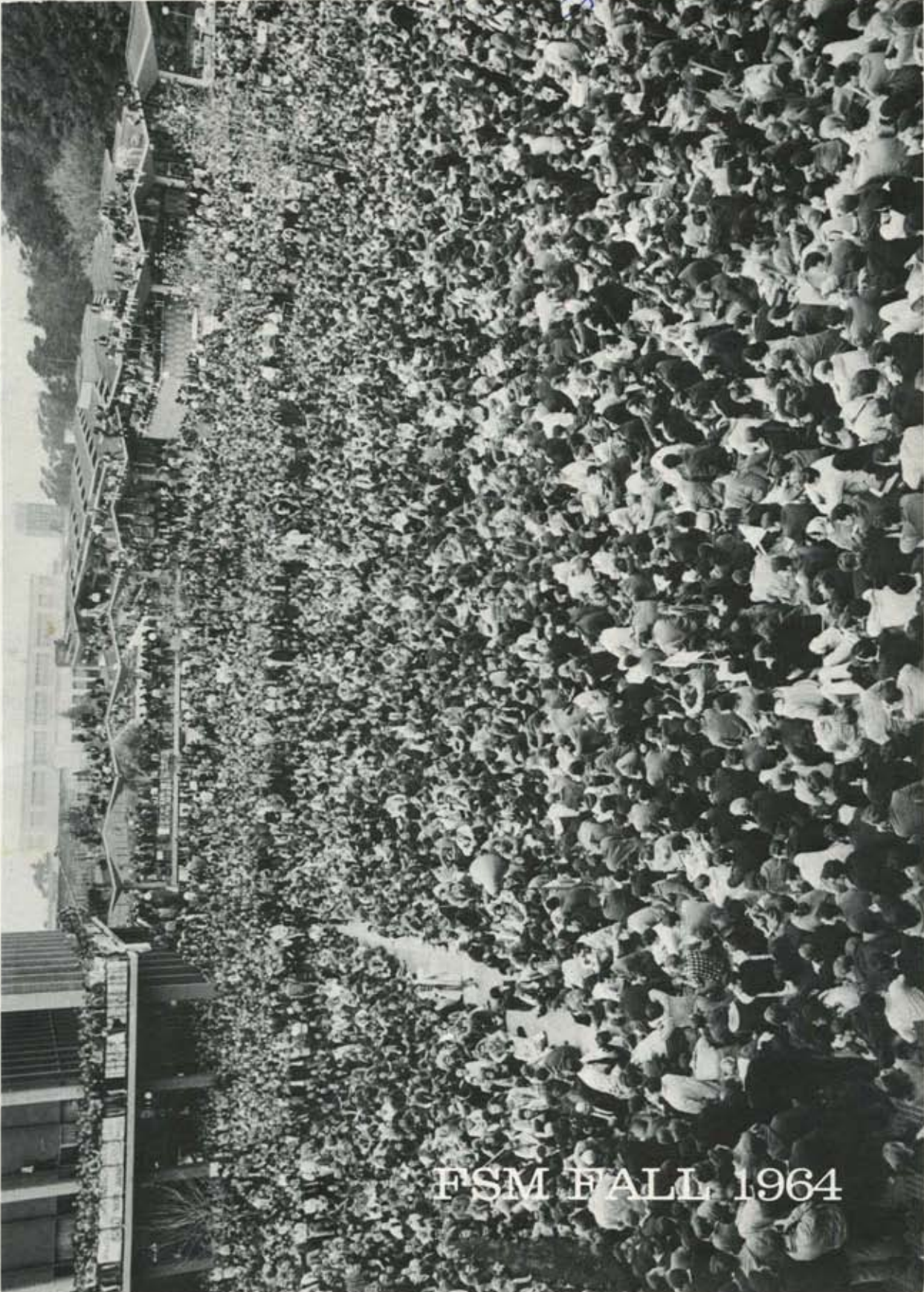


FALL 1977

*U of Calif  
Berkeley*

# DISORIENTATION



F'SM FALL 1964

\$1

Two CUAA members will be teaching the course on Southern Africa described below this fall at the East Bay Socialist School. The first meeting will be on October 13, 1977 at 8 p.m. at 464 Hudson, Oakland (near the Rockridge Bart Station.) The school charges a fee of \$15 (for one or more courses). Some financial aid is available.

It may be possible to arrange course credit for U.C. students who take the class. Call 549-0670 well before you have to file your study list if you are interested in that option, or if you have any questions.

## Southern Africa

Thursday evening at 8:00

Ruth Milkman  
Anne Lawrence

In this course we will study the forces shaping the rapidly changing political situation in southern Africa.

We will begin by looking at South Africa, the most industrialized country in Africa and the one with the largest and most powerful white population. We will study the apartheid system and try to understand in a historical way how it is linked to South Africa's capitalist economy and to Western interests in the country.

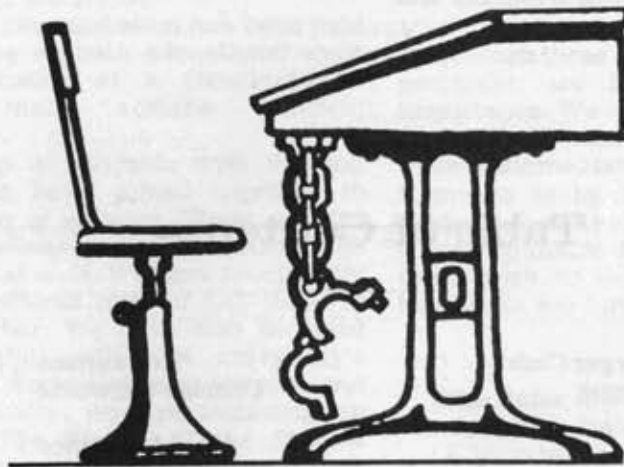
Then we will turn to U.S. interests in southern Africa and the recent history of U.S. policy in the area. As time permits, we will also look at the situation in liberated Mozambique and Angola, the history of national liberation struggles in the area as a whole, and the prospects of revolutionary change in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa), and — further into the future, South Africa itself.

Weekly readings will not exceed 50 pages. Additional materials will be available to anyone interested.

Ruth Milkman and Anne Lawrence have been studying South Africa for the past year and are active in solidarity work with the liberation movements in southern Africa in the Bay Area.



# DISO RIENTATION



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## Table of Contents

Introduction .....	page 3
The Regents: Members of a Larger Club	Ron Jensen ..... page 5
Corporate Executives on Campus	Charles Schwartz ..... page 7
Apartheid: What it Means	Anne Lawrence ..... page 9
The Case for Divestment	Anne Lawrence and Ruth Milkman ..... page 11
UC in South Africa: The University Portfolio	Jeff Levin ..... page 15
Reinvestment	Andy Spahn ..... page 18
Bank of America and South Africa	Ray Sevilla, Brian Shepard and MiloAnn Hecathorne ..... page 20
The Bakke Decision	(based on materials from ABDC, MCHR and RSB) ..... page 21
The University and Nuclear Weapons	Brent Stuart ..... page 24
The University and Agricultural Mechanization	Yolo Friends of the Farmworkers and California Agrarian Action Project ..... page 27
Women and the University	Sugae Goen and Cathie Wilson ..... page 29
Sexism and the University	Women's Issues Group, UC Davis ..... page 30
The University as an Employer	Steve Willett ..... page 31
History of the Student Movement at Berkeley.....	page 33
Community Resources List.....	page 46



# DISORIENTATION FALL 1977 Introduction

In 1969, radical students first introduced a "Disorientation" program at Berkeley. The purpose of Disorientation was to provoke discussion about the university as an institution, its role in society, and its impact on the values and aspirations of its students. Many students had come to feel that the university, despite a rhetoric of "personal development" and "academic freedom", was not so much concerned with the interests of students and the public as it was with those of business and the military. Furthermore, it seemed that UC was actively engaged in shaping the character of students to accept authority, hierarchy and individual competition, values which were necessary to maintain the social status quo. Students developed Disorientation as a means of challenging the prevailing image of the university as a center for liberal education.

Since its inception, Disorientation has been held several times, relying on both educational work (such as the publication of a Disorientation pamphlet) and mass actions (rallies, demonstrations, etc.).

This year, a group of students with varying political perspectives have joined together to publish this collection of articles. These articles deal with such questions as who controls the university, and for what ends. We have specifically considered two institutional roles of UC, those of investor and researcher. We have also included several articles dealing with the university's relationship to Third World students, women, and campus workers. Finally, we are including an updated version of *The History of the Student Movement at Berkeley*, which has appeared in past Disorientation booklets, so as to provide students with a historical perspective and understanding of Berkeley's rich tradition of struggle and resistance.

The pamphlet as a whole should not be taken to represent the view of any particular group, nor as a

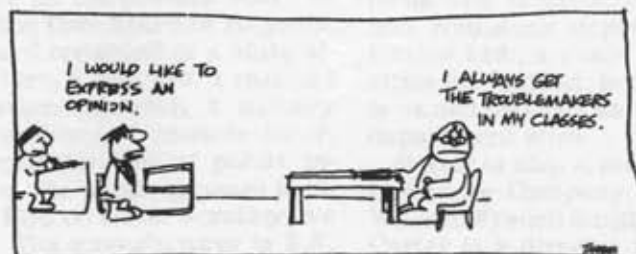
final statement. Rather, we hope that, along with the various Disorientation activities that have occurred this quarter, the pamphlet will promote dialogue and participation around these issues.

There are a number of issues which we have not touched upon here. Most students at Cal are familiar with the bureaucratic and hierarchical structures of power which exist both inside and outside the classroom, as well as the problems of overcrowding and intense competition. To what extent are these conditions linked to the power structure of the university? Does the university reproduce the antagonisms of class, race and sex which exist in American society? Why are certain departments, like Ethnic Studies and Criminology, subjected to attack and even closure? Why are Marxist and radical professors denied tenure, fired and excluded from the university?

Although these questions are not dealt with in this pamphlet, we feel that they are of crucial importance. We hope that Disorientation will be a catalyst, stimulating students to question some of their fundamental assumptions about UC and what it means to be a student at Cal. We urge all students, faculty and campus workers to respond to this pamphlet, to discuss, analyze and criticize, and most of all, to become involved. We also suggest two books for further study of the university:

*Who Rules the Universities? An Essay in Class Analysis;* by David N. Smith  
(A Marxist analysis of the history and evolution of higher education in the United States)

*The Uses of the University;* by Clark Kerr  
(An amazingly honest and forthright look at the interlocks between the university and business, written by the former president of UC)



# DISORIENTATION FALL 1977 Introduction

In 1977, the year of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, we are reminded of the various theoretical and practical problems that have arisen in the history of the world. There are a number of reasons why we are reminded of the French Revolution. First, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country. Second, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Third, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Fourth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Fifth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Sixth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Seventh, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Eighth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Ninth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony. Tenth, because it was the first time that the bourgeoisie took power in a country that was not a colony.

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**What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and the the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.**

**Karl Marx — "The Communist Manifesto," 1848**



# THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## Members of a Larger Club

Written by Ron Jensen. Compiled by Ron Jensen and Jeff Levin  
(CUAA Research Committee)

The Regents of the University of California decide the policies of one of the most ubiquitous and penetrating school systems in the world. In the words of Clark Kerr, former president of the University:

The University of California last year (1962) had operating expenditures from all sources of nearly half a billion dollars, with almost another 100 million for construction; a total employment of over 40,000 people, more than IBM and in a far greater variety of endeavors; operations in over a hundred locations, counting campuses, experiment stations, agricultural and urban extension centers, and projects abroad involving more than fifty countries; nearly 10,000 courses in its catalogues; some form of contact with nearly every industry, nearly every level of government, nearly every person in its region.

—Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Harper Torchbooks, p. 7-8

According to Vernon Stadtman, the official historian of the University, the Regents have almost complete power over the policies of the University. They

can and do alter the size and mission of the University in response to the needs of the state and the growth of knowledge. None of the University's remarkable expansion, nor any of its distinction in diverse endeavors, could have been achieved without Regental initiative.

—Vernon Stadtman, *The University of California 1868-1968*, Macgraw Hill p. 501

Thus, the Regents have incredible power in the state and, to a lesser extent, in the nation. But, who are these Regents? Are they representative of the community at large, or do they represent special interests?

Before casting our eye on the present board of Regents, let us look at the first board of Regents, created in 1868. The board consisted of 4 state officials, 8 lawyers, 2 doctors, 2 farmers, 1 railroad vice-president, 1 Unitarian minister, 1 nursery man, 1 gas company president, 1 manufacturer, and 1 former state superintendent of public instruction. At first glance, the public appears to be fairly well represented. But, on closer scrutiny, we find a different picture. The manufacturer is S.F. Butterworth, owner of the Quicksilver Mining

Company. One of the farmers is Charles Reed, the president of the Sacramento Irrigation and Navigation Canal Company. One of the lawyers is the former Governor Low. Regent Andrew Hallidie is president of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco. The 2 doctors, Samuel Merritt and Augustus Bowie, are successful real estate speculators.

Clearly business has a majority interest. Referring to this first board, Stadtman says:

"They had been drawn, as Regents have been drawn ever since, from the ranks of Californians who had reputations for astuteness in business or for contributions to the cultural development and general prosperity of the state."

Now let us turn to the present board of Regents, starting with William French Smith, who, along with Regent William A. Wilson, is a director for the Earle M. Jorgensen Steel Company. The chairman is E.M. Jorgensen, who also serves on the board of Directors for the Northrop Corporation and the George A. Fuller Company, which is a division of the Northrop Corporation. William French Smith, until 1975, was a member of the board of Trustees with the Northrop Institute of Technology. The auditors for the Northrop Corporation are Ernst & Ernst. Regent Vernor Orr is a consultant to Ernst & Ernst.

Smith also serves on the Board of Directors of the Pacific Lighting Corporation; a holding company with 23 subsidiaries in California, Hawaii, Florida, Australia, The Netherlands, Indonesia, and Canada. Pacific Lighting owns Southern California Gas Company, which serves the city of Los Angeles and 534 other cities and towns in central and southern California. Southern California Gas buys its gas from Pacific Lighting Service Company, which is owned by Pacific Lighting Corporation. A director for Pacific Lighting Corporation is Prentiss C. Hale of Carter Hawley Hale Stores Inc., a department store conglomerate.

The 'Carter' in Carter Hawley Hale (CHH) is Regent Edward W. Carter. In California, CHH owns The Broadway, The Emporium, Capwell's and Weinstock department stores. The House of Fraser Ltd., a chain of 144 stores in 91 towns and cities in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, is owned by CHH as is Illums, Denmark's leading department store.

Carter is also a director for Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, alongside his fellow Regent William French Smith. This relationship continues. Carter is a director for American Telephone and Telegraph, a subsidiary of IT&T. Smith and Regent



William K. Coblentz are directors for Pacific Telephone & Telegraph, a subsidiary of AT&T. Carter is with Western Bancorporation, the nation's largest bank holding corporation, which owns the United California Bank. UCB has loaned money to South Africa. Vernon Orr again steps into the picture; Western Bancorporation's auditors are Ernst & Ernst. Carter is also with Del Monte, as is UC vice-president Chester McCorkle.

Returning to Carter Hawley Hale Inc., let us examine the interlocking directorates that bind CHH to the rest of the state. Prentiss Hale, besides sitting next to Regent Smith on Pacific Lighting Corporation, is also a director for Union Oil and Bank of America. The president, Philip Hawley, is a director for Arco and sits next to Hale at Bank of America and next to Regents Smith and Coblentz at Pacific Telephone and Telegraph. Robert Di Giorgio of the Di Giorgio Fruit Company is not only tied to Carter, PC Hale, and Hawley as a director for CHH, but is also with P.C. Hale and Hawley at Bank of America, with P.C. Hale at Union Oil, and with Hawley and director Stanton G. Hale, along with Regents Smith and Coblentz, at Pacific Telephone and Telegraph. Stanton G. Hale again sits next to Regents Smith and Carter at Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company and next to Carter in Southern California Edison Company. Along with Carter, Stanton Hale and CHH director Rudolph A. Paterson are directors for the James Irvine Foundation, which controls a large percentage of the real estate in Orange County and owns the huge Irvine Ranch, a continuous 93,000 acres of prime Orange County land.

Regent Joseph A. Moore is with Crocker National Bank, along with William French Smith. Joseph Moore owns Moore Investment Company, Moore Dry Dock Company, and Semya Construction Company and is a director of Emporium and Capwell, owned by Carter Hawley Hale Inc.

Owsley Hammond, the Regent's treasurer, was a director of the Bay and River Navigation Company from 1948 to 1962, a director of C&H Sugar from 1951 to 1962, and from 1956 to 1962, a director with Pacific Chemical and Fertilizer. Hammond is presently with Advance Investors Corporation which, as of 1973, owned 67,000 shares worth \$6,625,500 of stock in Hewlett-Packard, First Chicago Corporation, Xerox Corporation, and Eastman Kodak, all of which do business in South Africa. Regent Donald G. Reithner is with IBM, which also does business in South Africa. Regent Donald G. Reithner is with IBM, which also does business in South Africa. Regent William A. Wilson, from his own biography, "is now active in the management of personal investments, real estate, ranching and farming in Southern California, as well as having cattle interests in the United States and Mexico." Wilson is with San Vicente Investors, a Los Angeles firm involved in Puerto Rico. Regent Robert O. Reynolds is a director for the Chubb Corporation, president since 1960 of Golden West Baseball Company (California Angels), and vice-president since 1965 of the Los

Angeles Rams Company. Regent Coblentz is a managing partner of ASA farms, the corporate owner of a million dollar parcel of tomato crop land in Yolo County.

Regent Dean A. Watkins, who from 1966 to 1969 was a trustee for Stanford University, is president of Watkins-Johnson Company; manufacturers of electronic warfare devices. In their 1976 annual report they term their future "bright." "Our U.S. Government markets are well funded presently and, to judge by next year's Defense budget, will be increased further; and our foreign markets show strong evidence of significant growth opportunities as we pursue new areas, such as South America and the Middle East." Regent W. Glenn Campbell's wife, Rita Ricardo Campbell, is a director with Watkins-Johnson. Both Campbells are with the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace, an extremely influential "international center for documentation, research and publications on problems of political, economic, and social change in the twentieth century." Dr. Frederick E. Terman, a director for Watkins-Johnson, is Vice President of Stanford University.

The law firms of those Regents who are attorneys also have corporate connections. Regent Smith, the personal lawyer to Ronald Reagan, is a senior partner in Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, a giant corporate law firm in Los Angeles. Regent Coblentz is a member of the law firms of Jacobs, Sills, & Coblentz. Their clients include the Cahill Construction Company, Glaser Brothers, and Interland Development Company. Regent DeWitt A. Higgs' firm, Higgs, Fletcher & Mack, represents among others Allstate Insurance Company, Fireman's Fund American Insurance Company, and the Salk Institute for Biological Studies, of which Fletcher is a trustee.

The Regents influence does not end with business though. They also have a pervasive influence on the "cultural development" of the state. Carter is a director for the Music Center Opera Association, the San Francisco Opera Association, the Southern California Symphony-Hollywood Bowl Association, and trustee for Occidental College, the Brookings Institution, a director for the Stanford Research Institute, a member of the Overseers Visiting Committee, Harvard Graduate School of Business, a member for the Visiting Committee, UCLA Graduate School of Management, a member of the Rockefeller University Council.

Regent Smith is a member of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, of Claremont Men's College, of the Cate School, of the Industry-Educational Council of California, and a member of the Board of Directors of the California Foundation for Commerce and Education. He is also a delegate to the East-West Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange in the Arts. Smith is on the Board of Directors of the Center Theatre Group (Los Angeles Music Center), a National Trustee for the

National Symphony Orchestra, and a member of the Board of Directors for Partnership for the Arts in California, Inc.

In 1970, Regent W. Glenn Campbell was a coordinator for the Council on Higher Education for the State of California. Vernon Orr is on the Board of Councillors of the Center for Public Affairs, University of Southern California, and on the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges.

Socially, Regents Carter and Smith are members of the Los Angeles Country Club and the Bohemian Club. Owsley Hammond is with the Bohemian Club. Robert O. Reynolds is a member of the Los Angeles Country Club. P.C. Hale, of CHH, is also in the Bohemian Club.

Politically, the Regents are highly conservative. Many of the Regents are in political sympathy with former governor Ronald Reagan. W. Glen Campbell calls himself a "personal friend of Ronald Reagan." Joseph Moore was a member of the Republican National Finance Committee in 1953. Dean Watkins was a consultant to the Department of Defense from 1956 to 1966. In 1968, W. Glenn Campbell was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Miami. William French

Smith led that delegation.

The facts speak for themselves: 1) most of the Regents belong to an interlocking directorate of corporate wealth and power that exercises immense influence on the state and, to a lesser extent, on the nation; and 2) their relationships with one another flow through many channels and cross many shining tables in addition to the Board of Regents of the University of California.

