College system.

Corporation wizards who sit on the Board of Trustees are not there for their health, but to insure that the State Colleges meet their quotas of technicians and apologists to be the cogs in



a system designed to serve the narrow interests of the corporate wealth. When George Murray says that students should not serve the oppressors, but fight them, he is a real threat to the role of higher education -- that is the role defined by the corporate interests of the Board of Trustees.

President Summerskill lost his usefulness to the Board of Trustees, when push came to shove he was not a neutral force, but stood squarely with the Board of Trustees.

President Smith has launched a "sharp attack" against Dumke. He called Dumke's order to suspend Murray, both as a teacher and student, "unprecedented". But what is Smith's plan - to stand up for and defend G. Murray's right to fight for self-determination of Black people and the implementation of the Black Panther Party's program?

HELL NO! Smith's got a better plan (with the help of his friend, Benito Alioto) to get rid of Murray -- slander Murray in the local ruling-class press, threaten him with felony indictments, and then fire him. What Smith is doing is pleading with the Trustees for more time so he can do a more efficient hatchet job. He is counting on student apathy, and fear of the Black Liberation Movement to mitigate any reaction against Murray's dismissal (note Smith's memo of earlier this week on unmentioned perpetrators of campus violence).

Despite Smith's rhetoric, his position is quite clear. He is trying to make us believe that he is a "liberal"; that he is a "neutral"; that he is fighting the conservative Trustees and "leftist extremists" who are out to "destroy the university". He will tell us that he fought hard to retain Murray, but that it is "out of his hands". He will tell us that his decision is an administrative one.

S.D.S. sees any attempt to investigate, suspend,

or fire Murray as an act of racism, not an administrative decision. The suspending of Murray means that the Trustees consider those who speak and act for Black Liberation, criminals. This comes as no surprise since Black Liberation directly threatens the exploitative corporate interests of the Trustees and the whole system in general.

In an issue involving racism, there are no "neutrals" and no "liberals". S.D.S. urges white students to take note of Smith's position and not to be fooled. Smith is the local representative of corporate wealth in this state, indeed the country. Thus, he is no "neutral" or "liberal" but objectively carries out the policies of a certain class that aims to smash the Black Liberation Movement.

The vast majority of white students have objectively no interests in common with the Board of Trustees and its racist policies which Smith represents. We must recognize the nature of the university and what Smith is doing and oppose the pending firing of Murray. S.D.S. urges white students to act according to their own interests and the interests of the vast majority of the people in this country, and fight this racist act.

Friday, Nov. 1-

Smith, waiting until the campus is virtually cleared for the weekend, orders Murray suspended pending due process.

Leaflet issued Nov. 4 by SDS

FIGHT RACISM - SUPPORT GEORGE MURRAY

"President Robert R. Smith decided more than a week ago that steps had to be taken to remove Black Panther George Mason Murray from the San Francisco State College campus, the Chronicle learned yesterday. And that is why it is so ironic that Smith found himself, on Thursday

looking as though he were defying an order from Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke for Murray's suspension.

When Smith announced on Halloween afternoon that he would not immediately suspend Murray, he was merely buying time.

....  
'It seems tragic,' concluded one despondent official, 'that the first college campus in the U.S. faced with the problem of removing a Black Panther from its faculty wasn't allowed to handle it in its own way.'" (S.F. Chronicle, Nov. 2 p.2)

The Chronicle reporter called Smith's actions ironic. The facts prove quite the contrary. It was no quirk that Smith acted the way he did. It was quite predictable. Men or groups of men who have the same political and financial interest may disagree as to the best tactics to use to protect their interests but their goals remain the same. The trustees represent the corporate wealth in this state, which makes super-profits off the labor of white and black workers in this state, this country, and third world peoples abroad. Here the police are sent in to break strikes of workers or campus "disturbances" and abroad or in the ghetto the military is sent in to crush liberation movements and to maintain economic and political oppression.

"Our colleges and universities must be regarded as bastions of our defense as essential to the preservation of our country and our way of life as supersonic bombers, nuclear-powered submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles." (John Hannah, President of Michigan State Univ.)

The trustees run the colleges for the sole function of training students to become technocrats, scientists and apologists to fill the necessary slots in a system that oppresses the majority of people in the world, white and non-white alike. The position occupied by Smith, that of a representative of the financial wealth running our colleges. Chancellor Dumke is the statewide representative of these very same interests. Therefore there was no basic conflict between Smith's and Dumke's interests. As the newspaper article

clearly states, they both agreed that Murray had<sup>38</sup> to be removed. Their only disagreement was a tactical one - which was the best way to do the job. Dumke's way was to issue an executive order and Smith's way was to rush it through administrative channels.

Faculty member Leo McClatchey states that the issue of G. Murray is one around which students, faculty and administration can unite. The Chronicle shows that this is clearly an illusion and one that we cannot afford to maintain. The article definitively shows that Smith is acting in the interests of the trustees, and not in the interests of either students or faculty, the latter being particularly in need of being protected against racist and political attack by the trustees and the administration.

Monday, Nov. 4 -

BSU calls a press conference re-iterating their demands and a call for the strike to begin on Nov. 6th. SDS calls a mass meeting of all interested white students to muster support for the BSU strike and demands.

Tuesday, Nov. 5 - Election Day

Stokley Carmichael addresses Third World students suggesting confrontation politics to heighten the contradictions within American racist institutions. White students begin to organize around the strike.

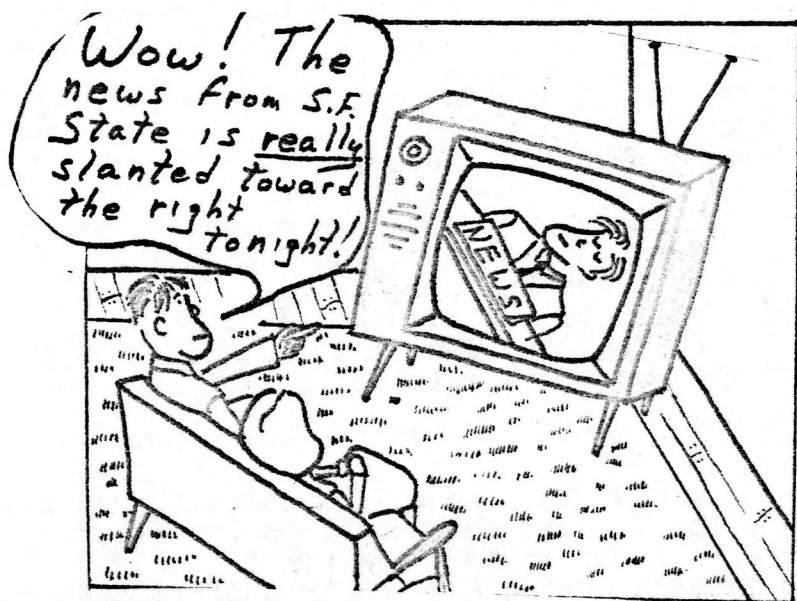
Wednesday, Nov. 6 -

The strike begins. White students picket buildings, classroom educate the strike-breakers, and hold a rally culminating with a march on the Administration Building to get a statement from Smith. Smith states that he is too busy and doesn't have the time to face the students at this time. Concurrently the Third World students dismiss all classes one by one, disrupting those classes resisting. The S.F. Police Tactical Squad is called to maintain "law and order". But the students have established just law and order by closing the college.



