

Winter of Our Discontent



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The events of the last quarter—arrests, demands, confrontations, liberations, alliances, and so on—have left students, professors and administrators confused. Something is happening that has never before happened at UCSB, and the University community is not at all sure whether it likes it or not.

The following article, written by Editor-in-Chief Jim Bettinger, is intended to give a background to what has led up to these events, as well as explain them more fully and give some prediction of the future—both immediate and long-range.

I. PROLOGUE

Perhaps one of the most regrettable aspects of contemporary educational thought is a willingness to believe that student unrest "can't happen here." So immersed in local matters can the University community become that when students and some faculty at old Siwash, like those everywhere, begin to voice some disapproval of The System, the response is all too often either indignant disbelief, or a panicked conclusion that one's own situation is a carbon-copy of every negative aspect of every other demonstration in the country.

This can mean, in the first instance, an ignorance of what is going on among students until frustration has polarized attitudes beyond repair, and in the second, the calling of police (Columbia), the National Guard (Wisconsin), mass suspensions (Berkeley), and a police state on campus (San Francisco State).

Why, then are there no troops at UCSB, and why is there concurrently a lessening of tension for perhaps the first time since the first week of the quarter?

The answers to those questions, as one might expect, are filled with the complexities and minor turning points which characterize campus politics in this period of social revolution on the campuses.

To explain the situation fully and logically would take a book-length article, for it would have to include the American histories of both the blacks and the chicanos. The sociology of slavery, the wresting of land from Mexico, the emotional and social crisis of Reconstruction and its close, the migration to the cities and the formation of urban ghettos and barrios, the civil rights movement, Black and Brown Power—these are historical factors which have more relevance to the lives of black and brown students than do the American Revolution, the Compromise of 1850, or any of the many wars we have fought, yet American education has dealt only with the events and trends which have been important to the white, middle-class majority of American students. This very lack is a basic part of minority student protests against the educational establishment.

But a short history of the past Winter Quarter of 1969, even keeping it within the confines of the University of California, would have to go back to the Free Speech Movement (FSM) of 1964 at Berkeley. To keep it directly related to UCSB, one would have to go back at least as far as the fall of 1965, when Maurice Rainey, chairman of the Black Student Union (BSU) and Joel (pronounced hoEYL) Garcia, chairman of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), both entered this school—Rainey as a junior college transfer and Garcia as a freshman.

Such a history would have to deal with the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) which began with a group of white liberal students, under the direction of Dean of Students Lyle G. Reynolds, writing

to a small number of black high school students who had been personally recommended by high school administrators, and telling them of the financial and academic aids which could be available to them under the program.

No special provisions in any philosophical way were made for these students. As one administrator said recently, "We just brought them here, thinking that would be enough." "We were all caught up in the white liberal bag of helping 'Negroes' become assimilated into the white middle class," said one of the students involved. Remember, this was early 1965, when there were no cries for Black Power, no Black Panthers, no Black Student Unions, and Stokely Carmichael still said "Negroes."

The short history would also have to include the taxpayers of California, both in their usual sense and in another, more democratic, sense which is not often referred to. With the FSM in December of 1964, one can trace public favor toward the University running

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almost straight downhill. Once again, showing the rest of the nation the way, Californians were in 1964 and early 1965 the forerunners in a new conservatism which began to show itself in the Republican Presidential nomination of Barry Goldwater.

Anyone who looked around could see that the radical campus movement was definitely not massively supported by the outside world. Seeing the University as primarily a finishing school for the rough resources of the state, most citizens could not comprehend a group—any group—of students questioning the very basis of that process.

The legal and educational penalties against those who had participated in the FSM were only a beginning. In the fall of 1965, politicians and editorial writers around the state vehemently objected to the use of the Berkeley campus for the organization of Vietnam Day on October 15. City and county officials and the police, this time joined by the Hell's Angels, combined to harass the protestors, at various times spraying tear gas into crowds and turning sprinklers on those who were lying on the lawns in public parks.

The first time voters got a chance to get back at the University, they did so with vehemence. Actor Ronald Reagan, running on a strong anti-University platform, snowed incumbent Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown by over a million votes; most people have a pretty good idea of what has happened since then—budget cuts have become routine, the Board of Regents has become a political battleground, and so forth.

At any rate, the University became hampered by budgetary and other stringencies which prevented it from trying to do anything new at all. "This is the year (1968-69) that all our inadequacies were to have been corrected," Dale Tomlinson, the Chancellor's top budgetary advisor, said last year when the Governor presented his version of the University budget. "Now we'll just have to wait"—a statement which has an all-too-familiar ring since the beginning of the Reagan years and an even more sinister sound to the minorities.

Then, too, the short history could not ignore the changing student movement in the United States. Dating from the FSM, things have changed. Some of the issues remain the same, such as the concept of free speech and its inclusion of advocacy of civil disobedience, but much has changed as well. The student movement went through a period of protesting discrimination, then through a fragmented and sometimes predictable anti-war period, and now has really entered a revolutionary stage, where working hand-in-hand with The System to achieve a certain set of goals is not regarded as a viable alternative.

The aim now is to restructure society, not to reform it. A kind of utopian talk fills the air wherever students gather—a feeling that "if we just get our shit together, we can remake this world into a beautiful place."

Many of the more radical student leaders openly declare that they adhere to a policy of the ends justifying the means. Black graduate student Ernest Gambrell summed up the feeling last year at the Memorial Convocation for Dr. Martin Luther King when he said, in reference to King's tactics of non-violence, "He was concerned about the souls of black people, and wanted to prevent them from becoming as ugly as those of white America."

"But we say we are willing to sacrifice the souls of this generation of black people for the souls of the generations to come."

One cannot omit the demonstrations at the Pentagon, at Chicago, or on Independence Day in Berkeley, either, for here (and in countless other less-publicized instances), young idealized kids came face-to-face with the reality of the police. "Oakland cops are the most effective radicalizing force in America today," commented one UCSB professor after the July 4 confrontation in Berkeley. "Every time a liberal goes



out to demonstrate and gets his head beaten, he comes back a radical."

These are some things a Complete History Of The Winter Quarter At UCSB would have to examine in depth. This is impossible, and so we present two areas which are a little more specific before we get into the actual events of the Winter Quarter: the black revolutionary movement, and The System, the personification of which inevitably becomes the University.

II.

THE THIRD WORLD

Nigger. Chicano. Believe it or not, the fluctuating use of these words may well be the best symbolization of the third world revolution.

The third world is a loose amalgamation of people of color (black, brown, yellow, and red) which has come to be the protagonist in many of the battles of society. It rejects, by way of explaining its name, the "first world" of capitalism and the "second world" of institutionalized communism, and tends to represent the rest of the globe—Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Nigger" is the degrading term which the Southern white applied to the black man, of course, but its importance lies much deeper than that. Throughout the black man's forced stay in America, there has been much confusion over what he should be known as, varying with what his position in society was. When he was the benign, harmless slave, he was a darky. When he became a freedman after the Civil War, he was either a blackie or colored. When the civil rights movement aimed at giving him some dignity in the white society, he was a Negro. And now, when he is becoming revolutionary and dangerous, he is either black or Afro-American.

Part of the point is that these changes show within the black revolution as well as in white nomenclature. The thrust now is to identity and culture realization, hence the stark "black" and the rich "Afro-American."

And a great part of that heritage lies in the racism which America has foisted upon the black man ever since his chained feet first stepped onto this continent—blacks cannot forget the word "nigger."

"Chicano" is much the same case. The term has meant humiliation in the past for Mexican-Americans, but now, as with the blacks and "nigger," its use is a badge of courage and honesty.

Both are necessary in the struggle for autonomy—the forces opposing it are well-entrenched, and the monolithic and complex web of racism sometimes seems overpowering.

(To that you reply, "Well, I just don't believe there is that much racism in America." Check your definition again. One should not refer to overt discrimination, although there is plenty of that, but to the sub- and unconscious attitudes of whites. How would you react, honestly, to a black chancellor?)