The Regents, then, are people not only of great wealth but of great power; socially, economically, and politically. The majority of Regents are Regents because of their "astuteness in business." If we should take each corporation of which a Regent is a director and trace the connections of every other director, the threads would extend and double back, getting denser and denser until they formed a solid fabric assuming the shape of the state of California. They are part of a small stratum of white males who have an incredible influence over the institutions of this state. They have only one perspective, they have only one special interest: the interest of corporate wealth.

The Regents are members of this larger club; they are part of the ruling class.

# CORPORATE EXECUTIVES ON CAMPUS

## Another Focus for the Fight Against U.S. Investments in South Africa

by Charles Schwartz, physics dept., U. Cal. Berkeley.

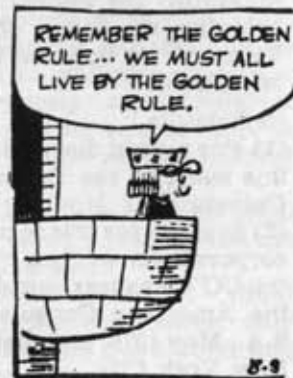
A host of powerful businessmen dominate the boards of regents or trustees of the nation's universities.

A handful of select professors and university administrators sit on the boards of directors of major corporations.

A myriad of advisory councils and visiting committees attached to individual campus departments are heavily populated with high ranking executives from important corporations.

This extensive interlocking provides a basic means by which the policies and programs of American higher education are shaped to meet the requirements of the reigning economic powers. There is nothing conspiratorial or subversive about these arrangements — although much of this is not well known — it is simply the natural way for modern capitalism to attend to its own needs. (1)

The flow of influence in this campus-corporate channel might conceivably go the other way. It is





not likely that a few liberal minded professors or college presidents would persuade their corporate benefactors to abandon some noxious but profitable activity; however, a strong student movement, acting on an issue with broad public support, might be able to bring considerable pressure to bear on these exposed tentacles of corporate power.

A program to expose and bring pressure to bear on campus-connected officials of major corporations doing business in South Africa may provide an important supplementary strategy for campus activists.

Preliminary research shows that there are plenty of opportunities for applying such a plan. At UC Berkeley I have already found the official presence of some two dozen top executives of corporations identified as doing business in South Africa: (2)

#### *Administration and Faculty:*

Chester O. McCorkle, Jr., vice-president of UC, is a director of *Del Monte*

Luis W. Alvarez, professor of physics, is a director of *Hewlett-Packard*

Kenneth S. Pitzer, professor of chemistry, is a director of *Owens-Illinois*

Charles H. Townes, professor of physics, is a director of *General Motors*

#### *Board of Regents:*

Edward W. Carter is a director of *Del Monte* and also of *Western Bancorporation*

Donald G. Reithner is Corporate Resident Manager-West for *IBM*

#### *College of Engineering Advisory Board:*

Arthur G. Anderson is a vice-president of *IBM*

Robert Bromberg is a vice-president of *TRW*

W. Dale Compton is a vice-president of *Ford*

Edgar J. Garbarini is a director of *Bechtel*

Eneas D. Kane is a vice-president of *Standard Oil of California*

George J. Stathakis is a vice-president of *General Electric*

#### *Department of Chemical Engineering Advisory Board:*

W. Kenneth Davis is a vice-president of *Bechtel*

Herbert D. Doan is a director of *Dow Chemical*

Richard E. Emmert is an executive of *Du Pont*

John W. Scott is a vice-president of *Chevron Research (Standard Oil of California)*

Frank B. Sprow is an executive of *Exxon*

#### *Schools of Business Administration Advisory Council: (latest list from 1975)*

James E. Gosline, a director of *Standard Oil of California*

Walter E. Hoadley, a vice-president of *Bank of America*

Richard G. Landis, president of *Del Monte*

James W. Porter, managing partner of *Arthur Young & C.*

#### *UCB (Alumni) Foundation Board of Trustees:*

Edgar J. Garbarini is a director of *Bechtel*  
Henry F. Trione is chairman of the board of *Wells Fargo Mortgage*

Rudolph A. Peterson is a director of *Bank of America* and *Standard Oil of California*

In addition, the Members of the Business Associates Program (UCB School of Business Administration) includes ten companies doing business in South Africa.

UC is also a member of The Bay Area Council, a group of business and civic leaders concerned with long range planning for the San Francisco Bay Area. Chancellor Albert Bowker was on their board of directors until July 1977, when he was replaced by Earl Cheit, Dean of Berkeley's School of Business Administration. On the Council's Executive Committee are found the following:

Ernest C. Arbuckle, chairman of the board of *Wells Fargo Bank*

H.J. Haynes, chairman of the board of *Standard Oil of California*

Arjay Miller, a director of *Ford*

A. W. Clausen, president of *Bank of America*

Edmund W. Littlefield, a director of *General Electric*

For another perspective, I surveyed the lists of directors and top executives given in the latest annual reports of 13 major U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa, looking at the *Who's Who* biography of each person to find any university connections. A total of 212 such connections were found: GM had the most (40), then came IBM (34), GE (25), BofA (21), H-P (19), Ford (15), Western Bancorp (14), Cat. Tract. (11), Exxon (10), Texaco (8), 3M (7), SOCal (5) and FMC (3). The universities' connections with these 13 corporations ranked as follows: Stanford (14), Harvard (12), Cal Tech (9), MIT (8), UCal (7), Cornell (5), Dartmouth (5), Yale (5), etc.

Obviously, there is much more data of this type waiting to be uncovered; and the campaign being suggested here would benefit from coordinated action on a number of campuses. The detailed tactics should, of course, be carefully devised to maximize the educational opportunities found in bringing the issue of corporate investments in South Africa down to the local departmental level on campus.

#### *References*

(1) For a good discussion of the relevant history on this subject, see David N. Smith, *Who Rules the Universities?* Monthly Review Press, 1974.

(2) Sources for this identification: Letters from the corporations written in response to an inquiry by the UC Treasurer, summer 1977; A list compiled by the American Consulate General, Johannesburg, S.A., May 1976, and distributed by The Africa Fund New York City.



# APARTHEID

## What it Means

by Anne Lawrence  
of the CUA Research Committee

South Africa today is the richest and most highly industrialized country on the African continent.

About three times the size of California, South Africa produces 85 percent of the West's gold and is a major supplier of important minerals and gems.

Since World War II, the South African economy has grown at a tremendous rate—approaching 10 percent a year.

Today, South Africa manufactures cars, steel, advanced machinery, computers, and probably, in the near future, her own atom bomb.

South Africa is also one of the few societies left in the world based on legalized racial segregation. Four and a half million whites (16 percent of the population) completely dominate 18.6 million Africans, 2.4 million "Coloureds," as persons of mixed racial ancestry are officially called, and three-quarters of a million Asians.

The South African white minority holds absolute political power, controls the economy, and enjoys most of the country's great wealth. The whites have a name for this vicious system of racial discrimination.

They call it "separate development" or apartheid.

How does it work?

### *Reservations or "homelands"?*

European settlers began coming to South Africa from Holland and Britain in the 1600's. Over the next two centuries, through a series of wars, they conquered the indigenous African tribes, driving them into the interior of the country.

Since the mid-19th century, the control of the white minority has been absolute, but not unchallenged. Resistance has never ceased, and today it threatens the apartheid regime of the Nationalist Party.

In South Africa, almost all Africans are required to become citizens of one of eight "tribal homelands", or "reserves." They are not citizens of South Africa, but of the tribal homeland to which they are assigned.

These areas make up 13 percent of the most arid and infertile land in the country and include no major cities, no ports, and no valuable minerals.

The reserves are hopelessly overpopulated. Today, they contain 110 persons per square mile, as compared to 34 persons per square mile in the rest of South Africa.

The land is eroded and overworked, and local agriculture cannot produce enough food to feed the people who are forced to live there.

The Transkei, for instance, the most economically developed of the homelands, only produces enough food for half its population and must import 150 thousand tons of corn every year.



Disease and malnutrition are widespread. In some reserves, more than half the children die before the age of five.

Those who do survive are often permanently crippled mentally and physically because of lack of medical care and proper nutrition.

Two-thirds of the people who live in the reserves have no source of livelihood at all and are forced to depend on the wages of members of their families who have jobs in the 87 percent of the country which is reserved for whites.

### *Migrant labor produces the wealth*

Because there are almost no jobs in the reserves, Africans who live there must enter the "white" areas of South Africa to seek employment.

These men and women must register with "tribal labor bureaus", which tell them where and when they can look for jobs.

When they find a job, they must leave their families behind in the reserves. It is not uncommon, for instance, for a father to get a job in a gold mine and only see his family once a year.

These migrant workers are officially foreigners in their own country when they leave the reserves. But instead of a passport, they carry a passbook.

All Africans are required to carry a passbook in "white" areas. It contains vital information including a record of the holder's current em-

ployment.

If an African is stopped by the police and cannot produce his-her passbook, or has one that it is not properly stamped, s-he can be thrown into jail or deported back to the reserves.

When the passbook laws were first introduced in the 1950's, there were widespread demonstrations and protests against them. Many Africans were killed, jailed, or exiled for organizing resistance to the passbook laws.

There are currently about 1.75 million migrant workers in the South African economy—almost a third of the labor force. These men and women usually work for a year at a time in the cities or the mines and then return home for a furlough in their "homeland" to visit their families.

The South African government is now trying to increase the proportion of migrant workers in the economy. During the 1960's, no less than 1.9 million Africans were forcibly deported back to the reserves from the urban areas and the removal of an additional 3.8 million persons is planned.

Many of these workers are forced to re-enter the economy as migrants to support themselves.

#### *No rights for Black workers*

In the "white" areas of South Africa, Africans have virtually no rights at all. They cannot vote, own property, join political parties or form unions.

They cannot join existing government-backed "white" trade unions, go on strike for better wages and working conditions, or bargain collectively with their employers. There is a strong union movement for whites, but it is strictly segregated.

There are illegal trade union organizations for Africans. The most important one is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which is officially outlawed.

It is, however, a powerful force for resistance inside of South Africa. SACTU was key in organizing a one day general strike of African workers on June 16 in commemoration of the first anniversary of the Soweto rebellion. *More than 700,000 workers* took part.

The Soweto rebellion took place in a Black township outside of Johannesburg, the country's capital, last year when African students began to protest over learning "Afrikaans", the official

language of the apartheid regime. Troops attacked the township and after one week of protests, police and armed forces killed over 1,000 Africans.

#### *Repression Widespread*

The South African government spends an enormous amount of money to prop up this vicious system.

Last year, for instance, the government spent \$1,350,000 on defense, \$177 million on the police, \$71 million on prisons, and \$14 million on "internal security" for a grand total of almost \$1.5 billion to maintain its grip over the Black South African population.

The money spent on repression is one measure of the level of resistance to apartheid. Like southern slave-owners in the U.S., white South Africans live in constant fear of Black rebellion. Their cities are rigidly segregated armed camps.

Police harassment, arrest, and imprisonment are daily facts of life for Africans. Over a thousand people are arrested *every day* for violating the pass laws.

No less than one in four Africans sees the inside of a jail every year. Besides imprisonment, people can be exiled or "banned", a particularly brutal sentence in which a person is forbidden to leave his or her home, or have contact with anyone, except a few specified members of his or her direct family, and is not allowed to work.

#### *Vast disparities result*

The upshot of this sytem is an incredible disparity between the wages and living conditions of Africans and whites.

Even those Africans who are able to find employment are extremely poor. More than 80 percent of the Black population of South Africa lives below the poverty line. Families must spend 70 percent of their income for food alone.

Whites are doing very well. They have the fourth highest per capita income in the western world—close to \$3,000 per year. They live in comfort with swimming pools, luxury cars and, of course, lots of cheap domestic servants.

The cheap labor of African workers has been of great benefit not only to the apartheid regime, but also to foreign investors.

## APARTHEID AT A GLANCE

### *Monthly wages—Manufacturing, 1975*

White	\$587	100 percent
Indian	\$173	30 percent
Coloured	\$151	26 percent
African	\$122	21 percent

### *Monthly wages—Mining, 1975*

White	\$713	100 percent
Indian		
Coloured	\$192	27 percent
African	\$ 85	12 percent

### *Gov. spending per student, 1975*

White	\$696	100 percent
Indian	\$197	28 percent
Coloured	\$144	21 percent
African	\$ 46	7 percent

### *Teacher: Student Ratio, 1975*

White	1:20
Asian	1:27
Coloured	1:31
African	1:54

# THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT

## Why We Say: U.S. Corporations Out of South Africa Now!



*The Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA) advocates the immediate withdrawal of American investments from South Africa.*

*Our slogan is: "U.S. Corporations Out of South Africa Now!"*

*This is not an uncontroversial position.*

*Many people—including some who oppose South Africa's racist apartheid policies—have criticized this demand. They argue that American corporations can be a force for constructive change in South Africa.*

*In this article, two members of the CUAA, Anne Lawrence and Ruth Milkman, answer some of the arguments that have been raised against the divestment demand. It is written in the form of a conversation between a critic of the divestment demand and a member of the CUAA.*

*These are not easy issues with easy answers. Much discussion and debate led up to the adoption of the CUAA's position.*

*We'd like you to participate in this debate. And to join us in building a movement on this campus which can help support the struggle for black liberation in southern Africa.*

*Join the Campuses United Against Apartheid!*

I'M OPPOSED TO APARTHEID TOO. BUT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT IS NOT THE BEST WAY TO END IT. THE OPPOSITION OF U.S. CORPORATIONS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF APARTHEID IS A MATTER OF RECORD.

Yes, American corporations doing business in South Africa have spoken out against apartheid. But actions speak louder than words.

American businessmen were attracted to South Africa initially because of its rich mineral resources, its history of political stability, and most importantly, its enormous supplies of cheap, unorganized black labor.

American companies profit handsomely from apartheid. Until the recent recession, the annual return on investment in South Africa averaged around 20 percent, well over the 11 percent world average.

Publicly, American firms criticize apartheid. But privately, they continue to profit from racial oppression. Clearly, there are limits to how far they will oppose a system that they continue to benefit from.

SURE, AMERICAN COMPANIES ARE MAKING MONEY. BUT PROFITS AREN'T INCOMPATIBLE WITH IMPROVED SOCIAL

WELFARE. FOREIGN INVESTMENT HAS HELPED SOUTH AFRICA TO INDUSTRIALIZE, WHICH IN TURN HAS INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY AND CREATED A BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING FOR EVERYONE, ACROSS THE BOARD.

There's one major flaw in this argument. Yes, foreign investment has helped the country industrialize. And yes, industrialization has meant a fatter GNP and a growing average per capita income.

The problem is—within the framework of apartheid, the benefits of industrialization have been enjoyed almost solely by the privileged white minority.

Let's take a look at the facts.

During the 60's, when foreign investment was soaring and industrialization was galloping along, white incomes doubled while black incomes remained the same.

Today, the average income of a white person in South Africa is around thirteen times that of a black person, and the gap is growing.

White incomes are among the highest anywhere in the world. Meanwhile, eight out of ten blacks lives below the subsistence level.

Someone's benefitting from industrialization, no doubt about it. But it's not the black majority.



AMERICAN COMPANIES MAY NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REDISTRIBUTE INCOME. BUT AT LEAST THEY'VE PROVIDED EMPLOYMENT FOR BLACK WORKERS. THAT'S SOMETHING WE SHOULDN'T OVERLOOK.

Actually, you're wrong about that.

Studies have shown that the net effect of U.S. investment on the South African economy has been to decrease, not increase, total black employment.

This is because most U.S. investment has been highly capital intensive and has eliminated old jobs without creating as many new ones. For instance, the introduction of farm equipment manufactured by American companies has permitted the mechanization of agriculture and thrown thousands of black farmworkers out of work.

THAT'S NO BIG DEAL. IT'S ALWAYS TRUE THAT SOME WORKERS ARE GOING TO LOSE THEIR JOBS WHEN AN ECONOMY INDUSTRIALIZES. THE POINT IS, WERE THESE WORKERS ABLE TO FIND NEW JOBS ELSEWHERE IN THE ECONOMY?

Many of them were not.

There are now close to two million unemployed black workers in South Africa—a staggering 25 percent of the black workforce. Meanwhile, white unemployment hovers around 2 percent.

The jobs that are opening up as a result of industrialization are not going to the blacks displaced by machines. They are being filled by whites.

THE FACT REMAINS THAT AMERICAN FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE EMPLOYING SOMEBODY.

Yes, they are.

The "somebodies" are mostly white.

Most American firms need skilled workers. In the context of the apartheid system, which denies blacks access to educational opportunities and keeps them out of most skilled jobs, the skilled workers available are almost all white.

Although whites make up only 17 percent of the population in South Africa, they make up 66 percent of the workforce at Caltex, 37 percent at General Electric, and 97 percent at IBM. The record for other American firms is similar.

AMERICAN FIRMS MAY EMPLOY A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF WHITES. BUT THEY ALSO EMPLOY A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF BLACKS—100,000 ACCORDING TO FORTUNE MAGAZINE. NOW JUST WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN TO THEM IF THESE COMPANIES PULL OUT?

You're right. These workers would lose their jobs if American companies pulled out.

But it's also the case that black South Africans have made it clear that they are willing suffer the short term consequences of foreign withdrawal,

including unemployment, if this will further the struggle for political rights in the long run.

Chief Albert Luthuli, past President of the African National Congress and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, put it this way: "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardships for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shorthens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

YOU KEEP TALKING ABOUT WHAT BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA REALLY WANT. HOW DO YOU KNOW? I READ IN THE NEWSPAPER THAT SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ARE ACTUALLY SPEAKING OUT FOR MORE, NOT LESS, FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN THEIR COUNTRY.

Some South African blacks, including the Mayor of Soweto and the Chief of the Zulu people, have spoken out in favor of continued foreign investment. These statements have been widely publicized in the press and by American firms with South African subsidiaries.

It's important to point out, however, that virtually all the blacks who have been quoted on this side of the issue are government functionaries who depend on the apartheid regime for their livelihood.

The fact is that the great majority of political organizations representing black people in South Africa have taken an unequivocal stand against any foreign investment in their country. This is even more remarkable because even to advocate such an opinion in South Africa is a criminal act.

Organizations on record in favor of divesting include: the South African Students Organization, the South African Student Movement, the Black Peoples' Convention, the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the Coloured Labor Party, the Organization of African Unity, and the United Nations.

The Statement of the ANC sums up the view of these organizations well: "It is not enough to grant higher wages here, better conditions there, for this leaves the apartheid system intact, in fact, it props it up longer—the very source of our misery and degradation."

LET'S GET BACK TO THOSE 100,000 BLACK WORKERS NOW WORKING FOR AMERICAN COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. NOW ADMIT IT. AREN'T THEY GETTING BETTER WAGES THAN MOST OTHER BLACK WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

American companies pay their black workers wages that are generally above the local average, but far below that necessary to maintain a decent standard of living.

For example, a recent survey showed that the average wage for blacks was \$100 a month at General Electric, \$125 at Ford, \$140 at General Motors, and \$205 at IBM.

These wages are above the local average for manufacturing industry—\$69 a month the year the survey was taken—but well below the \$196 estimated to be the "basic minimum level" necessary to get rid of poverty and poor nutrition. The only firm paying over the minimum level was IBM—which only employs 59 blacks in all of South Africa.

This is clearly a case of "better but not good enough."

OKAY, SO IT COULD BE BETTER. BUT IT'S STILL AN IMPROVEMENT OVER WHAT BLACKS RECEIVE IN SOUTH AFRICAN RUN FIRMS. ISN'T THIS SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MANAGERS TO FOLLOW?

There's no evidence for that at all. Real wages for black workers are declining and have been for some time.

AT LEAST AMERICAN FIRMS PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL THOSE WHO WORK FOR THEM.

Under South African conditions, equal opportunity is impossible, no matter what an employer's intentions.

The South African labor market is completely segregated. The government has the power to reserve certain jobs for whites only. The powerful white trade unions hold a monopoly on virtually all skilled jobs. Under South African law, no black can supervise a white or replace a white who has been fired or who has quit.

Education for blacks is totally inadequate and does not provide preparation for skilled work.

Upward mobility for black workers is totally blocked, no matter what policy exists on paper.

AMERICAN MANAGERS MUST FIND ALL THIS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION VERY DISTASTEFUL. HOW CAN THEY TAKE IT?

You're implying that American businessmen don't bring a trace of racism with them from the U.S.! Surely that's an optimistic assessment.

But leaving that aside, you'd be surprised at how fast American managers have been willing to accommodate to the most extreme South African racism. One management consultant commented, "After twenty minutes in South Africa, take any American manager and he's pro-South African and anti-American." One study showed that of American and Canadian managers now in South Africa, fully 35 percent would vote for the right wing Nationalist Party if they could vote in South African elections.

