

# strike at frisco state !

the story behind it









# “To get a good job, get a good education.”

AMERICA IS THE “LAND OF OPPORTUNITY” because everyone has a chance to get a good education. That’s why we have free public schools from kindergarten to high school. And here in California, that’s why we have “mass” higher education. Right?

Wrong.

Many people put up with the way their lives are run—hard work, low take-home pay, prices and rents going up all the time—because they believe that their children, at least, have a chance to make a decent life for themselves. If your kid studies hard and if he’s got something on the ball, maybe he can make it.

This is a myth.

The reality? A factory worker’s son has a smaller chance of getting a four-year college diploma today than he had ten years ago. For Third World children—those of African, Asian, Latin American and American Indian descent—the situation is even worse. At San Francisco State College in 1960, for example, 12 percent of the students were black. By 1968 this had dropped to 3 percent.

How did this happen? For the answer, we have to go back to the late 1950s.



Thanks to the post-war "baby boom," the number of children in school was expected to double between 1960 and 1970. The bonus crop of babies who were born after World War II were growing up, and there had been a steady migration of families to California. Just to keep up with this increase—not to mention improving education—the state would have to build as many schools in one decade as it had built in the previous forty or fifty years.

Books, teachers, school buses—all would have to be doubled. And college facilities would have to be expanded too. Where was the money to come from?

As usual it would come from California's working people, the people the state squeezes most of its income from. These are the families who make less than \$10,000 a year—and they pay the lion's share of the retail sales, cigarette, alcoholic beverage, motor vehicle and gasoline taxes. Together these taxes bring in 55 percent of the state's revenue. And these same people pay a generous share of the state's personal income tax, as well.

What about the corporations? Last year, bank and corporate taxes brought in less than 12 percent of California's tax revenues. Could they afford any more?

The huge war industries of California are bloated with dollars. Lockheed Aircraft made a profit of \$54 million in 1967; North American Rockwell made \$68 million; Standard Oil of California, \$421 million—and this is only what these companies report.

Any one of these corporations could cough up another \$10 million in taxes without straining. But they don't have to because they control the governor's office and the state legislature. (By making big contributions to both political parties, the corporation bosses come out on top no matter who wins the election.)

In short, there was no way to pay for mass higher education. The workers had already been taxed to the gills. And the corporations refused to pay. Obviously something had to go.

What "went" was the notion that higher education was for everybody. In 1959 the state legislature authorized the Regents to figure out ways to cut the costs of education and make the school system more "efficient." In February 1960 the Regents came out with their report, the "Master Plan for Higher Education" in



California. Two months later the report was enacted into law, killing any hope for equal opportunity in education. And it all had the approval of Democratic Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown.

The Master Plan had two major effects. It established the tracking system throughout the state. And it cut down on the number of working-class students who attend college and reduced spending on those who do attend.

WHAT IS THE "TRACKING SYSTEM"? Since the Master Plan there have been two standard "tracks" in the elementary and high schools of California. One is for children who are considered "college material," the other for those who are "not academically inclined." If your child is placed on the "college" track, he will be in a classroom with other children who are headed for college. What he is taught will prepare him for college.

If your child is placed on the "vocational" track, he will be taught different materials, by teachers who know that he is not likely to go to college. And they are right. Once he is put on this track he hasn't much chance of getting off.

Why is there a tracking system? In America today, the number of good jobs is limited, and there are many jobs that are poorly paid. If everyone got a good education, it would be hard to find people to fill the poorer jobs. Also, the extra education would be "wasted"—there would be no way for the bosses to make money out of it.

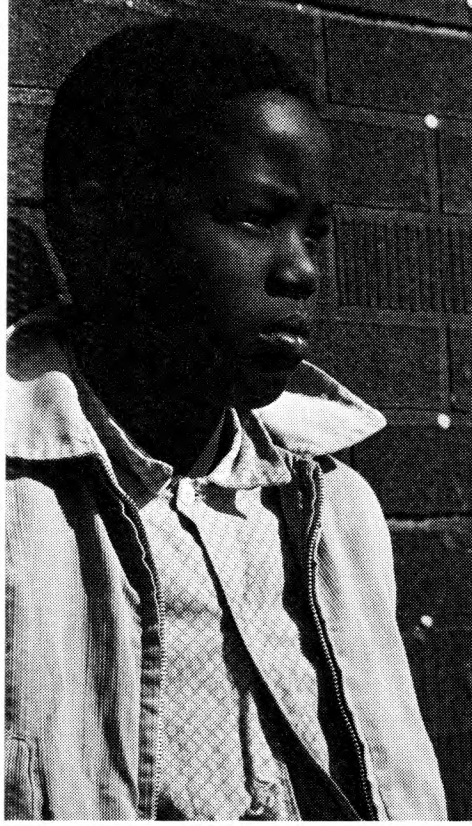
Even more important, the people who have good jobs now are not satisfied just to have good jobs. They want to make sure their children have them too. But in a fair competition for the good jobs, many privileged kids of average ability would be edged out by brighter working-class kids.

The tracking system solves this "problem." It eliminates most working-class children from the competition for good jobs, by preventing them from getting the education they need to compete. Yet it seems normal to many working people. Why is this?

VERY EARLY IN THEIR SCHOOL CAREERS—usually by the third grade—children are placed on either the college track or the other track, on the basis of seemingly "objective" reading and "IQ" tests. But in fact these tests are far from objective.

They measure "intelligence" by comparing a child's test scores to those of an average group of white, privileged city children of







the same age. But the "IQ" test is based in part on things that a child living in a higher-income city neighborhood is more likely to know about. So if you are a factory worker and you live in a neighborhood of other workers, or if you live on a farm, your child will be handicapped in the test. And the cultural bias of IQ tests makes it extra hard on black and brown children.

It is not a matter of the privileged children having a "better background" or being "better prepared." Some of the questions on the Stanford-Binet IQ test for young children, for example, involve the use of wooden building blocks. Nearly all middle-class parents buy blocks like these for their children. A great many poorer children, on the other hand, have never seen a set of building blocks before the day of the IQ test. Clearly, the children who have played with them for many hours at home will do a better job with them than the children who have never seen them before. Does this make the practiced, middle-class child brighter? According to the IQ test it does.

When it comes right down to it, IQ tests measure income, not intelligence. It may be news to some parents that the IQ tests discriminate in this way. But teachers, professors and testers have known it all along.

In theory it is possible for a child to get onto the college track even if he starts on the lower track. But it is very difficult. Often, racial or class discrimination is at work. Teachers and guidance counselors cannot believe that a child from "that kind of background" could be "college material."

Often it is simply that once a teacher learns a child's "IQ," she "knows" how much to expect of the child—and children quickly understand when they are not expected to do well.

AN EXPERIMENT THAT TOOK PLACE in the New York City schools proved this. Some teachers were told that an objective test had identified some "late bloomers" in their classes. They were told that certain children who had been doing only average work would soon show a dramatic improvement in their classroom performance.

Actually the children were just average children, selected at random. But once the teachers believed that these children were about to do better, the children DID do better. The teachers "knew" they were not ordinary children and treated them more patiently



and respectfully—and the children responded.

For ethical reasons, the people who ran this experiment did not try telling the teachers that any of the children had “no potential.” They did perform that experiment on rats. The people who put rats through mazes were told that some of the rats were more intelligent and that other rats were dumber. Sure enough, the “intelligent” rats (actually they were all the same) did better in the mazes!

In effect the school system is doing the same thing to your children that the experimenters did to the rats. They tell the teachers that some children are not as bright as other children. And then these children do not do as well because they are not expected to.

The lesson is clear. Once a so-called “objective” system of testing like this takes hold, it will actually hold back the children from Third World and white working-class backgrounds.

THE TRACKING SYSTEM isn't the only problem Third World and white working-class children have to face in the schools of San Francisco. Just as important are the problems of blatant inequality in faculty, staff, facilities, supplies and curriculum. The highest paid teachers (the best and most experienced) are concentrated in the predominantly white schools, teaching students from the higher-income neighborhoods. And the least experienced and poorest trained teach the poorest students—in schools that are overwhelmingly black and Spanish-speaking.

More money is spent on each pupil at the “whiter,” richer schools. This is because the channeling of funds favors the college-trackers over the vocational-trackers. And the biased tests push the wealthier white students into the pre-college program.

The Third World communities suffer most. The greatest overcrowding in San Francisco schools occurs in the black ghettos of the Fillmore and Bayview-Hunters Point. And many of these schools are in older, deteriorating buildings, with bad plumbing, bad lighting, no playground equipment, inadequate fire escapes, etc.

Children from Third World communities rarely have teachers from a background similar to their own. Six out of ten public school students in San Francisco are nonwhite, but only one



teacher in ten is nonwhite. Programs in ethnic studies developed by teachers at Polytechnic High, Mission High and Wilson High have not been seriously considered by the Board of Education.

The school system has been callous toward Third World children speaking foreign languages. There is no bilingual instruction in San Francisco, even in the primary grades where children from non-English speaking homes need help in making a transition. Yet one-third of the students come from homes where a language other than English is spoken.

What is the effect of all this? Let's just give one example: the results of a third grade reading test given at two elementary schools. At the wealthier, 70-percent-white Alamo Elementary School, the children were found to be reading a year ahead of their grade level. At poverty-ridden, nearly-all-black Golden Gate School, the children were more than a year behind their grade level, and two years behind the Alamo children.