The civil rights movement failed for black students. It failed when it did not move fast enough; it failed when it did not take into account the largely separate history and society of black people.

It failed, blacks feel, when they let others define their protests. Stokely Carmichael often quotes a section from "Alice in Wonderland": "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be master, that's all." In an April, 1967 article, Eldridge Cleaver quoted Carmichael as explaining the problem of definition this way:

"During the civil rights movement, black leaders would say: 'We want to integrate.' And then white people would come along and define what integration means. They'd say: 'You want to integrate? That means that you want to marry my daughter.'

"What the Negro leaders had actually meant was that they wanted more jobs, better schools, housing, and an end to police brutality, and things like that. But when the whites defined integration as meaning that blacks wanted to marry their daughters, these leaders lost out by reacting to the white definition.

"When I say Black Power, I know exactly what I'm talking about. But the white man runs up to me and says, 'Black Power: that means violence, doesn't it? I refuse to react to that. I know what I'm talking about. If the white man doesn't know what I'm talking about, that's his problem, because black people understand me and that is who I'm talking to anyway.'

Discovery of this led to the realization that a large part of the struggle was the definition of self; hence, the cultural renaissance on the part of black America, with its naturals and dashikis. Hence, the demands for autonomy, for they reasoned that the definition of self had to come not just in the superficial matters of dress, but in the more basic societal areas of economics and politics.

With this came the need on the part of blacks to put the Man down. And when this feeling, which lies deep in the minds of every black man, was articulated by groups such as the Black Panther Party, every black could in varying degrees identify with it.

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Panthers, tells in the "Biography of Huey P. Newton" (Minister of Defense) of an

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incident in which Newton confronted an Oakland policeman with the fact that he wasn't going to stand for any harassment. A crowd of blacks gathered around and in the Panther office to watch:

"Little kids on bicycles go inside the office. We had a big, wide, clear picture window. Niggers just go all over the front of the window, man. They'd lean on it, kiss the window, just to listen to this shit. And they would be hollering, 'Go 'head on, brother,' and, 'Run it on down. You know where it's at,' and 'I can dig it,' all the while Huey was letting these pigs know where it was at."

Black and brown students became the revolutionary forces in educational institutions all over the country. The prime motivating factor in this became the relevance of the education they were (and in most cases were not) getting. UCSB history professor Jesus Chavarria, an advisor to the United Mexican-American Students on this campus, put it this way: "This is the definition we (the Chancellor's Commission to Investigate Problems of Racism) have operated under: This institution is racist in the sense that it is not relevant to blacks and chicanos."

Demands made upon universities and colleges (and in some cases high schools) were similar (ethnic studies controlled by people of the third world, massive influxes of third world students, and so on), not because of any nation-wide conspiracy, as politicians quickly decided, but because the needs of black and brown people across the nation are similar.

The University suddenly discovered that its relevance and legitimacy were being vehemently questioned by the very students whose presence was considered a symbol of the institution's social conscience.

III.

THE UNIVERSITY

It has been said of the American state university that only there could so many scholars, removed in so many ways from the pragmatics of society, find so many ways to epitomize that society.

A good deal of the truth in this statement is to be found in the fact that no one ever seems able to agree on just what the role of the University is. The University of California has set up for itself the tri-partite goal of research (the creation of new knowledge), teaching (the passing on of knowledge to generations entering society), and public service (the application of both newly created and retained knowledge for the good of society).

The last area, public service, is uniquely an American phenomena, and one which leads to most of the conflict within the University itself.

During World War II, the armed services of the United States used for the first time the scientific facilities and brainpower of the nation's institutions of higher education. As most people realize, the University of California was one of the leaders in this change, most noticeably in its participation in the Manhattan Project.

At the conclusion of the war, the universities, having grown used to the large appropriations for research they could obtain by accepting government grants, were loath to cut back to a pre-war level of support. With the Cold War and its accompanying paranoia, the defense establishment had no real wish to cut down on its spending either, and so the bonds between universities and the government were born.

As one can see, this move could easily be justified in terms of both the research and public service goals of the University; moreover, the sheer symbiotic efficiency of the arrangement over-rode any other objections.

"Public service" has included many other activities of the University as well. It is no secret that the University, especially through the Davis campus, has made many improvements in the agricultural industry, most of which have been of direct benefit to the growers and few of which have noticeably improved the lot of the farm workers, the large majority of which are chicano.

This is symptomatic of much of the University's ventures into the outside world. In large part, it has existed to serve business interests in the state, if for no



other reason than until recently, it was taken for granted that business was the rock upon which the state of California stood.

Moreover, it was easiest to serve these interests. Businessmen can come to the University, explain very articulately what they need, and propose how to get it.

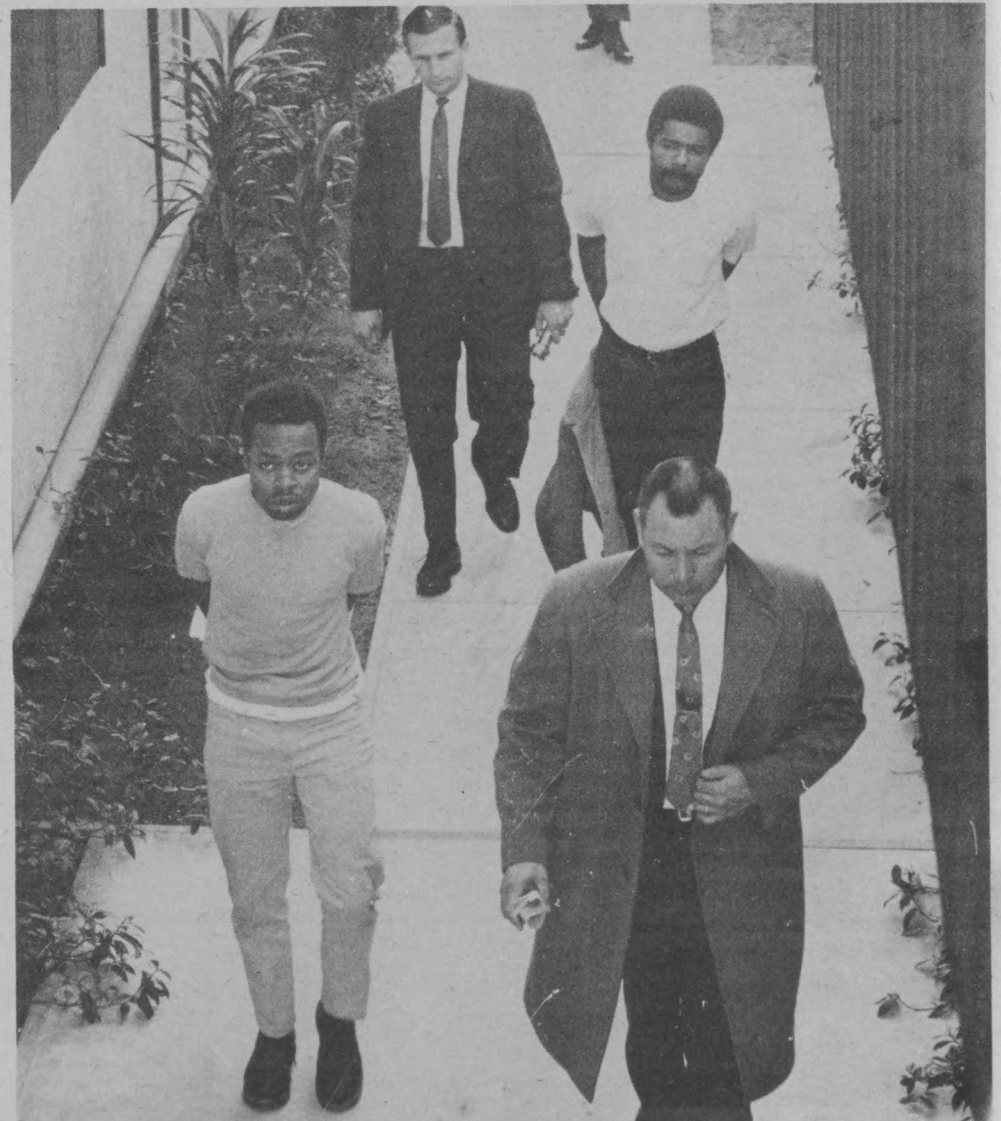
The University did not itself attempt to seek ways of aiding those citizens who might not be quite so articulate in expressing their needs—for that matter, neither did society as a whole.