I CAN BELIEVE THAT THE EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES OF U.S. FIRMS HAVE LEFT SOMETHING TO BE DESIRED. BUT I UNDERSTAND THAT THINGS ARE NOW

CHANGING. JUST LAST WINTER, OVER TWO DOZEN CORPORATIONS SIGNED THE "SIX PRINCIPLES" DEVELOPED BY REV. LEON SULLIVAN, WHICH CALL FOR AN END TO SEGREGATION AT WORK AND EQUAL PAY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL WORKERS.

Some of these arguments we've dealt with before. Equal pay for equal work is meaningless in South Africa, because equal work does not exist.

The most important aspect of the "six principles," though, is what they leave out. The "principles" make no mention of the one reform that might really make a difference to black workers: the right to organize and bargain collectively, which is currently restricted under South African law.

The fact is, while the "principles" laid out by Rev. Sullivan should be encouraged, they are a case of "too little too late." The principles were advanced in 1977. But since the Soweto uprising of 1976, thousands of black South Africans have been in open rebellion. They are not demanding better wages and working conditions—they are demanding black political power.

A black church leader summed up the feelings of many when he said: "These principles attempt to polish my chains and make them more comfortable. I want to cut my chains and cast them away."

I'D BE THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT APARTHEID IS A THOROUGHLY DESPICABLE SYSTEM. BUT AT LEAST YOU'D HAVE TO ADMIT THAT THE AMERICAN COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH SETTING IT UP. THAT WAS THE WORK OF THOSE CRAZY AFRIKANERS, WHO'VE BEEN CUT OFF FROM THE MODERN WORLD FOR CENTURIES.

The policies of apartheid—separation of the races—were developed and implemented by the Nationalist Party, which receives the bulk of its support from South Africa's Afrikaner population. That's true.

But it's also the case that the Nationalists' plans probably could not have succeeded without the massive foreign investment pumped into the economy during the 50's and 60's.

Foreign investment brought in the capital, technology, and management expertise which made industrialization possible.

And industrialization, in turn, made possible a rising standard of living for the white population, which consolidated the support of the Nationalist Party.

And it created a large surplus with which to support the police and internal security systems the country uses to keep down black protest.

Foreign investment has helped South Africa become economically self sufficient, increasing the chances that the country can survive in the event of a trade embargo.



And it has helped improve the country's balance of trade, facilitating the import of capital goods and military hardware.

Yes, American companies did not invent apartheid. But they may very well have made it possible.

WAIT A MINUTE. YOU'RE ARGUING ABOUT THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN GENERAL, AND THEN YOU DRAW CONCLUSIONS ABOUT AMERICAN COMPANIES IN PARTICULAR. ISN'T THAT A LITTLE UNFAIR? AFTER ALL, AMERICAN INVESTMENTS MAKE UP ONLY 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL. AREN'T THE REAL CULPRITS THE BIGGER INVESTORS, LIKE BRITAIN?

It's true that American investments are relatively recent in South Africa. And that Britain still has the biggest share of foreign interests there.

That doesn't mean that U.S. investments are insignificant.

Over 300 corporations have sunk more than one and a half billion dollars into the South African economy, and that's not counting the investments in Canadian, British, and West European firms that are wholly or partly owned by U.S. firms.

U.S. companies have brought with them much of the technical know-how critical to industrialization. And U.S. investments are concentrated in the manufacturing sector—which led the boom of the 50s and 60s.

U.S. investment still ranks behind that of Britain, but that doesn't mean it hasn't been very important.

I STILL THINK THAT IF I BOUGHT YOUR STRATEGY, BRITISH FIRMS WOULD BE A MORE APPROPRIATE TARGET.

It's appropriate for us in the United States to focus our efforts on the practices of American companies. There now exists a movement in Britain around the same issue. Hopefully, we can develop better links with these organizations.

EVEN IF YOU WERE SUCCESSFUL IN FORCING U.S. COMPANIES TO WITHDRAW, OTHER COMPANIES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD SIMPLY RUSH IN AND BUY THEM OUT AT ROCK BOTTOM PRICES. APARTHEID WOULDN'T SUFFER AT ALL. AMERICAN COMPANIES WOULD BE THE ONES TO SUFFER—AT THE EXPENSE OF THE BRITISH, GERMANS, AND JAPANESE.

If American companies withdraw, it will be because of a combination of a mass movement in this country and growing political turmoil in South Africa. If they are faced with these developments, foreign corporations will be too.

Besides, there's a kind of domino effect at work with investment decisions. If companies as powerful and influential as the American firms now do-

ing business in South Africa decide to pull out, this will shake the confidence of other potential investors. The American decision will make them less, not more, likely to sink in their own capital. This is exactly what happened after Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976.

If things reach the point where U.S. firms actually withdraw, it is very unlikely that other foreign firms will be waiting in the wings eager to take their places.

EVEN IF I AGREED WITH YOU ABOUT U.S. CORPORATIONS, I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE A GOOD ISSUE TO PUSH BECAUSE YOU COULD NEVER WIN IT.

You're right we won't win it alone. It will also take a mass movement in South Africa strong enough to convince the corporations that their investments there are insecure.

But remember, investments in South Africa make up only 1 percent of all U.S. investment abroad. Losing this won't bankrupt the multinationals. At some point, they may decide to cut their losses and get out.

And don't forget that it was a mass movement in this country that brought the troops home from Viet Nam. In 1965, very few people thought that would be possible.

SPEAKING OF THE WAR IN VIET NAM, AT LEAST WE CAN BE CONFIDENT THAT THE U.S. WOULD NEVER INTERVENE MILITARILY IN AN INTERNAL DISPUTE IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE WAY IT DID IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

You're probably right about that. Certainly, it would be hard at this point to convince the American public to commit troops overseas for just about anything—and especially to defend a system as unpopular as South Africa's. And who in the government would be stupid enough to send the new volunteer army, which is almost a quarter black, into southern Africa to defend white supremacy?

But the fact remains that the best way to guarantee that such an event won't happen is to remove the one thing that the American government might be tempted to try to protect: substantial American investments.

OKAY. LET'S SUPPOSE FOR A MINUTE YOU'RE RIGHT. AMERICAN CORPORATIONS ARE FORCED TO WITHDRAW FROM SOUTH AFRICA. BRITISH, GERMAN, AND JAPANESE COMPANIES FOLLOW SUIT. THESE ACTIONS THROW THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY INTO A TAILSPIN. WHAT THEN? IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES HAVE PROVED ANYTHING TO THE WORLD, IT'S THAT THEY AREN'T PREPARED TO GO DOWN WITHOUT A FIGHT, AND THEY'RE PERFECTLY PREPARED TO FIGHT DIRTY. I THINK THAT DIVESTMENT WOULD HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES. IT WOULD



MEAN GREATER UNEMPLOYMENT FOR BLACKS, EVEN MORE SEVERE REPRESSION OF INTERNAL DISSIDENT, AND A BRUTAL ASSAULT ON THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE BLACK MAJORITY. HOW COULD THIS POSSIBLY BE SEEN AS FURTHERING THE CAUSE?

That's a tough question, because the answer depends on a number of things we can't predict precisely.

But there are a few points worth remembering.

A withdrawal of foreign investment would cripple the ability of the South African government to contain internal rebellion. As we argued before, foreign investment means tax revenue to the state. And this is used to buy military equipment and to maintain the police and security forces. That much less revenue means that many fewer tanks.

The South African government could attempt to make up the difference by taxing the white population harder. But this would only undermine support for the Nationalist Party.

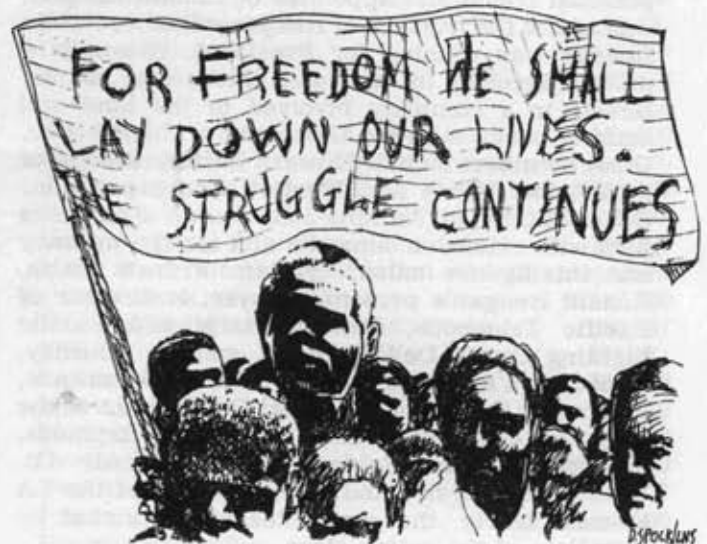
A withdrawal of foreign investment wouldn't bring down the Nationalists. But it would weaken their grip.

But there's something else more important. Repression won't succeed automatically. It depends on a lot of things. One of the most important is how well blacks in South Africa are organized and how prepared they are to fight back. Since Soweto, the resistance in South Africa has been growing. We must hope that by the time American corporations pull out, the movement will be even stronger.

You're right, though, in one sense.

Getting American companies out won't by itself bring down the apartheid regime. In the last analysis, the only force which can bring apartheid to its knees is the black majority in South Africa itself. Our tactic of divestment will work only to the extent that a movement is built in South Africa which can take advantage of the openings which a withdrawal of foreign investment would create.

For this reason, we don't see "U.S. Corporations Out of South Africa Now!" as the end of the road, but only as one of a number of actions we can take to help the black people of South Africa win their own liberation.



## UC IN SOUTH AFRICA

### The University Portfolio

by Jeff Levin

of the CUAA Research Committee

Last Spring, thousands of students at UC Berkeley, Davis and Santa Cruz, and at Stanford, demonstrated against University involvement in racist apartheid South Africa. Here at Berkeley, 58 people were arrested at a peaceful sit-in at Sproul Hall while protesting UC's investments in South Africa and its handling of the Bakke case.

What is the University portfolio and its South African connection?

As of June 30, 1976 (the last date for which information is available), UC held an investment portfolio of \$1.7 billion. The portfolio involves a number of different funds with specific purposes. The three principal funds are: Endowment Fund, worth \$369 million, consisting of various gifts and bequests to the University; University of California Retirement System, worth \$991 million, a pension fund for UC employees, of which two-thirds comes from employer (State) contributions and one-third

from the workers themselves; Variable Annuity Plan, valued at \$24 million, a voluntary supplement to the UCRS, financed entirely by employee contributions.

University of California investments are not governed by state statute. The California Constitution gives the Board of Regents "full powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the University and the security of its funds."

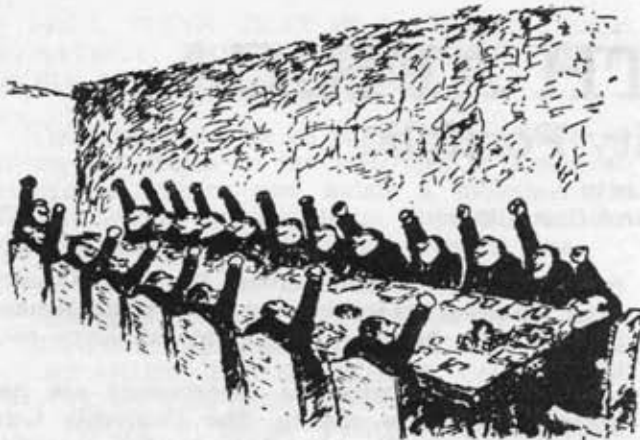
"The (UC) Treasurer's Office manages the Pension, Endowment and Variable Annuity Funds...under policy guidance of the Regents' Committee on Investments", according to the UC Treasurer's Annual Report. "Other Treasurer's Office activities include management of University current and plant funds, banking relationships, construction and bond financing, real property

management and acquisition, and a securities lending program.

The Regents' investments policies come under monthly and annual review by the Committee on Investments."<sup>1</sup>

Let's take a closer look at the men who control over \$1.7 billion in University funds.

UC's Treasurer, Owsley B. Hammond, as an investments analyst and a former director of C&H Sugar and other companies. The Board of Regents itself is dominated by corporate owners managers and lawyers, and other members of the ruling class. This is particularly true of the investments committee. Committee chair William A. Wilson, a personal friend and appointee of Ronald Reagan, was one of the trustees of Reagan's finances while Reagan was running for President. Wilson is a private investor in land and cattle, and has interests in a company involved in the land and housing business in the US colony of Puerto Rico. Other members include Edward Carter, director of AT&T, Del Monte and Western Bancorporation; Dean Watkins of Watkins-Johnson, an electronics firm with extensive domestic and foreign military and intelligence sales; William French Smith, Ronald Reagan's personal lawyer, a director of Pacific Telephone, Crocker Bank and Pacific Lighting Corp.; DeWitt Higgs, another attorney, whose firm's clients include Allstate Insurance, Fireman's Fund, and the Trust Department of the Bank of California; and Robert O. Reynolds, director of the Golden West Baseball Co. (California Angels) and vice-president of the LA Rams. Clearly, the committee is dominated by members of the ruling class.



"All power to the board of directors!"

Not surprisingly, these corporate connections are translated into the Regents' investment policy. The UC portfolio is heavily invested in stocks, bonds and commercial paper of "the large, financially strong companies favored by the Regents,"<sup>2</sup> that is, the largest financial, industrial, utility and transportation companies in the United States. A glance at the *Schedule of Investments* reveals a who's who of corporate power. Many Regents sit on the boards of directors of these firms.

More important, however, is the fact that out of a

total of \$1.7 billion, \$792 million (over 45 percent) is invested in companies doing business in racist apartheid South Africa (see table).

The implications of the University's South African connection are threefold. In the first place, the University is profiting from the brutal exploitation of the Black, Asian, and "Coloured" people of South Africa. The Regents claim that they have a "fiduciary responsibility" to preserve the financial integrity of the portfolio, but it is clear that there are overriding questions of moral and social responsibility involved here. Furthermore, there are other investment opportunities available.

Secondly, by investing in companies which do business in South Africa, the Regents are giving their tacit, and sometimes explicit approval to apartheid. Investing in racism is very much a political action, yet a handful of Regents are able to take such an action on behalf of the millions of students, workers and taxpayers whose money finances the portfolio.

According to UC Treasurer Hammond, "individual Regents are well equipped to decide what represents the best overall interests of the University."<sup>3</sup> In the past, however, the Regents have decided that the University's interests lie in voting with management against shareholder proposals. For example, UC has voted *against* shareholder proposals to nominate women and Blacks to the board of directors, disclose corporate information relative to equal employment, political contributions and South African operations, and proposals deploring illegal corporate campaign contributions and calling for withdrawal of corporate subsidiaries from South Africa and Namibia. In fact, the Regents have *never* voted their stock proxies against management.

Finally, and most importantly, by investing in companies doing business in South Africa, the Regents and the University are not only profiting from and expressing approval of apartheid, they are also taking an active role in maintaining and strengthening the racist apartheid system. As owners and creditors of US corporations which provide vital technical and capital assistance to South Africa, the University is a partner in a racist system of exploitation and oppression.

UC-US OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

END RACIST APARTHEID RULE

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION FORCES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

<sup>1</sup> *University of California Treasurer's Annual Report, 1975-1976, pp. 1-2*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid, p. 3*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid, p. 7*

# THE UNIVERSITY PORTFOLIO

UC INVESTMENTS IN FIRMS DOING BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA (6-30-1976)

## Stocks

American Cyanamid	\$5,898,838
American Home Products	18,639,261
Atlantic Richfield (ARCO)	22,259,231
Bankamerica Corporation	29,505,094
CBS	344,804
CIT Financial Corporation	4,332,570
Caterpillar Tractor	32,183,983
Chrysler	1,232,323
Continental Corporation	17,446,792
Control Data	1,491,045
Del Monte	4,172,091
Dow Chemical	18,423,201
Du Pont	6,797,349
Eastman Kodak	22,906,097
Exxon	25,659,490
FMC	3,347,053
First Chicago Corporation	13,163,784
Ford Motor Co.	6,973,317
General Electric	24,084,128
General Motors	9,160,573
Goodyear Tire and Rubber	7,981,000
Hercules	16,227,877
Hewlett Packard	14,788,750
IBM	44,419,758
ITT	7,622,485
Johns-Manville	10,410,628
Kaiser Industries	276,195
3M	19,082,212
Macmillan	652,704
JP Morgan	11,320,100
Narco Scientific	503,550
Norton Simon	2,435,175
Pfizer	14,058,603
Procter and Gamble	21,398,845
RCA	10,223,138
Revlon	9,668,484
Schlumberger	9,117,600
Squibb	14,857,264
Standard Brands	14,019,204
Technicon	9,120
Texaco	1,382,456
Warner Lambert	8,668,204
Western Bancorporation	11,055,102
Xerox	10,269,990
<b>Total Stocks</b>	<b>\$528,469,668</b>

## Bonds

American Cyanamid	\$3,442,125
Ashland Oil	738,750
Atlantic Richfield (ARCO)	10,285,200
Banker's Trust	1,825,200
Bethlehem Steel	918,262
CIT Financial Corporation	939,508
CPC International	328,681
Carnation	1,628,000
Caterpillar Tractor	1,129,750
Celanese Corporation	553,357
Dow Chemical	3,451,575
Exxon	1,255,050
Ford Motor Credit Corp. (Notes)	5,151,500
General Electric	1,020,000
GM Acceptance Corporation	2,628,800
Hercules	211,575
Honeywell	260,127
Int'l. Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) (Notes)	4,937,500
International Harvester Credit Corp.	530,987
ITT	793,931
Lykes Bros. Steamship	761,902
Macmillan	102,410
Nabisco	2,821,250
Owens Illinois	2,378,480
Pan-Am	1,909,737
Pfizer	2,493,750
Procter & Gamble	1,200,000
Purex	543,305
Rockwell International	382,862
Standard Brands	1,225,120
TWA	502,837
United Technologies	891,000
U.S. Gypsum	944,000
Wells Fargo Bank	2,175,700
Weyerhaeuser	6,444,060
<b>Total Bonds</b>	<b>\$66,805,942</b>

## Temporary & Short-term Investments

American Brands (Notes)	\$9,094,661
Bank of America (C-D)	17,000,000
Bankamerica Corporation (Notes)	11,956,391
Burroughs Corporation (Notes)	3,957,791
Chase Manhattan Bank (Acct)	1,963,911
Citicorp (Notes)	2,966,963
First National City Bank of NY (Acct)	12,379,328
John Deere Credit Co. (Notes)	4,933,646
Dow Chemical (Notes)	11,907,256
Engelhard Mineral & Chemical (Notes)	8,874,862
GE Credit Corp. (Notes)	8,998,612
GM Acceptance Corp. (Notes)	8,900,146
Hercules (Notes)	1,912,035
Montgomery Ward Credit Corp. (Notes)	4,998,472

(Continued)

Sources: University of California Schedule of Investments June 30, 1976

Barbara Rogers: White Wealth and Black Poverty: US Investments in Southern Africa

Lists of U.S. firms and subsidiaries in South Africa prepared by the American Consulate in Johannesburg and the American Friends Service Committee.



## The University Portfolio (continued)



National Biscuit Co. (Notes)	6,412,708
Standard Oil of California (Notes)	5,925,625
Texaco (Notes)	8,497,662
UCB (Accept)	4,954,872
UCB (C-D)	24,500,000
Wells Fargo Bank (Accept)	6,064,157
Wells Fargo Bank (C-D)	31,000,000

Total Temporary and Short-term Investments	\$197,199,098
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Total Stocks	\$528,469,668
Total Bonds	66,805,942
Total Temporary and Short-term Investments	197,199,098

**Total Portfolio in U.S. Firms in S. Africa \$792,474,708**

# REINVESTMENT

*This article is a collection of ideas and excerpts from a number of articles by the Community Ownership Organizing Project, and John Harrington of the California State Senate Select Committee on Investment Priorities and Objectives. Written and edited by Andy Spahn.*

Investment decisions by federal, state and local governments and by major private investment institutions help determine the social, economic, political, and cultural priorities of our society. For example, the decision of the federal government to invest in highways and the "protection" of South Vietnam in the 1950's and 60's has had major national and even international ramifications. The decision by the banks in a particular city that a particular area has become a poor investment risk often leads to a serious deterioration of that area as a result of a lack of financing for the maintenance of existing housing and for new construction. Although government spending priorities have come under greater scrutiny in recent years, the investments policies of public employee retirement systems, a major source of capital in this country, still remain largely beyond the pale of public examination and discussion.

Presently, California state and local governments and special districts invest over \$30 billion of taxpayers' and public employees' funds, principally in corporate stocks and bonds. Over 90 percent of these funds flow into the private sector

and overwhelming majority finds its way outside the state and nation. For example, state and local government treasurers and public employee retirement systems deposit and invest funds in the Bank of America. The Bank of America has one of the worst records for putting local deposits back into the community. Its Mission District Branch in San Francisco loans only 23 percent of all local deposits back to the community. Bank of America also has \$188 million invested in South Africa. White racism in South Africa is obviously better business than economic development in the United States.