Tuesday, Nov. 7 -

Students continue picketing and classroom education. Noon rally ends with a march through the halls of classroom buildings by hundreds of strikers chanting "On strike, Shut it down!" Classes are effectively disrupted. Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) adds 5 demands to strike goal.



administration's call. Pres. Smith saw that a student strike, called by the Black Students Union on Nov. 6 and supported by masses of white students was growing and winning. The strike was called to protest the firing of George Murray, a teacher and a member of the Black Panther Party. Murray was suspended because he spoke loud and heavy to the need of black people to fight against oppression. Murray said that the slumlord bankers, the fruit growers getting rich by exploiting non-white labor, the big land developers who drive black people from their homes, all must be dealt with for what they are--oppressors.

It just so happens that the oppressors Murray talks about sit on the Board of Trustees (Swim, Luckman, Hart, etc.). These men define both the role of the university and the end that it serves. George Murray threatened the Trustees and their interests, thus they had him suspended. White students at State said that oppressed people of all races have a right and a need to resist and overthrow that oppression, so they struck in support. White students said that a university must not serve the interests of the corporate elite by training technicians and managers whose role in society is to keep oppressed people down. White students said the university must serve the community at large--the Black, Brown and white working people.

The strike grew. Students saw how through the media and other means the administration tried to divide students by playing on racist fears, threatening strikers with suspension, and toning down the success of the strike. It didn't work! The people, Black, Brown, and white students, grew stronger; the strike gained momentum---this scared the administration. So, by using "any means necessary" to break the strike, the administration called on the cops, just as factory owners strong-arm striking workers, attempting to physically break the strike.

This intimidation won't work. White students are beginning to realize the nature of the corporate

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42

elite who control our universities, and feed us the ideology of racism to keep white and black from uniting against them. White students realize that the university is being used as a training ground to mold students into a society that will maintain the intolerable conditions of oppression. We students at SF State know that by organizing and strengthening our commitment to fight racism and the corporate power structure that perpetuates it, nothing, not even the Tactical Squad can break it up.

We are saying that if the college does not function for all the people it has no right to function at all. We have closed S.F. State College. We are continuing to build a powerful movement, it gains its strength from its people, a mass movement which will not let State reopen until the demands of the BSU and the Third World are met and the college begins to serve all the people.

We are telling our story to other campuses. Our struggle is not being waged in a vacuum. Other colleges face similar problems, and are run by similar men with similar interests. Students must fight in a similar way. We feel that our struggle is your struggle, and that yours is ours. Only through mass bodies of organized people can we all win. We are calling for a general strike of all State college campuses; a strike putting forward the demand: we, as white students, support the right of Black and Third World people to liberate themselves from their oppression. We, as white students, have no interest in maintaining the oppression of other peoples. The racist ideology pumped into us through the college system does not serve our interest; it is detrimental to the building of a decent society. We, as white students, must fight corrupt racist ideology. We will strike to win.

Leaflet issued by Progressive Labor Party  
on Nov. 14

#### PIG WEDNESDAY AT S F STATE COLLEGE

Early in the morning all silverware and dishes were replaced by plastic and paper dishware in the Commons. About an hour later, the Commons



workers were asked to remove their cars from their usual parking places behind the Commons. At one o'clock, after one of the most tranquil days on campus since the beginning of the strike (except for the adding of fifty faculty members to the growing numbers of the students on the strike) the Tactical Squad marched across campus to the Black Students Union office, waiting outside until a crowd of students gathered. Suddenly surging into the crowd, the pigs jumped some Black students. For the first time in a week, students, Black and white, fought back, driving the police back down to the Psychology building.

A three-year-old child could see through the official story of why 30 pigs marched on campus. The press and the administration would have us believe that the pigs came to the aid of a KGO reporter who had called them up and said he was "assaulted" by a Black student. How could anyone believe, even granting that the reporter was not lying, that he needed the assistance of over 30 tactical pigs to aid him when he was perfectly able to get to the telephone. The conclusion is obvious: Pig Wednesday at SFSC was staged from beginning to end by the administration and their numerous allies, from the SF Pig Department to the mass media. It was a planned, calculated attack, organized by Smith to break the strike by intimidating students.

President "Pig" Smith, let the cat out of the bag at his press conference, when he announced he had decided to close the campus down "officially" until further notice. He said the strike had shown that "the educational process could be disrupted by a small minority of students and faculty" and that he was closing the campus to settle this problem once and for all.

The fact of the matter is that an ever-growing majority of students were organizing in active opposition to the policies of Smith, the Board of Trustees, and the whole nature of education in this country. This intimidation of sending the pig patrol on campus, and then officially

closing down the school, is the last in a long series of attempts by Smith to break the growing resistance of students to his racist policies. When Smith accuses "a small minority" of disrupting the campus, he is perfectly right. The administration, and the class whose interests it represents, is a small minority, not only at SF State, but in this country and the whole world. In particular, it was a small minority of people, the Board of Trustees, which suspended Black Panther George Murray. They took this action because he advocated that students should not remain defenseless in the face of administration-inspired police violence, such as yesterday's brutality. And again this same small minority, disrupted and broke promises of accrediting a Black Studies program as well as promises of admitting Black and Third World students to SFSC. Again the representative of this same small minority, sent the pigs on campus to disrupt and crush both the struggle of Black and Third World students for their demands, and the overwhelming support which their struggle received from their fellow white students. Students at SFSC and world-wide are becoming increasingly concerned about dealing with this "small minority", whether it be the opposition to their mis-education at the colleges, or the fight against this small minority's attempts to dominate and exploit the people in Vietnam. Make no mistake--the Board of Trustees are not an entity in themselves. They are part of the ruling class which runs this country and most of the world, using its power to bilk the masses of people for their own profits.

With only half of the Trustees and Regents researched, we find that the firms they control or represent have aggregate assets of \$46,500,000, 000. and profits of \$930,832,000. for the year 1967. Running every aspect of this country for their own ends, this class is a small minority disrupting the well-being of the people of this country and most of the world. President Smith, the Trustees, and the imperialist class are the small minority. We must deal with them once and

workers were asked to remove their cars from their usual parking places behind the Commons. At one o'clock, after one of the most tranquil days on campus since the beginning of the strike (except for the adding of fifty faculty members to the growing numbers of the students on the strike) the Tactical Squad marched across campus to the Black Students Union office, waiting outside until a crowd of students gathered. Suddenly surging into the crowd, the pigs jumped some Black students. For the first time in a week, students, Black and white, fought back, driving the police back down to the Psychology building.

A three-year-old child could see through the official story of why 30 pigs marched on campus. The press and the administration would have us believe that the pigs came to the aid of a KGO reporter who had called them up and said he was "assaulted" by a Black student. How could anyone believe, even granting that the reporter was not lying, that he needed the assistance of over 30 tactical pigs to aid him when he was perfectly able to get to the telephone. The conclusion is obvious: Pig Wednesday at SFSC was staged from beginning to end by the administration and their numerous allies, from the SF Pig Department to the mass media. It was a planned, calculated attack, organized by Smith to break the strike by intimidating students.