What is happening now is that those citizens, who can loosely be characterized as the have-nots, are beginning to say, "If this University is supposed to be serving the people, then it ought to serve the needs of the poor as well as those of Standard Oil." They feel that not only have the resources of the University not been used to help them, they have been used to help the very forces which they see as inimical to a decent life.

People within the University are beginning to see this as well. President Charles Hitch's Urban Crisis Program is the first really official response to a lack which has lain in the University for 100 years.

But unfortunately, those within the University do not run the University. The University of California is officially run by the Board of Regents, and the Board is made up of businessmen. Material collected for an in-depth report on the Regents by EG City Editor Becca Wilson (to be published next quarter in EL GAUCHO) indicates that the members of the Board represent companies with assets of at least \$15.5 billion.

Under such circumstances, one does not have to charge the Regents with a conflict of interest so much as he must point out



"We start from the premise that there is no University. We will be the founding fathers of the new University and ignore the confounding mothers of the old."

IV.

AUTUMN AND
ITS PROPHECY

The convergence of these forces (the third world revolution and the University) seems to have come to a head this year. Across the land, Black Student Unions and United Mexican-American Student groups, many of which were not even in existence at this time last year, have confronted their educational institutions with charges, demands, and strikes in an effort to make the institutions relevant to them.

At UCSB, the Fall Quarter of this year



that such a background cannot help but give this officially responsible body a predominantly business-oriented attitude toward the direction of the University.

The University is also overcome with that bane of every massive institution, the bureaucracy. Forms to fill out, job descriptions to apply, endless running from this office to that clerk—these are all routine occurrences for anyone involved in that great, unwieldy force which is the American institution.

There is another aspect of the institutionalization process which too many people tend to overlook. This is the defensive nature of any institution. Someone once said that "you become a conservative the moment you have something to conserve," and nothing ever proved this better than an institution. In some ways, the most difficult change of all may be the change initiated from within. People get to positions of power by the rules of the game; once they are there, they are reluctant to change the rules.

The theoretical head of this mass bureaucracy is the Chancellor, yet in a real sense, he is almost powerless. The Chancellor exists, as does the head of any institution, to give direction and make decisions.

Power is instead diffused throughout the University. The Academic Senate, through power delegated to it by the Regents, has control over the content of courses. The Associated Students Government ostensibly represents the students, and has control over student activities. Yet in this area, the Chancellor retains responsibility—he could, for example, dissolve the student government, as Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns did last year.

Chancellor Cheadle, however, does not operate this way. He has a great aversion to being known as a "tyrant" and has said, "If you're going to give someone the responsibility for something (such as student government), then you should be willing to live with his decisions. You can't say, 'You have the responsibility until you make the wrong decision.'"

The University in many ways is its own little society.

The trick in getting something done within its boundaries is to learn its sociology—who to see, how to propose something, and so forth. Without such a background (the acquisition of which can take the better part of a student's four years), it is impossible to accomplish anything.

was barely one day old when black athletes brought charges of institutional racism against the Athletic Department. The Chancellor immediately referred the matter to the Intercollegiate Athletic Commission (IAC), where it soon became apparent that the real target was not the microcosm of the Athletic Department, but the microcosm of the University.

A statement by the BSU said as much: "While such a hearing may solve the Black athletes' specific grievances, it is almost certain that it will not root out the basic originator and perpetuator of Black athletes', and indeed Black students', specific grievances. The cause of the problems of Black people on the UCSB campus is racism... that is reflected in the lack of representative Black people in authoritative positions on the UCSB campus, ... that stems from the dearth of a vent for the continuous expression of Black academic and cultural motif."

The BSU boycotted the IAC hearings, saying that because several members of the Athletic Department were on the IAC, it would only be a whitewash: "A judge will never find himself guilty."

Then came Malcolm X Hall, which was the end of an era for the Campus By The Sea. Before dawn on October 14, twelve members of the BSU entered North Hall, quickly barricaded the doors, and said they would not come out until a list of eight demands was met. They further said they would destroy the computers in the building if any police were used to forcibly eject them.

The set of demands read as follows:

- "1. The immediate dismissal of 'Cactus' Jack Curtice and Art Gallon.
- "2. The development of a college of Black Studies, with Black instructors and a graduate program in Afro-American Studies.
- "3. The immediate appointment of a commission designed to investigate problems resulting from personal and individual racism.
- "4. More Black people in administrative and managerial positions in accordance with President Hitch's directive of May 1968.

"This just legitimizes any violence they might feel necessary in the future. If they kill one of us, then they will just say, 'Oh, well, he was really a dangerous criminal.'"

"5. A Black female counselor for the EOP program.

"6. The hiring of Black coaches and Black personnel in the athletic department.

"7. The ending of harassment of all athletes who signed and/or supported the petition.

"8. The development of a community relations staff with an office located in the community whose function would be to facilitate the university's role in aiding and assisting members of the community."

While up to 1,000 students gathered outside the building, Robert Mason and John Barnes of the BSU met with the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor Stephen Goodspeed, and others to discuss the demands. The first was rejected immediately. At about 2 p.m. the Chancellor released the following statement:

"The following points were agreed upon by those present (in the discussions):

"1. The immediate appointment of a commission designed to investigate problems resulting from any personal or individual racism. Members of the commission will include representatives from concerned members of our community.

"2. The development of a college of Black Studies is a matter for study by the Committee on Educational Policy of the Academic Senate. The committee is now studying the possible initiation of a Black Studies major.

"3. President Hitch's directive of May 1968 is reaffirmed as it affects this campus and implementation is already underway.

"4. The EOP will have a Black female counselor as soon as those responsible can arrange it.

"5. The appointment of Black coaches or Black personnel in the athletic department will be accomplished whenever this becomes possible.

"6. We do not condone harassment of any students, whatever the color.

"7. The development of a community relations staff whose function would be to facilitate the University's role in assisting members of the community will be actively prosecuted."

While the BSU was inside the building, a carnival atmosphere prevailed. Although there were one or two incidents of white students who opposed the action trying to break into the building, generally there was no violence.

The Associated Students Judicial Council recommended that the students involved be given suspended suspensions (which means that if a further violation is committed, suspension is automatic). Although they had demanded complete amnesty, after the Blacks heard of this decision, they left the building at 5 p.m. One hour later, the Chancellor accepted

"You can't say, 'You have the responsibility until you make the wrong decision.'"

this recommendation and placed the students on suspended suspension for the remainder of the Fall Quarter.

If the atmosphere for the spectators had been gay, it was filled with tension for those involved. The administration took a big chance early in the day when it not only kept outside police off campus, but even removed campus police from the scene in order to keep matters from escalating.

Waiting in the Chancellor's office for his decision, two of the black leaders broke down and cried. For the blacks, it was not a happy affair; it was something, in the words of Maurice Rainey, "that we felt we had to do in order to emphasize our grievances."

V.

WINTER OF
OUR DISCONTENT

Most readers who have read this far already have a fair idea of what has happened this quarter. Even so, a quick recap of the events will not hurt anyone.

On Friday, January 10, the BSU held a rally in support of the students arrested at San Fernando Valley State College. During the rally, several of the speakers used a four-letter word and a derivative of it in a manner incidental to their speeches.