The University of California has a multi-fund investment portfolio (see previous article) and invests almost \$800 million in multi-national corporations which are vital to the South African white minority's economic survival. These investments continue despite widespread student, faculty, and employee opposition. (In the Spring 1977 elections, students voted 5 to 1 in favor of divestment. In the fall of 1975, U.C. faculty voted 2 to 1 to ask the Regents to consider "socially responsible investment." AFSCME 1695, the campus employees' union, has been on record against investments in South Africa since 1975. (It is important to note that the University of California is investing taxpayers' as well as employees' funds, since two-thirds of the U.C. Retirement System's funds have been contributed by the employer, i.e., the State of California).

Growing by millions of dollars every day, pension funds are a hidden cache of investment capital that could be used to revitalize state and local economies. In 1975, the public retirement systems in California held almost \$15 billion in assets. Most of this vast capital resource (85 percent) is invested in private corporate stocks and bonds. Despite the reputation pension fund managers (like the U.C. Regents) would like to have for prudent investment, these types of investments have proved very costly. Average yields are consistently lower than those returned by bank deposits or FHA mortgages (7-8 percent). In the Treasurer's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1976, the UCRS reported a 5.35 percent rate of return on average market value, while the Endowment Fund earned 5.38 percent. The Variable Annuity Plan, consisting only of stocks and financed entirely by U.C. employees, earned only 3.61 percent. Ironically, risky market investments remain acceptable to the Regents while far safer and more democratic investments in community development—community owned and managed banks, cooperative housing, housing rehabilitation, consumer co-ops, etc.—are routinely rejected.

Beneath the layer of rationalizations for U.C. pension fund investment in a network of cozy relationships with major banks, private utilities, and corporations. As we have seen, the U.C. Regents have intimate connections with major business interests throughout California and the U.S. (PG&E, IBM, Bank of America, Western Bancorporation, Del Monte, etc.). Huge amounts of investment capital are being channeled from individual workers and taxpayers to corporate giants. Corporations use the contributions of U.C. employees and the state's taxpayers to finance private growth, most of it outside the state and the country.

#### *Alternative Investment Policy*

It is against the background of investments in low yield corporate stocks and bonds that we propose a shift in investment policies. Can these invested taxpayer and employee funds be directed into California's economy rather than into South Africa's? Can we use this money to put people to work in California and provide credit to those most in need while continuing to safeguard University funds? Small businesspersons; small farmers; Third World people; students; consumer, housing and agricultural co-ops; low and moderate income housing projects; new, non-traditional business enterprises—solar and labor-intensive industries; all have a great deal of difficulty in acquiring credit through the private lending sector.

Traditional definitions of "yield" and "security" have led the U.C. Regents to maintain policies favoring corporate stocks and bonds. When yield and security are discussed, the potential impact of substantial pension fund investments on the California economy, employment, and local property tax bases is completely overlooked.

Local public pension funds have successfully been used for community development—Alameda County financed public buildings using the county pension fund; Oakland used the city employees' pension fund to buy redevelopment bonds for a subsidized housing project; Berkeley also used its city employees' fund to finance a housing rehabilitation program. Is it not reasonable to call upon the U.C. Regents to withdraw the University's investments from corporations operating in South Africa and redirect them towards community development projects here in California?

Consider, for example, the housing and construction industries. Prevailing high conventional interest rates for new construction are a major cause of the present slowdown in construction and depression in employment in the building trades. A policy of investing a 6 percent interest rate in new and rehabilitated housing would help alleviate a serious shortage in low and moderate income housing in the state and would generate increased employment. These in turn would generate increased property taxes, a major source of income for pension systems, and increased income taxes.

Pension fund managers, like the U.C. Regents, emphasize yield when considering what investments are to be made. In considering yield several possible issues must be raised. A 1 percent difference in the rate of yield on a \$1 billion pension fund investment will make a difference of \$10 million a year in income to the fund. \$1 billion in housing construction might generate \$30 million a year in additional property tax revenues, and millions of dollars in increased income tax revenues, without even considering the multiplier effect of pumping \$1 billion into the California economy and the social benefits of decreased unemployment and an increase in the housing supply. Yet such considerations have had no real place in investment policies at the University of California, despite the fact that the employer is actually the public.

#### *Conclusion*

It is clear that the entire portfolio of public pension fund investments must be brought to public attention and examination, as has been done with the \$1.7 billion assets of the U.C. by campus protests on South Africa. Public disclosure of not only the poor performance of investments but also the conflicts of interest between fund managers like the U.C. Regents, banks, insurance companies, and corporations can go a long way toward educating and convincing employees and taxpayers to demand new policies for their pension money. Wrestling control of these funds away from the select group of "trustees" who consistently funnel public money into the private sector would clearly lead to more "socially responsible" investments. Billions of dollars for community development and job creation could be "found" overnight if university, city, county, and state workers and taxpayers realize the potential of this "hidden cache of investment capital."



# BANK OF AMERICA AND SOUTH AFRICA

*The great majority of the information below has been supplied by Stop Banking on Apartheid. Written by Ray Sevilla, Brian Sheppard, MiloAnn Hecathorne of the CUA Research Committee.*

BankAmerica Corporation is a diversified holding company with more than a dozen bank-related enterprises. This global organization provides corporate, government, and individual customers with a broad range of financial services: credit-related insurance, data processing, leasing, mortgage banking, consumer and commercial financing, real estate advisory services, venture capital, travelers cheques, and investment management.

Bank of America N.T. & S.A. is by far the largest of the Corporation's subsidiaries in terms of markets served, assets, and profits. It is the largest private bank in the world (assets of over \$25.6 billion in 1968). It also makes more loans to agriculture (and agribusiness) than any other non-governmental institution in the world. Half of California's agriculture is financed by the bank.

## *World Operations*

The Bank of America's World Banking Division provides financial services—primarily wholesale lending and associated activities—to corporations, other banks, and foreign governments and agencies worldwide.

In the U.S. the Bank has opened several Edge Act Corporations, which allow the bank to offer its services to interests not based in California while subject to less stringent controls and regulations. Outside of the U.S., clients are served by B of A offices in 100 countries, and by other banks with whom B of A has correspondent relationships in 135 countries.

The Bank is involved with several consortia, and has joint venture arrangements with 11 of the world's 20 largest banks. It is a member of the Societe Financiere Europeene—one of the world's most powerful banking groups; and of ABECOR, the world's largest financial consortium. In South Africa it is affiliated with Barclay's (which underwrites one-third of the South African economy) through the European Banks International Company (EBIC). Through those consortia B of A loans money to South Africa without declaring it publicly.

South Africa has been borrowing heavily in order to finance both massive development projects (such as railways and a harbor) and its military needs. U.S. banks have directly loaned over \$2 billion to South Africa in the last few years. Approximately 10 percent of this has been loaned outright by B of A, and does not include loans made by consortia in which B of A is a member. Since

these are international consortia they are not subject to the same reporting requirements as national banks.

## *California Operations*

In California the Bank of America holds the leading position in the retail banking market with 8 million deposit accounts (42 percent of all such accounts in California), with 1,080 branches. The greatest amount of state monies are deposited in it (as opposed to other banks).

The Bank has been extensively involved in red-lining, a process by which whole areas are denied loans illegally. These practices are well-documented in Los Angeles and are now being documented here in the Bay Area.

With the third largest number of employees of all private businesses in this state, the Bank has opposed unionization of its employees, and has not yet reached an agreement on the issue of affirmative action with several concerned groups (including NAACP).

The Bank's Trust Department holds more than \$19 billion in custody, supervises over 15,000 personal trusts, and provides management or administration for more than 2,400 employee accounts for other corporations, labor unions, and public entities. But it refuses to release how it votes the shares it holds on behalf of these groups and individuals, or even what stock it holds in their names. Many of the corporations in which it invests have operations in South Africa, including Citicorp, Dow Chemical, Caterpillar Tractor Co., Eastman Kodak, Exxon, General Electric, General Motors, IBM, 3M, PepsiCo, and Standard Oil of California.

As part of a national campaign to protest bank activities at home and in South Africa, the B of A is now being confronted with evidence of its activities. For more information contact Stop Banking on Apartheid, 450 30th Street, San Francisco, California, 94131, 626-3131.





# THE BAKKE DECISION

*This article was assembled by Jeff Levin, Andy Spahn and Ray Sevilla, based on materials from the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition, The Medical Committee for Human Rights and the Revolutionary Student Brigade.*

The Bakke Decision is a recent California Supreme Court ruling that threatens to eliminate Special Admissions, Affirmative Action and other related programs on the campuses, in the communities and at the workplaces across the country.

Allan Bakke a 34 year old white engineer, was twice rejected from medical school at the University of California at Davis, as well as 13 other schools, in 1973 and 1974. UC Davis accepts only 100 students per class, out of 3600 applicants; 16 of these positions are reserved for Third World students under a special admissions program. Encouraged to do so by Peter Storandt, a member of the UCD admissions committee, Bakke sued the University, charging that he had higher admissions test scores and grade point averages than several black applicants who had been admitted. On September 16, 1976, the California State Supreme Court upheld Bakke's claim that he was a victim of "reverse discrimination". The case is now before the US Supreme Court.

## *Impact and Implications of the Bakke Decision*

The UC Regents and the Supreme Court are trying to establish the racist myth of "reverse discrimination" as an "accepted legal argument". This would serve as a justification for the nationwide assault on all Special Admissions, Affirmative Action type programs.

For example, Ethnic Studies, Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), Upward Bound and various recruitment programs on the campuses would be wiped out. On the job, Affirmative Action and training programs for Third World and women workers would be eliminated. Women may lose important childcare programs, counseling services and women's centers. And in the Third World communities, special programs established to serve Third World people are jeopardized. This would intensify the national oppression of Third World people in every way and wipe out many of the gains and programs won during the mass movements of the 1960's.

This is not the first time "reverse discrimination" has been used to attack our programs. In 1975, a similar suit known as the Defunis case in Washington was attempted, but lost in attacking Special Admissions in law schools. Today, cases similar to the Bakke case are beginning to appear. The charge of "reverse discrimination" is being used in lawsuits against Affirmative Action hiring in the Correctional Institutions, in the Post Office and in 7 current suits

concerning employment in California. In addition, many big employers are stalling on the hiring and promotion of minorities until the final outcome of the Bakke Case. Already, Third World applications to graduate school have fallen drastically.

"Reverse discrimination" is based on the lie that Third World people have achieved equality in the U.S.

But, has Affirmative Action succeeded in righting the centuries of wrongs against Third World people? Can we now sit back and allow "equal treatment under the law" to govern admissions standards? Have affirmative action programs actually gone too far and resulted in "reverse discrimination"?

The facts shine a lot of light on the answer to these questions. Today, even with these Third World programs, only 2 percent of the students at UC Berkeley are Chicano, while Chicano people compose 20 percent of the California population. Only 1 percent of California lawyers are minorities compared to the overall minority population of 25 percent. While the physician population ratio for the US is one: seven hundred, the ratios of minority physicians to minority populations are roughly as follows: Black 1: 3,800, Native American 1: 20,000, and Chicano 1: 30,333.

Even with the rapid rates of increase of Chicano freshmen medical students of the early 70's (increases which have since slowed down or stabilized), it would take 14 years for Chicanos to reach population parity in the medical student population and fully 38 years for the ratio of Chicano physicians — Chicano population to equal the current physician — population ratio for the U.S. population as a whole. And, as even the dean of admissions at UCLA medical school has admitted, "...without preferential admissions policies, there will be almost no minority students in the schools, no matter how hard we recruit".

## *Third World Oppression in the US*

The "reverse discrimination" argument is a blatant attempt to attack the oppressed nationalities, and goes so far as to deny that Third World peoples in this country were ever discriminated against in the first place. It is an attempt to deny the existence of and further intensify national oppression.

When we look at the history of Third World people, we can see that Black, Asian, Chicano, Native American people and other oppressed nationalities have long experienced discrimination and national oppression in this country. The Bakke decision is a continuation of the centuries of this oppression, dating back to the very origin of the U.S. The blatant genocide of the Native American people was the result of expansion to the West. The brutal system of Black slavery was a foundation for

the shaping of the deep South and the whole of US capitalist society. And from the mid-1800's, the US government forcibly annexed the territory of the Southwest, and subjugated the Chicano people. Furthermore, the labor of Chicano and Asian laborers has long been exploited to build the mines, railroads and the fields of the West Coast. Without a doubt, the development and expansion of US capitalism has been dependent on the systematic national oppression of Third World laboring masses.

This systematic oppression of Third World people continues today. While the big capitalists reap superprofits off Third World labor, the majority of Third World people suffer from inadequate housing and health care; and are denied the right to maintain and develop their own languages and cultures. In the schools, there is the notorious tracking system which channels minorities into vocational courses and low-paying jobs. Third World people have been virtually excluded from college and higher education; at UC Davis itself, only one Black and two Chicanos were admitted in 1987-89. On the job as well, Third World workers continue to face the hardest jobs at the lowest pay, poor working conditions, and are often denied the basic right to unionization. Everywhere, in all aspects of society, inequality and national oppression continue to exist.

Today, while nationwide unemployment is 7 percent (conservatively) overall, it is 14.5 percent for Blacks and over 40 percent for Black youth. Medical care for Third World people is such that while whites face an infant mortality rate of 14.8 per 1000 (which is higher than it should be), Third World people are faced with 24.9 deaths per 1000 births. And while 30 percent of white men in the work force are managers and professionals, only 16 percent of minorities hold these types of jobs. In education, 45 percent of Blacks complete 4 years of high school or more; for whites the figure is 66 percent.

The Bakke decision is saying effect that the struggle to eradicate this age-old discrimination is "reverse discrimination". This is nothing but an attempt to turn things upside down.

### *History of Affirmative Action*

In the face of these centuries of oppression, Third World people have maintained a rich history of struggle and resistance. In the 1960's, oppressed nationalities rose up in a storm of protest, demanding basic rights. Laws outlawing open and blatant discrimination were important, but limited, victories. People demanded that institutionalized barriers be broken down and that larger percentages of Third World people be brought into schools and jobs from which they had been previously excluded. The militant Third World strikes on campuses won Special Admissions, EOP, Ethnic Studies; in the workplaces, Third World people demanded on the job Affirmative Action hiring and the right to unionization; in the com-

munities, other special programs were developed to serve the people. And while these programs did not end the brutal system of national oppression, or mark full equality for Third World people, they were concrete gains and advances, which began to combat the centuries of national oppression. Yet these programs, the products of intense struggle, are being labelled "reverse discrimination". Clearly this racist charge is a cover to take back the gains of the 60's and to continue and intensify the oppression of Third World people.

### *Capitalist Crisis Intensifies Oppression*

Why are the courts and the press suddenly agreeing that "Affirmative Action has gone too far"? Why are they trying to paint themselves as "opponents of discrimination against anyone" and upholders of "equal protection under the law"? Why are they so concerned with selection criteria for school admissions and employment opportunities now, when they never concerned themselves with the outrageous inequities prior to the late 1960's? Why are they agreeing that it's now time to counter the "excesses" of affirmative action?

The economic recession of the mid-1970's with its continuing downhill trend has drastically altered the situation. The rich are hurting, and as they try to salvage their rate of profit they squeeze more out of working people, both economically, by increased production on the job, and politically, by reversing the many hard-won gains of the 1960's. Third World admissions to medical schools have decreased in the last few years as the economic crunch has worsened. Of the 40 schools that once had aggressive recruitment and admissions policies for Third World students, 25 have abandoned these programs. Tuition increases, while loan and scholarship funds decrease, making it harder for sons and daughters of all working people to attend medical school. Third World people are particularly hard hit, as 85 percent are dependent on financial aid to pay tuition and expenses. Tutorial and supplementary programs are frequently first to be sacrificed in this time of budget cuts, further undercutting the Third World students already enrolled.

The Bakke decision is not aimed at promoting equality or improving the selection criteria for admissions. To evaluate medical school applicants in an unbiased manner, regardless of economic, social, and political factors, has never been and never will be possible in this society. In a time of economic deterioration, needed social programs like minority admissions become "too expensive".

Historically, the oppression of Third World people has always been intensified during such periods of economic crisis:

During the depression of the 1870's, Chinese laborers in California, recruited during the boom years, were subjected to massive, violent racial attacks. Over half were forced to flee the U.S.

With the depression of the 1890's a marked increase in lynchings of Blacks occurred.



In the post-war depression of 1919, race riots against Blacks were instigated in Chicago and East St. Louis.

Mexican laborers, imported into California to provide cheap labor for agribusiness in the 1920's, were massively deported in the depression of the 1930's.

With the return of millions of World War II veterans, racial and sexual discrimination was stepped up, forcing many women and Blacks to lose their jobs.

The crisis of the 1970's has given rise to tremendous unemployment with millions of Third World and women workers subjected to the rule "Last hired, first fired". The deportation of Mexicans and other "illegal aliens" is again on the rise following a decade of recruitment of foreign born workers during the good times of the 60's.

Foreign Medical Graduates (FMG's) have suddenly had their right to train in this country severely limited, after decades of serving as housestaff in the lowest prestige and lowest paying jobs, staffing critically understaffed public hospitals.

The Bakke decision is but a new variation on this old theme. The oppression of Third World people and women is being intensified to pay the costs of capitalism in crisis.

#### *Oppose Both the UC Regents and the Courts*

Actually, both the University and the Supreme Court are opposed to the interests of Third World people. The UC administration urged Allan Bakke to file suit against the Special Admissions program.

The UC Davis administration even helped him obtain legal counsel, and aided in his choice of legal strategies. During the court hearings, the UC administration refused to admit that its admissions policies had discriminated against Third World people in the past, and thus eliminated the only possible "legal" basis for continuing the Special Admissions programs.

We should have no illusions that the UC Regents "protect" our interests, that they are allies who will put up a strong court case against the Bakke decision. It is clear that the Regents have brought the Bakke issue to court for one reason only — to lose the case.

The UC Regents and the US courts have always represented the interests of the big corporations which control this society. The US courts have a notorious history of passing laws aimed at denying Third World people full equality—the "Jim Crow" laws, anti-Asian immigration exclusion acts, and others. Members of the UC Regents are handpicked from the Boards of Directors of the biggest and most influential corporations, such as Del Monte, Union Oil, Tenneco, Southern California Edison. As seen in the Bakke decision, or their huge investments in the racist apartheid system in South Africa, the UC Regents support and uphold the oppression of Third World people.

Now, with the Bakke decision, the US Supreme Court and the UC Regents have joined hands to promote the charge of "reverse discrimination", and thereby establish a legal rationale for the full-scale, nation-wide assault against the programs and rights of Third World people.





# THE UNIVERSITY AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

*By Brent Stuart of the UC Nuclear Weapons Lab Conversion Project*

A major function of the University of California lies hidden from the view of most students, faculty, and California citizens: the University bears the primary national responsibility for the development of nuclear warheads.

This work is not done at any of the nine campuses, but at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, located about 40 miles east of Berkeley, and at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico. These labs are the only places in the country that develop the nuclear parts of nuclear weapons.

Currently scientists at the two UC nuclear weapons labs are developing the technologies, strategies, and "scientific" justifications that will give the Department of Defense a "credible" first strike deterrent and the ability to wage a "limited" nuclear war. Under the guise of "independent-observers" they have also been playing a key role in convincing Congress and the President of the need for new nuclear weapons systems.

A recent development by UC, courtesy of Lawrence Livermore, is the "neutron bomb," radiation emitting warheads for the Lance missile and artillery shells for the Army's nuclear cannon. Another UC wonderproduct (via Los Alamos) is the warhead for the Cruise missile—a pilotless airplane-drone which can set down within 100 yards of its pre-set target. The Department of Defense wants thousands.

UC is also developing warheads of increased power and accuracy for the land-based ballistic missile, the MX, and the sea-based ballistic missiles, the Trident. And as if all this were not enough, the two UC labs are lobbying for a 70 percent increase in weapons funding for the next five years!

Congressional records have revealed that UC was instrumental in convincing the Pentagon that it wanted a neutron weapon! And recently Livermore's director, Roger Batzel, lobbied in Congress against President Carter's proposed nuclear test ban.

All of this isn't too surprising when one begins to see how the University fits into the ruling corporate and political structure. It was Eisenhower that warned people about the military-industrial complex, but the complex has revealed its third facet, the university, to become the military-university-industrial complex.

UC's involvement in nuclear military affairs goes back to the early 40s when Ernest Lawrence and colleagues from the Berkeley Radiation Laboratory began making pure uranium and plutonium. Then in 1943 the War Department asked UC to manage the secret Los Alamos project which built the first atomic bombs. The people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have UC to thank for their

continuing miseries.

UC Board of Regents also participated personally in the atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean. The tests, according to John Gofman, a former medical-physics professor at Berkeley, have committed one million people to death in the northern hemisphere because of plutonium-induced lung cancer.