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The fact of the matter is that an ever-growing majority of students were organizing in active opposition to the policies of Smith, the Board of Trustees, and the whole nature of education in this country. This intimidation of sending the pig patrol on campus, and then officially

rhetoric. The standard liberal jingle goes, "Of course we realize there are great weaknesses in our education system; however, it only makes it worse to disrupt rather than using the regular channels to solve these problems. Worst of all, the use of violence. So if we can't agree on anything else, let us, along with Governor Reagan, Robert Smith, and Mayor Alioto, condemn violence and go back to classes so that the grievances can be worked out through the regular channels."

We should not be taken in by jingles like this or any variations of it anymore than we were last week. First, the history of any change or betterment of conditions of any oppressed or exploited groups, whether workers, students, or Third World people, has only occurred when they have seen through the establishment's existing channels and organized themselves - like Black students and their white student supporters have done at SFSC. Let us remember the regular channels, i.e. the administration had been promising to accredit a Black Studies Department over the last year and a half. Also, let us remember that when liberals (the administration) finds their regular channels too cumbersome, they ignore them, e.g. the firing of John Gerassi, George Murray, and the suspension of two students last Friday by Smith's specially appointed junta, appointed because the regular student court was too cumbersome.

When the cry "violence" is raised, we should ask, "Violence by whom and against what?" We should definitely condemn the systematic violence of the administration and the Board of Trustees against Black students in particular, and all students in general. It is this attack on the Black student movement, specifically George Murray and the Black Studies Program, which led to the necessary tactic of the strike in the first place. When they discovered that the strike was winning, it was again the Trustees and Administration that resorted to the armed violence of the Pig Dept. Wednesday in order to suppress the strike. Not only should these actions be condemned, but we



should also support the right of students to defend themselves from the administration-sent police.

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There will be a lot of talk about how there is not enough money to finance a Black Studies Dept. It is not a question of money, but rather that the administration, Trustees, and government feel that they want to spend the peoples' money on things which more serve their own interest, like the Vietnam war or the Athletic Department, than on a project that would serve Black and Brown students. Whatever concessions that have been granted so far, or will be granted in the future will not be given because the Trustees or administration has had a change in heart, but rather they see no other way in which they can re-open their college.

Another refrain, with a slightly reactionary tinge, is the story of a "handful of activists playing on the sympathies of the 'naive' students". Governor Reagan claims that there are one hundred of these monsters; Robert Smith hasn't disclosed how many he has counted; however, the point they and others who resort to this tactic are exposing is their utter contempt for large numbers of students who have risked their grades and in some cases their physical well-being to wage a struggle against the racist policies of the Administration and Trustees. We are quite capable of seeing when we are being used and when we are not. In fact, the reason why we went on strike was because we were sick of seeing our apathy used to support the denial of rights of Third World students and faculty by a small handful of people, namely the Administration and Trustees.

The latter will have to realize that the only way to end the strike is to meet the Black and Third World demands. We are sick of their promises and "good intentions". We are also no longer willing to be intimidated by their threats and police harassment.

There will be a meeting this afternoon to

power as a class can we talk of a society where<sup>46</sup> violence is not necessary. Until then we must use every means at our disposal to destroy them.

Smith hopes that by closing the campus he will be able to stop us from growing and increasing our strength. His closing the campus will not stop us. It didn't stop us last Wednesday. It doesn't stop us now.

First we must go into the community and explain to working people that the press's jingoistic lying about our struggle is a crock of shit. We should follow the example of the French students. They went to the factories and communities and built an alliance with the working class which shook DeGaulle's facism to its foundations.

Second we must systematically carry the struggle against racism to the other State colleges and to universities across the country. Not only should SFSC be closed down. Every single college in the state system should be shut until the demands are met.

We can win this battle, not because we are foxier than Smith or the Trustees, but because our fight is in the interest of the vast majority of people, while the actions of the Board of Trustees and President "Pig" Smith are only in the interest of the ruling class, a small minority of people in this country.

Leaflet issued Nov. 18 by Strike Committee

PROMISE THEM ANYTHING, BUT GIVE THEM A SHUCK

This Monday, the Administration is trying a new tactic. As the radio says, President Smith is requesting that all students come to campus in order to participate in Departmental meetings about the problems that face the college. What is the Administration's game?

The administration has used everything from liberal rhetoric to tactical police over the last week and a half to break the strike. The chances are that Monday will be a day devoted to liberal

The calling of the convocation by the faculty possesses both positive and negative aspects. For the first time the faculty as a body has openly defied the administration and Trustees. Further, the faculty saw that classes could not resume with absolutely no resolution of the issues. On the negative side however, clarification through discussion of the Third World demands will not bring about a meeting of the demands. Regardless of the amount of communication and discussion between faculty, students and administration, it must be recognized that only through the collective action of students and faculty united and striking for the 10 demands will the Trustees yield. 49

We must be clear that the interest of the administration and the Board of Trustees does not lie in meeting the 10 demands and rehiring George Murray. Smith and the Trustees have had 3 years to meet most of the demands, and Smith and the Trustees have neglected a Third World admissions program that students fought for and won last year. They are not interested in meeting the needs of the Third World community. They are only interested in using the university to serve their own interests. Students and faculty who support the 10 demands must unite behind the demands and continue to strike!!

The faculty has taken a first step. However, in order for George Murray to teach on campus and in order to establish an Ethnic Studies Department the faculty must unite with the students around the 10 demands.

Wednesday, Nov. 20 -

Some classes reopen as Convocation goes on in hostile atmosphere. BSU-TWLF agrees to participate in Convocation as an educational tactic. Campus occupied by 200 plainclothes police and Tactical Squad in boiler rooms.

Thursday, Nov. 21 -

Classes and Convocation continue. BSU-TWLF demand that Smith suspends classes to

Thursday, Nov. 21 - con't

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establish atmosphere of good faith for Convocation. Smith refuses and striking students walk out of Convocation. Thousands of strikers march through buildings, closing down classes. Plainclothesmen attempting to stop the action and arrest leaders are hassled by strikers. Tac Squad appears to protect empty buildings. on a closed campus.

Friday, Nov 22 -

Allioto proposes negotiations. Academic Senate suggests Department meetings to discuss possibility of another Convocation. Smith cancels afternoon classes for Department meetings. Departments call for Convocation with no classes to be held and immediate withdrawal of all cops from the campus.

Leaflet issued Nov 25 by Progressive Labor Party

### STRIKE TO WIN!

The student strike for the 15 demands of the BSU and TWLF is mushrooming. Whole departments (Art, Psychology, Speech) have gone out. Militant mass actions by the strikers, under the leadership of Third World students, have shut down the school three times. Faced with the united strength of Third World and white students, the Administration is running scared in desperate attempts to smash, split, or co-opt this student struggle.