Hardly anyone present thought much about it, and nothing much happened until the following Tuesday when sheriff's deputies, acting on an obscenity complaint from geology professor Donald Weaver, came to the offices of KCSB and asked general manager Michael Bloom for tapes of the rally.

Shortly after, several members of the BSU got wind of the deputies and came

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immediately to the station offices, asking for the tapes. This left Bloom in the middle between the BSU, to whom he had a commitment of trust, and the sheriff's deputies, who represented the law.

Bloom solved his problem by refusing to give the tapes to either party. Then the deputies, having realized they had a warrant for BSU member Vallejo Ryan Kennedy (on a probation violation), arrested him and left. (The tapes, which the district attorney's office later claimed it would not have needed anyway, were subsequently and inexplicably lost.)

The BSU and the fledgling Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), incensed over what they considered a violation of the campus' freedom from outside interference, immediately called a rally for the next day "to explain and define the uses of obscenity."

The consequent "Obscenity Rally" was notable chiefly for its tone of mockery and its allegation that the complaint was being used for political harassment. A mass spell-out of The Word was led by former cheerleader Randy Stewart, and at the end Maurice Rainey led the crowd in a one-word "statement of solidarity"—no doubt should be in anyone's mind as to what the one word was.

Things were fairly quiet again Thursday, until word was received that night that a warrant had been sworn out for Rashidi on a charge of "singing an obscene song, ballad, or words" at the first (January 10) rally.

Immediately, the BSU, SDS, and UMAS called a rally for Friday noon to protest the political harassment of Rashidi, who is one of the BSU's most vocal leaders.

Standing under a banner which proclaimed, "You Shall Not Take Him," the various speakers called for, among other things, an immediate policy statement from the administration concerning police on campus and an end to "political harassment" of speakers in the Free Speech Area. They closed with a call for a rally Monday, January 20.

The leaders of what had become the United Front (U.F.) decided over the weekend to hold the rally in Campbell Hall, because of heavy rain. Professor Jamsheed Mavalwala was scheduled for a class at that time, but he agreed late Sunday night to cancel it.

An expanded list of demands was drawn up, including some which had been on the October 14 list. The Chancellor was invited to attend this "open meeting," although few of those planning it thought he would show up.

It was only after long consultations with student, faculty and administrative advisors, lasting until the wee hours of Monday morning, that the Chancellor decided to attend, although still in question up until the time he entered the

There is a revolution underway — but as the blacks and chicanos repeatedly stress, it need not be a violent revolution. Their point is that there will be a revolution, and the way it comes about is immaterial to the final verdict.

hall. He did not want to legitimize a mass meeting in a classroom area, but he felt that he could not ignore student feeling of such magnitude.

He still felt, even though he did attend, that his participation in the meeting would have to be held to one hour, so that hopefully only one class would be cancelled. He thought that he would be given time to make a short statement and then answer questions. The United Front, not expecting him to even attend, had planned their own program which lasted 50 minutes.

After the U.F. presentation, the Chancellor apparently attempted to give some background to his own position, by speaking at length about his trip to Russia. He left at 1 p.m., with many students shouting that he had left the meeting because he couldn't run it his own way.

The issue of political harassment cooled somewhat because Weaver had been convinced by A.S. Executive officers Paul Sweet, George Kieffer and Jim Ashlock that he should withdraw his complaint. The issue boiled down to the demand for an Ethnic Studies Department; the Chancellor said that because of budget limitations the going was slow, and the third world students charged that he had not tried very hard.

Tuesday, another indoor rally was held, this time in the Program Lounge of the UCen. The conclusion reached seemed to be that although the structural limitations of the chancellor position should be recognized, pressure should still be brought upon him to make whatever changes he could.

Also at this rally came the announcement of the first in a series of arrests of BSU leaders on charges of possessing stolen goods, this time on the persons of Andrew Jackson and Barry Edwards.

On Wednesday, the Chancellor met with professors Otey Scruggs and Jesus Chavarria, who told him, according to the Chancellor, that "they conceived of the events then transpiring as representing a collision course between

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the United Front and the administration." To forestall such a confrontation, the two professors and the Chancellor decided that private meetings between the administration and U.F. would be the best way to resolve "highly volatile issues under primarily reasoned rather than primarily political circumstances."

The first of these meetings took place on the next Monday, January 27, under the terms agreed to by both parties: basically, no publicity until the talks had been concluded.

This led to restiveness on the part of the many students who had been involved in supporting the United Front. The Chancellor at one point held a press conference at which he refused to discuss either the demands themselves or the talks.

This angered some of the students present, many of whom spoke against the idea of secret meetings between the administration and anybody. "If we didn't come here to discuss the issues," asked one student, "then what did we come here for?"

The talks continued almost daily, with varying degrees of fruitfulness (both sides agreed there had been some

progress, but that it was tough sledding all the way).

Then on the morning of February 3, one of the "crisis Mondays" which have become common this quarter, six leaders of the BSU were arrested on a total of 30 felonies and five misdemeanors, after having been served with an early-morning eviction notice at their apartment. Among those arrested were two of the three BSU negotiators, Maurice Rainey, chairman of the BSU, and Rashidi (James Earl Johnson).

The charges ranged from burglary and possession of stolen property to possession of a concealable weapon and assault, plus the usual (in Isla Vista) marijuana possession and paraphernalia charges.

Added to this was the fact that entry had been gained on the strength of a writ of possession, a type of eviction notice which enables police to remove

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the people from the premises and confiscate all property, technically so that the property of the owner can be separated from that of the tenant. In this case, it was seized as evidence for the charges. It has since turned out that there are questionable aspects to the writ itself, which could possibly disqualify the whole case.

There were enough questions about the case to convince the United Front that here indeed was a case of "political harassment." An immediate and emergency noon rally was called, from which approximately 500 students went to the courthouse.

The next day the same procedure was followed, this time for the arraignment of the six, of whom one was referred to juvenile court, one was released on bail, two had bail set at five thousand dollars, and two were kept until the court could decide whether or not their probation had been violated.

An Associated Students bail fund was set up, which collected only about \$400. Members of the community, however, (most notably Mrs. Katherine Peake) put up enough money to have all six out on bail by late Friday evening.

The BSU was getting hassled: they had postponed the negotiations with the administration Monday afternoon, and now they felt that the full weight of The System was coming down upon them. Rainey said on that chilly Friday that he did not know what was going to happen—"It's going to be a thinking weekend."

The sheriff's department, which felt that its action in the Monday morning arrests had been misrepresented, said in the following Monday's EL GAUCHO that the use of shotguns in making the eviction had been "absolutely necessary," claiming that the occupants had said they would destroy the apartment before they would leave.

The BSU reacted to the statement immediately. "This just legitimizes any brutality they might feel necessary in the future," declared Rainey. "If they kill one of us, then they will just say, 'Oh, well, he was really a dangerous criminal!'"

Protests growing out of the eviction of Dalton Nezey, a black athlete who lived at the House of Lords, led to the next step: a rent strike against Isla Vista



Realty, which manages the building. The strike was called by United Front leaders at a press conference on February 15.

The following Monday (February 17) a crowd of approximately 1500 students marched from the Free Speech Area to the Administration Building, where they demanded that the administration immediately reopen negotiations with the United Front. The U.F. had by now added "complicity between the administration and Isla Vista realty companies" to their charges against the administration.

The supporters of the United Front then marched back to the University Center, which they immediately declared "liberated," and used it to set up the Free University, which subsequently became the New Free University (NFU).

"We start from the premise that there is no University," said sociology professor Howard Boughey. "We will be the founding fathers of the new University and ignore the confounding mothers of the old."

The first day of the NFU was part carnival, part bull session, and part confusion. Once it became clear that authorities were not going to try to eject the liberators, the work of organizing a free university became paramount.

Committees of all sorts were set up—maintenance, communications, steering, and so forth. The leaders of the NFU claimed they were now the legitimate authorities in the UCen, and proceeded to alternately work with the UCen Governing Board and confront it defiantly.