That test spells bright careers and high salaries for most of the Alamo School class. It dooms the Golden Gate third-graders to lives of poverty and underemployment.

BY THE TIME they get out of high school, more than three-quarters of all graduates from the working-class schools either look for a job right away, take vocational training, or go into the Army. But what about those working-class and Third World students who still want to go to college? To understand their fate it is necessary to go back to the Master Plan for Higher Education.

The Master Plan, which became law in 1960, outlined the official policy of class discrimination that determines who gets into college.

- The State College and University admission requirements "should be exacting," the Plan stated, "because the junior colleges relieve them of the burden of doing remedial work."

TRANSLATION: Those Third World and white working-class children who have been crippled by the "educational" system can be kept out of the better colleges by using so-called "objective" entrance tests. They won't complain because they can always go to junior college.



- "Special admissions" should not exceed 2 percent of the regular enrollment.

TRANSLATION: If protests force the admission of students outside of the regular, discriminatory standards, at least they will be only a token group. The great mass of Third World and white working-class youth will be kept out. (This remains true despite the recent concession, which may raise the "special admissions" quota to a maximum of 10 percent at S.F.State—if the Legislature approves.)

- "A study of the transfer procedures (from the junior colleges to the four-year schools)" should be undertaken "with the view of tightening them."

TRANSLATION: The main purpose of junior colleges is to turn out skilled workers, not four-year college graduates. Make it more difficult for junior college students to get into a four-year program, or else they will get more education than they need to do their jobs.

- "Retention standards" at the junior colleges should be "rigid enough to guarantee that taxpayers' money is not wasted on individuals who lack the capacity or the will to succeed in their studies."

TRANSLATION: Instead of helping those students who were badly prepared by their high schools, flunk out as many as possible to keep costs down. That way you can preserve the myth that higher education is available to everyone, when in reality higher education is only intended for some.

- "Vigorous use of probation and the threat of dismissal may help some 'late bloomers' to flower sooner."

TRANSLATION: Train the workers to know who's boss. Get them used to being afraid. That will be useful to them on the job or in the Army.

Finally, the Master Plan conceded: "The selection and retention devices...will not guarantee that all able young Californians will go to college."

It was the understatement of the year.

All of these measures have worked out precisely as expected. Before the Master Plan was adopted, anyone in the top 33 percent

of his high school class was supposed to be able to get into the University of California. And anyone in the top 70 percent could get into State College.

Today, only students in the top twelve-and-one-half percent are supposed to be able to get into the University, and only the top 33 percent can get into State College. But good grades are not enough to get you into college any more. Since the Master Plan, you also have to do well on the College Board examinations.

Like the IQ tests for tracking students in school, the College Boards have a racial and class bias. Again, membership in the privileged classes gives you a better score.\*

Adding the discriminatory College Board examination to the requirements for admission wiped out any chance that most Third World and white working-class high school graduates had of going on to college.

San Francisco's Mission High School, the lowest income school in the city, is a good example. In June 1966, only two percent of the graduating class went to either the University of California or San Francisco State College. In all, five percent of Mission's seniors went to some four-year college, as against fifty percent for Lowell, one of the highest income schools in the city. This is how the San Francisco school system serves its working-class and Third World majority.

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\* The Scholastic Aptitude Test, the main part of the College Board exams, is only a variation of a test invented by Edward Thorndike, the "father" of intelligence testing—who believed that nonwhite people were genetically of lower intelligence than whites. This man, who has had a tremendous influence in American education, not only wanted to exclude people of color from the colleges, he wanted to exclude them from the human race. He wrote in 1940: "One sure service, about the only one, which the inferior and vicious (his term for nonwhite people) can perform is to prevent their genes from survival." Although he was most hostile to people of color, Thorndike wanted to deny all working people the right to an equal education. He opposed "extending culture to the masses," favoring instead "giving special education to the gifted (privileged) child."

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A recent interview (March 1969) with the Dean of Admissions of San Francisco State College, Charles Stone, tells a lot about who gets to go to our "local" four-year college. Dean Stone admitted that 60 percent of San Francisco State freshmen come from outside the city. He also admitted that "almost half of the San Francisco people we admit come from private schools"—despite the fact that three-quarters of the high school students in the city go to public schools. This means that a boy or girl in private school has a three times better chance of getting into our publicly-financed State College than a boy or girl from public school. Last year only four percent of San Francisco public school graduates enrolled at San Francisco State.

But Dean Stone's preferential treatment does not apply to just any private school. Take the Sacred Heart High School in the Western Addition, for example. Half of the student body of this low-tuition school is nonwhite. But San Francisco State accepted only five boys from Sacred Heart last year.

No, the Dean is talking about high-tuition, mostly white private schools like Stuart Hall for Boys in Pacific Heights, or St. Ignatius High School in the Richmond district. Last year Dean Stone admitted more students from the distant (and expensive) Bellarmine Preparatory School in San Jose than he did from Mission and Wilson High Schools combined.

THE DEAN WAS ASKED why this was so, when so many youths here in San Francisco want a college education. "You understand," he replied, "the boys at Bellarmine are mostly San Jose boys, so naturally they want to get away from home." To Dean Stone it means more that these rich boys should be able to go to school away from home, than that poor boys and girls from our own city should go to college at all. The result is that the family income of the average State College student is \$10,000 a year. (At the University of California, the average is even higher: \$12,000.)

The main excuse the educators give is that everyone can go to a junior college. But even the two-year junior colleges—supposedly "open to everybody with a high school diploma"—are more exclusive than they pretend to be. Once admitted, many students are promptly flunked out—and no wonder, since most of them come from impossibly bad high schools. Most of those who enter City College of San Francisco, for example, do not complete two years there, and only 15 percent go on to higher education.

Given the systematic exclusion of black and Spanish-speaking people from State College and U. C., you would think they would show an extra high enrollment at junior colleges. But this is not the case. Black and brown people make up 22 percent of San Francisco's population—but only 16 percent of the students at City College of San Francisco.

Two-thirds of the students at the junior colleges come from families earning less than \$10,000 a year. These are the families, Third World and white working people, who actually pay most of California's taxes. Yet the junior colleges their children go to get only 10 cents out of every dollar the state spends on education. While their own kids get a second class education, working people subsidize quality education for the rich.

For the junior colleges are really nothing but glorified vocational high schools. Their job is to make workers out of the children of workers, just as the University's job is to make managers and professionals out of the children of managers and professionals. The corporations, which benefit, have found that this "educational division of labor" is more efficient for them.

Junior college facilities, libraries, teacher salaries and working conditions are all below standard. Their massive counseling and testing programs combine to discourage most students from going ahead to a four-year college. Instead, students are encouraged to become hairdressers, technicians or secretaries.

It doesn't "just happen" that so few junior college students go ahead to a four-year education—that's the way it is meant to be. At the College of San Mateo, for example, only 5 percent of the students normally go ahead to a four-year institution. However, when a "College Readiness Program" for Third World students there encouraged them to continue their education—and 90 percent of the Third World students in the program did so!—the director of the program was told that not enough of his students were going into vocational training. "I didn't know I had a quota," he told the administrators. "You don't," they replied, "but you still should have put more students into vocational training." Precisely because the College Readiness Program was succeeding, it had to be crippled.

WHENEVER YOU RUN INTO a strange situation like this—educators discouraging students from getting more education, "economy" at the expense of those who can least afford it—the



question you have to ask is: Who benefits?

In California and the rest of America, it is the corporations. When Governor Reagan and Superintendent Rafferty get together to talk about education, they don't talk about how to create a real educational system that meets people's needs—they talk about the "manpower requirements" of private industry and the state. (Even the San Francisco State catalogue talks about serving "the technical and professional manpower requirements of the state.")

The fact is that higher education in California is controlled by big business. The Regents who control the University of California, the Trustees of the State Colleges, and the trustees who supervise every other public and private college in the state, are almost always members of the white business class. They range from officials of the biggest corporations and banks, to the presidents of important local businesses. They are almost all white, Protestant, male and over 50.

And they have made sure that the school system in the state of California contributes its share to the production of their most important product: Profits.

## THE STRIKE

Blacks and other Third World minorities are at the receiving end of the "American Way of Life," so it is not surprising that when these conditions finally produced a revolt, they were the leaders.

As minority group members in a system of higher education that has systematically excluded them, they have a special awareness of the depth of American racism.

They are keenly aware of the way the public schools have robbed them of their heritage. Third World children learn nothing about the cultures which are theirs, and only a racist version of their histories.

Blacks learn that they were slaves, but not that there were hundreds of documented slave revolts. Nor do they learn about the great civilizations that existed in Africa while the white man's ancestors were roaming the forests of Northern Europe. Nor do they learn about the economics of capitalism that was behind their enslavement.

Mexican-American children are taught to think of themselves as wetbacks and foreigners, despite the fact that California was once part of Mexico. They do not learn of the rich culture and revolutionary tradition of their people, or how U. S. businessmen extract profits from Latin America at the point of a gun.

We are taught that America is a "melting pot" for different groups, but not that white settlers preferred to murder off the American Indians rather than live in peace alongside them.

The handful of Third World students who do make it to college find themselves in a dilemma. They have been struggling all their lives for the opportunity to get the education they need for a good job. Yet now that they are on the brink of success, they are discovering that "making it" is a fraud.