In trying to stop the strike from winning, the Administration has relied so far on three main tactics: racism and red-baiting, liberalism and co-option (convocation), and the violent force of the state (cops).

1) Racism and Red-baiting - In Smith's "state of the campus" speech last Wednesday and his subsequent statements he has carefully avoided confronting the issue of the 15 demands and his refusal to grant those demands, and has talked repeatedly about "patterns of criminal behavior", "criminal elements on campus", and "forces conten-



ding to control the college, including extreme<sup>51</sup> left groups and minority students". Smith's speeches are a classic example of an age old tactic of the ruling class. Whenever the people begin to organize and fight to better the conditions under which this racist system of exploitation (imperialism) forces them to live, the ruling class, through its mass media and its flunky-politicians like Smith, tries to weed out and turn the people against the more radical elements in the people's organizations.

This racist, red-baiting attack by Smith is mainly aimed at the militancy and direct action of the BSU and TWLF in an attempt to curb militant action and channel the strike into academic talk sessions. It is secondarily aimed at isolating the more radical elements of the white students, such as SDS and PL, leaving the leadership to the liberals and thus making it easier for the Administration to inflame racism, and, particularly around the question of violence, cut off white student support for the strike.

2) The Pigs and the Convocation - The Main ace-in-the-hole of the Administration during the whole strike has been the cops. They and the press gave tried to build up the Tac Squad as an almost mythical, invincible force. The Administration has tried to convince us that the Tac Squad are Super-Pigs. Smith knows that if student catch on to the fact that underneath the bluecoats is just a plain pig, we'll defend ourselves and our fellow students against them as we did against the three plainclothes pigs who pulled their clubs mace and guns up in the Humanities building last Thursday. Realizing that students are standing their ground and in many cases chasing plainclothes pigs off campus, Smith, acting on a blueprint from Alioto, proposed a "peace" plan to "restore order". The Alioto-Smith plan calls for a three-day talk session to "study the bitter issue confronting our society today". Classes will meet but "only for the purposes of discussing the issues," says Smith. A few hours of education on the demands by the TWLF-BSU could be a positive step if it leads toward building the strike to

win the demands. But Smith, Alioto, as well as<sup>52</sup> the faculty, who took the Smith-Alioto proposal and changed the wording to try and make it more acceptable to the Third World groups, intend not for the convocation to build the strike but in fact to co-opt and end it! This is clearly stated in the Alioto-Smith proposal which the faculty passed: the convocation is aimed at killing time until the Thanksgiving vacation and on Dec. 2nd classes are to resume as normal whether the demands are met or not! (This is reminiscent of last year's War Crisis Convocation when the Administration tried to divert and co-opt a militant campus anti-war movement into week-long convocation. This convocation ended in 27 resolutions on the war, and no action against the recruiters.) The maneuvering of the faculty in helping to sell the Alioto-Smith plan to the striking students is typical of the role they've played during the whole strike. A leader of the liberal wing of the faculty said it best: "We're a DMZ, a buffer between students and the Administration, trying to help stabilize the campus".

Why is the Smith Administration, Alioto, and every ruling class politician in California trying to break this strike and keep from granting the demands? The reason is that the 15 demands of the BSU-TWLF hit at the heart of the class nature of the university. The university is not neutral or autonomous. It serves the ruling imperialist class of this country (such as the corporate financiers who sit on the Board of Trustees) in two main ways: 1) by developing and perpetuating ruling class ideology, the foundation of which is racism, and 2) by training managers, technicians and teachers to take this ideology back to the factories and communities and keep this imperialist system running smoothly. The BSU-TWLF demands say basically that the university should serve Black and Brown working people and students. That rather than being excluded from college so that they'll be a cheap source of labor and super-profits for Del Monte's Dudley Swim and his like, that the university should be opened up to all Third World students who apply. That people such as George Murray, who spoke out for the need of

Black and Brown people to arm themselves, should be allowed to teach Black studies classes. There is a basic class conflict between BSU-TWLF demands and the Board of Trustees and the rest of the ruling class.

We can win these demands if we stay alert to the tactics of the Administration and go into the community and build an alliance with working people. But before the university will really serve Black and Brown people, working people and students will have to unite to wage a protracted revolutionary armed struggle to totally overthrow the imperialist class and its state, and replace it with a revolutionary socialist state run by the armed Black, Brown, and white working class.

Monday, November 25 -

BSU-TWLF approved convocation (televised to the community) begins while Trustees meet in Los Angeles to Discuss the S.F. State crisis.

Tuesday, November 26 -

BSU-TWLF call an end to convocation when letters of suspension are received by some striking students. In Los Angeles Smith submits his resignation to the Trustees. Smith's reason for resigning "an inability to resolve issues amidst the various political pressures. A half hour later the Trustees name S.I. Hayakawa to be their new lackey. Hayakawa orders the campus closed.

Wednesday, November 27 -

Students and faculty in defiance of Hayakawas "closed campus" order occupy the campus to organize the strike and denounce Hayakawa.

Leaflet reprinted several times by SDS research Committee

DUDLEY SWIM - WHO ARE YOU?

an economic description and political analysis of the trustees & regents

The Trustees suspended George Murray. Murray is <sup>54</sup> a spokesman for Black Liberation. He teaches that Black and Third World people must resist their oppressors by any means necessary. The Trustees and Regents who came down on Eldridge Cleaver's head see these two men as a threat to the universities. Why? Because it is the Trustees and Regents who define what the role of a university should be, how it should be run and what interest it should serve. Murray and Cleaver are indeed a threat to their horded wealth. So too, a threat, are the Vietnamese, Latin American, and African people who have taken up the gun in the name of Liberation to fight against those economic powers that are materially oppressing them.

Just who are these men, what are the interests they have and why is the cry of Liberation of oppressed peoples a threat to them? On the Board of Trustees sit at least 6 bankers, 4 of which represent banks with total assets of \$38 billion and profit (from banking ventures alone) of \$224 million. One bank, the Bank of America, has investment holdings all over the world, including South Africa. In this country the big banks function as tyrannical slum lords who are constantly driving people from their homes.

Also sitting as a policymaker of our colleges is Catherine Hearst, wife of Randolph Hearst, president of the Hearst Publishing Co. It is Hearst who publishes the Los Angeles Examiner, a paper whose employees went out on strike last year. The constant cry of violence was of no concern to the Trustees and Regents when the Examiner brought in scabs to break the strike or when they called the cops to beat and gas the strikers. This was simply a case of "protecting their interests" from law breakers.

There is a Mr. McLaughlin on the Board of Regents who operates South American copper mines, getting rich off the tortuous toil of the people of Chile and Argentina.

Sitting in judgement of the Board of Trustees is Earle Jorgenson, a director of the Transamerica



Coporation. Transamerica has assets of \$2,928,000,000. Last year it made \$68,212,000. in profits. Some of those profits came at the expense of the Bay Area Theatre Janitors who have been on strike against United Artists (which is owned by Transamerica) for the past 6 months. The janitors are striking for a decent wage, one that can at least keep pace with the rising cost of living.