It soon became apparent that two alternating streams of consciousness were present. One group, primarily United Front people, wanted to use the UCen as a base from which to apply pressure for the demands. The other, which became the NFU, essentially did not care about the demands so much as it was interested in the free university ideal.

Although the United Front and the New Free University had worked together from the start, it became apparent with the withdrawal of UMAS from the United Front on February 21 that all was not harmonious. UMAS' statement of withdrawal said only that "the struggle to obtain justice for the Chicano community had always been,

"This institution is racist in the sense that it is not relevant to blacks or chicanos."

and will continue to be, essentially a Chicano struggle."

Through all this activity, lasting now for a full quarter, certain functions have had to go on as if nothing had happened. And yet, if the aim of the United Front members has been to force attention to their demands by disruption of normal activities, they have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams.

As Associated Students President Paul Sweet said, "It's impossible to get anything else done. Every Monday I walk in here, thinking I'm going to get some of my other work done, and I'm hit in the face with a crisis."

It is certainly impossible to have

anything like a "business as usual" policy, and yet many students keep on asking, "Why don't you just ignore them? They'll go away."

The point is, as most leaders of both the administration and student government believe, they won't "go away." Among other things, most of those under attack believe too strongly in what the minorities are asking for to ignore them.

The Chancellor recognizes this, as he indicated in his strong speech to the Regents two weeks ago; yet the Chancellor can do nothing alone. Full implementation of the demands would require commitment to the goals of the United Front by the Academic Senate, the Regents, the Sheriff's office, and the California Co-ordinating Council of Higher Education, among others. Some of these are possible, while others are next to impossible.

It has all made for a rather tense quarter. The threat of violence is always present, basically because enough people on both sides feel that there is a threat of violence: the prophecy may yet be self-fulfilling.

VI.

WHO KNOWS/ CARES/THINKS

If the forces of history seem to have converged on UCSB all at once, all at one place, it is only symbolic of what is happening all over the country—indeed all over the world.

There is a revolution underway—but as the blacks and chicanos repeatedly stress, it need not be a violent revolution. Their point is that there will be a revolution, and the way it comes about is immaterial to the final verdict. They obviously would much prefer it to be non-violent, but they are not staking the future of its success on this precept.

One can expect that things will not ease off next quarter, either. Instead he should expect that the burden will be shifted from the administration to the students and faculty. Associated Students elections will come in the middle of the quarter, and it is almost certain that United Front leaders will try to broaden their base of support in this way.

In actuality, events at Santa Barbara have been quieter than at other schools. The administration has shown an almost surprising reluctance to use its power to blow the dissidents right out of school. If it continues to use this restraint while moving forward on any number of programs which the school needs, then the atmosphere might remain quiet.

All of which is not to say that UCSB will ever return to surferdom. The demands are not ends in themselves, but means to the more equitable society which is the minorities' goal. UCSB will continue to be in a constant state of flux, and hopefully will prove to be even more dynamic in the future.

This article has of necessity not been exhaustive. Each of the events might have been an article in itself, but nevertheless, we felt that an overview of the situation would be helpful in understanding the Winter Quarter at UCSB, 1969.

Winter of Our Discontent



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The events of the last quarter—arrests, demands, confrontations, liberations, alliances, and so on—have left students, professors and administrators confused. Something is happening that has never before happened at UCSB, and the University community is not at all sure whether it likes it or not.

The following article, written by Editor-in-Chief Jim Bettinger, is intended to give a background to what has led up to these events, as well as explain them more fully and give some prediction of the future—both immediate and long-range.

I. PROLOGUE

Perhaps one of the most regrettable aspects of contemporary educational thought is a willingness to believe that student unrest "can't happen here." So immersed in local matters can the University community become that when students and some faculty at old Siwash, like those everywhere, begin to voice some disapproval of The System, the response is all too often either indignant disbelief, or a panicked conclusion that one's own situation is a carbon-copy of every negative aspect of every other demonstration in the country.

This can mean, in the first instance, an ignorance of what is going on among students until frustration has polarized attitudes beyond repair, and in the second, the calling of police (Columbia), the National Guard (Wisconsin), mass suspensions (Berkeley), and a police state on campus (San Francisco State).

Why, then are there no troops at UCSB, and why is there concurrently a lessening of tension for perhaps the first time since the first week of the quarter?

The answers to those questions, as one might expect, are filled with the complexities and minor turning points which characterize campus politics in this period of social revolution on the campuses.

To explain the situation fully and logically would take a book-length article, for it would have to include the American histories of both the blacks and the chicanos. The sociology of slavery, the wresting of land from Mexico, the emotional and social crisis of Reconstruction and its close, the migration to the cities and the formation of urban ghettos and barrios, the civil rights movement, Black and Brown Power—these are historical factors which have more relevance to the lives of black and brown students than do the American Revolution, the Compromise of 1850, or any of the many wars we have fought, yet American education has dealt only with the events and trends which have been important to the white, middle-class majority of American students. This very lack is a basic part of minority student protests against the educational establishment.

But a short history of the past Winter Quarter of 1969, even keeping it within the confines of the University of California, would have to go back to the Free Speech Movement (FSM) of 1964 at Berkeley. To keep it directly related to UCSB, one would have to go back at least as far as the fall of 1965, when Maurice Rainey, chairman of the Black Student Union (BSU) and Joel (pronounced hoEYL) Garcia, chairman of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), both entered this school—Rainey as a junior college transfer and Garcia as a freshman.

Such a history would have to deal with the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) which began with a group of white liberal students, under the direction of Dean of Students Lyle G. Reynolds, writing

to a small number of black high school students who had been personally recommended by high school administrators, and telling them of the financial and academic aids which could be available to them under the program.

No special provisions in any philosophical way were made for these students. As one administrator said recently, "We just brought them here, thinking that would be enough." "We were all caught up in the white liberal bag of helping 'Negroes' become assimilated into the white middle class," said one of the students involved. Remember, this was early 1965, when there were no cries for Black Power, no Black Panthers, no Black Student Unions, and Stokely Carmichael still said "Negroes."

The short history would also have to include the taxpayers of California, both in their usual sense and in another, more democratic, sense which is not often referred to. With the FSM in December of 1964, one can trace public favor toward the University running

The University suddenly discovered that its relevance and legitimacy were being vehemently questioned by the very students whose presence was considered a symbol of the institution's social conscience.

almost straight downhill. Once again, showing the rest of the nation the way, Californians were in 1964 and early 1965 the forerunners in a new conservatism which began to show itself in the Republican Presidential nomination of Barry Goldwater.

Anyone who looked around could see that the radical campus movement was definitely not massively supported by the outside world. Seeing the University as primarily a finishing school for the rough resources of the state, most citizens could not comprehend a group—any group—of students questioning the very basis of that process.

The legal and educational penalties against those who had participated in the FSM were only a beginning. In the fall of 1965, politicians and editorial writers around the state vehemently objected to the use of the Berkeley campus for the organization of Vietnam Day on October 15. City and county officials and the police, this time joined by the Hell's Angels, combined to harass the protestors, at various times spraying tear gas into crowds and turning sprinklers on those who were lying on the lawns in public parks.

The first time voters got a chance to get back at the University, they did so with vehemence. Actor Ronald Reagan, running on a strong anti-University platform, snowed incumbent Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown by over a million votes; most people have a pretty good idea of what has happened since then—budget cuts have become routine, the Board of Regents has become a political battleground, and so forth.

At any rate, the University became hampered by budgetary and other stringencies which prevented it from trying to do anything new at all. "This is the year (1968-69) that all our inadequacies were to have been corrected," Dale Tomlinson, the Chancellor's top budgetary advisor, said last year when the Governor presented his version of the University budget. "Now we'll just have to wait"—a statement which has an all-too-familiar ring since the beginning of the Reagan years and an even more sinister sound to the minorities.