An example of how UC fits into the ruling structure of society is afforded by former UC President Charles Hitch. Hitch began his career in the Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor of the CIA. He then worked for the RAND Corporation, a defense think-tank. From RAND, Hitch went on to become an assistant Secretary of Defense under Kennedy. And from Defense, Hitch became UC President. The current Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, graduated from the Berkeley physics department. He was director of Lawrence Livermore in 1960 and 1961.

The Livermore and Los Alamos Labs account for over 20 percent of the total University budget, about \$ 00 million. About 70 percent of this is funding for weapons or weapons-related work. "The fundamental purpose of the laboratory is to understand the application of nuclear energy to military purposes," according to Bob Barker, a Livermore administrator.

The University also receives a small fee, about \$3.6 million annually, to "manage" the labs. The University, however, basically allows the labs to function without restrictions. The regents have always approved wholeheartedly of the labs' work, and allowed them total freedom to represent the University in Washington, D.C.

Over a year ago, a concerned group of people from the campus and local community met for the first time to organize an effort to pressure the University to convert the two labs from weapons to peaceful work. The organization became known as the UC Nuclear Weapons Lab Conversion Project.

According to Samuel Day, editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, the Conversion Project "correctly identified two principal mainsprings of the nuclear arms race...it is these two laboratories which provide the driving force for (the) qualitative nuclear weapons superiority (of the United States)."

Day went on to ask that all people become involved in answering the questions raised by the Conversion Project.

The Conversion Project's first actions revolved around the renewal of the contract for the operation of the labs between UC and the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration. We asked that the negotiations be opened up for public discussion. But the University, however, was

# MOVING TOWARD ACTION

We are frightened to realize how little chance there is that our children will live to see the year 2001. We are frightened at the determination of military leaders in all nations to press ahead with weapons systems. We are horrified that our money, the product of our labor, is drained away from human needs and invested in machinery of unspeakable destruction.

We are angry that government leaders have thought us such fools that they believed they could buy our silence with words about disarmament. We will educate ourselves. We will raise the consciousness of our communities. We will move into the streets. We will shake the foundation of any institution which tries to turn our future into a radioactive zone.



## August 6-9

### Hiroshima/Nagasaki Day Local Actions—Joint U.S./Japan Press Conference

We will call on people to mount local actions including demonstrations (at nuclear power sites wherever possible), vigils, leafleting, petitioning (enclosed leaflet and card available in quantity) in their communities as a signal that the *Mobilization for Survival* has begun. These actions will coincide with joint press conferences held in Hiroshima and the U.S. announcing the launching of the *Mobilization for Survival*.

## October 15–November 15

### Nationwide Teach-Ins/Speak-Outs in Campus, Community and Church

We call for nationwide teach-ins and speak-outs as a way to start the process of educating ourselves and arousing our communities to the perils of nuclear power, the arms race and the links between the arms race and the failure of our society to meet human needs. The mass media has not issued any storm warning about the impending nuclear hurricane—we must do that ourselves.

## Spring, 1978

### Nationwide Day to Stop the Arms Race and Fund Our Communities

We shall approach the city councils of as many communities as possible to urge that municipal governments pass resolutions demanding that Congress dramatically cut military spending and shift funds to human needs. Massive pressure must be exerted for a national peace conversion/full employment program.

## May/June '78

### Worldwide Mass Demonstrations

The United Nations is having a special session on disarmament. At that time we will call on people in every nation to rally and demand immediate action for disarmament. In the United States we call on people to come to New York City by the thousands. We shall rally outside the United Nations and in cities all across the country making it clear that action must be taken. There will be appropriate nonviolent civil disobedience at that time by some of those involved to emphasize the extreme danger the planet faces and the willingness of parents to defend the right of their children to life and to a future.

**WARNING:  
NUCLEAR RADIATION  
IS HAZARDOUS  
TO YOUR HEALTH.**

**Let Seabrook be a warning to government and industry. 1500 people were willing to accept arrest to prevent one nuclear plant from being constructed.**

**What will government be able to do—any government, anywhere—when people speak and act for the survival of the human race and the planet which is our only home.**

**A NATIONAL CONFERENCE WILL BE CONVENED IN NOVEMBER OR DECEMBER, 1977, TO ORGANIZE THE SPRING ACTIONS.**

Abalone Alliance . . . 752-7766  
CANW . . . . . 626-6979

**(Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons)**

totally uncooperative. The regents extended the contracts for another five years.

The Project, however, was successful in pushing current U.C. President David Saxon into appointing a committee to study the relationship between the University and the weapons labs. (Saxon, of course, denies that the Project had anything to do with the creation of the committee.) The committee will hold public hearings on September 29 in Los Angeles and on October 6 in San Francisco, and make a report to Saxon in December.

The Project is also trying to get the University to spend some of its \$3.6 million annual management fee to sponsor some public discussion of the issues raised by the existence of the labs and state of the arms race. Up to this point, however, the University has shown itself to be unwilling to discuss the issues.

The Project is largely made up of the Berkeley Students for Peace (the campus outlet), the War Resisters League West, and the Ecumenical Peace Institute, but has members and endorsements from

many other local peace, religious, and anti-nuclear power groups, as well as labor unions, etc. The Project has also garnered the support of Berkeley Citizens Action, Congresspersons Ron Dellums and Pete Stark (Livermore is in Stark's district), and Alameda County Supervisor John George.

The Project is related to the Northern California Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons which is affiliated with the Mobilization for Survival. The Mobilization sponsored over 120 actions nationwide August 6-9 (Hiroshima-Nagasaki days) around nuclear power and weapons installations.

In November, there will be teach-ins throughout California (Berkeley, Nov. 12) as part of this national movement effort to eliminate nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, stop the arms race, and fund human needs.

Come join the UC Nuclear Weapons Lab Conversion Project. We meet every other Tuesday night at 7:30 on the 6th floor of Eshleman. Contact the Berkeley Students for Peace (642-4136) for more information.



*'The only serious drawback I can see about bringing this weapon into production is that it might bring civilization, as we know it, to an end.'*



# THE UNIVERSITY AND AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION

*This article is taken from a longer article entitled "No Hands Touch the Land," by Yolo Friends of the Farmworkers and California Agrarian Action Project. Edited by Marilyn Schell and Jeff Levin*

Until last summer Flavio Martinez made his living in the cannery tomato fields of the Sacramento Valley. Though he found work thinning and weeding tomato plants, picking apricots, or gathering prunes and walnuts, he earned most of his annual income in the eight weeks of the tomato harvest. Then, for 10 to 12 hours a day, seven days a week, he stood alongside other workers on the harvest machines, pulling rocks, vines, green and rotten fruit from the deluge of tomatoes that raced by on a conveyor belt.

But last July, when he returned to the ranch where he had worked for the last eight years, the ranch foreman told him there was no work. The harvest machines had been outfitted with electronic eyes which could sort out the green tomatoes; the sorting crew was being cut from 20 workers to 5. Martinez spent most of the harvest season driving from ranch to ranch in search of work. But everywhere he heard the same story—no sorters needed because of the electronic eyes.

Electronic eyes sorted tomatoes in place of 5,000 California farmworkers that harvest. Those lucky enough to find work had to take a 25 cents per hour wage cut. Migrant workers, whose meager savings had been spent on the trip north to the tomato harvest, became trapped, penniless, with dismal prospects for work. Jobless families moved in with friends and relatives. In the government-run migrant camp at Madison, California, 12 to 15 people were living in three-room cabins, with water and sanitary facilities pushed to the limit.

"We worked hard for these growers all our lives," says Martinez. "When they bought tractors to pull the plows, they cut the horses' necks and ate horsemeat. That might be a kinder end than the future they are preparing for us."

In the heart of the Sacramento Valley tomato district is the nation's largest center for agricultural research, UC Davis. There are now 22 mechanization projects in progress at the Davis campus, while an additional 7 projects are underway at the UC campus at Riverside. "Mechanization is one of the chief research missions of the University of California," UC Information Officer Ray Coppock reported to the California Legislature.

Scientists at Davis say their \$50 million annual research budget pays for technology that benefits



consumer, farmer, and farmworker alike. They list among their accomplishments the mechanization of the tomato industry, including the production of a new, thick-skinned tomato, precision planting systems to grow it, chemicals to ripen it, and machines to harvest it.

Typical of the engineering studies underway is the development of a mechanical lettuce picker by Davis professor Roger Garrett. New crop varieties are also being bred to match the mechanical pickers.

University scientists additionally are studying the problems in processing mechanically harvested produce.

But the mechanization developments have been highly criticized as being the cause of high unemployment among migrant workers in the state. A moratorium has been called on such research until studies are made on the social impact of the projects, and until the state makes provisions to compensate the displaced workers. UC admits that none of its 1500 agricultural scientists has analyzed the impact of UC research.

University breeders have developed a tough tomato which is a thick-walled and juiceless fruit, but can withstand the high speed operation of harvesters equipped with electronic sorters. A

Davis engineer designed the machine that could pick this tomato, but the harvester was designed for large scale farms. Usually at least 125 acres for the more experienced grower. Since the average farmer planted only 45 acres of tomatoes, most could not get financing necessary to triple their acreage and buy a harvester. Within 10 years, 85 percent of the state's cannery tomato farmers were forced out of business.

The remaining growers, who expanded their tomato plantings, were committed to making payments on their new harvesters and could no longer be flexible in deciding how much to plant. As a result, there has been chronic overproduction in recent years; in 1976 alone 1.8 million tons of tomatoes were left to rot in California fields.

It is true that mechanization did cut the cost of producing cannery tomatoes by \$7.25 a ton; had this savings been passed on to the consumer the retail price of a can of tomatoes would be lowered 3 percent. But since 1964, the year before the tomato harvest was mechanized, the retail price of tomatoes increased 111 percent, while at the same time the profits of processors soared. H.J. Heinz profits went up 104.7 percent; Del Monte's 228.9 percent.

Consumers were not only stuck with high prices and a tough tomato, but their taxes paid for the research that made it all possible, and additionally for various hidden costs they knew nothing about. One such cost involves a failure in the harvest machine which results in its collecting substantial quantities of dirt in addition to the tomatoes. Removal of this dirt costs processors \$75 million annually, in addition to using millions of gallons of water that the drought-stricken state needs elsewhere.

Increased social welfare payments, the migration of jobless farmworkers to American cities, and the decline of small farms and rural communities must also be figured as hidden costs of mechanization.

The California Assembly wants the University to re-evaluate its commitment to mechanization research. A rider was attached to the Assembly version of the UC budget requiring "social impact reports" be prepared to assess the effects of labor-displacing agricultural research. However, intense lobbying by the University caused the legislature to delete the rider from the final version of the budget, under the excuse of "freedom of inquiry" for UC researchers.

However, it is questionable whether such freedom of inquiry actually exists. The University's Regents and administrators have set up an agricultural research system that involves private interests in the decision making. The University employs professors, provides them with lab space and clerical help, but allocates little or no money to pay for research staff and supplies. As a result, professors must seek outside funding to meet these costs, sources which exert a great influence on what research is undertaken.

Furthermore, both UC Vice President Chester

McCorkle and Regent Edward Carter sit on the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corporation, a major beneficiary of mechanization research. Regent Coblentz is the managing partner of ASA Farms, the corporate owner of a million-dollar parcel of tomato crop land in Yolo County.

Private donors used to be the primary source of outside funding, but in recent years agribusiness interests have become reluctant to donate money themselves, turning instead to market orders to generate research funding. Under the California Marketing Act, growers or professors can join together to form a marketing order, impose a state tax of a specific agricultural commodity, and choose the members of the advisory board which allocates the revenues to, among other things, university research.

University personnel have been instrumental in establishing these lopsided boards. The Wine Advisory Board was organized by a "Campaign Committee" headed by UC Professor R. L. Adams. Four newly organized research marketing orders were organized through the joint efforts of the Western Growers Association and UC Davis Dean Jim Lyons, who received a \$2500 research grant from the WGA. WGA members make up most of the advisory board members of these marketing orders, which are managed by a former WGA employee.

University professors must agree to the detailed terms of the research contract in order to receive market order funds. Although the bulk of UC mechanization development costs are paid by public funds, it is private interests that dictate that the research be done.

It is ironic that California's farms can produce \$9 billion in food each year, but can't adequately provide for those who till the land and harvest the crops. Farm workers have made repeated attempts to form unions and bargain for higher wages, but have been kept divided through the efforts of the state's growers, who have the cooperation of the University.

When unions are formed, the University sides with employers. In 1933, S. Parker Frisselle, manager of the UC vineyards at Fresno, organized and became the first President of the Associated Farmers, a group formed to oppose farmworkers unions. With the help of University farm advisors, thousands were recruited into the organization. By 1937, they were organized into a vigilante army that attacked picket lines, burned strikers' camps, and kidnapped union organizers.

In March, 1977, the University Extension offered farmers a one-day class on California's new farm labor law. George Daniels taught the growers how to wage "psychological warfare" in order to beat the United Farmworkers in union representation elections.

Mechanization is the University's current answer to the labor problems of farm factories. University-developed machines not only combat the "labor shortage" in California agriculture, but provide

(Continued on page 47)



# WOMEN & THE UNIVERSITY

by Sugae Goen and Cathie Nelson  
Women's Studies Student Caucus, UCB

Women on campus share the alienation of the men students but with the added burdens of our common oppression as women. Rape, for example, is a problem at the university as it is everywhere. The campus remains ill-lit at night even after the furor over several recent cases of rape. Women have organized walking groups but the university itself has been basically unresponsive to this problem. Their attitude was reflected in the recent crisis over the limited parking on campus. The administration wants to give parking space priority to professors and high-ranking department members (mostly men, of course) rather than to people who really need them, for example, women who work at night. This is both sexist and elitist.

In the past the university has made it difficult if not impossible for students to attend school on a part-time basis. Permission was granted in some cases but nearly always the student had to pay full tuition. Clearly this is a hardship on students who have to work, including student-mothers. In order to get financial aid students must be enrolled fulltime. This discriminates against workingclass students who usually need to work to supplement the meager financial aid and thus may need to carry a reduced work load. There should be a variety of part-time programs available with flexible fees. Going to the university on a full-time basis is a privilege that not all students share.

The university does provide child-care but only on a limited basis. Students whose income does not fall below a certain level must get child-care outside the university which is a financial hardship for all but the most comfortable. There should be free child-care for all students and employees of the university.

Counselling for women students is also inadequate. We have a Women's Center on campus which has been primarily geared to the needs of the older women returning to school. Another example of the oppression of women at UCB is the university's expectation that the needs of all campus women can be met at the small, under-staffed and under funded women's center on campus.

In terms of classes: In many ways they have proven irrelevant to women. The study of women has been largely neglected by the university, most of the instructors are white men, the classes are large and hierarchically organized which is often intimidating to women students.

Out of concerns such as these and others, the Women's Studies major came into existence. According to a recent history of the Women's Studies major at Berkeley, "In the late sixties and seventies a number of courses on women were offered at Berkeley. These courses were independently conceived by departments but at the

same time they were part of the response of universities to a rebirth of feminism and to a recognition that the study of women has been largely neglected by the academy." A small number of dedicated students and faculty worked for several years to develop a group major in Women's Studies. The work was arduous, the rejections discouraging but success was achieved in the Fall of 1977 when the Executive committee of the College of Letters and Science passed the major. Since then there has been a constant struggle for funding and legitimacy but we now have an established major in Women's Studies. Last Winter quarter we even had a course, "Introduction to Women's Studies" which will, with modifications be repeated this Spring and will be open to the campus. We have great hopes for the expansion of the major and addition of new classes such as the class on "Advanced Feminist Political Theory" planned for Spring of 1978. We would like to see the study of feminism and the study of women itself accepted and respected in the university.



Many of the Women's Studies students see Women's Studies as a force for radical social change, both within the university and in the larger community as well. To this end we have organized the Women's Studies Student Caucus, which, while recognizing the limitations of existing within the university structure is committed to struggling within that framework. We are working to increase our awareness of racism, classism and heterosexism within ourselves, the university and the larger community. Areas of specific concern to the caucus include working within Women's Studies to change the content and execution of classes. The students of UC are generally privileged: white, middle-class and heterosexual. We want the women's courses offered by the different departments to be relevant to everyone, including Third World, working class and gay students. We feel that all of us will benefit from including material from a variety of perspectives in each class. Further, we want to see more



student-taught women's classes and more on-going input into the content and process of each class by its members. The caucus is further committed to working toward hiring more minority women for faculty and staff in Women's Studies.

In addition, we are committed to community

involvement, through field studies programs and connections with other groups working in women's studies. We feel that Women's Studies, even if accepted as an academic discipline can not effect social change without meaningful ties to the community.

# SEXISM & THE UNIVERSITY

## Women as Labourers

*By the Women's Issues Group  
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"They may be a little harder to supervise than men but they will stick to a monotonous job better...Women work well on repetitive work...They follow instructions better because they are more inclined to listen to advice and directions. Praise works better with women than men...Women also have their weak points. They are easier to get upset and are more emotional. They are not so ambitious nor so interested in getting ahead...They take things more personally, and tend to imagine much. It is small matters that upset women."

—*Agricultural Labor and It's Effective Use*, a textbook recently used in Veg Crops courses at UCD. John H. MacGillevray, Professor Emeritus, Dept. of Veg. Crops, UCD 1965.

Sexism in the University is both pervasive and deeply ingrained. Through texts such as the one above, our education is being used to mold us into sex role stereotypes rather than expand our perception of the alternatives. People are trained in the University system to be inhuman and exploitative in a sexist way. As an employer, the University has not instituted an effective Affirmative Action program. The University is thus actively working against women playing an equal role in our society.

The need for an effective Affirmative Action program in the University is obvious. Along with minorities, women are under-represented in faculty and administrative positions. Women are consistently appointed at lower levels and promoted more slowly than men with equal training.

Women have more difficulty getting tenure, particularly in traditionally male fields such as Medicine, English, Law and the so-called "hard sciences." For instance, the UC Davis Medical School has only one tenured woman professor, and over a hundred tenured male professors. At UCD, less than five per cent of the tenured faculty are women.

Minority women have a compounded problem in the University of California system. Minority women make up about one per cent of University

faculty. In the Fall of 1976, only eight of the over eleven hundred faculty members at Davis were minority women.

Studies\* have shown that women consistently are hired less often than equally qualified males in the University system. Women are appointed at lower levels and promoted slower than equally qualified men. In 1970, at UC Davis, seventy-seven per cent of the men with Master's degrees made over \$12,000 per year, while only eighteen per cent of equally qualified women did.

The problems, of course, extend to the lower



income employees of the University. In this respect, the University system is a microcosm of society, with poor and minority women holding the lowest paid, least respected jobs. They enjoy few benefits such as childcare or healthcare.

Despite the U.C.'s Affirmative Action program, women have more difficulty than men getting jobs, promotions and equal pay. In the words of the UCD Task Force Report on the Status of Women: "A successful affirmative action policy would soon put itself out of business."

All affirmative action programs in hiring and admissions, for minorities and women, are threatened by the Bakke decision. Bakke, a white male, was refused admission to the UCD Medical School, which has a special admissions policy for minorities. On the advice of a University official, Bakke took the University to court. The University's handling of the case has been consistently poor. The decision was made in Bakke's favor and is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Why is the University system sexist? Why are women students directed into Liberal Arts and Home Economics fields? Why are students educated by sexist professors and textbooks? Why is the University insensitive to the needs of students and employees, especially those who are poor, from minority groups or women? These are questions that need to be asked and answered in order to effect changes in the structure and direction of the higher education system and society.

How do we move the University to serve women

on an equal basis with men? Women must first recognize their identity of interest with and support Third World groups struggling for affirmative action programs in hiring and recruitment and a fair review process for tenure cases. We must continually educate each other on the issues. We must learn to recognize sexist and elitist trends in the system we are part of and mobilize against them.

As human beings, we must recognize the destructive nature of sexism. By forcing men and women into sex roles, we lose our freedom of choice in our relationship to society and each other. Sex-typed work reinforces the exploitative nature of our economic system. Both women and men are controlled by their sexuality and forced into work situations on this basis.

Men must realize they are also oppressing themselves and each other by maintaining sexist attitudes and their own strictly defined sex roles. Sexually defined roles inhibit our potential as human beings and limit our options. Men can, and should, serve a vital role in the movement against sexism.

An essential task of feminist, anti-sexist women and men is to fight sexually defined roles and all discrimination, in order to create a more human, non-exploitative society.

\* "Status of Women at UCD Task Force Report"—November 1972. The report, available at the UCD Women's Center, is itself well documented by other studies.

## THE UNIVERSITY AS AN EMPLOYER

by Steve Willet, Vice-president of  
AFSCME, local 1695

The University of California at Berkeley is one of the largest employers in the Bay Area and the largest in Alameda county. About 15,000 people work for UC — 9,000 non-academic employees and 6000 academic employees. Of the 6000 academic employees most are graduate students working part time as Research assistants, Teaching Assistants, Readers, and the like. Around 1200 are faculty members of the Academic Senate.