Then, of course, there is Dudley Swim. Not only is he a Trustee but he sits on the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corp., the 168th largest industry in the U.S. Del Monte did pretty good last year in the profit department clearing \$27,250,000. This wouldn't have been possible hadn't there been Third World people forced to pick their lousy fruit down in the San Joaquin Valley for \$1.25 an hour. We say forced because they don't have the educational background to get better jobs. It's only "good business" that Swim makes educational policies that exclude any appreciable numbers of Third World people from getting into college.

Also making profit and policy is Trustee George Hart. He is director of Babcox-Wilcox, the 141st largest U.S. industry, General American Transportation Corp., which made \$26,700,000. in profits last year, Liberty Mutual (Swim is also a director), Bank of San Rafael, Association of Investors of Northern California, and Boston Manufactures Mutual Insurance Co. When George Murray says Black people must arm themselves and resist their oppressors, Hart cringes.

William Roth is a Regent and among other things is a director of Crown Zellerbach (\$914,000,000. in assets, \$46,727,000. in profits for 1967) largest paper producer in the U.S. This company adds to its coffers and to the stability of apartheid South Africa by investing much capital there.

Samuel Mosher, a Regent, is the oil tycoon of the bunch. He is chairman of Signal Oil which rapes the ground of Venezuela for its oil. The Vene-

Arabs, though they break their backs in the oil fields, see little of the fruits of their labor. Mosher also is the vice-president of American Independent Oil Co. which steals oil from Saudi Arabia. To give the reader an indication of how oil operates, the big oil producer in that area, Aramco, keeps 85% of the total profits, King Feisal keeps 15% and the 6 million people of Saudi Arabia keep nothing.

James Thacher is a Trustee. He is also a lawyer. He used to work for the Sullivan & Cromwell law firm. So Sullivan & Cromwell was John Foster Dulles' outfit. This law firm handles accounts for big corporations. During the 1930's it was instrumental in placing American capital in the service of German industrialists financing and rearming Hitler through the firm of J. Henry and Schroeder & Co.

Charles Luckman, a Trustee, is a multi-million dollar architect-developer-constructor. He has designed and built strategic military bases in Spain and Thailand, Disneyland Hotel, CBS-TV City, Convair Astronautics missile and space facility. Perhaps his greatest achievement was designing and building Bunker Hill Redevelopment Project in L.A. which pushed many Black people from their homes.

Though our research is far from complete, we could go on. We know that of just more than half the Regents and Trustees researched, they control or represent firms with aggregate assets of \$46,500,000,000. and profits (1967) of \$930,832,000. Among the wealth that sits on those boards are representatives of at least 6 banks, 3 newspaper chains, 2 oil companies, 3 aircraft manufactures, 2 shipping lines, 3 airlines, a half dozen real estate and insurance companies, half the food packing industry (Hunt and Delmonte) several chain stores (Broadway Hale and Nieman Marcus) and 2 giant utilities.

The monopoly capitalists and their firms which control our universities have but one thing uppermost in their minds--that is to maintain

their economic and political position. They do<sup>57</sup> this in the U.S. by exploiting Black, Third World and white laborers and abroad by exploiting Third World people in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Their profits are maximized and their positions secured by instilling racial hatred among white and Black workers, white and Black students. This keeps the oppressed peoples of all colors fighting each other rather than uniting against their common enemy--the monopolists. It is good business to keep these people in their place and it is good business to run the universities to train students willingly or unwillingly to serve their interest. It is when George Murray stands up and says Black people must fight the oppressors that their profits are threatened. The Trustees will use "any means necessary" to break strikes and to stop Liberation Movements in places like Venezuela and Watts.

To believe in the Liberation of oppressed peoples is to oppose their oppressors. The Trustees and Regents are the oppressors having a vested interest in maintaining that role. But students have no vested interest in opposing Liberation. In fact, we are hurt by submitting to university training which fills us with racist ideology designed to keep Black people down. We can build a movement only when we strive to achieve liberation of all oppressed people, if we fight the racism of the oppressor which is built into the school system. We must take the stand with the Black students in supporting the right to self-determination by striking.

Thanksgiving Holidays -

Strike organizing continues.

Leaflet issued on Dec. 2 by Strike Committee

#### HAYAKAWA: THE SEMANTICS OF STRIKEBREAKING

The popular notion that the campus community governs itself has been shattered by the growing awareness among students and faculty that the state college system is run like a corporation.

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Change in a corporation is directed from the top down: never have the changes been directed towards the interests of the employees. Change is for the economic interests of the corporation. The decisions for corporate change are made by the board of directors. Employees and other people affected by these decisions have no voice. The only part they are allowed to play in the "decision-making process" is relegated to the meaninglessness of the company suggestion box.

Instead of a board of directors, the state college system has a board of trustees. Instead of a suggestion box, we have "proper channels" and due process. The B.S.U. has been trying to implement programs in the interest of all students for the past three years, going through all the proper channels according to due process procedures. The strike was called because minority peoples on this campus have learned that the due process method cannot accomplish needed change for students; workers learned much earlier that the suggestion box cannot accomplish change. The strike is the only tactic the people in this college have to force the trustees into acting on the demands necessary for black and third world students to function in the university. Like the workers, the strike's objective is to stop production of the physical plant until that plant serves the people, both in that plant and in the community. The real material interests of the employees are not served by the "top down" corporate structure. The only way, as the history of labor struggle shows, is when employees make known their grievances and make the corporation respond to them. And, since corporations have been reluctant, to the point of violence, to improve their employees' conditions, workers have taken the initiative by calling a strike. When faced with workers' strikes, corporations have but one attitude - break them.

Historically the company uses three ways to break strikes: 1) direct workers' grievances through endless and meaningless channels, 2) attempt to co-opt the struggles by employing 90-day cooling off periods, one-sided stacked arbitration,



attempts to force sell-out compromises, 3) intimidation such as court injunctions, threats of firing, importing strike-breakers, bringing cops to physically break the strike. <sup>59</sup>

How different is the situation at San Francisco State? How different is the strategy put forward by a board of directors than the one put forward by the board of trustees and their lackey-legmen? First, we know that from Trustee Merriam, Reagan, and down the line, the Board of Trustees have screamed, "The campus must be opened." The translation reads: "Break the strike." How have their hired hands tried to implement that strategy? 1) The Smith Administration (now defunct) tried to break the strike by telling Third World people to take their demands through proper channels--faculty-student investigatory committees pertaining to the economic feasibility and the social desirability of a proposed black and ethnic studies program. What happened? Three years of committees, studies, good intentions, faculty and administrative rhetoric resulted in what was intended -- a dead end. 2) Smith actually proposed a 90-day "cooling-off period" to "reassess our relationships with minority groups.", and "establish patterns that move the concerned members of the campus community in a direction that recognizes the legitimate aspirations of some members in the minority groups." Translation reads: "Let's talk ourselves to death hoping, to quote Alioto "The fever will run its course." Smith also tried to break the strike by co-optation in the form of a high-pressured one-sided arbitration board, proposed by a member of the Urban Studies Department. 3) Smith, sensing he shouldn't put all his liberal apples in one barrel of co-optation, used the most effective weapon he had, a weapon proved and tested true by such men as Hearst, Ford, etc. Smith used the cops, officialized intimidators, to physically break the strike.