Then, too, the short history could not ignore the changing student movement in the United States. Dating from the FSM, things have changed. Some of the issues remain the same, such as the concept of free speech and its inclusion of advocacy of civil disobedience, but much has changed as well. The student movement went through a period of protesting discrimination, then through a fragmented and sometimes predictable anti-war period, and now has really entered a revolutionary stage, where working hand-in-hand with The System to achieve a certain set of goals is not regarded as a viable alternative.

The aim now is to restructure society, not to reform it. A kind of utopian talk fills the air wherever students gather—a feeling that "if we just get our shit together, we can remake this world into a beautiful place."

Many of the more radical student leaders openly declare that they adhere to a policy of the ends justifying the means. Black graduate student Ernest Gambrell summed up the feeling last year at the Memorial Convocation for Dr. Martin Luther King when he said, in reference to King's tactics of non-violence, "He was concerned about the souls of black people, and wanted to prevent them from becoming as ugly as those of white America."

"But we say we are willing to sacrifice the souls of this generation of black people for the souls of the generations to come."

One cannot omit the demonstrations at the Pentagon, at Chicago, or on Independence Day in Berkeley, either, for here (and in countless other less publicized instances), young idealized kids came face-to-face with the reality of the police. "Oakland cops are the most effective radicalizing force in America today," commented one UCSB professor after the July 4 confrontation in Berkeley. "Every time a liberal goes



out to demonstrate and gets his head beaten, he comes back a radical."

These are some things a Complete History Of The Winter Quarter At UCSB would have to examine in depth. This is impossible, and so we present two areas which are a little more specific before we get into the actual events of the Winter Quarter: the black revolutionary movement, and The System, the personification of which inevitably becomes the University.

II.

THE THIRD WORLD

Nigger. Chicano. Believe it or not, the fluctuating use of these words may well be the best symbolization of the third world revolution.

The third world is a loose amalgamation of people of color (black, brown, yellow, and red) which has come to be the protagonist in many of the battles of society. It rejects, by way of explaining its name, the "first world" of capitalism and the "second world" of institutionalized communism, and tends to represent the rest of the globe—Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Nigger" is the degrading term which the Southern white applied to the black man, of course, but its importance lies much deeper than that. Throughout the black man's forced stay in America, there has been much confusion over what he should be known as, varying with what his position in society was. When he was the benign, harmless slave, he was a darky. When he became a freedman after the Civil War, he was either a blackie or colored. When the civil rights movement aimed at giving him some dignity in the white society, he was a Negro. And now, when he is becoming revolutionary and dangerous, he is either black or Afro-American.

Part of the point is that these changes show within the black revolution as well as in white nomenclature. The thrust now is to identity and culture realization, hence the stark "black" and the rich "Afro-American."

And a great part of that heritage lies in the racism which America has foisted upon the black man ever since his chained feet first stepped onto this continent—blacks cannot forget the word "nigger."

"Chicano" is much the same case. The term has meant humiliation in the past for Mexican-Americans, but now, as with the blacks and "nigger," its use is a badge of courage and honesty.

Both are necessary in the struggle for autonomy—the forces opposing it are well-entrenched, and the monolithic and complex web of racism sometimes seems overpowering.

(To that you reply, "Well, I just don't believe there is that much racism in America." Check your definition again. One should not refer to overt discrimination, although there is plenty of that, but to the sub- and unconscious attitudes of whites. How would you react, honestly, to a black chancellor?)

The civil rights movement failed for black students. It failed when it did not move fast enough; it failed when it did not take into account the largely separate history and society of black people.

It failed, blacks feel, when they let others define their protests. Stokely Carmichael often quotes a section from "Alice in Wonderland": "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be master, that's all." In an April, 1967 article, Eldridge Cleaver quoted Carmichael as explaining the problem of definition this way:

"During the civil rights movement, black leaders would say: 'We want to integrate.' And then white people would come along and define what integration means. They'd say: 'You want to integrate? That means that you want to marry my daughter.'

"What the Negro leaders had actually meant was that they wanted more jobs, better schools, housing, and an end to police brutality, and things like that. But when the whites defined integration as meaning that blacks wanted to marry their daughters, these leaders lost out by reacting to the white definition.

"When I say Black Power, I know exactly what I'm talking about. But the white man runs up to me and says, 'Black Power: that means violence, doesn't it? I refuse to react to that. I know what I'm talking about. If the white man doesn't know what I'm talking about, that's his problem, because black people understand me and that is who I'm talking to anyway.'

Discovery of this led to the realization that a large part of the struggle was the definition of self; hence, the cultural renaissance on the part of black America, with its naturals and dashikis. Hence, the demands for autonomy, for they reasoned that the definition of self had to come not just in the superficial matters of dress, but in the more basic societal areas of economics and politics.

With this came the need on the part of blacks to put the Man down. And when this feeling, which lies deep in the minds of every black man, was articulated by groups such as the Black Panther Party, every black could in varying degrees identify with it.

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Panthers, tells in the "Biography of Huey P. Newton" (Minister of Defense) of an

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be master, that's all."

incident in which Newton confronted an Oakland policeman with the fact that he wasn't going to stand for any harassment. A crowd of blacks gathered around and in the Panther office to watch:

"Little kids on bicycles go inside the office. We had a big, wide, clear picture window. Niggers just go all over the front of the window, man. They'd lean on it, kiss the window, just to listen to this shit. And they would be hollering, 'Go 'head on, brother,' and, 'Run it on down. You know where it's at,' and 'I can dig it,' all the while Huey was letting these pigs know where it was at."

Black and brown students became the revolutionary forces in educational institutions all over the country. The prime motivating factor in this became the relevance of the education they were (and in most cases were not) getting. UCSB history professor Jesus Chavarria, an advisor to the United Mexican-American Students on this campus, put it this way: "This is the definition we (the Chancellor's Commission to Investigate Problems of Racism) have operated under: This institution is racist in the sense that it is not relevant to blacks and chicanos."

Demands made upon universities and colleges (and in some cases high schools) were similar (ethnic studies controlled by people of the third world, massive influxes of third world students, and so on), not because of any nation-wide conspiracy, as politicians quickly decided, but because the needs of black and brown people across the nation are similar.

The University suddenly discovered that its relevance and legitimacy were being vehemently questioned by the very students whose presence was considered a symbol of the institution's social conscience.

III.

THE UNIVERSITY

It has been said of the American state university that only there could so many scholars, removed in so many ways from the pragmatics of society, find so many ways to epitomize that society.

A good deal of the truth in this statement is to be found in the fact that no one ever seems able to agree on just what the role of the University is. The University of California has set up for itself the tri-partite goal of research (the creation of new knowledge), teaching (the passing on of knowledge to generations entering society), and public service (the application of both newly created and retained knowledge for the good of society).

The last area, public service, is uniquely an American phenomena, and one which leads to most of the conflict within the University itself.

During World War II, the armed services of the United States used for the first time the scientific facilities and brainpower of the nation's institutions of higher education. As most people realize, the University of California was one of the leaders in this change, most noticeably in its participation in the Manhattan Project.

At the conclusion of the war, the universities, having grown used to the large appropriations for research they could obtain by accepting government grants, were loath to cut back to a pre-war level of support. With the Cold War and its accompanying paranoia, the defense establishment had no real wish to cut down on its spending either, and so the bonds between universities and the government were born.

As one can see, this move could easily be justified in terms of both the research and public service goals of the University; moreover, the sheer symbiotic efficiency of the arrangement over-rode any other objections.

"Public service" has included many other activities of the University as well. It is no secret that the University, especially through the Davis campus, has made many improvements in the agricultural industry, most of which have been of direct benefit to the growers and few of which have noticeably improved the lot of the farm workers, the large majority of which are chicano.

This is symptomatic of much of the University's ventures into the outside world. In large part, it has existed to serve business interests in the state, if for no



other reason than until recently, it was taken for granted that business was the rock upon which the state of California stood.

Moreover, it was easiest to serve these interests. Businessmen can come to the University, explain very articulately what they need, and propose how to get it.