Of the 9000 non-academic employees on the campus approximately 5000 are "career" employees and the rest are "casual" employees. "Casual" employees are University employees who have no benefits (such as vacation and sick leave) and few on the job rights. Most "casual" employees are undergraduate students.

The University is, of course, a public agency. Its status as an employer is unclear however. Employees at UC are not state employees—they are

not covered by any of the state employment practices, the state Personnel Board, or any of the legislation governing state employees. On the other hand they are not "private sector" employees; they are not covered by laws for such employees which deal with collective bargaining, social security, etc. Also their wages are subject to funding by the state and are included in the state budget. The Regents jealously guard their prerogatives in these matters (as in all others). Citing their "constitutional autonomy" they strenuously lobby against any attempt by the legislature to enact legislation effecting "their" workers.

So what kind of employer is this "constitutionally autonomous" Board of Regents?

In 1968, at the height of the civil rights movement in this country (and at UC) four labor unions on the campus issued an 88 page document entitled *The*

*Union White Paper on Racial Discrimination in Employment at the University of California, Berkeley.* These four unions (along with two other unions which endorsed the findings of this report) represented non-academic employees, academically employed students, professional librarians, and faculty on the campus.

Included in the report were some statistics on employment at UC—of the 16,000 employees at that time only about 7 percent were Black and only about 2 percent were Brown. Of course a large number of UC employees must be UC students to hold their jobs. Therefore the racist admissions practices would allow few Black or Brown employees in those jobs. Yet even among *full-time* clerical workers, only 10 percent were Black and 2 percent were Brown. And of course, while 32 percent of the service workers were Black or Brown, only 3 percent of the managerial and professional workers were Black or Brown. Among the full-time faculty of 1151 there were 5 Black, 9 Brown and 1 Native American members.

One of the demands of the unions in the *Union White Paper* was for UC to "...hire only minorities until a minority ratio is reached in all job categories and in all departments, at least in proportion to each group's percentage in the Bay Area population...."

In response to the civil rights movement and the *Union White Paper* for a period all new hires were controlled in an attempt to increase the number of minority employees on the campus. As a result in 1974 of the *career* employees at UC 18 percent were Black and 4½ percent were Brown. Of course non-whites were still vastly underrepresented in the higher paid job categories.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) local 1695 is the union which represents non-academic and student employees on the campus. Local 1695 has handled hundreds of grievances over the years on this campus. A very large proportion of those grievance deal with racist practices, discrimination, and—or violations of affirmative action. Under pressure UC was forced to hire more non-white workers—it has still not dealt with the racism institutionalized here which was the root of the problem.

As another case in point, in 1976 non-white career employees were subjected to involuntary termination (laid off or fired) at twice the rate as their white co-workers.

Over ½ of the career non-academic workforce at UC is female. Overwhelmingly, however, women work in the low-paid clerical and service categories and do *not* work in the high paid managerial and professional categories. The entire upper level of management at UC (as elsewhere) is male. The wage differences between men and women at UC are exacerbated by the University's tendency to give larger raises to the higher paid employees

(mostly white males) and smaller raises to the lower paid workers (mostly female and to a large extent non-white). In 1976 the University was



forced to grant a \$70 across the board raise—the first step towards *reducing* the huge differentials which exist. In 1977 UC wiped out the effect of the 1976 raises by once again giving higher percentage raises to those in the higher paid jobs.

Finally, the most backward aspect of the Regents as employers is their "labor relations." They have consistently and vigorously fought against unions and collective bargaining for University employees. In that area they have put some of the "titans of industry" to shame in their paranoia!

The reason is obvious—the final challenge to their "constitutional autonomy", their paternalistic relationship with "their employees" would be a collective bargaining relationship which ended in a legally binding contract with their workers. Such a relationship would go a long way towards dealing with many problems for workers at Cal—problems like racism, sexism, and affirmative action, like the rights of student employees and a fair grievance procedure for all; like improved benefits for all University workers, and of course like union participation in decisions about where employees retirement funds are invested!



# HISTORY OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AT BERKELEY

*This article, originally written by David Rynin, first appeared in the 1969 Disorientation Booklet. It was revised and updated by SLATE members in 1972 and 1975. It has been edited and updated in 1977 by Carl Ackerman, Rogelio Birosel, Harlan Rotblatt, Andy Spahn, and Jeff Levin.*

## Introduction

The political and cultural upheavals of the 1960's marked the birth of a new student movement in the U.S. After a decade of apathy, students began to fundamentally question the values and traditions of the system that bore them—to challenge its legitimacy and its way of life.

In examining the reasons for this renaissance of student activity we have to consider the "state of the empire" at this time. By 1960, the American system had entered a period of serious—though disguised and generally unadmitted—crisis. The political life of the nation was increasingly seen to be characterized by corruption, inefficiency, giant federal bureaucracies, identical rigidity among parties—all leading to the general unresponsiveness of the government to its people. The economic structure had begun to show new signs of deterioration: high and unstoppable unemployment (especially among the young and minorities), permanent poverty for millions of Americans, runaway inflation, and increasing corporate control of the economy. In addition, families were no longer the places where the young learned their values or where the old sought their solace; alcoholism was rising steadily; drug consumption was the highest in the world; suicides, which had numbered 18,000 in 1955, had increased significantly by 1960; and cities were overcrowded, becoming "behavioral sinks in which neither air nor relationships could be cleansed."

Paralleling these functional crises in the American system was a crisis of belief. A remote government, an economy of vast conglomerate businesses, and the possibility of nuclear war all contributed to feelings of powerlessness and alienation, and a growing conviction that social and economic problems, far from being addressed by traditional institutions, were being caused by them.

University enrollment was at an all-time high in the 1960's. Millions of students, products of the post-war baby boom, flooded the campuses. It was expected that these students would move into the professional, technical, and managerial sectors of the economy, for which the University was preparing them. The demands of a monopoly capitalist system for college educated workers were eagerly met by a University system which was controlled by the same class that owned and controlled the American industrial and financial empire.

The Student Movement evolved along the

premise that our society was incapable of adapting and being responsive—our society couldn't reorient itself to satisfy even basic human needs. The Vietnam War provided grim testimony for all to see; the slaughter of the Black Panther Party pointed out the hypocrisy of liberal rhetoric, and finally, the killings at Kent State were ample evidence that even white, middle class students would be shot down if their actions were perceived as a threat to the State. By the end of the 1960's, students came to realize that American society, and more tangibly, the university, were intransigent. Furthermore, these institutions perform functions that contradict the rhetoric which serves as their ideological justification. Today, the fundamental premise of the Student Movement remains largely unaltered. Experience gained through political action has laid the groundwork for the evolution of theory which now prescribes a comprehensive transformation of our entire society. Within the past year students have angrily protested against the University's investment in corporations doing business in the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

Also during the past year there has been a call to protest racist practices on our homefront as represented in the protest against the Bakke case. The University, however, seeks to ignore student and community outcry and continues with business as usual. As students, though, we remain committed to those original ideals which sparked over a decade of dissent and critical examination of the University and American society.

In the World War I era, an autocratic demented University president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, rode about this campus on horseback as he issued edicts to the campus community. This in the same community which at the same time had one of the first socialist mayors in America, J. Stitt Wilson. The faculty rose up in rebellion against Wheeler, forced him out of office, and established the Academic Senate with powers over curriculum and faculty hiring which, at least formally, have not been matched to this day in many other American universities.

In the next major upsurge of social conflict in the 30's, Berkeley again played a leading role. When the Fascists began to take over in Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain, etc. it became clear that an alliance of leftists and liberal-democratic forces were

needed to stop their drive for hegemony. The American student left, in the thirties, helped labor on the picket lines and pushed education reform, but its predominant activity was mass mobilization against the looming prospect of Fascist aggression and World War II.

The important links between students and labor set the stage for massive struggle at UC. This struggle took on the form of armed resistance to fascism when students and working people volunteered to join the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to defend the Spanish Republic. In Berkeley thousands mobilized, drawn not only by this issue but by the inspiration of the 1934 general strike in San Francisco and the Upton Sinclair campaign for governor. Characteristically, this activity was met with attacks from the administration, the legal system—denial of the most elementary first amendment rights—and blasts from reactionary politicians. These two forces meeting head-on made the Berkeley campus one of the national centers of the anti-war movement of the thirties.

In the post-World War II period, the standard cliché of writers on University movements is that they didn't exist. But that most emphatically wasn't true for Berkeley. When Henry Wallace ran for President in 1948, the first Young Progressives in Support of Wallace club in this country was formed at Berkeley. When the Communist-Party influenced unions were being forced out of the CIO, the Daily Cal covered CIO conventions better than they usually cover the Big Game with Stanford. In 1950, when the nadir of the American left began, the faculty began a several-year struggle against a mandatory "loyalty," i.e. anti-communism, oath, one of the major acts of resistance on any American campus. Although receiving a majority of student support, the faculty chose to exclude students, working people, and minorities from their fight so that their role as gentlemen would not be compromised. To the faculty's rude surprise, the Regents weren't terribly gentlemanly in their successful strategy of isolating the more outspoken faculty and setting the demoralized remainder at each other's throats. This marked the end of a tradition of faculty initiation in university reform.

With McCarthy at the peak of his power in the early fifties, there was no left current in any mass movement or organization in the country. Moderate liberals at cocktail parties would preface a statement of cautious support for some innocuous reform like unemployment or flouridated water by a panicked, hasty statement that, "I'm not a communist but..." Professional intellectuals traipsed off to conferences sponsored by CIA fronts to read papers on the End of Ideology. Perhaps it was their gentility and good breeding that kept them from mentioning that the representatives of the communist ideology they were referring to were currently serving time in Leavenworth, McNeil Island, and other federal rest homes.

Nonetheless, in 1956 events began to turn around for the left community and the student movement.

E. Franklin Frazier published *Black Bourgeoisie*, a caustic attack on the social leaders of the black community. C. Wright Mills published *The Power Elite*, another bitter indictment of American society, and its power structure in particular. Allen Ginsberg came out with *Howl*, the biggest selling poem in decades, which exposed the crushing brutality of our society and what it had done to dissident intellectuals.

The waves generated by these intellectual works helped create the atmosphere that gave life to the Student Movement of the 1960's. But two major historical developments were the real catalysts for a cohesive student movement. First, the national liberation struggles throughout the Third World, especially in Asia, began to attract attention. Second, the domestic Civil Rights Movement, which surfaced in the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott in 1956, gained the admiration of many students during the late 1950's and the early 1960's.

The Montgomery fight opened up the battle around black people's rights throughout the country. At Berkeley, the graduate representative on the UC Senate raised the issue of Greek letters house discrimination in early 1957, and this crystallized mass left struggle at Berkeley, bringing together the force which created SLATE, Berkeley's student political party and action group.

But this new activity met the usual reaction. In 1957, the campus well reflected the repressive nature of society at large. Even major party presidential candidates such as Adlai Stevenson were not allowed to speak on campus, let alone any other off-campus speaker. Parties or groups were barred from student elections. There was no mike in front of Sproul Hall. Political groups couldn't meet or collect money on campus. The Daily Cal editor went to the administration regularly to find out what line should be dished out to his readers. The chief administrator of student affairs had been publicly on record for over a decade declaring that moves to racially integrate fraternities were part of a communist plot.

Nonetheless, leftists, Communists, and the more active liberals began to organize in 1956-57. When Adlai Stevenson had to speak from the gutter of Oxford Street to 20,000 on the west lawn, they organized to get rid of *Rule 17* which barred all off-campus speakers. Two years after the year-long Montgomery bus boycott showing that blacks were determined to fight against second class citizenship, Berkeley radicals came together around a motion barring racial discrimination in Greek letter houses. In the mid-fifties, when Greek control of campus social and political life was nearly total, this issue provided a rallying point for many students.

Student awareness of racism, both on and off campus, made SLATE into a cohesive political organization. In the spring of 1958 SLATE campaigned for (1) an end to discrimination in Greek letter houses; (2) setting of a fair wage and rent for students; (3) protection of academic freedom (which at the time meant mainly free speech and



no political firings of faculty members). After administration harassment that resulted in SLATE being thrown out of an ASUC election, a petition was circulated to get SLATE back on the ballot. In one day it collected the signatures of 4,000 students.

#### 1960—64: Mass Reform Struggles

In 1960 the forces which had been building on campus exploded onto the national scene as an important mass movement, almost one of international scope. In Japan, huge student riots against the U.S.-Japan security treaty blocked a visit by Eisenhower and forced the Japanese prime minister to resign. In South Korea and Turkey, student riots were instrumental in bringing down the governments. At home, black students in the South moved off campus and sat in against racism, while support demonstrations spread throughout the North. In Berkeley, there was a widespread movement to block the execution of Caryl Chessman, and deep anger arose when he was sent to the gas chamber.

The most important social event, however, were the hearings held by the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco in May. UC students were angry that one of their number was subpoenaed. Several hundred noisy demonstrators were kept out of the hearing—and then without warning police opened up fire hoses washing students down the steps of city hall, injuring 12 and arresting 64. The next day, 5,000 demonstrators showed up and things were peaceful. The liberal press around the country was horrified and gave the event great play. HUAC made a propaganda movie of the events and spread copies all over the country. But it boomeranged on them; students all over ignored the message about the subversive menaces and instead identified with their fellow students being brutalized.

During the summer and fall of that year the administration counter-attacked by throwing the graduate students out of the ASUC and censoring the *Daily Cal*. In 1961, Malcolm X was barred from speaking on the grounds that he was a minister—even though other ministers had spoken. In 1963, when this ruling had been battered down, Malcolm spoke to an audience of 8,000 on campus. In 1961, SLATE sponsored Frank Wilkinson, anti-HUAC leader, before 4,000; the administration responded by throwing SLATE off campus.

The period from 1961 to 1963 saw constant conflict between students and administration over civil liberties on campus. Despite its repeated attempts to curtail student rights, the administration was steadily forced back. In effect, the campus was opened up to all outside speakers, and compulsory ROTC was dropped.

In 1963-64, the major axis of political activity shifted to a fight for more jobs for blacks. Organizationally, SLATE was still active, but the most active campaigns were conducted by ad hoc groups and civil rights organizations, most notably CORE. Shop-ins at Lucky Market, pickets of

downtown merchants and a restaurant chain, mass picketing of up to 5,000 at Jack London Square succeeded each other month after month. The high points were undoubtedly the sit-ins and picketing of thousands at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel and the Cadillac agency in San Francisco. Each brought industry-wide agreements to open up new jobs to blacks. The last in this series was the abortive attempt to make the Oakland Tribune increase black hiring beyond the then 2 percent level. The Knowlands, the Tribune's owners, got the Oakland police and D.A. to smash this fast. They also got on the phone to the administration and demanded a crackdown on campus. Always willing to oblige a needy businessman, the administration cracked down—and created the Free Speech Movement (FSM).

#### 1964—1968

The year 1964 marked a sharp shift in the movement. Ghetto rebellions swept across the country, affecting many major cities in both the North and the South. Washington moved toward a massive troop involvement in Vietnam. The perspective of the student movement began to shift from a hopeful struggle for reforms toward resistance against an evil system of monopoly capitalism.

The FSM in Berkeley was the opening shot in this new round. In the early sixties, the talk was of freedom, racial equality, and participatory democracy. The FSM brought this process to its logical conclusion by directly connecting student experience with the demands of freedom. Mario Savio's impassioned call for the Sproul Hall sit-in conveyed a new sense of immediacy to a movement which had previously been motivated by an abstract commitment to civil liberties and social justice

*There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part, you can't even tacitly take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all.*

In 1964 the University, acceding to pressures to clamp down on student political activity, unilaterally denied students' rights of free speech and assembly. The political groups responded, defying the ban through direct action. A police car moved up to take into custody a man sitting at a CORE table with literature and a collection box. First one, then two, then three, then thousands of people sat down and blockaded the car with Jack Weinberg inside for 32 hours, while a procession of speakers talked to the issues from the top of the car. This spontaneous mass action is a graphic indicator of how strongly students had come to feel



about their political rights. The president, Clark Kerr, got the governor to declare a state of emergency and send hundreds of policemen, but the mass support of thousands made the president retreat. In an extremely complex struggle with many tactical phases extending over two months, the FSM exposed and isolated the administration and the Regents so effectively that a notice of disciplinary proceedings against four FSM leaders triggered a sit-in of 800 students which in turn triggered a strike of 16-20,000. This forced Kerr to go before 18,000 students in the Greek Theater with some pseudo-concessions. When the administration had university police drag Mario Savio off the Greek Theater stage, they underestimated FSM's hold on UC students; and the attempted repression blew up in their faces. The resulting settlement tremendously expanded student political rights. The ability of Berkeley students to win a sustained struggle strengthened the role of students in universities all over the country.

### *Opposition to the War*

While the FSM kicked off the resistance phase of the movement, the major focus in the 1964-68 period was not student rights but the Vietnam war. Spring 1965 saw the formation of the Vietnam Day Committee. Jerry Rubin used his organizational and public relations talents to spark a huge outdoor round-the-clock teach-in on a playing field where Zellerbach Hall is now located. About 30,000 people turned out. Speakers ranged from Southeast Asia scholars to Senator Ernest Gruening. No doubt the high point has when 8,000 stayed well after midnight, listening to Isaac Deutscher for over an hour, and swept to their feet in fervent applause when he announced that, as a Marxist, he believed that class struggle and socialist revolution were the road out of the crisis. These remarks and the audience's response, foreshadowed the position that has since become dominant in the movement.

During the summer of 1965 several hundred people tried to stop troop trains on the Santa Fe tracks in West Berkeley. This display of militancy had a major effect on the anti-war movement in other countries. In the Fall, 10-20,000 people tried three times to march to the Oakland Army terminal from campus. Twice they were turned back short of Oakland by masses of police, demonstrating the relationship between the war in Vietnam and police repression here at home.

The *Scheer for Congress* campaign, based on a radical anti-war platform, involved many students in the Spring of 1966 and drew 44 percent of the vote. In the Fall of 1966 the focus shifted to the development of Black Power—the Greek Theater was filled to hear Stokely Carmichael. Later that Fall there was a three day student and T.A. strike to block an administration attempt to squelch and anti-war movement. In the Spring of 1967, 80,000 people, including thousand of UC students, marched through San Francisco in protest of the war. In the Fall of 1967, 10,000 rioted throughout a good

part of downtown Oakland in an attempt to shut down the Oakland Induction Center and protest the war during Stop the Draft Week. In the Spring of 1968, 10,000 gathered in Sproul Plaza for a special commencement for the graduating class about to be shipped off as cannon fodder to Vietnam.

At about the same time, community activists from the Scheer campaign joined with campus activists to begin the petition drive which culminated in early January with the collection of 100,000 signatures and the creation of the Peace and Freedom party. The McCarthy campaign destroyed any chances for a large Peace and Freedom vote. But the Peace and Freedom campaign and McCarthy's defeat at the convention helped to destroy the notion that racism and the Vietnam War could be eliminated within the Democratic Party.

### *Fall 1968—Spring 1969*

The years 1968 and 1969 represented the high point of militancy and struggle by student movements in imperialist and advanced capitalist countries. The events of May and June in Paris, and the Chicago convention in September produced their echoes in Berkeley: the Telegraph Avenue rebellions of Summer '68. These, in turn, foreshadowed the kind of year it was to be in Berkeley. The cause of the summer demonstrations was a jumble of issues and feelings, but the gut issue was police harassment and suppression in the South Campus area, and the underlying spirit was one of militant rebellion and solidarity with students and youth rising all over the world. These rebellions marked the first time street fighting on a large scale appeared in Berkeley.

### *The Cleaver Controversy*

Going into the Fall, tension was high and people expected to see some kind of political confrontation. The spark that lit the prairie fire was the decision of the Regents limiting guest speakers to one appearance per quarter per class, which effectively stripped the credit from Social Analysis 139X. This was a student-initiated course on Racism in American Society featuring Eldridge Cleaver as the principal lecturer. The course had already been approved by the administration.

The entire campus viewed the Regent's action as one of political suppression, and took sides according to whether they approved or disapproved. The opponents of the class fell into two main groups—the outright reactionaries who were glad to see Cleaver suppressed, and the erstwhile "liberals" who argued that this was not the time for the university to provoke the wrath of Reagan and Co. The slogan "On Campus, For Credit, As Planned," united those backing the class. After weeks of inconclusive meetings, rallies, and negotiations the students in the class, most of whom were not radical, took the initiative. They

held a sit-in in Sproul Hall at which about 120 were arrested, while hundreds more massed outside. Two days later another sit-in was held at Moses Hall, with the added demand of amnesty for those arrested in Sproul Hall. The Moses Hall sit-in was spearheaded by the radicals, and, unlike the first one, it involved barricades inside the hall and some property damage including the alleged destruction of one professor's research files. About 80 were arrested.