The students at S.F. State, seeing through Smith's shenanigans, built mass support for the strike and soundly defeated each attempt by Smith to crush the strike. When Smith became useless to the trustees, they brought in a new puppet who

promptly took a hard line, threatening student<sup>60</sup> strikers with general intimidation and mass police violence. This new puppet is the internationally known semanticist, locally known right-wing reactionary professor, president, Puppet S.I. Hayakawa.

The trustees have a dual strategy in using S.I. Hayakawa: 1) to instill fear into students by a series of bans on rallies, threats of suspensions, use of police, calling on "loyal" students to wear blue armbands in an attempt to divide students--all used to intimidate students not to strike; 2) The use of a member of the Third World, who in this case heads the right-wing faculty group "The Renaissance", to take any legitimacy away from the demands and counter the charge of racism. The U.S. government uses right-wing nationalists to break struggles abroad, i.e. Vietnam's Ky Thieu, Greece's military junta, Haiti's Duvalier. Similarly, the trustees slickly and snakily use a Third World person in their desperate attempt to break the struggle against racism on this campus.

If we stand alone, we will fall victims to Hayakawa's threats--we can be suspended, arrested, the strike will be broken. Yet, by relying on ourselves, a mass of students united around political beliefs, we will increase the power we've demonstrated we have. We can stand up to Hayakawa, overcome his threats and intimidation, force him into the graveyard of flunkey presidents, and make the trustees capitulate to the fifteen demands. By standing together en masse we follow the example set by workers, at such places as Flint, Mich. (1937) and Newport News, Virginia (1966) and countless other places that show masses of people engaged in struggle around specific goals can win in the face of insurmountable odds.

Monday, Dec. 2 -

Hayakawa reopens the campus with a hardline "state of emergency" and 650 cops to maintain fascist law and racist order. Hayakawa attacks strikers' soundtruck parked off cam-

pus, assaulting students, ripping out speaker wires and inciting to riot by littering the street with "blue armbands" which were being passed out to students supporting Hayakawa's position. At noon an "illegal" rally is held on the steps of the Administration Building. Rally is followed by marches on police occupied classroom buildings resulting in a massive confrontation between thousands of striking students and 650 cops. 6

Leaflet issued by Strike Committee on Dec 2

WARNING--BEWARE OF FANATICS  
MASQUERADING AS COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

This morning a fanatic bearing a striking resemblance to our dignified president of the month, Hayakawa, viciously attacked the strike sound truck on 19th Ave. This unbalanced individual tore loose the speaker wires and began passing out mimeographed sheets with blue ribbons attached. At first we thought they were prizes for creative broadcasting. The paper turned out to be on the semantics of strike-breaking and the blue ribbon a booby prize for right-wing flunkies.

When it was pointed out that the man had no business being on a student's truck, the poor fellow started shoving students and screaming, "Don't touch me, I'm the president of the college." In the interest of safety on campus we demand that such fruitcakes be removed at once. That goes as well for the club-swinging, blue-suited Napoleons which the press so rightly denounced yesterday for their brutality in Chicago.

Tuesday, Dec. 3 -

Picket line formed by 30 students at classroom building is routed by 40 club-swinging Tac Squaders. Picketers are chased into student Commons where students are indiscriminately hassled and clubbed. At noon rally Third World community leaders speak in support of strike. March on classroom building is met with 650 cops. A bloody two-hour battle ensues between students and

cops. Chicago repeats itself on the S.F. 62  
State campus. Hayakawa, summing up the day,  
stated that the day was his "most exciting  
day since he rode a roller coaster on his  
tenth birthday."

Wednesday, Dec. 4 -

Black community leaders meet with Hayakawa and denounce him. Hayakawa walks out. Third World community leaders march on campus in support of strike and join rally. Thousands of strikers march off campus to build community support for the strike. Community people picket Hall of Justice in protest of police on campus. Strikers picket City Hall in protest of the same.

Thursday, Dec. 5 -

Noon rally with many working people from the Third World communities (mothers from Hunters Point, etc.) ends with a march led by Third World community people and students on the Administration building to confront Hayakawa. This march is met by cops with drawn guns and mace protecting Hayakawa's office. A confrontation ensued resulting in the arrest of more students. The confrontation is carried to the streets tying up traffic in front of campus for 45 minutes.

Friday, Dec. 6 -

The strike is one month old. Hayakawa, in an effort to squelch growing community support, meets about 1½ demands. The strikers and community meet Hayakawa's deal with cries of, "Bullshit, bullshit, bullshit!" Strikers and community people march off campus in solidarity chanting, "We'll be back, we'll be back," and once again march at City Hall.

Saturday, Dec. 7 -

The Strike Committee holds a community rally at City Hall attended by several thousand strikers and supporters. The rally is followed with a march through downtown to S.F. Chronicle & Examiner building to protest racist, distorted coverage of the strike.



Sunday, Dec. 8 -

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Third World community holds a rally at City Hall in support of the strike.

Leaflet issued Dec. 9 by Strike Committee

### PHONY PEACE PLAN FAILS

#### Carrot and the Stick--

Hayakawa, like every ruler everywhere who wants to keep people in line, uses "the carrot and the stick" tactics, offering minor concessions and THREATENING police terror. His "big stick" tactic failed four days last week, so in a desperate attempt to appease students and appear reasonable to faculty and the community, he offered his "peace plan". In fact Hayakawa offered nothing new on Friday.

#### Demands -

In place of the demand for a School of Ethnic Studies he offered to set administration-controlled committee up to study the matter and report in two weeks. The TWLF turned down this plan when the faculty passed it three weeks ago.

In place of the 50 faculty positions demanded for Ethnic Studies (including 20 for Black Studies), Hayakawa offered 11.3 for Black Studies alone. The BSU and TWLF also rejected this sop three weeks ago.

In place of the demand that the Black students and faculty control the Black Studies Dept., Hayakawa offered a department with "no more and no less autonomy than any other department." In other words, Hayakawa could fire Black Studies faculty members over the objections of the department, just as he fired Bill Stanton over the Economic Dept's objections last year.

In place of the demand for admission next fall of all black and Third World students who apply, Hayakawa offered to appoint an administrator to recruit more minority students. It wouldn't do much good to recruit them if they couldn't get in.

Before Hayakawa said he had no power to meet the demands. On Friday his bosses on the Board of Trustees suddenly gave him the power to meet some

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of them partially. Hayakawa and the Trustees see they will have to give the Black and Third World students something to get out of the mess they are in, and they are trying to get off as cheaply as they can.

Police -

Hayakawa's 'stick' is the police. He says that they are here to protect persons and property, but everyone who has seen them at work know that they are here to terrorize students in general and black students in particular, to try to break the strike.

But throughout this strike students have stayed united, and last week black community people joined them, to defeat the police. Whenever there are more people than pigs, and the people are willing to fight, the pigs have not got a chance.

Black and Third World students are leading this strike just as Black and Third World people in the U.S. are in the vanguard of the struggle for reforms. Our role as striking white students is to support and follow this vanguard.