Success in white America means individual success. Professors who give grades "on a curve" teach their students that for one to succeed is for another to fail. No matter how good everyone in the class is, some students are going to get "C"s. To be successful is not to do well, but to do better than others. It is for others to envy you. It is to make more money.

For Third World students to "succeed" in college is for them to accept an education which obscures the causes of their people's exploitation—the profit system. To "succeed" is to be trained as a manager or efficiency expert, but not as a grass-roots community organizer or rank-and-file union leader.

THE SUCCESSFUL BLACK COLLEGE STUDENT can "make it" by becoming a public school teacher—and watch his black students be made progressively less intelligent by a system presided over by racist or indifferent whites. Or he can become a social worker and dole out subsistence to his brothers and sisters.

A successful Mexican-American student can make it by joining a big corporation. Perhaps the Safeway people will pay him \$10,000 a year to be their public relations man—while Safeway sells inferior food to Mexican-Americans in the Mission district, for higher prices than it charges elsewhere.

The successful Chinese student might become a scholar in one of our "great" universities—and learn to speak a Chinese dialect that 90 percent of the Chinese in San Francisco do not understand—while a Chinese ghetto exists in San Francisco with a galloping



tuberculosis and suicide rate, sweatshops and overcrowding.

For any Third World person to be a "success" means for him to reject the community he came from and to isolate himself from its problems. Third World students at San Francisco State College have decided that they cannot live that kind of life. They will no longer be forced to choose between their community and personal success. They are rejecting the individual, competitive values of American education, and its definition of success, and they are demanding instead an education that is relevant to their lives in their communities.

The Third World Liberation Front, the organization of Third World students that led the strike, called for the creation of an autonomous School of Ethnic Studies. This School would not be detached from the ethnic communities of the area. It would be deeply involved in trying to solve their problems.

Two particular demands of the Third World Liberation Front have drawn close attention. One is that the School of Ethnic Studies be entirely free from the control of the Trustees and the President of the college, and be controlled instead by Third World students, faculty and community.

THIRD WORLD CITIZENS have been crippled for generations in America by so-called scholars who censored and rewrote their history. And they are being crippled today by the exploiters who are represented on the State College Board of Trustees—men like Dudley Swim, of the Del Monte Corporation, which pays Mexican-Americans \$1.50 an hour to do farm labor, places them in substandard housing, and attacks their union. (The names of all the Trustees, and their corporate affiliations, are given in the box on page 18 .) The Third World Liberation Front will not allow these men to control their education any longer.

The other demand, which was also non-negotiable, is that all Third World students who apply should be admitted to the College and to the School of Ethnic Studies. The TWLF recognized that the so-called "objective" tests which are used to exclude Third World persons from college are racist and class-biased. Since an education is necessary for a decent job, they are insisting that the College admit and educate all Third World persons who desire it, but have been educationally crippled by the existing system.

Since blacks and other Third World persons are most severely

damaged by the present system of class education, it is only fair that their demands for free entry should be made first. But this is only the opening wedge for the larger demand to eliminate class education altogether. While the details of implementation would have to be worked out, the principle behind these demands could not be negotiated.

It is not easy to give a clear picture of an educational system which does not yet exist. Perhaps we can illustrate in a small way some of the values we would like to see substituted for the current ones.

Some time ago white America sent some teachers to the Zuni Indians of North America in an effort to "uplift" them. But the teachers had a peculiar experience when they applied the usual educational techniques. A teacher would send five Zuni children to the blackboard, and set a problem for each to solve. As each child finished his problem, he was to turn and face the class. But the teachers discovered that no matter which problems were set, or which children went to the board, each group of children always finished the problems and turned around at the same time.

The Zuni children knew that to be the last person working on a problem when everyone else was finished would be intensely embarrassing. Getting credit for being "fastest" was less important to them than avoiding the humiliation of another child, so the faster children would always dawdle until the slowest child was also ready.

The demands of the students at San Francisco State College embody a vision of a society that is unimaginable to people like Acting President Hayakawa. He believes that we want to destroy simply for the sake of destruction, and that we have nothing to suggest in place of what there is now. But we do not believe that the only values under which a society may operate are racism and selfishness—though these are predominant under capitalism. People can and should control the institutions that control their lives. So at San Francisco State we insist that a School of Ethnic Studies fulfill the needs of San Francisco's Third World people by training organizers, teachers and historians who are responsible to them—not to the corporations and government agencies.

In an educational system that serves people—not corporations—students would be able to study suppressed subjects like labor history, American Empire, and Third World history. They would



learn to ask how much automation we ought to allow, and how fast, and how to ensure jobs for displaced workers. They would ask how the economy might work if the top one-half of one percent of the population—the people who now own one-fourth of everything there is to own in this country—had their wealth and power taken away from them.

There is no end to what can be done once people fight for the power to govern their own lives. The students at San Francisco State have won a new dignity by fighting for what is theirs. Now it is time for other Americans to seize the lessons of this struggle, and use them.



Mission High School

# TRUSTEES

CHARLES LUCKMAN (Los Angeles): President, Luckman Associates, architects (1), Los Angeles Orchestra Society; Director, Flying Tiger Lines (2), Southern Calif. Symphony assoc.; Trustee, California Institute of Technology, Northwestern University, University of Illinois, Pepperdine College; Member, President's Commissions on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services and Metropolitan Problems, Food Commission (chairman)

DUDLEY SWIM (Carmel Valley): Director, Del Monte Corporation (formerly), Providence Washington Insurance Company, Liberty Mutual Insurance Company, Stanford Research Institute; Chairman of the Board, National Airlines; Trustee, Rockford College, Wabash College, Cordell Hull Foundation for International Education, Free Society Assoc.; Member, Coordinating Council for Higher Education, Advisory Board of Hoover Institute; President, Monterey County Foundation for Conservation; National Vice-Commander of the American Legion (formerly)

GEORGE D. HART (San Francisco): Director, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. of Boston, Boston Manufacturers Mutual Insurance Co., Liberty Mutual Fire Insurance Co., Mutual Boiler Insurance Co., Stanford Research Institute, Constantin Ltd. of London; President, George David Hart Inc., real estate operation (3); Trustee, Ross School District; Member, Bd. of Governors, S. F. Employers Council, S. F. Library Assoc., S. F. Art Comm. (formerly).

EARLE M. JORGENSEN (Los Angeles): President, Earle M. Jorgensen, steel products distributing firm; Director, Northrup Corp. Transamerica Corp., American Potash and Chemical Corp., Kerr-McGee, Hollywood Turf Club, YMCA of Los Angeles (formerly), Rheem Manufacturing, California Chamber of Commerce (formerly); Trustee, Calif. Inst. of Technology; Member, Southern California and Pomona College Associations, St. John's Hospital Board of Regents.

JAMES F. THACHER (San Francisco): Partner, Thacher, Jones, Casey and Ball, attorneys (4); Member, California Toll Bridge Authority, Commission on the Disposition of Alcatraz Island; Director, Actors' Workshop, Neighborhood Centers of San Francisco.

MRS. PHILIP B. CONLEY, formerly Phoebe B. McClatchy (5) (Fresno): Wife of Judge Philip Conley, Fourth Appellate District Ct. of Appeals; civil leader in Fresno.

THEODORE MERIAM (Chico): Department store manager; Vice-President, Lassen Savings and Loan Assoc.; President, League of California Cities (formerly); former mayor of Chico

ALBERT J. RUFFO (San Jose): Forty-Niner football coach and law partner of John Vasconcellos; former city councilman and mayor of San Jose.

E. GUY WARREN (Hayward): Owner, Warren Trucking Co.; President, Exec. Bd. of Calif. Trucking Assoc. (formerly), Western Highway Institute; Trustee, Hayward Union High School District; Director, Alameda-Contra Costa Transit District

WILLIAM A. NORRIS (Los Angeles): Partner, Tuttle and Taylor (7); Vice-President, State Bd. of Education; Member, Coordinating

Council for Higher Education; served as law clerk to Justice Wm. O. Douglas (1955-56); worked in the California-Arizona Colorado River litigation.

ALEC L. CORY (San Diego): Partner, Propocopia, Cory, Hargreaves, and Savitch; President, San Diego Bar Assoc.; Member, Educ. Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

EDWARD O. LEE (Oakland): Chairman, East Bay Skills Center, occupational dept.; Member, exec. bd. of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, Oakland Adult Minority Employment Comm. (formerly); business agent for the American Federation of Government Employees (formerly); past president, Oakland Federation of Teachers Local 771.

DANIEL H. RIDDER (6) (Long Beach): Co-Publisher, Long Beach Independent Press Telegram, St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer-Press (formerly); Vice-President, Twin Coast Newspapers, Inc.; Director, U. S. National Bank of San Diego, Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

KARL L. WENTE (Livermore): President, Wente Brothers Winery, Wente Farms, Wente Lands and Cattle Co.; Director, Livermore branch of Bank of America, Livermore Water District, Automobile Association.