The University did not itself attempt to seek ways of aiding those citizens who might not be quite so articulate in expressing their needs—for that matter, neither did society as a whole.

What is happening now is that those citizens, who can loosely be characterized as the have-nots, are beginning to say, "If this University is supposed to be serving the people, then it ought to serve the needs of the poor as well as those of Standard Oil." They feel that not only have the resources of the University not been used to help them, they have been used to help the very forces which they see as inimical to a decent life.

People within the University are beginning to see this as well. President Charles Hitch's Urban Crisis Program is the first really official response to a lack which has lain in the University for 100 years.

But unfortunately, those within the University do not run the University. The University of California is officially run by the Board of Regents, and the Board is made up of businessmen. Material collected for an in-depth report on the Regents by EG City Editor Becca Wilson (to be published next quarter in EL GAUCHO) indicates that the members of the Board represent companies with assets of at least \$15.5 billion.

Under such circumstances, one does not have to charge the Regents with a conflict of interest so much as he must point out



"We start from the premise that there is no University. We will be the founding fathers of the new University and ignore the con-founding mothers of the old."

IV.

AUTUMN AND
ITS PROPHECY

The convergence of these forces (the third world revolution and the University) seems to have come to a head this year. Across the land, Black Student Unions and United Mexican-American Student groups, many of which were not even in existence at this time last year, have confronted their educational institutions with charges, demands, and strikes in an effort to make the institutions relevant to them.

At UCSB, the Fall Quarter of this year



that such a background cannot help but give this officially responsible body a predominantly business-oriented attitude toward the direction of the University.

The University is also overcome with that bane of every massive institution, the bureaucracy. Forms to fill out, job descriptions to apply, endless running from this office to that clerk—these are all routine occurrences for anyone involved in that great, unwieldy force which is the American institution.

There is another aspect of the institutionalization process which too many people tend to overlook. This is the defensive nature of any institution. Someone once said that "you become a conservative the moment you have something to conserve," and nothing ever proved this better than an institution. In some ways, the most difficult change of all may be the change initiated from within. People get to positions of power by the rules of the game; once they are there, they are reluctant to change the rules.

The theoretical head of this mass bureaucracy is the Chancellor, yet in a real sense, he is almost powerless. The Chancellor exists, as does the head of any institution, to give direction and make decisions.

Power is instead diffused throughout the University. The Academic Senate, through power delegated to it by the Regents, has control over the content of courses. The Associated Students Government ostensibly represents the students, and has control over student activities. Yet in this area, the Chancellor retains responsibility—he could, for example, dissolve the student government, as Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns did last year.

Chancellor Cheadle, however, does not operate this way. He has a great aversion to being known as a "tyrant" and has said, "If you're going to give someone the responsibility for something (such as student government), then you should be willing to live with his decisions. You can't say, 'You have the responsibility until you make the wrong decision'."

The University in many ways is its own little society.

The trick in getting something done within its boundaries is to learn its sociology—who to see, how to propose something, and so forth. Without such a background (the acquisition of which can take the better part of a student's four years), it is impossible to accomplish anything.

was barely one day old when black athletes brought charges of institutional racism against the Athletic Department. The Chancellor immediately referred the matter to the Intercollegiate Athletic Commission (IAC), where it soon became apparent that the real target was not the microcosm of the Athletic Department, but the microcosm of the University.

A statement by the BSU said as much: "While such a hearing may solve the Black athletes' specific grievances, it is almost certain that it will not root out the basic originator and perpetuator of Black athletes', and indeed Black students', specific grievances. The cause of the problems of Black people on the UCSB campus is racism... that is reflected in the lack of representative Black people in authoritative positions on the UCSB campus... that stems from the dearth of a vent for the continuous expression of Black academic and cultural motif."

The BSU boycotted the IAC hearings, saying that because several members of the Athletic Department were on the IAC, it would only be a whitewash: "A judge will never find himself guilty."

Then came Malcolm X Hall, which was the end of an era for the Campus By The Sea. Before dawn on October 14, twelve members of the BSU entered North Hall, quickly barricaded the doors, and said they would not come out until a list of eight demands was met. They further said they would destroy the computers in the building if any police were used to forcibly eject them.

The set of demands read as follows:

- "1. The immediate dismissal of 'Cactus' Jack Curtice and Art Gallon.
- "2. The development of a college of Black Studies, with Black instructors and a graduate program in Afro-American Studies.
- "3. The immediate appointment of a commission designed to investigate problems resulting from personal and individual racism.
- "4. More Black people in administrative and managerial positions in accordance with President Hitch's directive of May 1968.

"This just legitimizes any violence they might feel necessary in the future. If they kill one of us, then they will just say, 'Oh, well, he was really a dangerous criminal.'"

"5. A Black female counselor for the EOP program.

"6. The hiring of Black coaches and Black personnel in the athletic department.

"7. The ending of harassment of all athletes who signed and/or supported the petition.

"8. The development of a community relations staff with an office located in the community whose function would be to facilitate the university's role in aiding and assisting members of the community."

While up to 1,000 students gathered outside the building, Robert Mason and John Barnes of the BSU met with the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor Stephen Goodspeed, and others to discuss the demands. The first was rejected immediately. At about 2 p.m. the Chancellor released the following statement:

"The following points were agreed upon by those present (in the discussions):

"1. The immediate appointment of a commission designed to investigate problems resulting from any personal or individual racism. Members of the commission will include representatives from concerned members of our community.

"2. The development of a college of Black Studies is a matter for study by the Committee on Educational Policy of the Academic Senate. The committee is now studying the possible initiation of a Black Studies major.

"3. President Hitch's directive of May 1968 is reaffirmed as it affects this campus and implementation is already underway.

"4. The EOP will have a Black female counselor as soon as those responsible can arrange it.

"5. The appointment of Black coaches or Black personnel in the athletic department will be accomplished whenever this becomes possible.

"6. We do not condone harassment of any students, whatever the color.

"7. The development of a community relations staff whose function would be to facilitate the University's role in assisting members of the community will be actively prosecuted."

While the BSU was inside the building, a carnival atmosphere prevailed. Although there were one or two incidents of white students who opposed the action trying to break into the building, generally there was no violence.

The Associated Students Judicial Council recommended that the students involved be given suspended suspensions (which means that if a further violation is committed, suspension is automatic). Although they had demanded complete amnesty, after the Blacks heard of this decision, they left the building at 5 p.m. One hour later, the Chancellor accepted

"You can't say, 'You have the responsibility until you make the wrong decision.'"

this recommendation and placed the students on suspended suspension for the remainder of the Fall Quarter.

If the atmosphere for the spectators had been gay, it was filled with tension for those involved. The administration took a big chance early in the day when it not only kept outside police off campus, but even removed campus police from the scene in order to keep matters from escalating.

Waiting in the Chancellor's office for his decision, two of the black leaders broke down and cried. For the blacks, it was not a happy affair; it was something, in the words of Maurice Rainey, "that we felt we had to do in order to emphasize our grievances."

V.

WINTER OF
OUR DISCONTENT

Most readers who have read this far already have a fair idea of what has happened this quarter. Even so, a quick recap of the events will not hurt anyone.

On Friday, January 10, the BSU held a rally in support of the students arrested at San Fernando Valley State College. During the rally, several of the speakers used a four-letter word and a derivative of it in a manner incidental to their speeches.

Hardly anyone present thought much about it, and nothing much happened until the following Tuesday when sheriff's deputies, acting on an obscenity complaint from geology professor Donald Weaver, came to the offices of KCSB and asked general manager Michael Bloom for tapes of the rally.

Shortly after, several members of the BSU got wind of the deputies and came

"... we say we are willing to sacrifice the souls of this generation of black people for the souls of the generations to come."

immediately to the station offices, asking for the tapes. This left Bloom in the middle between the BSU, to whom he had a commitment of trust, and the sheriff's deputies, who represented the law.