Monday, Dec. 9 -

Campus still occupied by 650 cops. Following noon rally and march on classroom building, a confrontation ensues in the rain. The police try a new tactic - mounted police in cavalry formation.

Tuesday, Dec. 10 -

Heavy rain forces rally indoors followed by a march off campus to build more community support. In a press conference the BSU-TWLF declares war on those forces controlling the college.

Wednesday, Dec. 11 -

Students walking picket lines attacked several times by Tac Squad. At noon rally 200 police surround strikers and wade in to arrest one strike leader in center of crowd. Students wearing blue armbands and wielding blackjacks attack striking students; when soundly trounced by the strikers, they ran behind the

police lines.

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Thursday, Dec. 12 -

Once again Tac Squad attacks picket line. As solidarity march leaves campus, cops attack and club students. Students stone the buildings and the cops.

Friday, Dec. 13 -

Tac Squad runs into picket line to arrest strike leaders. Hayakawa closes campus one week early for Christmas vacation to avert show of community support called for Monday, Dec. 16.

## COMMUNITY SUPPORT

This section is composed of two leaflets written by the Strike Committee and several by the Committee to Support the Student Strikers, rank-and-file telephone workers and ILWU members. SDS put forward that the key to victory rests with the support we obtained from the working community. Our aim was to show that this was not a struggle for student power. We attacked racism as the tool used to divide people and pointed out consistently that the educational institutions do not serve the people but are an arm of the corporate elite.

Leaflet issued by the Strike Committee

## THOUSANDS STRIKE AT S.F. STATE

The news has carried sensational and distorted "terror stories" about the student strike at San Francisco State College. The minimal damage done by students was not done out of a lack of respect for the workers who built and maintain the school with their tax money. Rather, the broken windows occurred out of the same frustration which caused the Hearst-Examiner workers to break windows at the L.A. plant. If the college administration sided with us, if the bosses sided with us, there would be no need for violence anywhere. However, the college, like the company, is not interested in student and working class needs. The college tries to make students into non-thinking cogs who will go along with the brutal treatment of black people, the low wages of working people, and the wars which benefit none of us. The college, making a direct attack on the Black Studies Program, depended on the apathy and racist attitudes of the student body to back it up. We would like to explain why we chose to fight against the attack.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All  
In its fight to get better housing, jobs and living conditions for Black working people, the Black Liberation Movement is a powerful and progressive force. Part of this movement is on our campus in the form of the Black Students Union.



In attacking the Black Studies Program by firing George Murray the college Board of Trustees did so to weaken this total movement, which threatens the hoarded millions the Trustees have made off the backs of black, brown and white working people. For example, Trustee Dudley Swim sits on the Board of Directors of the giant Del Monte Corporation which pays Mexican-American laborers \$1.25 an hour to pick their fruit. A decent life for Mexican-Americans means less profit for Dudley Swim. White workers fight the same bosses--white students fight the same bosses. For example, another Trustee Jorgensen is part of the same corporation, Transamerica, that the San Francisco movie janitors are striking against. University of California Regent, Catherine Hearst, fights the L.A. Examiners workers strike for decent wages. We are all in the same fight!

Should the Campus be a Battleground?

We don't think the campus is apart from the rest of society. It trains the teachers, technicians, managers, etc., so necessary to this system. Some skills we learn at school, like efficiency (speed-up) experts, cause us to work directly against most working people. Also in training us for other jobs such as teaching, the university tries to make sure we will have anti-community ideas. One way to do this is to foster racism. This is to insure that when we become teachers in the S.F. school system, where one half the kids are non-white, we will accept our roles as "classroom cops" having little regard for the non-white students and their parents. We are sick of this kind of education.

Where Will we Go from Here?

President Robert Smith called for a 90-day cooling off period (sound familiar?). He has also tried to get students to talk together in a convocation without cancelling classes, making a farce of the black and Third World students who were taking part in the panel for the convocation. The students rejected this trick and marched out as a body to continue the strike.

With the strike 17 days old (as of 11/22) and growing stronger, we won't buy these tricks. Thousands of students are striking--many have

jobs and families---and more join us daily. The faculty has voted to discontinue classes until the issues are settled. The administration responds to this united voice with the Police Tactical Squad and their guns, and dozens of plainclothes cops. We will not be stopped. We see the fight against racism as essential in unifying people to win the fights in factories, schools and communities all over the country.

Leaflet issued by the Strike Committee

Fight Racism- On the Job & in the Schools

George Murray, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, is a graduate student and instructor of English at SF State. On Friday, Nov. 1 President Robert Smith and Chancellor Glenn Dumke suspended Murray as a student and as a faculty member.

We see this as a racist firing. The Black Panther program, which Murray represents, calls for full employment, decent housing, education that teaches the true history of black people in the US, an end to police brutality and murder and the right of black people to defend themselves against racist attacks. This is a program that has organized thousands of people in the black communities because, at this point, it is the clearest political program for changing the present system of economic exploitation and racist oppression of black people in this country. The Black Panther Party grew out of the need for organized self-defense against continual police brutality, the latest example of this being the murder of truck driver George Baskett by Michael O'Brien. (O'Brien is a member of the same police force which is used by bosses to break strikes.)

The Panthers have been subject to increasing attacks by the cops and by every government official from Johnson and Reagan down to college administrators like Dumke and Smith. This is because the Panther program threatens the economic interests of the small but powerful minority which runs this country and controls the cops and

government. In his work on campus George Murray talks about and organizes around this program. It is his connection with the Black Panthers and his statements about the right of black people to arm themselves for self-defense that Smith and Dumke give as excuses for firing him.

The members of the Board of Trustees are the people who directly control the university. They are appointed by the governor and represent the same big business interests that he represents. An example is Trustee Dudley Swim who is a member of the Board of Directors of the giant Del Monte Corporation. This corporation makes huge profits by paying black and Mexican-American farmworkers \$1.50, subjects them to inhuman living conditions, and forcibly fights their attempts to unionize. When George Murray says that black and brown people should organize to fight this exploitation he is a direct threat to the profits of these trustees and their corporations. So the university is not neutral but serves the interests of these large corporations. Those interests include keeping black and brown people uneducated so they will be a source of cheap labor. The university also trains the students to become managers, public relations men and women, and efficiency experts, jobs which keep them separated from the majority of working people black and white. Above all, the university tries to keep black students and white students fighting each other so they do not get together and fight the real enemy---the Board of Trustees and the big corporate interests.

Like the Trustees, the corporation bosses use racism as a divisive tactic. When workers go on strike, bosses often use the threat of hiring unemployed black people for lower wages to misdirect and undermine the militancy of the strike. This happened in the recent telephone workers strike when the State Department of Employment hired scabs for the telephone company. In strikes where black and white workers unite the bosses always try to split people by race in order to destroy the strike.

The bosses know that strikes are a dangerous threat to their interests, and they use everything possible including court injunctions and the cops to protect themselves. When we allow ourselves to be split on the basis of race or student vs. worker we are playing right into their hands. An example of this strength workers have when they fight against being divided by race is the recent strike by garment workers in New York City. 800 Latin, black and white workers united against both the company and their corrupt union leadership, stood up against the cops, scabs and injunctions, and won every demand. This strike shows that when we unite we can and will win.