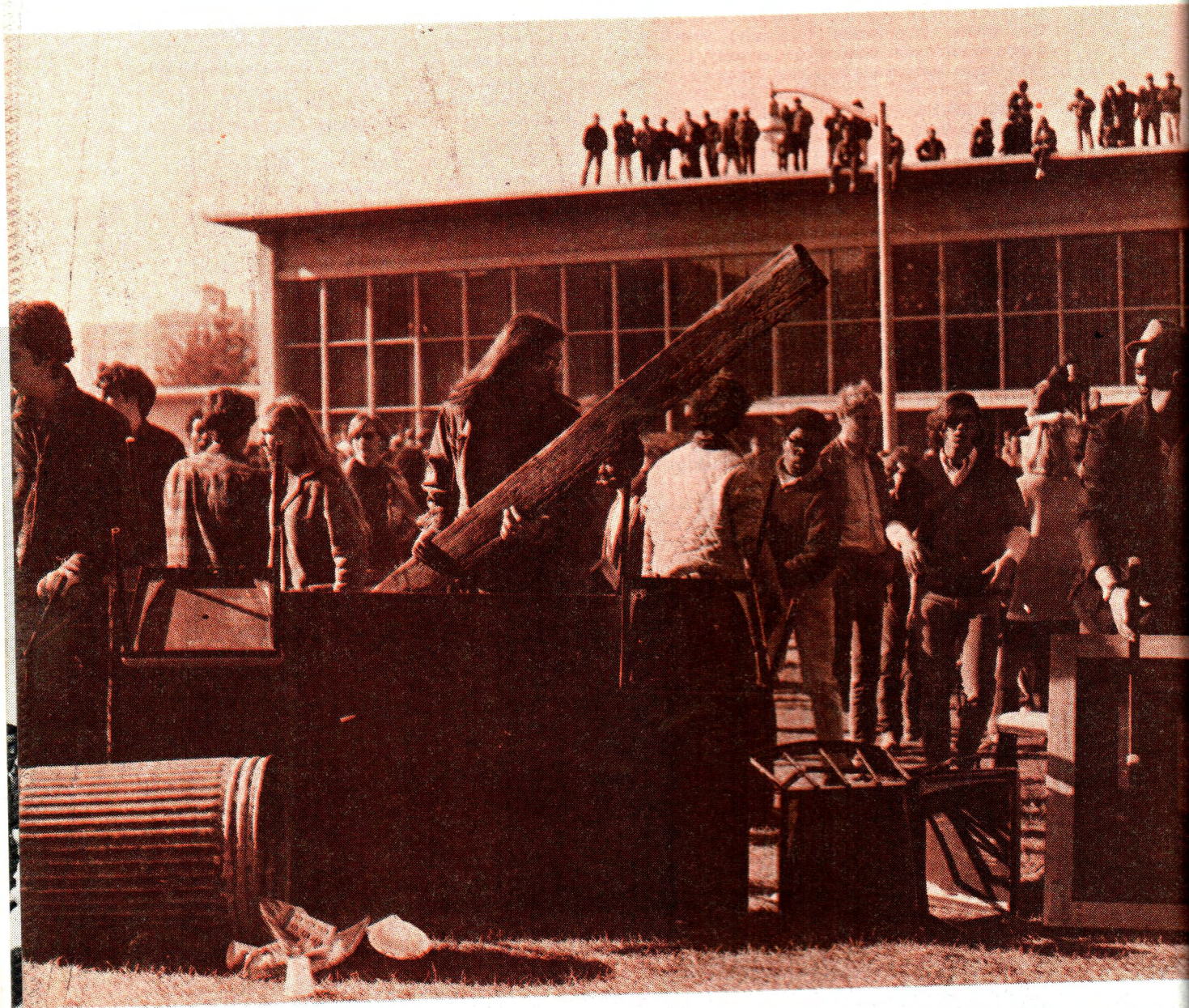
WILLIAM O. WEISSICH (San Rafael): Partner, Weissich and Lachelt, attorneys; District Attorney of Marin County (formerly); Chairman, Marin Co. Goldwater-for-President Committee (1964) and Goldwater delegate at Republican National Convention; supporter of Governor Reagan and Schools Supt. Rafferty in recent elections.

E. LITTON BIVANS (Pasadena): Heads the Bivans Corporation, of Los Angeles, manufacturers of automated equipment; Member, Curriculum Advisory Committee, Pasadena City College; supporter of Goldwater for President in 1964, Reagan for Governor in 1966.

## FOOTNOTES:

- (1) Charles Luckman Associates designed Cape Canaveral, strategic air command bases in Spain and Thailand, and the Convair Missile Facility. Luckman architects also designed Disneyland and Berlin's Hilton Hotel, CBS Television City, and the Bunker Hill Urban Redevelopment Project in Los Angeles.
- (2) Flying Tiger Lines has contracts for flying war supplies to Vietnam.
- (3) George David Hart Inc. is tied to Inglewood Realty and the Bank of San Rafael.
- (4) James Thacher formerly belonged to a law firm associated with the Rockefellers and John Foster Dulles.
- (5) The McClatchy family controls the Central Valley newspaper chain which includes the Fresno Bee, Modesto Bee, and Sacramento Bee.
- (6) The Ridder family controls fourteen newspapers including the San Jose Mercury, television and radio stations.
- (7) Tuttle and Taylor specializes in representing food processors and real estate interests.











# from brainwashin' to headbustin'

It was in the fall of 1966 that Third World students first petitioned the authorities at San Francisco State College for more Third World admissions and a black-controlled Department of Black Studies.

They had learned in school that the way to make change is to be reasonable and to go through channels. All groups that have serious complaints get a fair hearing in the American system, and wind up getting relief—so the story goes. The Third World students tried this route.

They petitioned the school administration. They brought proposals to Deans and Presidents. They wrote letters to the editor, they “negotiated” with the school, they wrote proposal after proposal. Although black people have been waiting hundreds of years for justice in America, still they were patient. For two years. And at the end of that time they still had nothing. No significant increase in Third World admissions. No Black Studies Department. No School of Ethnic Studies. The only time the administration ever made any concessions—in May 1968, under the pressure of a sit-in—it later reneged on the agreement.

Finally the students realized that they had been misled—really, brainwashed. The notion that change could come about peacefully was a myth, they realized, something they had been taught to disarm them. They were pulling hard at their oars, but they realized that their rowboat was sitting on the rocks on the bottom of a dry channel. “Pull a little harder,” the administrators told them. “You’re making great progress. Look, we’ll push for a while.” But it was too late. The students had realized that they weren’t getting anywhere by going through “channels,” and that they never would.

How could they "negotiate," after all, when the administrators had all the power? You can beg, but can you negotiate when you're on your knees? But the students had power, too, if they had the courage to use it together. They had the power to stop the school from operating. And that's what they did. They were through with brainwashing.

They discovered, though, that brainwashing wasn't the only weapon in the establishment's arsenal. When brainwashing failed, the authorities turned to headbusting. Is it surprising?

American education is after all a system of social control. Its purposes are: (1) to perpetuate economic classes by steering students into higher or lower jobs according to the class they were born into; (2) to teach them myths about progress, power, class structure, history, economics, language...the whole of Western civilization; and (3) to train them not to rock the boat.

But education is not the only means of social control. And when the everyday mechanisms of control break down, then the Trustees, the Reagans and the Hayakawas have to resort to extraordinary means.

Thus Hayakawa abolished the First Amendment right of free assembly on campus. The police were called in, day after day, not to protect students, but to intimidate, harass, and beat the rebels. Over 650 strikers have been arrested since the strike began, including some "innocent bystanders." The force of the State does not make fine distinctions. When the everyday order breaks down, as every unjust order must, then official violence bears down hard.

So it happened at San Francisco State. See how the authorities reacted to the strike and you see how they respond whenever people fight for their rights. In the course of the strike, each component of the machinery of State violence revealed its reason for being.

## THE OFFICIAL VIOLENCE OF THE STATE

The instruments of official violence include the police, the Grand Jury, the District Attorney, and the judges. They are supposed to enforce all of the laws, for everyone's benefit. But they don't.



They enforce the law that protects property, not the law that protects human life and health. They prosecute the poor, the black, the brown, the young—but not the rich.

When pesticides kill farm workers, you do not see the California Highway Patrol enforcing the laws governing their use and arresting the manufacturers and ranchers. There are no Grand Jury investigations; the Mayors and Governors are quiet.

When a scab assaults a striking worker on the picket line in Richmond, you do not see the police arrest the scab. When a policeman manhandles a black man, you know who gets charged with assault.

When a landlord causes unsafe conditions by refusing to make repairs, he is not penalized. But let the tenant refuse to pay his rent in protest—then the police and the courts come running to defend the landlord.

When a black teenager swipes a car for a joyride, he is charged with a felony: grand larceny. When the son of a well-to-do white man does the same thing, he is charged with “malicious mischief” and gets off with a lecture and a suspended sentence.

When a poor man steals \$100, he goes to jail for more than a year. When corporations like Westinghouse steal millions of dollars from the public by illegally conspiring to fix prices, the government negotiates with the company and the company “consents” to stop its crimes; at most the executives get 30 days in jail.

When a citizen is convicted of three felonies, he goes to jail for life. The major 70 American corporations have been convicted of an average of 14 major crimes each (up through 1949 alone!), costing each of us life, limb, and money. Yet they are free to go on raking in the dollars and committing new crimes.

But when they talk about law and order, they don't talk about the laws big business breaks.

Sound like the whole operation is rigged?

It is.

And when people challenge this treatment, they get hit twice as

hard. The violent State steps in, ready to handle the dissidents with force. We call this "repression." Repression is what happens to people who move against the prevailing oppression. The source is the same: the State, which represents property, not people.