The administration seized on the property damage issue to divide the supporters of the class. The struggle dwindled after the sit-ins, due to a number of factors—the division over tactics, end-of-quarter pressures, the burden of court and disciplinary proceedings, lack of any clear leadership. A group of professors offered to sponsor individual study credits for students in the class, which took off some of the pressure. The struggle finally ended after a two-day "demonstration strike" which failed to gain much support.

A couple of positive things came out of the last days of the struggle however. One was an abortive coalition between the white students and the third world student groups. The third world students had stayed fairly aloof, but the Moses Hall sit-in convinced them that the white students were serious, and they offered to join forces if the white students would support their demands. This coalition foretold the unity which later carried the Third World Strike.

### *The Third World Strike*

The Third World Strike, which began early in the Winter quarter of 1969, brought about several qualitatively higher developments in the movement at Berkeley. For the first time the third world students played an active, in fact, leading role in a struggle. In addition, it was the first time, the different third world groups were able to unite among themselves and seek support from white students, overcoming some divisiveness inherent to cultural nationalism. For the first time there was mass support for a workers' struggle among students, (Richmond Oil Strike), and mass support for a student struggle among workers. The demands of the strike went way beyond those of any previous struggle in posing a threat to the interests which control the university (particularly the demand for open admissions). The strike itself was on a higher level of militancy, went on longer and involved more students than any previous actions.

Three third world groups had been involved in separate negotiations and confrontations with the administration for almost a year. Under the influence of the strike at San Francisco State they formed the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) and put forward their demands, chief among them, a Third World College with adequate funding, open admissions, and financial aid for third world people, and third world control of programs affecting them. When the TWLF called for a strike in

support of their demands, white students formed the Strike Support Committee (SSC). The campus unions all voted support for the TWLF demands. The TA's union ended up striking itself.

The first stage of the struggle was mainly an attempt to educate the campus. Most white students and faculty were hardly aware of the existence of third world students, let alone their grievances. Picket lines were set up, along with a program of dorm speaking, convocations, and circulation of literature. Then the gradual escalation of tactics began. First there were stationary picketlines, blocking Sather Gate and the Telegraph entrance. Police were called on campus again and students responded by marching through buildings to disrupt classes. Reagan declared a "state of extreme emergency" and placed virtual control of the campus in the hands of Sheriff Madigan. The administration and police began a step-by-step campaign to crush the strike. Peaceful pickets were arrested and beaten in the basement of Sproul. Police swooped down on legal picket lines arresting TWLF and SSC leaders on prior warrants. All rallies and public meetings on the campus were banned. The demonstrations and marches got bigger and bigger.

Also, about this time, a "mutual support pact" was formed by the students at Berkeley and State with the striking UCAW workers in Richmond. Hundreds of students went to Richmond on numerous occasions, in the very midst of their own strikes, to help shut down Standard Oil, and were given credit by the strikers for helping them win. A leader of the strike spoke at several campus rallies, and at least one contingent of oil workers joined the student picket lines.

On the campus, battles between police and students took place several times, involving rocks, bottles, cherry bombs, tear gas, and clubs. The number of injured and arrested mounted into the hundreds. After one battle, about 5,000 students marched to University Hall to confront the Regents, calling for action on the strikers' demands.

After two months of the strike, the weaknesses of the strikers' position were quite severe. Primarily, the toll of the repeated arrests, beatings, suspensions, and multiple court cases had removed the most effective third world leaders from the campus entirely. Again, a divisive debate had arisen over tactics (to trash or not to trash) and as the quarter ended, many students who had supported the strike were returning to classes. Under the circumstances, the TWLF decided to "suspend" the strike, and entered negotiations with the administration over the specifics of an Ethnic Studies Program, which, while falling short of their demands, was at least a partial victory. On the key question of admissions, however, the TWLF was given an "assurance" that EOP would be expanded to admit more students, which of course, did not happen.



### *People's Park*

With two huge struggles in as many quarters, perhaps the Regents and the administration thought the students would let them have a rest in the Spring quarter, but the biggest struggle of all was yet to come, People's Park. One cannot grasp the intensity with which the People's Park struggle was fought by both sides, without placing it in the context of the two previous fights. The students had fought hard twice and, due to administration intransigence, had little to show for it. The fence around the Park was another slap in the face. What really aroused the anger and resistance of the students and street people of the Telegraph area was the sheer brutality and violence with which the state met the first march to the Park, and especially the murder of James Rector.

Evidently, a high-level political decision was made to demonstrate that even middle-class college students were not immune to the armed might of the state, if they carried their rebellion too far. The day after gunfire was used to disperse crowds on Telegraph Avenue, the National Guard occupied Berkeley. If Reagan and company thought this show of force would intimidate the students, they were proven wrong. Mass marches and demonstrations, as well as construction of other parks, continued for another month. In one mass arrest, 450 people were busted. In response students and their supporters from all over the West marched 30,000 strong to the Park.

There are varying reasons given for why the Park remained the central issue of the struggle, although the armed suppression and terror used against the students was of far more significance as an issue in itself. It seems the Park was a symbol of the will of the students and non-students in the South Campus area to wrest away from the Regents and the administration even a small part of the university, a barren lot, for their own uses. All year long, students had struggled to erode the power of the imperialist university — to turn it towards serving the people. The Park was also an expression of this struggle — something people felt they could perhaps win, and in so doing, break down the walls which the university had constructed to control and channel them.

*FALL 1969 — SPRING 1970*

The University authorities soon learned that People's Park wasn't a dead issue. On July 14, 1969, Bastille Day, demonstrators marched from Ho Chi Minh (Willard) Park to People's Park. Organizers had baked wire clippers into loaves of bread and lo and behold — the fence was down. Police attacked the angry crowd and a riot ensued. During that summer the Radical Student Union (RSU) started working on a series of programs for the University's Orientation Week (rechristened Disorientation Week). Through the contents of its booklets, forums, and tours, the RSU discussed the role of the University as an agent of U.S. imperialism. Radicals saw that the University was training vital

technocrats of capitalist society with not only necessary skills but an essential ideology that brainwashed students into accepting passive machine-like attitudes about work. Another easily perceived connection was that between the University and the armed forces. The University supports war-related institutions such as ROTC and weapons and counter-insurgency research programs.

*SMOKE, DOPE, GET HIGH— ALL THE PIGS ARE GONNA DIE!*

"A Revolutionary People Must Have Its Own Culture" was an oft-repeated quote and 1969 saw the creation and flourishing of alternative institutions such as Students of Berkeley, Inc. and Food Conspiracies. These kinds of institutions were seen not only as service organizations but as chipping away at capitalist institutions. A lot of radicals, firm proponents of youth culture, began to reject capitalist values such as competition and the alienating human relationships that stemmed from it.



Meanwhile, the proceedings of the Chicago 8 Conspiracy Trial exposed the American judicial system as a set of institutions that served the governing class. The Conspiracy Trial and armed persecution of the Black Panther Party revealed the fact that the government was going to move, to forcefully repress the growing political opposition threatening government policies (Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered by Chicago police on December 5, 1969, while during the year other Panther chapters defending Party offices shot it out with police).

*"V" SIGNS AND CLENCHED FISTS*

In Berkeley, the school year kicked off with Disorientation Week. The two big events of the quarter were Altamont and the Moratorium. One hundred thousand people marched in the new Student Mobilization Committee-led peace march. Black Panther David Hilliard was booed for saying that we should kill Richard Nixon if we didn't get our freedom. Also, he criticized members of the crowd for carrying American flags. Clearly, the crowd did not go along with Hilliard's thorough condemnation of the American society and was content, at that time, to flash peace signs. The RSU



in Berkeley, not content with merely marching, tried to effect the "No Business As Usual" slogan of the Moratorium. Berkeley students picketed Shattuck Avenue stores but a small picket turnout and rain dampened RSU spirits; the picket was unsuccessful.

Many students drove to the free Rolling Stones' concert at Altamont that quarter and witnessed the uncontrollable violence that culminated in the murder of a man. The rose-colored image of Woodstock quickly faded into the decaying aspects of youth culture. Winter quarter saw two main movements within Berkeley; The Day After (TDA) riots after the guilty verdicts of the Chicago Conspiracy trial and the organization of the Berkeley Tenants' Union (now called Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee). For many new fresh people and newly arrived non-students TDA was the first riot ever attended and an illuminating experience. Also, it was the first time that coordinated militant actions took place around the country in recent times — it felt good to know that there were comrades across the nation. Nationwide riots forced the Justice Department to release the Chicago 7 out on bail the next day.

At this time, bombings began to occur around the country and several buildings were attacked near Berkeley. Weatherman, by now, had rationalized the decision to move underground and to wreck physical damage on property as the only way (besides riots) to raise the social and physical cost of the war and American capitalism. Most movement people, while agreeing that Weatherman tactics did not have the support of the people still admired Weatherman from afar for their daring and courage.

On the April 15 Moratorium Day, students, realizing that marching against the war was not putting enough pressure on the government, attacked the Navy ROTC building, Callaghan Hall. The students' goal was to seize control of the University as well as to put an end to UC complicity in every classroom, whether professors liked it or not, as tear gas seeped through classroom windows. The University officially declared a state of emergency. During this time the People's Coalition was formed by radical groups and individuals to organize unified political action.

### CAMBODIA

The campus had not died down and was still in a state of emergency when the media announced the invasion of Cambodia in May 1, 1970. A nation-wide student strike call emanated from Yale, where thousands of students and youth had gathered to protest the trial of Black Panthers Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale in New Haven. The strike quickly spread as word got around about the murders at Kent State, Jackson State, and Augusta. Berkeley students paralyzed the school with massive demonstrating the first week of May. Students went to their classes and demanded that the class discuss the Cambodian invasion and then disband.

The campus community, outraged at the latest violence perpetrated on the Indochinese people and at the brutal tactics of not only the National Guard but local police forces, fought back with all its strength and effected a total shut-down of the University. 15,000 attended a convocation at the Greek Theater and the Regents, fearing more intensified riots, closed the University down for a four-day week-end.

Student anxiously scanned the *Daily Cal* for strike news when they heard of the Wolin proposal, which proposed to "reconstitute" the University. "Reconstitution" was supposed to reorganize the University so that students could get credit for working against the war. The classroom was supposed to be made more "relevant" and discuss war issues. Students could take all courses on a pass fail basis without recrimination, allowing more time for political work. In fact, the Wolin Proposal was the only plan the University could approve of without shutting down the whole school.

It soon became apparent that the academic faculty wasn't as devoted to Reconstitution as students were. Most professors saw Reconstitution as a way to carry on their work with their most interested students. A drive initiated by students to get their professors to vote to abolish ROTC in the Academic Senate was successful but the Regents simply ignored it, providing their own accredited ROTC program.

Radicals on campus wanted to completely shut down the campus. Most students, however were excited about reconstitution and the possibility for liberal, democratic reform. Many signed up for precinct work and a drive to get East Bay residents to write letters to their Congressmen. Radicals were non-plussed. They did not believe in reform tactics and could not, it was thought, participate in these campaigns and still remain principled. Annoyed at the reconstitution bureaucracy that had been built up in Eshleman Hall, many radicals dropped their political activity for the school year. The RSU fell apart, paralyzed by indecision.

### FALL 1970 — SPRING 1971

The 1970-71 school year marked an extremely important turning point for the student movement in Berkeley and in the country as a whole. Until the end of the Cambodia uprisings there had been a rise in the number of students and young people attracted to the left. Radicals assumed that this process would continue, as it had throughout the 1960s. Despite the destruction of SDS and serious factional disputes, there was a sharp increase in campus struggles throughout the Spring of 1970, culminating in the historic May rebellion. It was soon clear, however, that the movement of the 60's had run its course.

### WAR CRIMES COMMITTEE

In the fall of 1970 the War Crimes Committee was formed by radicals from various community collectives. Its strategy was to take

"reconstitution" to its logical conclusion by attacking the University's direct role in the U.S. war effort. A series of hearings was planned to "indict" individuals in the campus community for violations of the Nuremberg War Crimes principles. These hearings would then create a basis for direct action against university complicity. This was the extent of campus direct action in the fall. Ultimately, the war crimes strategy suffered from its emphasis on individual criminals as opposed to analysis of the University as part of an overall system. In everyday practice, the committee failed to follow up on initial response to the hearings and build an ongoing mass organization on campus.

Radicals soon came to realize there was a profound feeling of disillusionment, hopelessness, and cynicism in the white student and youth community. As the year unfolded there was a huge downturn in traditional student movement struggles throughout the U.S. Organizations and collectives dissolved rapidly, repression increased, and it seemed that by 1971, the movement was only a pale reflection of its past. Yet perhaps the greatest attribute of the Berkeley movement in 1971 was that it kept up a significant level of political activity despite the discouraging conditions.

#### *REACTING TO LAOS*

In the beginning of February, American, Thai, and South Vietnamese troops began an invasion of Laos to cut the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The first days of the invasion seemed ominous. All news was suppressed and there was widespread public speculation about the use of nuclear weapons or an invasion of North Vietnam. A huge rally was called by the War Crimes commission and several thousand people showed up in Sproul Plaza — the largest crowd of the year. A march began down to the Atomic Energy Commission building on Bancroft to protest the deployment of nuclear weapons in Thailand with the Seventh Fleet. After police provocation, skirmishes broke out and an AEC car was burned.

The Berkeley reaction was an important component in the relatively weak national reaction. The Pentagon Papers indicate the crucial importance of militant protest in limiting administration policy options. However, the political interest and upheaval around the Laos invasion soon became dissipated in endless meetings, sectarian debates, and an aimless demonstration at the city council. The disorganization and strategic weaknesses of the movement were never more apparent than in the days following the initial demonstration.

It was at this time that the movement began to feel a qualitative increase in repression. Nixon's building of a police state apparatus, repressive legislation such as no-knock laws, increases in wire-tapping, surveillance and files, the training of thousands of agents, and the widespread use of Grand Jury investigations all had their manifestations in Berkeley. The War Crimes

Commission, one of the most active organizations on campus, was a good example. Two students were suspended and three members arrested. One spent three months in Santa Rita jail after accepting a deal on felony charges growing out of the Laos riot. One had her charges dropped after her house was raided and ransacked by police. The third, charged with multiple felonies and held on \$20,000 bail, had his charges dropped after his lawyers demonstrated that a key police report had been forged. In the wake of the March bombing of the U.S. Capitol, the FBI also raided several collectives where WCC members lived, in their notoriously unsuccessful hunt for political fugitives. Activist students were banned from the campus. Consistent with that, the authorities cited the WCC for obscenity after the word "fuck" appeared twenty-two times in a poem read at an International Women's Day Rally.

#### *"COMMUNITY CONTROL"*

In March people began to focus their attention on the April 6 Berkeley municipal elections. A radical slate was formed to run for four council seats, composed of two blacks and two whites. D'Army Bailey, Ira Simmons, and Loni Hancock eventually won three of the four seats. The most controversial and significant issue on the ballot was the referendum on community control of the police. Over 15,000 voters signed the ballot initiative petition for this measure. A major community organizing campaign was launched to mobilize people around the issue, including the formation of neighborhood and block associations, a canvassing drive, and a great deal of research about the police and city government. Later the entire campaign focused on the concept of community control as the radical candidates extended it into other areas of municipal government.

Although the charter amendment was defeated by a massive and well-funded scare campaign, it nevertheless received over 16,000 votes. The radical campaign was successful in mobilizing a lot of people to work around the issues. It also created an intense political debate in which the functions of government and the police were subjected to critical scrutiny by thousands of voters. Yet it also showed the severe limitations of an electoral campaign. Despite the radical "victory", the city council has not been able to alter the role of the police, cut the huge police budget or institute any large-scale community control measures. Furthermore, it was made clear that any electoral effort meant playing in the ballpark of vested interests. The conservatives usually have monopolies on the straight media and on money: two crucial strategic weapons in any electoral campaign. The radicals successfully exploited divisions in the conservative ranks in winning the three council seats. But the conservatives closed ranks and mobilized all their resources on the issue of community control, subjecting the voters to an all-too-effective campaign of manipulation, scare



tactics and deceit.

April 24, 1971 was the day of the most massive antiwar demonstration in the history of the Bay Area. 250,000 people marched to Golden Gate Park while 500,000 marched the same day in Washington. The veterans emerged from their actions as a tremendous moral and political force. Their activities were followed by the Washington May Day demonstrations, which culminated the powerful spring anti-war offensive.

#### UPPING THE ANTE

The strategy behind May Day was based on raising the social cost of the war. The administrators of American foreign policy have consistently seen domestic unrest as an important variable in strategic options. The anti-war movement forced Nixon to avoid using large numbers of U.S. troops in Cambodia or Laos, and has forced a general U.S. ground withdrawal from Vietnam (especially after anti-war sentiment spread to the military). By the spring of 1971, even the polls showed that the vast majority of the American people were sick and tired of the war. Using the tactic of massive non-violent civil disobedience, the May Day organizers planned to shut down Washington, D.C. in an effort to actually force an end to the war. Militarily the demonstration failed. Yet the sight of 13,000 arrests severely shook the credibility of the administration. The government clearly could not continue the war except at the expense of tremendous domestic discontent. May Day was a classic example of what the anti-war politicians mean when they claim "the war is tearing America apart." In San Francisco, meanwhile, 15,000 people were dispersed by police on horseback and motorcycles after tying up the downtown area for several hours.

In January 1971 the Educational Liberation Front was formed on the Berkeley campus. Its first activity was around four professors who were being fired by the university. For several years the university had systematically dismissed radical or popular teachers. ELF tried unsuccessfully to take their cases to the departments involved. Later, over 5,000 students out of the 6,000 voting demanded in an ASUC referendum that the four professors be rehired. Once again, it was to no avail.

At best, 1970-71 was a transitional year. The Berkeley movement's greatest contribution was its effort to keep up some minimal level of political activity. It failed to mobilized masses of people, except perhaps to go to the polls in April. Its work in political education fell off. Most important, it failed in its basic task of mass organizing: it was unable to reach out to new people and build ongoing organizations.

#### POLITICS BEGINS AT HOME

There was one significant exception to this: the growth of the women's movement in Berkeley. Although not building permanent organizations or

engaging in direct confrontations with the power structure, the women's movement reached out to thousands of women. Together with Gay Liberation, women's liberation politicized all spheres of daily life and personal interaction. The cultural changes which resulted were often very sharp and extreme, as witnessed by shattered collectives, bitterness over male-female relations, and wide-ranging experiments in alternate lifestyles. Yet these changes in all probability will be seen as a necessary foundation for any further development of the white left in the U.S.

The failures of the year taught the movement many invaluable lessons. Of central importance was the realization that revolutionary struggle will have to be long and tenacious. Naive hopes and solutions were dissolved by the hard reality that the masses of the American people must be won over before thorough-going victories can be hoped for. Yet there were grounds for continued optimism. By 1971 new sectors of the population were in motion, particularly GI's, veterans, and prisoners. It was clear that by the summer of 1971 the Berkeley movement was ready to enter a new stage.

#### FALL 1971 — SPRING 1973:

At the beginning of the 1971-72 school year the lull in the student movement since the Cambodia invasion seemed to be continuing. The *San Francisco Chronicle* even published a series of articles on all the new types of Berkeley students (no more demonstrations or riots). The unenthused semi-annual peace march organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) added to the feelings of cynicism with its small turn-out, little spirit, and ineffective political basis. Whereas the politics of the peace marches had once played a progressive role in the struggle to end the war, by 1971-72 it was clear that the anti-war movement's main task had changed from turning the American people against the war to finding a way to end the war as soon as possible. Nixon easily maneuvered the demand of the peach march, "Out, Now!" by posing several qualifications essential for a peace settlement.

#### SISTERS UNITE!

September 2-5, 1971, was a sign of the increased strength of the women's movement in the Bay Area. Throughout September various women's groups were extremely active in exposing a new biological warfare lab being built at the Presidio. Despite pronouncements that the U.S. had dropped biological warfare research, the research was simply being covered up. The Lab at the Presidio is to specialize in "ethnic weapons": chemicals which affect the skin of particular races only. On September 2-5 women picketed the construction site and held women's cultural activities. On September 4, five hundred women marched to the Presidio. As they reached the gate skirmishing with police began. The march was very successful



in raising the issues of racism and biological warfare in the media as well as establishing an image of a powerful, anti-imperialist women's movement.

### *THE STRUGGLE INSIDE*

By Fall 1971, the radicalization of prisoners across the U.S. began to produce sharp clashes with prison administrations. In August, George Jackson was murdered at San Quentin. Seven people were indicted for the events on that day which left two other prisoners and three guards dead. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression (The Alliance) spearheaded the mobilization around prison reform, dealing, at first, primarily with the San Quentin Six. The events at San Quentin were soon followed by the bloodbath at Attica and uprisings all over the country. Prisoners were reacting to the savage brutality of prison life and slave labor, for the first time overcoming racial antagonisms and other divisive forces.