We must begin to take these lessons beyond our own schools and shops to realize that in order to make basic changes in the profit making nature of this society, students and workers will have to unite and organize a mass movement against racism and exploitation.

The national elections play on the same racism that has been fostered on the job and in our schools. The cry of law and order attempts to turn white people against the fight of black people for demands such as full employment and better living conditions--demands in the interest of all working people. These same cries of law and order are always raised against student demonstrators and militant strikers (such as in the recent strike against the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.)

Phrases such as 'law and order' and 'national interests' represent subtle intimidations by those on top threatening anyone who fights and struggles--be it better housing, better wages, better education--in short a life free from oppression. What we must do is what the power structure fears most---the uniting of black and white working people to build an independent movement for social change.



Leaflet Issued By  
The Committee to Support the Student Strikers

Support the Student Strike - Come To The Campus

Students at San Francisco State College are on strike demanding equal and relevant education for all working people and minority groups. As always, the opposition is big business and big politicians. They are trying to keep college education open to only a few. As Ronald Reagan puts it, poor people do not need an education.

The police-state terror at SF State is not an isolated event. We all saw Chicago over TV in a state of shock. And just recently cops in New York assaulted demonstrating High School students.

Black people in this country have faced this police-state terror for a long time, as almost every Black Ghetto in the country has been invaded and assaulted and occupied by the cops and national guard. Too many honest working people have stood by silently for too long, leaving the comments to the high-paid politicians who hire the cops. We cannot stand silent any longer.

The SF State students are fighting racism. Racism is the main tool the big companies use to divide working people against each other and hide the real enemy. The old divide-and-conquer racket Hitler used so well. While black and white workers fight each other, the company's hand is in their pockets. Meanwhile the big corporations make billions extra profit each year just off the difference in what they pay black workers and white workers for the same work! Naturally men will rebel when they get kicked in the face long enough. That's what black people are doing today. And then the guy who's kicking them hollers, "Hey, no violence!"

As working people, we know where the cops stand. We've seen them bust the heads of working people. We've seen the big-money papers and TV holler about "labor agitators" causing violence and we've seen the big-business politicians try to divide us by screaming "law and order" while they raise our taxes for their war and rob us blind.

The striking students are asking that working people join their strike on campus. There will be rallies at noon everyday. As in any other strike, in order to win, students need the active support of working people. Many workers are taking off their job and going onto campus as a rank and file contingent carrying signs of solidarity. Their bosses are our bosses. Any fight against them is our fight.

LET'S KEEP THE SCHOOL CLOSED! CALL IN SICK AT WORK AND COME TO THE CAMPUS AT 19th & HOLLOWAY! BUSES:- "M" Street car, 26 Valencia, 28 19th Ave., and 17 Park Merced.

Leaflet Issued by The Rank & File Telephone Workers

### Telephone Workers Support The Student Strike

Racism is prevalent everywhere not just at State College. This isn't only a student battle, but the battle of every worker. Racism is the main way in which American workers are divided amongst themselves. When white and black workers see each other as enemies only the bosses profit. Racism is used intentionally by big business and its government to guarantee that corporations can continue to make their extra billions profit off the difference in what they pay Black and white workers and to prevent unity among them.

The bigger the company, the more blatant the racism, and the Phone Co. is the best example of this. One of their plans was to hire Chinese kids recently in from Hong Kong at \$1.00 an hour less than we get. Not only would they make a fantastic profit in the wage cut, but it would be another way to antagonize the white workers and further racism.

Another example is in their Urban Employment Development Program. The Phone Co. has no choice but to have their buildings and equipment located in the heart of the city (where the ghettos are) and cannot use the tactic of run-away shop. Therefore, they have been forced to set up this phony program to hire more black people by allowing them to by pass the regular testing requirements. When they get on the job, they make no effort to train them properly, and

fire them for not making the grade. Again they are trying to antagonize the white workers who had to take the entrance tests.

The Phone Co. is extremely afraid of the struggles in the black community for liberation and is trying to coopt their struggle by letting them think that they are "here to help." But an AT&T spokesman let the cat out of the bag by saying that they "also have more mundane business reasons for the project." "We have a stake in those communities where we provide service." They sure do have a stake--profit!

Violence seems to be a frequently recurring issue in this strike. Working people know where the cops stand in regard to a strike--they are sent there by the bosses and the government officials to crush the strike. They are sent armed, helmeted and club-wielding to brutally attack the students who are trying to defend their right to strike--to fight for justice--and to unite to destroy racism. We recently saw on our strike the attempt to use strike-breakers at several picket lines, workers run down by scab cars, and the tac squad in San Jose to protect the scabs and intimidate the strikers.

The students have supported us in the past and walked our lines. Let's give them the same kind of support. Join them on campus. Their fight is our fight. Solidarity Forever.

This Leaflet Issued by  
Rank and File ILWU Teamster Contingent

Teamsters, ILWU Support the Strike!

The response of the City to the demands of SF State college students for a decent education has been to call out 600 cops from 31 communities. These cops were called out because the Trustees and the SF Power Structure is afraid of the Strikers' fifteen demands and the increasing amount of mass support from the people that the strike is gaining. Time and again the police have charged the students' picket lines, forcing the students to defend themselves just as we have had to in the past when attacked by cops or strike-breaking bosses. Last year during the warehouse

strike, we would never have won what little we did if there hadn't been a large number of strikers prepared to deal violently if necessary with those companies that tried to operate. Three years ago, the Printers in SF would have been scabbed out if Teamsters and longshoremen hadn't gotten together on Berry St. one morning to deal violently with strikebreakers.

We were defending our jobs. Self defense is the obligation of all strikers. Don't be fooled by the way the Press overplays the violence of the confrontation at SF State. The issue is the fifteen demands of the students and their right to enforce the strike and to defend themselves violently if that is necessary.

The Hearst press (Examiner, Chronicle, Kron) tells working people not to support this strike. Hearst keeps yelling that our tax money goes to support SF State - but he doesn't stress that these taxes are collected from Black and Brown working people too whose kids are demanding an end to the racist educational policies of SF State. Hearst wants to get your back up at the kids at State but what the hell has he said about 78 dead coal miners in West Virginia because Consolidated Coal wouldn't obey safety regulations? Why aren't you POed about that?

Hearst has always tried to whip up racist and anti-labor sentiment in his yellow press. For a year he's been using scabs and cops against striking printers at the LA Herald Examiner. A sister, millionairess Catherine Hearst is on the UC Board of Regents. The Hearsts have a stake in maintaining the State college system the way it is. That's why Hearst wants you to believe that it is just a minority of students at State who are "causing the trouble" just as he said years ago it was only "a few agitators" who started the great 1934 General Strike. It is Hearst who wants you to believe that this strike is against you. Will you believe yellow-press scab Hearst - or will you support this strike? This Strike Is Important Enough To Take Time Off From Work. Join The Rank And File ILWU Contingent at S.F. State College!

**THIS IS NOT THE END-THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES TO GROW!**