#### MR. DISTRICT ATTORNEY

The D. A.'s office prosecutes the crimes it chooses to prosecute. This sounds obvious, but it has dramatic implications. With thousands of statutes on the books, many of which are so vague that thousands of citizens could be charged with violations, the D. A. must choose which to prosecute. In San Francisco, the D. A. chooses not to prosecute the Bank of America for disturbing the peace of every passerby with its earsplitting construction equipment; he chooses to prosecute the demonstrator who shouts a slogan. How does the D. A. make his decisions?

Understand that he rarely thinks he is even making a decision. He gets his cues from his upbringing, his class background, his education, his associations, his social clubs, his friends...from the structure that picks him for the job and lets him hold it so long as he stays on good behavior. "Good behavior" means the ability to recognize a friend when he sees one. Generally he prosecutes the smaller crimes and lets the big ones (like air and water pollution, manufacture of unsafe products, and false advertising) go unpunished. He never even thinks of the big ones as crimes; in the circles he moves in, these are civilized acts. The statute books are suddenly forgotten. Everyone in the higher circles knows in what spirit and for whose benefit the laws are passed; they don't even pause to wink over it. But even if the D.A.'s choices are unconscious, they are fundamental.

J. J. Ferdon has been District Attorney of San Francisco since 1964. He comes from an old and established San Francisco family. During World War II he was a special agent in the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps. In 1945 he returned to San Francisco and became a partner in the blue-ribbon law firm of McFarland & Ferdon. He was elected to three terms on the Board of Supervisors, serving two of them as President. Of course you have to be acceptable to San Francisco's businessmen to get the money you need to run for Supervisor and make it.

He is a member of the Guardsmen, the Bohemian Club, the Press and Union League clubs, all fancy locker rooms for the social, economic and political upper-crust. These clubs are



where their attitudes rub off on one another. Here deals are made, information is passed, prejudices are spread, careers are made or broken.

The D. A.'s brother, William L. Ferdon, has similar interests and associations. He was Deputy Public Defender of the city and county from 1946 to 1949. But William L. moved back into the private sector as his brother criss-crossed the other way. William L. is now associated with the elite corporate law firm of Chickerling & Gregory, which includes among its clients the Crocker-Citizens National Bank, Aluminum Company of America, American Can Co., Merck & Co., Sperry and Hutchinson, Caterpillar Tractor Co., Dillingham Corporation, Gerber Products, Spice Islands, and the Yellow Cab Co. of San Francisco. No piker Mr. William L. Ferdon.

We don't accuse D. A. Ferdon of anything so petty as "conflict of interest." He doesn't have to look out for the interests of the companies his brother represents. But it's hard to imagine that his brother's concerns don't rub off on him.

Ferdon as District Attorney is a behind-the-scenes man; he is no go-getter. He very rarely gets into the papers like his predecessors, who went on to make themselves Governor (Brown) and State Attorney General (Lynch). Generally, he seems content to play it cool, taking his cues from the Mayor.

Ferdon may think he is only a man doing a job. True enough; but his job is the unjust application of unjust law. That's how the big jobs get done. That's how the bureaucrats keep their jobs. That's how careers are made. If you don't believe it, try asking Mr. Ferdon to prosecute the advertisers who mislead you, the landlords who evict you, the supermarkets that chisel you, the cop who insults or slugs you, or the boss who disturbs your peace.

## THE GRAND JURY

When the D. A. wants to avoid preliminary hearings in open court, for fear he'll be caught with his pants down and with insufficient evidence, he lets the Grand Jury issue a felony indictment. But the Grand Jury's main function is to investigate city and county departments. It's supposed to be a public watchdog and spokesman: to uncover graft and scandal, to guard the rights of the people against government agencies. Instead, the dog watches the people.

The Grand Jury's reports on public agencies are all white-washes. Its report on electrical power is a good example. It doesn't note that the city sells power at wholesale rates to PG&E—a private profit-making company—which then sells it back to the city's taxpayers at retail rates. On redevelopment, the Grand Jury said not a word about community opposition to urban renewal, and not a word about the fact that the head of the Redevelopment Agency has real estate interests in one of the areas (South of Market) the Agency wants to redevelop. Accidental omissions?

The same Grand Jury almost always returns the indictments the D.A. requests. To understand why, you have to know who sits on a Grand Jury and how they got there.

As Blair Paltridge wrote in the Bay Guardian (December 24, 1968), "San Francisco's grand juries no more represent a cross-section of this city than do the board of directors of the Bank of America or the afternoon clientele at the steam room at the Olympic Club."

In the ten years from 1958 to 1967, there have been 190 grand jurors. Counting those 190 and the 118 nominees in 1968, only thirteen (4 percent) came from the poorer districts—the Mission, Fillmore, Western Addition, Hunters Point, Bernal Heights, Potrero Hill, Haight-Ashbury, Chinatown. The rest came from the fancier sections of town: Sea Cliff, Presidio Heights, St. Francis Wood, Pacific Heights, Nob and Russian Hills, Twin Peaks and the Marina. Hardly any of them were young people, workers, women, black, Latino, or Chinese people—the "minorities" who make up most of the city. Many were bankers, executives, realtors. They don't have any trouble with landlords, hospitals, police, welfare, stores, freeways....No wonder they can't find anything wrong with San Francisco.

How do you get to be a grand juror? You are picked from a list drawn up by the city's Superior Court judges. The judges, often ambitious, pick their rich, white, business elite friends. Cozy, isn't it?

So the Grand Jury misses the big crimes. For them to investigate the BART mess, for instance, they would have to ask our leading businessmen and bankers why BART has been costing twice as much as we were told it would, and how much they are making on the deal. But the bankers on the Grand Jury can't



afford to embarrass their rich friends who are stealing the public's money.

Only once in recent years did one of these rich men try to ask this kind of question. The social and economic pressure from his upper-class friends, business associates, fellow club-members—even from his wife's friends—were so great that his career was nearly wrecked and his wife divorced him. He finally gave in, and the awkward questions stopped being asked.

## THE JUDGES

Over 90 percent of criminal cases never go before a jury, and even when they do the judge carries a great deal of weight. He rules on important motions; he decides which evidence is admissible and which is not; he instructs the jury; he hands down the sentence. There is no such animal as an impartial judge. At least on the city level, most of them are bucking for promotions, and they will not satisfy Governors by leaning over backwards to protect the rights of defendants. Nor by applying the laws against the corporations which give the money that elects the Governors.

A judgeship is a political plum, a reward for services rendered to the Governor and his backers. Look at the Municipal Courts, for example. Although Municipal Judges are supposed to be elected, all but one were appointed first. Present judges retire between elections, so the Governor can distribute rewards to his cronies by appointing them to an "interim" term. Once the judge is in office, he has an easy time getting elected to another term. Usually the "opposition" party conveniently neglects to run anyone against an incumbent judge.

Most of the judges have political experience as prosecutor or as legal representative of a government agency; hardly any have ever defended poor people, or been poor themselves. Again, whom did they prosecute when they were D. A.'s themselves? Criminal corporations? No.

The judges are chosen in the first place for their relations to the Governors and the upper class. They understand what they are supposed to do without talking about it. Yet in some instances there is reason to believe that the judges actually conspire—that is, they meet together and agree how to handle a certain issue. Take the matter of bail.

Bail is supposed to guarantee that the defendant will appear for trial. But all the evidence points to the conclusion that defendants who pay bail have no better an attendance record than those who are released without bail, on their "own recognizance." All that the bail system really does is keep poor people in jail before their trials. It is an extra punishment, imposed without trial. The crime? Being poor.

On the night of January 23, 1969, 489 strike supporters had been arrested for publicly assembling on the S. F. State campus. Lawyers appeared before Municipal Judge Lawrence S. Mana to argue for release without bail, because the students were not likely to "skip town" before trial. A judge is supposed to hear such motions one by one and consider them on their individual merits, but on this occasion Judge Mana referred to the report of a fire at the Wheeler Auditorium in Berkeley. "You see what these people have done!" the Judge blurted out. Realizing that he'd violated the most elementary principles of due process, he retracted somewhat. But he still left the clear implication that the 489 arrested at San Francisco State were somehow responsible for setting a fire in Berkeley! Judge Mana required bail for everyone.

Governor Reagan has since elevated Judge Mana to a seat on the Superior Court.

Of almost 700 students and others arrested in the course of the strike, only five have been let out on their own recognizance. The others have had to post an exorbitant bail—in no case less than \$200. The judges were making the strike pay.

A defendant is supposed to have time to consult his lawyer before entering a plea. In the case of the S. F. State 489, almost all had to seek counsel from the Public Defender's office. Moreover, the Public Defender had accepted only about one-third the total number; it had assigned only three lawyers to handle them, along with about 35 volunteers, but none of them had had time to consult with the defendants. Yet Judge Walter Calcagno (a former Commander of an American Legion Post) refused to allow time for consultations. He entered pleas against the defendants' will, and set very early trial dates, beginning in March. Assembly-line justice. Its purpose? To divert strikers' energies away from the campus, to get the strikers to jail quickly, to cripple the strike.

The judges had already decided that the students were guilty.

They were acting as strikebreakers. But it's not really surprising. The purpose of the legal system is, after all, to maintain the privilege of the rich and powerful by sweeping political opposition out of sight.

## THE POLICE

The police, of course, are the enforcers of law and order. But their job is to enforce that particular kind of law and order which benefits the corporate rich.