In order to expose prison conditions and analyze their roots in the functioning of the criminal justice system as a whole, a three day Prison Action Conference was organized in Berkeley at the end of January. Thousands of people attended speeches and workshops on various facets of prisoner-support work.

### *THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PERSPECTIVE*

To revitalize the anti-war movement, radicals began openly asserting that the Indo-Chinese War was the result of an imperialist system. The war could no longer be looked at as a mistake, out of context of U.S. aggression around the world. The new rallying cry for the movement was to become "Support the Seven Points." The Seven Point Peace Plan. The Coalition's April 22 Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam which outlined a just way for both the American and Vietnamese people to end the war.

In response to Nixon's intensification of the bombing of North Vietnam in Dec. 1972, the April 22nd Coalition was formed, a broad coalition of progressive organizations that support the Seven Point Peace Plan. The Coalition's April 22 demonstration brought 30-40,000 people marching in support of the "enemy" peace proposal. The massive support for this demonstration showed that people accepted an anti-imperialist perspective, more thorough-going than simple moral outrage against the war.

Before the April 22 demonstration, the government started bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, enraging people around the country. Within forty-eight hours, the April 22 Coalition brought two thousand people out to protest this escalation. During the demonstration, sixteen members of VVAW seized the old Federal Building. Thousands of people marched around the building in support

and blocked the entrances before the police busted their way in.

### *Worker—Student Strike*

Students returning from San Francisco that night found that events were moving very fast. A national student strike was called as demonstrations erupted at dozens of colleges across the country. At Berkeley, the building trades union walked off their jobs in response to administration efforts to break their union. With the right of public employees to strike in contention, other campus unions recognized their own survival was at stake and joined the building trades. The possibility of an unprecedented campus-wide strike was beginning to emerge, but the student movement on campus was largely unprepared for it. Energies were absorbed by the anti-war work, but more important, there was no real leadership to explain to students the critical importance of the issues the strike had raised, issues involving the right of public employees to strike and the question of who controls the state budget. To compound the problem the administration launched a campaign implying that everyone on strike made \$20,000 a year, was racist, and was only in it for more money.

At the same time, Chicano students held a sit-in at Boalt Law School in order to get more Chicano students admitted. Other Third World students were also fighting for greater representation in Boalt. With these events facing them, students held several very massive meetings, rallies and spirited marches, joined the workers on picket lines, and covered the campus with garbage, to be picked up later on by scabs guarded by the police. Active students were banned from campus under the Mulford Act—a law which allows administrators to throw any student off campus for fourteen days after which they get a hearing to see whether they should have been thrown off. Although student enthusiasm was not as high as possible, the campus took on a more intensely political atmosphere than it had since the days of Cambodia. In fact, some students did stick with the strike through all of its eighty-three days.

### *Nixon Won't Quiet: Haiphong*

Although student struggle at Berkeley temporarily died down, it was not to remain that way. Early in May, Nixon announced the mining of North Vietnamese ports, in addition to his continual escalation of the war and his plans for Vietnamization. The same night as his announcement, a hastily-called candlelight march in Ho Chi-Minh (Willard) Park, starting with only two-three hundred people grew to thousands as they marched through Berkeley chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi-Minh, the NLF is gonna win" and "Support the Seven Points." During the night, people tore down the fence around People's Park with their bare hands, a police car was overturned and

burned, and skirmishing with police lasted well into the night.

The actions in Berkeley and across the country showed better than anything that the anti-war movement is not dead but alive, angry, and militant, that people won't allow the government to oppose our desires without a struggle. However, in Berkeley, as fighting wore on, much of the focus was on trashing instead of war. A number of small stores and businesses of people who could be or were against the war were trashed or looted. There was some attempt, but clearly not enough, to get out the reasons for the demonstrations to the rest of Berkeley, to win people over, and involve them in struggle.

There was little mass action from Fall 1972-Spring 1973. ELF held several large classes, and counter courses were established within large introductory social science courses. These consisted of a small number of radical students taking a class, who formed an alternative section either independently or with a T.A. The members of the alternative section would study together, attend lecture to challenge the professor's notion of "apolitical education," and question the validity of the course content itself. The effect was to draw many students into sections, and later into more formal ELF classes.

Along with ELF activities during this period, the April Coalition was formed by radical students in the summer of 1972 to promote the election of radical candidates and initiatives (including the Police Review Commission, Rent Control, and Marijuana Initiatives) in Berkeley. A large amount of student energy was expended in preparation for the November election. The April Coalition received the vast majority of the student vote, and coalition candidate Ying Lee Kelly was elected to the City Council. All three initiatives passed, although they were later either overturned in the courts or significantly watered down.

Beyond these activities, the University administration was once again laying the foundation for a future conflict. It appeared that the School of Criminology had consolidated a minority radical program which engaged strong student participation in departmental procedure and the planning of curricula. The school had the highest proportion of women and Third World students of any school or department on campus. Fearing a radical takeover, the Administration initiated a process that eventually led to the dismantling of the Crim School, and the student

struggle to retain the school radical program intact.

### THE CRIM STRUGGLE

The final weeks of the Spring Quarter of 1974 at the University of California, Berkeley, saw a student struggle, the scale and intensity of which had not been matched since the demonstrations against the invasion of Cambodia in 1970. At the height of the struggle that Spring, as many as 4,000 people participated in marches, rallies, and building occupations. The first occupation resulted in the banning from campus of 159 students who refused to leave when ordered. In the final occupation, nearly 300 were removed by campus police who were backed up by more than 150 riot equipped police who had been called in from three other departments.

The main demand in this struggle was the continuation of the School of Criminology. Organized resistance began in the fall of 1973 with the formation of the Committee to Save the Crim School (CSCS) by the Union of Radical Criminologists. Many felt that the decision to close the School was as good as made, and the energy spent trying to affect this decision would be wasted. Others felt that although the decision could not be affected, a principled political defense had to be made to expose the political reasons for the attack. Still a third group felt that a mass movement could be developed in support of the School which could reverse this decision. With these mixed analyses, the CSCS formed a broad based student organization to coordinate support for the School.

The work of the Fall Quarter was to rapidly consolidate support for the School. The faculty committee reviewing the School was expected to make its recommendation to the Chancellor within a few weeks. The strategy was to pressure this committee to force it to delay its decision, utilizing a combination of parliamentary tactics (letter writing, student votes), and demonstrations.

The strategy was a success. The faculty review committee was unable to report to the Chancellor by the end of the quarter, and CSCS had developed an expanding base of support.

In January, the Chancellor received the recommendation from the faculty review committee, but unhappy with its recommendations of two more years of study on the future of the School he sent the report back for revision. After all, he had made up his mind two years earlier and was tired of waiting. (In a memo to the Budget Committee on May 1, 1972, concerning Platt's





tenure case, Bowker stated "If however we have to take a cut of another 40 or 50 faculty positions, I would recommend that the School of Criminology be discontinued." This statement was made *before* any academic reviews of the School had been made.)

Miraculously, the faculty review committee was able to telescope two years of study into two weeks, and in keeping with the best traditions of bourgeois social science, was able to overlook the data in order to reach the politically acceptable conclusion. In their final report, the committee recommended that the School be abolished and that a new graduate program be established to study issues of law, crime, and society.

With the cards on the table, the CSCS called for mass actions to protest the repression. A demonstration in early March stormed the administration building and two students were arrested. It was clear that Crim School supporters were prepared for more militant actions. CSCS, however, had not developed a strategy to build the struggle for the rest of the year. Tactics were developed according to what was possible, and what was possible was governed largely by the University calendar. Finals week put an end to mass action.

The occupation of the School of Criminology on May 29 marked the beginning of a week of militant political activity intended to force the Chancellor to make his decision public before the end of the school year. Thousands of students supported the takeover and demonstrated throughout the week. When Bowker announced his decision to close the School, the students recognized that it was not the compromise he pretended, and they occupied the School again. After this occupation, which ended in the eviction without arrest of the demonstrators by 150 riot police, the CSCS closed its campaign with a series of Popular Tribunals at which the Gallo Brothers, the California Department of Corrections, and the Capitalist System were tried and convicted of crimes against the people.

The impact of the Crim School struggle on the campus was significant. Left-wing student political groups have increased their memberships, and caucuses in other University departments are organizing to demand the hiring of radical professors. The Left Alliance, a coalition of radical candidates for student government, swept to victory in the Spring '74 elections, due in no small part to the support of members of the CSCS.

#### *Fall 1973—Spring 1976: Radical Reform and Reaction*

In Fall, 1972, the Black Student Union (BSU) mobilized against the absorption of the Black Studies Department of the Ethnic Studies Division (instituted as a result of the 1969 Third World Strike) into the regular academic College of Letters & Science. Chancellor Bowker hired a coordinator, Bill Banks, who promptly fired faculty opposing the move, while retaining and hiring

faculty who favored the move. Bowker also supported a moderate Black student group which published a newspaper, *Black Thoughts*, to split the Black students and general student body from the BSU. Because of the division in the community and on campus about the issue, and the lack of a mass base, BSU was only able to boycott Black Studies classes for one quarter. After their defeat, Bowker ordered the closing of the Research Institute on Human Relations (among different races), also gained in the 1969 strike.

In Winter, 1974, the Third World and Women's Council (TWWC), an alliance of labor unions and concerned individuals on campus, initiated a complex series of forums, conferences, demonstrations, press conferences, and lobbying of university, state, and federal officials with a proposed plan to institute university Affirmative Action programs to hire, train, and promote Third World employees, including faculty and administrative positions. The plan also was designed to recruit, admit, and graduate Third World students, both undergraduate and graduate. The final stage of the TWWC actions was the seizure of political power in the ASUC and Graduate Assembly through the Left Alliance (LA), a coalition of TWWC, Asian Student Union (ASU), Black Board (BB), (which replaced the defunct BSU), Native American Students' Association (NASA), Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), Pilipino American Alliance (PAA), and ELF. The Left Alliance held the ASUC and GA for two years, instituting significant affirmative action programs. An important accomplishment of the Left Alliance was the successful lobbying for a state law to provide \$2 million in matching funds from Sacramento for a two-year student affirmative action program to do early outreach into junior high schools in order to recruit Third World students. Such early recruitment would help develop interest and preparation for admittance into U.C. The Left Alliance also created the *Primer*, thereby institutionalizing the critical analysis of teachers and courses first developed in the ELF-Slate magazine.

The Left Alliance, however, failed to institute the Third World College (another original objective of the Third World Strike), because of strong administration and faculty resistance, as well as dissention and lack of interest within Ethnic Studies itself.

In Fall, 1974, the TWWC, ELF, Left Alliance, and radical Black Sociology Professor Harry Edwards formed the October Coalition (OC), to mobilize popular opposition to the reactionary trend of cutbacks in Ethnic Studies and affirmative action in public schools and U.C. The OC succeeded in mobilizing a campus activist base for future opposition, but failed to generate popular support.

Between fall, 1974, and fall, 1976, most campus activism centered on electoral politics. In the spring of 1975 Berkeley Citizens Action (formed from the April Coalition) ran Ying Lee Kelley for

mayor against Warren Widener. (Widener was originally elected with campus support, having committed himself to the community control of police initiative in 1971, but he quickly reneged on his support and joined ranks with the conservative Berkeley Democratic Club). Kelley lost by only 700 votes, and received wide support from the campus community. In spring of 1976, the Tom Hayden campaign for Senator also sparked student interest. A Tom Hayden rally in April, 1976 drew about 1,500 people, and hundreds of students helped "get out the vote" for Hayden on election day in June.

Nonetheless, this period was not characterized by mass student action, or a cohesive "student movement" of any kind. Much more, it was a time when traditional sororities and fraternities, long held in contempt on campus, dramatically increased in enrollment, and when students flocked to those programs which they hoped would enable them to earn high salaries in the job market. (The Schools of Business Administration and Engineering, and departments such as Economics, swelled with new students.) It looked as if the student movement on the Berkeley campus, which had flourished for so long even against great repression, had finally died.

The reasons for this "death" are no doubt complex and varied, but some key factors seem to have been the onset of cynicism after Watergate, the economic recession (that prompted an increase in concern over jobs), and the lack of any recognized leadership on the student left. Also of importance was the success of the University in institutionalizing minimal reforms, such as the creation of the position of Student Regent, which, while doing little to alter the status quo, served to diffuse student activism.

That student activism which remained was channeled into community-level projects in such areas as housing, energy, environment, and social services, in an attempt to build community-controlled alternatives to existing institutions.

#### *Fall 1976—Present: Bakke and South Africa*

In Fall, 1976, the broad-based tenure reform and Third World-based anti-Bakke movements were organized. Popular DIGS teacher Paul Von Blum, Harry Edwards, and other Third World teachers at other campuses were being denied tenure. The Third World Coalition (TWC) and the Boalt Hall Law Student Association (BHLSA) mobilized differently-oriented opposition groups to the September 1976 California Supreme Court decision against special admissions programs for Third World students (the Bakke case).

In Winter, 1977, the focus was on the national issue of Bakke and the international issue of national liberation movements in Southern Africa against white-minority rule and U.S. government and corporate collaboration. In February, 3000 people attended an anti-Bakke decision rally, the largest campus action since the Crim School

struggle.

The ASU-led Third World Coalition helped form the United Students Against the Bakke Decision, which later merged with other Third World and progressive groups into the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition. The ABDC has organized against both the Regents and the courts as equal enemies, and relies on organizing Third World students and communities.

The BHLSA, meanwhile, led the off-campus mobilization into the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, identifying only the Supreme Court as a target for mobilization of popular opinion and preparation of an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief.

In early Spring, 1977, Berkeley Citizens Action ran three candidates for City Council, leaving the fourth seat open for, but not endorsing, Communist Party member Mark Allen. The major issue, though, was a rent-control initiative. All three BCA candidates and Allen were defeated, as well as the rent-control referendum, by a well-organized and highly financed campaign by various housing and business interests, a campaign that included red-baiting and last-minute scare tactic letters. After this campaign, the radical Berkeley Organizing Project was formed out of the Mark Allen campaign and BCA moved to strengthen its community ties and broaden its focus with emphasis on community organizing.

In May, student demonstrations and confrontation at the Regents meeting in San Francisco forced the Regents to send six of their members to appear publicly before Berkeley students. The Regents delegation (their first appearance on campus in eight years) was met by 1,000 students who angrily challenged the Regents on their handling of the Bakke case and their South African investments.

In late Spring, 1977, Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA) formed in response to the growing struggle for national liberation in southern Africa. After the dramatic and well-publicized arrest of 250 Stanford students, who were protesting Stanford's investments in corporations doing business in apartheid South Africa, CUAA organized sit-ins with 400 arrested at Santa Cruz, 18 at Davis, and 58 at Berkeley, where Sproul Hall was occupied for the first time in nine years.

On June 3 over 800 students attended a teach-in on Bakke and South Africa. Recognizing the interrelatedness of the Bakke case and the South Africa issue (national oppression of Third World people), ABDC and CUAA began to develop ties for mutual support. Throughout the summer, both groups concentrated on research, community outreach, organizational strengthening, and other preparations for fall actions.

Also of importance was Chancellor Bowker's decision to grant tenure to Harry Edwards, a decision arising as a result of mass support and demonstrations over the past year.

Thus began the rebirth of the student movement at Berkeley.



# COMMUNITY RESOURCES

COMMUNITY SERVICES UNITED  
MEMBER AGENCIES—AUGUST 1977

Grassroots Community Newspaper 2022 Blake St., Berkeley, Ca 94704	848-8400 841-6184	Berkeley Womens Center 2112 Channing Way, Berkeley, Ca. 94704	548-4343
Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee 2022 Blake St, Berkeley, Ca. 94704	843-6601	Berkeley Place 1509 Henry St., Berkeley, Ca. 94709	848-9241 848-5865
KPFA Radio Station 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94704	848-6767	Bonita House 1410 Bonita St., Berkeley, Ca. 94709	524-9026
Pro Per Collective 1606 Bonita St., Berkeley, Ca 94709 <i>Legal advisory program</i>	849-4512	Community Conservation Centers 1984 California St., Berkeley, Cal. 94703 <i>A recycling collective</i>	548-3222
Berkeley Community Health Project 2339 Durant St., Berkeley, Ca. 94704		Peoples Energy 5316 Telegraph, Berkeley, Ca. 94609	654-7038
	business—548-1666 service—548-2570	Organic Farmers of Berkeley 1820 Derby St., Berkeley, Ca.	841-2683 549-1356
Berkeley Emergency Food Project 2425 College Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94704 <i>Free meals in the evening</i>	843-6230	Berkeley Outreach Recreation B.O.R.P. 2539 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94705	
Center for Independent Living 2539 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94704 <i>Center which services the needs of disabled people</i>	841-4776	Bay Area Women Against Rape BAWAR P.O. Box 240, Berkeley, Ca. 94701	845-7273
Ease House 2141 Bonar St., Berkeley, Ca. 94702 <i>Shelter care for youth between the ages of 12 and 18</i>	849-1402	Gray Panthers 2131 University Ave., Room 303 Berkeley, Ca. 94704 <i>Self help for older people</i>	845-5208
Berkeley Own Recognizance Project 2400 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Ca. 94704 <i>Provides help in getting people out of jail on OR</i>	548-2438	Eastbay Single Parents Resource Center 3025½ Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94705	548-4344
Berkeley Youth Alternative 2141 Bonar St., Berkeley, Ca. 94702 <i>Provides counseling crisis housing, foster homes and recreational services alternative to the juvenile system</i>	849-1402	The Eastbay Mens Center 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Ca. 94704	845-4833
Berkeley Support Services 2054 University Ave., Berkeley, Ca. <i>Community Street Work Project, provides referrals and self-help program</i>	848-3378	Jobs for Older Women 3102 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94705	849-0332
Berkeley Womens Refuge 2134 Allston Way, Berkeley, Ca. 94704 <i>A place where troubled women can go for counseling and shelter care services</i>	849-2314	Liberation Information Center L.I.C. 1984 California St., Berkeley, Ca. 94703 <i>Library of the different political groups and liberation forces around the world</i>	
Growing Mind School 930 Dwight Way, Berkeley, Ca. 94704	548-5690	E.E.R.C. 2022 Blake St., Berkeley, Ca. 94704 hotline—848-2000	843-8359
Berkeley Womens Health Collective 2908 Ellsworth St., Berkeley, Ca. 94705	843-1437, business—845-9194 service—843-6194	Commonarts, Inc. 2218 Acton Street, Berkeley, Ca. 94703 <i>Community Arts, Theater, Dance, Music group</i>	
		Community Press Project 2141 Bonar St., Berkeley, Ca. 94702	849-1402
		Berkeley Free Clinic	848-2570

# - AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION

(Continued from page 28)

large growers with insurance against unionization. When UFW President Cesar Chavez led 8,000 Salinas Valley workers out on strike in 1970, the lettuce growers gave the University \$13,500 to build a mechanical lettuce picker. Roger Garrett, the engineer who built the machine, explained the value of his machine this way: "The machine won't strike, it will work when (the growers) want it to work."

Cesar Chavez's farmworkers' union began an organizing drive in the northern California tomato industry in 1974. Thousands of workers, hopeful that their wages could be increased, authorized the UFW to represent them. In August, 1974, the UFW called a strike against cannery tomato growers in the Stockton area, which soon spread south into

Stanislaus County and west into the Delta area. Further north in Yolo County a second strike was called in the beginning of September; 500 more workers walked out of the fields.

The growers raised wages 50 cents an hour in an attempt to get workers to abandon the strike. When the harvest ended the strikers called the wage increase a victory, but no contracts had been signed.

California's new farmworker election law was enacted the next year. In the midst of the election campaigns, tomato growers raised wages above \$3.00 an hour in order to win a no-union vote from workers. The workers' memories were not so short; the majority of workers on some 20 tomato ranches voted for UFW representation.

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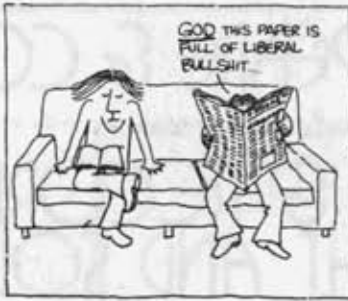
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The Rise & Fall of the New Left	Mon. 8—10 pm	Poetry Without Oppression	Thurs. 8—10 pm
Oakland: City in Trouble	Mon. 8—10 pm	Women in Movements for Social Change	Sat. 10:30 am
Science & Technology		Public Art/Political Art/Propaganda	Sun. 8—10 pm
In the Waning of Capitalism	Tue. 8—10 pm		
Marx & Freud	Tue. 8—10 pm		
Basic Economics	Tue. 8—10 pm		
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The European Left: 1848-W.W. II	Wed. 8—10 pm		
The Political Economy of Food	Wed. 8—10 pm		
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