The San Francisco Tactical Squad occupied the campus November 6 because a typewriter had been thrown through a window. They are not sent to protect a consumer against a price-gouging supermarket, or a school board meeting attacked by racist goon squads. Nor, for that matter, did they arrest Acting President Hayakawa when he "took the law in his own hands" by ripping the wires from a student sound truck on December 2.

But the job of the Tac Squad was not to keep "law and order": it was to crush the strike. November 13, for example, had been a quiet day. During peaceful picketing, a TV cameraman claimed a student had attacked him. Actually he had beaten two students with his camera, but it didn't matter: the next thing anybody knew, the Tac Squad was standing in battle formation in front of the headquarters of the Black Students Union. A crowd gathered and the Tac Squad charged, singling out black leaders and beating them bloody before arresting them. One cop drew his gun. But the crowd wouldn't have assembled if it hadn't been for the police. And there was nothing particularly lawful or orderly in the way the police attacked.

The morning of December 3, they charged a quiet picket line in front of a classroom building, beating some students and chasing others across the lawn into the cafeteria, where they barged around clubbing anybody they could get their hands on. That afternoon, more than a thousand students fought back. Over twenty strikers were arrested and many beaten.

Over the next few days, picket lines were repeatedly attacked by right-wing students, some armed with lead pipes. None of them were arrested. None beaten. On December 3, police took a right-wing student into custody for assaulting strikers, but when a gym teacher told the cop that the kid was "OK," the cop released him.



This is the same Tac Squad that attacked the workers' picket line at Kaiser Hospital late in December. The same one that attacked Mission tenants, and Maceo a clergyman, in December 1967. The same one which assaulted and battered peace demonstrators at the Fairmont Hotel in January 1968. The same one which took over Haight Street in February 1968. Where did it come from?

In a word: Alioto.

Before his election in November 1967, the Police Department had no specialists in gangsterism. There were many policemen who ran amok, but no special military squad of them. On October 9, 1967, Alioto proposed creation of a "highly trained Mobile Tactical Force that would move into areas of high crime." After his election as Mayor, Alioto gave the department what it wanted: an organized Gestapo unit. "Areas of high crime" was his name for people's movements for equal rights and self-determination.

Last summer, the Police Commission was forced to hold hearings on the Tac Squad, and dozens of citizens testified firsthand on the Squad's brutality and militarism. Under pressure, Police Chief Cahill promised to "reorganize" it.

He did, all right. The members now rotate, which means that the fascist and military mentality spreads throughout the department.

The Tac Squad should be abolished, but abolition would not solve the police problem. Few of the San Francisco police have controlled themselves much better than the Tac Squad. It is not the Tac Squad that tails the cars of strike leaders, looking for pretexts to stop, search, and frame them. Many police cover up for their brutal buddies, to the point of lying under oath; the D.A. never indicts them for perjury. All the police are prone to riot as long as they are expected to enforce injustice, to suppress the people they are supposed to serve. Send them out again and again to arrest student leaders on warrants signed by Acting President Hayakawa, and violence will break out. When the police charge peaceful picket lines, the opposition will start defending itself.

Perhaps you believe that the charges of "police brutality" are exaggerated. Here are statistics gathered by doctors on injuries to arrested San Francisco State strikers (and innocent bystanders) inflicted by police, between December 2, 1968 and January 30, 1969.

NUMBER	TYPE OF INJURY
1	Ruptured spleen (removed)
2	Fractured skull
2	Concussion
15	Forehead, skull lacerations
3	Nose broken, bloodied
1	Fractured eye orbit
7	Eyes maced
2	Other eye damage (e. g., black)
6	Facial lacerations, swelling
18	Other head damage (bump, swelling, contusion)
8	Stomach badly clubbed, scratched or kicked
2	Broken, contused, fractured ribs
3	Broken fingers, thumb
1	Broken, fractured leg
1	Arm broken, fractured from surgery
1	Arm infected from surgery
1	Kidney infection
4	Other groin area damaged
2	Respiratory infection
1	Contused lung
7	Other rib area damage (soreness)
12	Back, neck (clubbing, choking, welts, burns)
4	Blood vessel damage, massive bruises only
15	Hand, arm, foot, leg laceration, swelling, lumps
5	Limb, finger, toe sprain, wrenched, contused
13	General bumps, bruises, soreness only
1	Nausea
80	Total number injured arrestees (many had more than one injury)

These do not include: (1) injuries sustained between November 6 and December 1; (2) injuries not reported; and (3) injuries to people who were not arrested. There might well be more of the latter than there were injured arrestees; it is impossible to tell how many.

Total injuries requiring treatment to police during this period: ONE. This was widely reported as a broken neck, then as a broken collarbone. Even this was a lie. X-rays at General Hospital show no such injuries. The Police Department has also lied to the President's Commission on Causes and Prevention on Violence, saying that police have suffered more injuries than students.

BUT THIS IS NOT just a local situation. All California Police Departments have an unpublicized way of massing more police in any given city than the law allows it to hire. (The statutory limit on San Francisco police is 1825.) Under the California Disaster Act, California is divided into six "Law Enforcement Regions." The Pacific coast from Monterey to the Oregon border is Region II; its Coordinator, elected by local police agencies in the region, is none other than San Francisco Police Chief Thomas Cahill. Any local police chief may at any time request the Regional Coordinator to supply police from other districts in the region. At S. F. State, Cahill simply has to ask himself for outside help. He gets it. He is accountable to no one, though the Mayor has influence. Cahill can declare emergencies as he and he alone sees fit—during campus strikes, ghetto revolts, or labor strikes.

In this way, police have been brought to S. F. State from Santa Cruz, Piedmont, Vallejo, Santa Clara, Antioch, Sonoma...outside agitators, all of them! These towns and counties must pay the tab, though their local populations are not consulted. All of us pay for the Highway Patrolmen, through taxes. When they're busting heads at S. F. State, who's out watching the highways?

Some of these counties have special riot squads whose main purpose is to supplement the San Francisco Tac Squad and similar military outfits. Santa Cruz County, which is hardly expecting a local riot, has a riot squad equipped with Stoner rifles, the kind that can tear through an entire city block. Rural Sonoma County has just set up a 15-man Tac Squad.

When an individual policeman tries to reduce police violence, he stands very little chance of holding on to his position. Lt. Dante Andreotti, as head of Police Community Relations, tried to call attention to racist and psychotic behavior in the Police Department. In 1967 he got squeezed out. A small organization called Officers for Justice protested that black police were not being assigned to S. F. State. They are now under fire within the department.



But again, the police are not really independent agents. The less government is able to rule by general consent, the more it must turn to violence. Tactical decisions—where to charge, whom to beat, whom to arrest—are usually left up to the police, but the fundamental decision to use the police is political. Alioto and other “respectables” inflame the atmosphere against student and trade-union strikers and leave it to the police to do the dirty work.

The brainwashers, as they fail, call up the headbusters. And the headbusters are not very tolerant.

## GOVERNMENT

Two government forces were fighting for control over the situation at S. F. State. One was headed by Reagan, the other by Alioto. Neither represents the people directly concerned at S. F. State—Third World people, students, teachers, working people. Both were trying to cash in on the strike.

Reagan, with the Trustees, wanted to crack down with the big stick. He speaks for the big Southern California money which makes millions by using Third World people as cheap labor. He speaks for the overtly racist middle classes. His main instrument is the Legislature and the Highway Patrol.

Alioto understands both the carrot and the stick. He gave full support to the Tac Squad's insane violence. At the same time, union and community pressure forced him to order the police to respect striking faculty picket lines.

Alioto wanted a settlement he could take credit for in his campaign for Governor. He needs to keep the city calm, to attract conventions and new business. Reagan wants to keep the State safe for the missile-makers, the grape-growers, the oilmen who are squeezing the public services dry.

Two different tactics. The same strategy: maintain the privilege of business at the expense of the people.

## CONCLUSION

In a society based on private ownership of the tools of wealth, things are never quiet. They may seem peaceful. But that is only because the silent, day-to-day violence of life under capitalism is not reported in the press. Slums and disease, jobs that destroy

the health and mind of workers, principals who attack the human dignity of their students, vicious police—all do violence to citizens of color and many others. But it takes a “crisis”—a people’s movement—to bring the everyday violence to the surface, the violence of the class that owns against the classes that draw wages.

The mass media, radio, TV, and newspapers, take a major share of the blame. Before November 6, 1968, S. F. State College looked quiet to most people—but only because the news media choose not to notice anything until overt violence erupts or a politician speaks. They weren’t looking when the Third World Liberation Front and the Black Students Union went through channels for two years. They weren’t looking either when the college administration reneged on its May 1968 concessions. They don’t want to see causes, only effects. Causes wouldn’t sell so many cars.

So the first step toward recognizing the fix we’re all in is to dig beneath the mass media distortions and get to the whole story. And ultimately the only way to recognize reality is to try to change it.

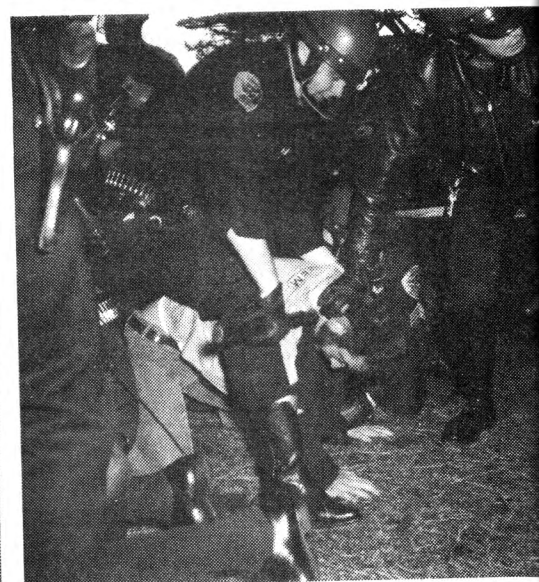
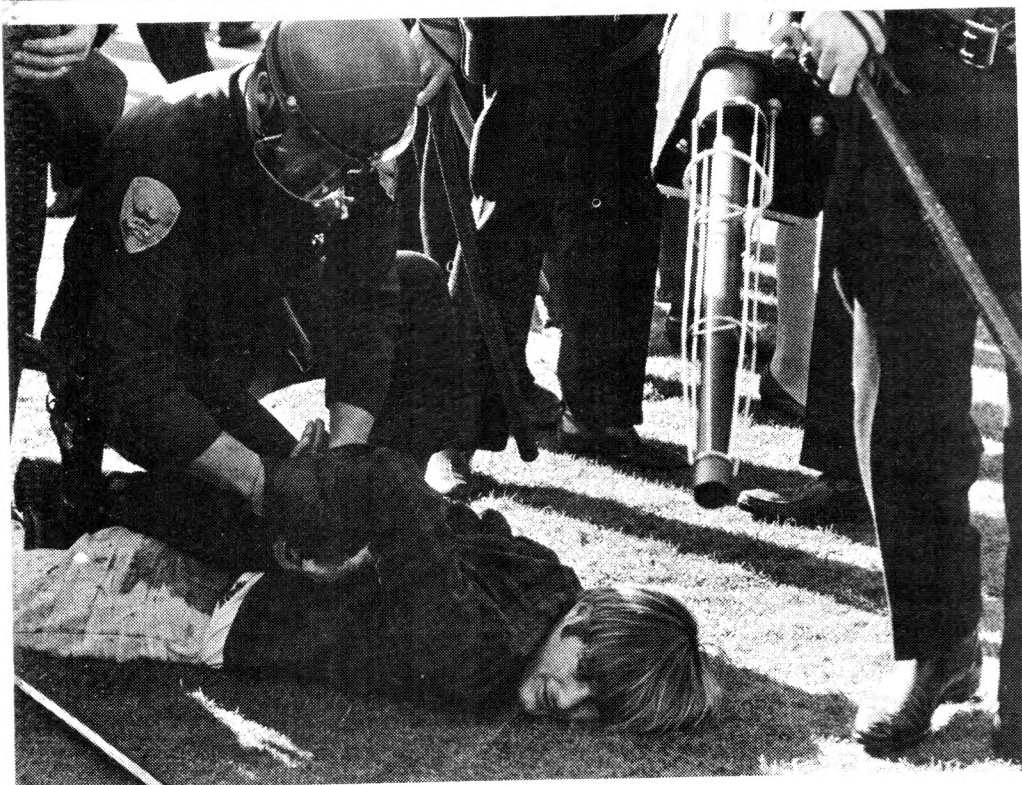
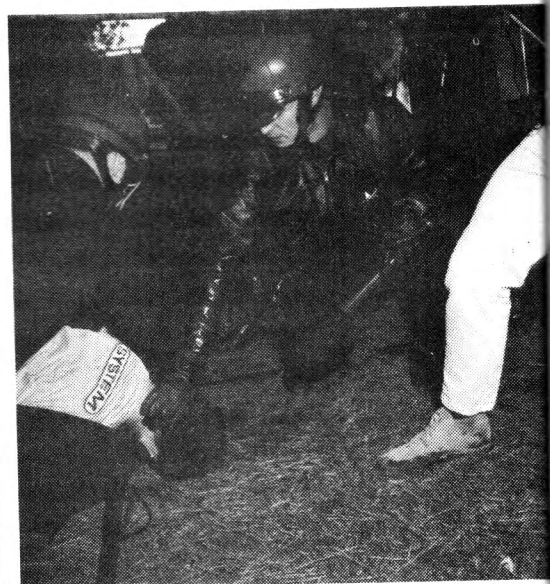
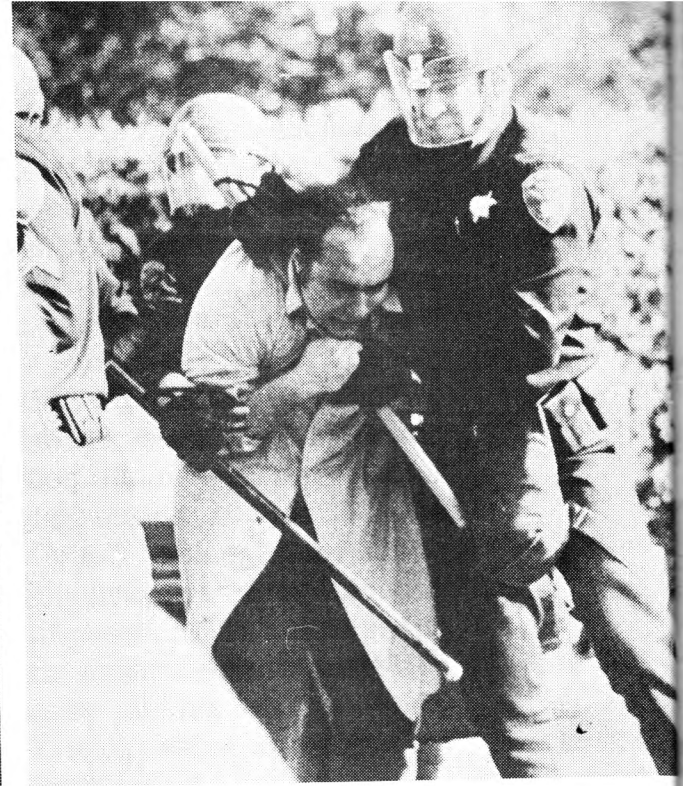
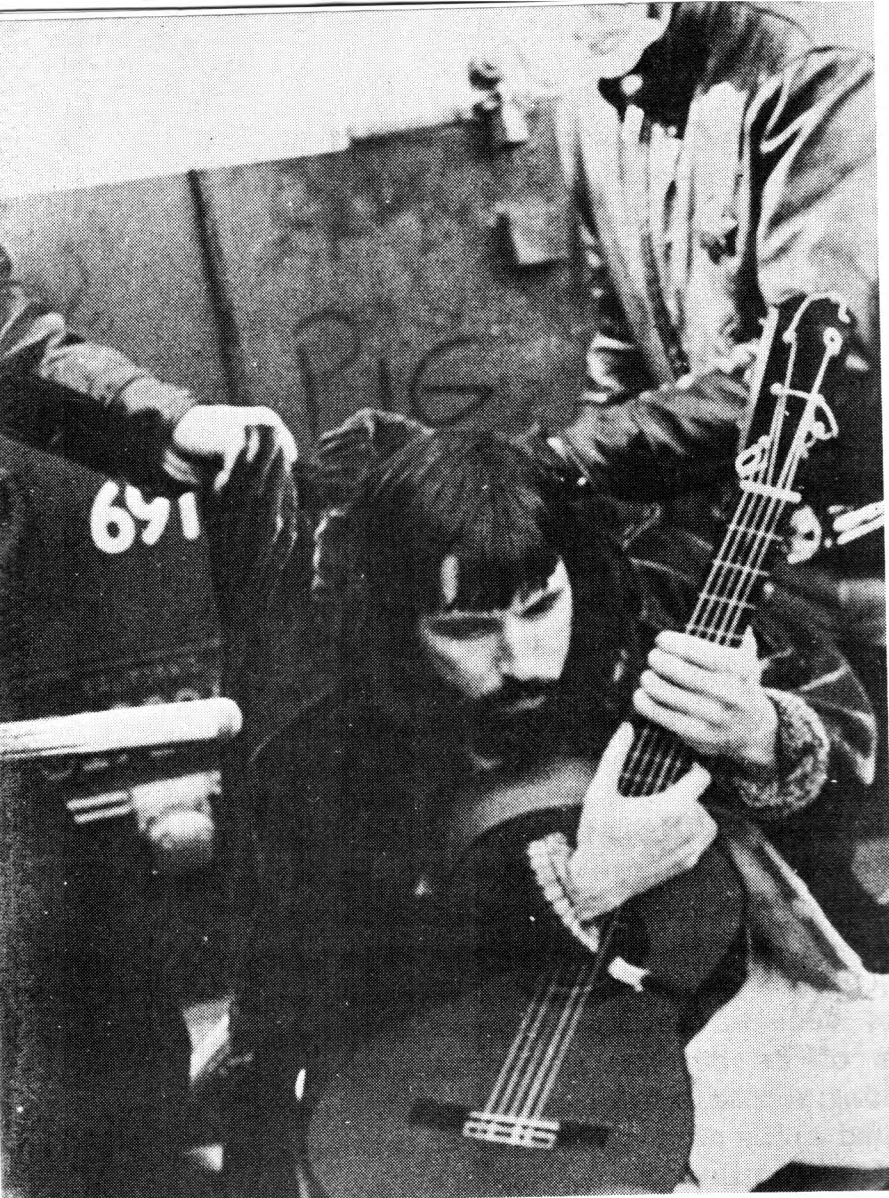
We all owe an enormous debt to the strike at S. F. State. First of all, the resolution of its demands should benefit all Third World and white working people, by opening the college to the people who most need it and to the courses they need. Second, the strike has been a model for similar movements all over the country. And third, the strike has exposed the true nature of the State and the law. If we learn what the strike has brought into the open, and identify our common enemies, we will be able to fight for the rest of what we need. Change will not be effortless, but nothing worth fighting for is easy.

As we learn these lessons, we cannot forget the people who have done the fighting for us. The arrested strikers were not fighting for their own advantage. They were already in college. They could have “made it,” just by keeping their mouths shut, but they stuck their necks out for the common good. Now they need lawyers. They need your support. And they need some of your money.

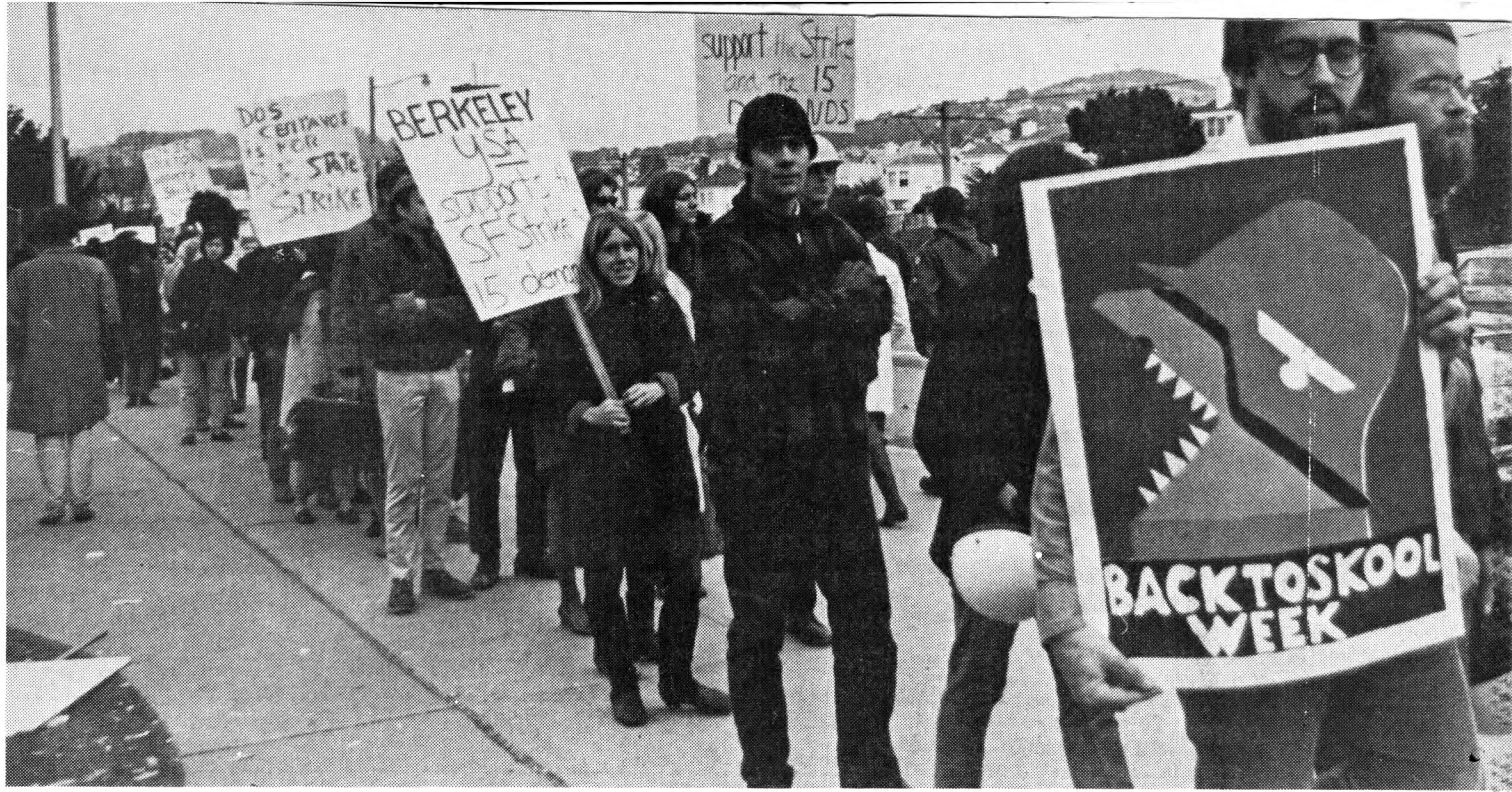
Support the arrested strikers, and you support yourself.

Contributions should be sent to S.F.State Legal Defense Fund,  
197 Steiner Street, San Francisco, California 94117.











CLASS EDUCATION IN SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

SF Public High Schl	Race ('68-'69)	Family In- come Ranges	Median "IQ"	After Graduation Plans (June 1966)					
				% Grads to 4-Yr Coll.	% Grads to Job	% Grads Taking "Vocational Route"	Grads to U.C.	Grads to SF State	Grads to City College
Lowell	60% wh 26% Chi	over \$8100	110	50 %	5 %		138	52	273
Lincoln	79% wh	over \$8100	96	23 %	15 %		34	36	229
Washington	50% wh 21% Chi	\$6700-7400	99	21 %	15 %		49	28	305
Galileo	77% TW (56%Chi)	\$6700-7400 & Below \$5300	95	12 %	12 %	78 %	11	25	354
Balboa	52% Third World	\$6700-7400	90	9 %	35 %	80 %	13	11	180
Wilson	68% TW (50%Black)	\$6000-6700 & Below \$5300	88	8 %	32 %	81 %	7	6	145
Polytechnic	73% TW (55%Black)	\$6000-6700 & Below \$5300	84	13 %	39 %	80 %	2	22	117
Mission	68% TW (35%Brown)	\$5300-6000 & Below \$5300	85	5 %	40 %	87 %	1	5	173
Citywide	55% TW	\$6717 Median	93	18 %	21 %	71 %			

NOTE:

Family Income and IQ are for 1966-67. All figures on high school graduates' college and job plans are for June 1966 -- latest detailed figures available. (No figures at all are available on how many graduates actually enrolled at college, or how many seeking work actually found it.) High school graduates taking the "vocational route" include those planning immediate employment, those enrolling in trade schools and those entering the Armed Forces -- plus the estimated 85 % of City College entrants who do not continue on to a four-year college.

WHAT THIS MEANS - - -

1. High schools in San Francisco are divided along class and racial lines. Class and racial makeup of a school determines the type and quality of instruction, and how much money is spent per pupil.
2. "IQ" tests measure income, not intelligence. Yet they determine whether you take courses that prepare you for college, or courses that prepare you for a working class job.
3. More than three-quarters of all graduates from the five working-class high schools either look for a job right away, or take vocational training, or enter the Armed Forces. (More than a third of them enter the job market immediately. Of these, at least two-thirds of the jobs sought by girls are in office labor; at least half of the jobs sought by boys are in industrial labor.)

CLASS EDUCATION IN A NUTSHELL: Who Goes to College and Who Pays For It

	FAMILY INCOME UNDER \$10,000	FAMILY INCOME OVER \$10,000	
Percent of California families .....	71.9 %	28.1 %	
Percent of S. F. families .....	75.8 %	24.2 %	
Percent of California Third World families .....	Over 90 %	Under 10 %	
Percent of state non-corporate taxes paid .....	62 %	38 %	
<hr/>			
COLLEGES ATTENDED (Full-time student enrollment in California, 1967)			RELATIVE AMOUNT SPENT PER STUDENT
Junior Colleges (217,000)	2/3 of students	1/3 of students	Out of every \$100 of taxpayers' money spent by the State of California to educate students in public colleges... —an average of \$10 is spent for each Junior College student.*
State Colleges (122,000)	1/2 of students	1/2 of students	—an average of \$30 is spent for each State College student.
University of California (91,000)	1/3 of students	2/3 of students	—an average of \$60 is spent for each University of California student.
Private colleges and universities (78,000)	1/4 of students	3/4 of students	
			* While Junior Colleges are mainly financed by local rather than state taxes, local taxes are mainly property taxes which hit poor and working people hardest. The brunt falls on tenants (due to a shift from landlord to tenant) and on small homeowners.

WHAT THIS MEANS - - -

1. Seven out of 10 of the 270,000 who graduate from California public and parochial high schools come from families with total income under \$10,000 — the income group that pays most of the state's taxes.

BUT...

2. Fewer than 10 percent of the under-\$10,000 high school graduates enroll at U. C. or State Colleges upon graduation. (Two percent go to private colleges; 41 percent enter Junior Colleges; and 47 percent of them go to no college at all.)

AND...

3. Nearly 35 percent of the over-\$10,000 high school graduates enroll at U. C. or State Colleges. (Almost all go to college somewhere.)

THEREFORE...

4. Four-year college is mainly for the minority of higher-income families. But the lower-income families, most of whose children can't get in, pay most of the bill.



workers  
& out  
communities

NO TARGETS  
DAY TO DAY

contacts - education

organizing

- 1- Org & pol domestic
- 2- spread beyond "left"
- 3 build Res Soc and Res Org

- 1- kind of strategy & action
- 2- what kind of day 2 day
- 3- what state

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