Bloom solved his problem by refusing to give the tapes to either party. Then the deputies, having realized they had a warrant for BSU member Vallejo Ryan Kennedy (on a probation violation), arrested him and left. (The tapes, which the district attorney's office later claimed it would not have needed anyway, were subsequently and inexplicably lost.)

The BSU and the fledgling Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), incensed over what they considered a violation of the campus' freedom from outside interference, immediately called a rally for the next day "to explain and define the uses of obscenity."

The consequent "Obscenity Rally" was notable chiefly for its tone of mockery and its allegation that the complaint was being used for political harassment. A mass spell-out of The Word was led by former cheerleader Randy Stewart, and at the end Maurice Rainey led the crowd in a one-word "statement of solidarity"—no doubt should be in anyone's mind as to what the one word was.

Things were fairly quiet again Thursday, until word was received that night that a warrant had been sworn out for Rashidi on a charge of "singing an obscene song, ballad, or words" at the first (January 10) rally.

Immediately, the BSU, SDS, and UMAS called a rally for Friday noon to protest the political harassment of Rashidi, who is one of the BSU's most vocal leaders.

Standing under a banner which proclaimed, "You Shall Not Take Him," the various speakers called for, among other things, an immediate policy statement from the administration concerning police on campus and an end to "political harassment" of speakers in the Free Speech Area. They closed with a call for a rally Monday, January 20.

The leaders of what had become the United Front (U.F.) decided over the weekend to hold the rally in Campbell Hall, because of heavy rain. Professor Jamshed Mavalwala was scheduled for a class at that time, but he agreed late Sunday night to cancel it.

An expanded list of demands was drawn up, including some which had been on the October 14 list. The Chancellor was invited to attend this "open meeting," although few of those planning it thought he would show up.

It was only after long consultations with student, faculty and administrative advisors, lasting until the wee hours of Monday morning, that the Chancellor decided to attend, although still in question up until the time he entered the

There is a revolution underway — but as the blacks and chicanos repeatedly stress, it need not be a violent revolution. Their point is that there will be a revolution, and the way it comes about is immaterial to the final verdict.

hall. He did not want to legitimize a mass meeting in a classroom area, but he felt that he could not ignore student feeling of such magnitude.

He still felt, even though he did attend, that his participation in the meeting would have to be held to one hour, so that hopefully only one class would be cancelled. He thought that he would be given time to make a short statement and then answer questions. The United Front, not expecting him to even attend, had planned their own program which lasted 50 minutes.

After the U.F. presentation, the Chancellor apparently attempted to give some background to his own position, by speaking at length about his trip to Russia. He left at 1 p.m., with many students shouting that he had left the meeting because he couldn't run it his own way.

The issue of political harassment cooled somewhat because Weaver had been convinced by A.S. Executive officers Paul Sweet, George Kieffer and Jim Ashlock that he should withdraw his complaint. The issue boiled down to the demand for an Ethnic Studies Department; the Chancellor said that because of budget limitations the going was slow, and the third world students charged that he had not tried very hard.

Tuesday, another indoor rally was held, this time in the Program Lounge of the UCen. The conclusion reached seemed to be that although the structural limitations of the chancellor position should be recognized, pressure should still be brought upon him to make whatever changes he could.

Also at this rally came the announcement of the first in a series of arrests of BSU leaders on charges of possessing stolen goods, this time on the persons of Andrew Jackson and Barry Edwards.

On Wednesday, the Chancellor met with professors Otey Scruggs and Jesus Chavarria, who told him, according to the Chancellor, that "they conceived of the events then transpiring as representing a collision course between

"If we didn't come here to discuss the issues, what did we come here for?"

the United Front and the administration." To forestall such a confrontation, the two professors and the Chancellor decided that private meetings between the administration and U.F. would be the best way to resolve "highly volatile issues under primarily reasoned rather than primarily political circumstances."

The first of these meetings took place on the next Monday, January 27, under the terms agreed to by both parties: basically, no publicity until the talks had been concluded.

This led to restiveness on the part of the many students who had been involved in supporting the United Front. The Chancellor at one point held a press conference at which he refused to discuss either the demands themselves or the talks.

This angered some of the students present, many of whom spoke against the idea of secret meetings between the administration and anybody. "If we didn't come here to discuss the issues," asked one student, "then what did we come here for?"

The talks continued almost daily, with varying degrees of fruitfulness (both sides agreed there had been some

progress, but that it was tough sledding all the way).

Then on the morning of February 3, one of the "crisis Mondays" which have become common this quarter, six leaders of the BSU were arrested on a total of 30 felonies and five misdemeanors, after having been served with an early-morning eviction notice at their apartment. Among those arrested were two of the three BSU negotiators, Maurice Rainey, chairman of the BSU, and Rashidi (James Earl Johnson).

The charges ranged from burglary and possession of stolen property to possession of a concealable weapon and assault, plus the usual (in Isla Vista) marijuana possession and paraphernalia charges.

Added to this was the fact that entry had been gained on the strength of a writ of possession, a type of eviction notice which enables police to remove

"We were all caught up in the white liberal bag of helping 'Negroes' become assimilated into the white middle class."

the people from the premises and confiscate all property, technically so that the property of the owner can be separated from that of the tenant. In this case, it was seized as evidence for the charges. It has since turned out that there are questionable aspects to the writ itself, which could possibly disqualify the whole case.

There were enough questions about the case to convince the United Front that here indeed was a case of "political harassment." An immediate and emergency noon rally was called, from which approximately 500 students went to the courthouse.

The next day the same procedure was followed, this time for the arraignment of the six, of whom one was referred to juvenile court, one was released on bail, two had bail set at five thousand dollars, and two were kept until the court could decide whether or not their probation had been violated.

An Associated Students bail fund was set up, which collected only about \$400. Members of the community, however, (most notably Mrs. Katherine Peake) put up enough money to have all six out on bail by late Friday evening.

The BSU was getting hassled: they had postponed the negotiations with the administration Monday afternoon, and now they felt that the full weight of The System was coming down upon them. Rainey said on that chilly Friday that he did not know what was going to happen—"It's going to be a thinking weekend."

The sheriff's department, which felt that its action in the Monday morning arrests had been misrepresented, said in the following Monday's EL GAUCHO that the use of shotguns in making the eviction had been "absolutely necessary," claiming that the occupants had said they would destroy the apartment before they would leave.

The BSU reacted to the statement immediately. "This just legitimizes any brutality they might feel necessary in the future," declared Rainey. "If they kill one of us, then they will just say, 'Oh, well, he was really a dangerous criminal!'"

Protests growing out of the eviction of Dalton Nezey, a black athlete who lived at the House of Lords, led to the next step: a rent strike against Isla Vista



Realty, which manages the building. The strike was called by United Front leaders at a press conference on February 15.

The following Monday (February 17) a crowd of approximately 1500 students marched from the Free Speech Area to the Administration Building, where they demanded that the administration immediately reopen negotiations with the United Front. The U.F. had by now added "complicity between the administration and Isla Vista realty companies" to their charges against the administration.

The supporters of the United Front then marched back to the University Center, which they immediately declared "liberated," and used it to set up the Free University, which subsequently became the New Free University (NFU).

"We start from the premise that there is no University," said sociology professor Howard Boughey. "We will be the founding fathers of the new University and ignore the confounding mothers of the old."

The first day of the NFU was part carnival, part bull session, and part confusion. Once it became clear that authorities were not going to try to eject the liberators, the work of organizing a free university became paramount.

Committees of all sorts were set up—maintenance, communications, steering, and so forth. The leaders of the NFU claimed they were now the legitimate authorities in the UCen, and proceeded to alternately work with the UCen Governing Board and confront it defiantly.

It soon became apparent that two alternating streams of consciousness were present. One group, primarily United Front people, wanted to use the UCen as a base from which to apply pressure for the demands. The other, which became the NFU, essentially did not care about the demands so much as it was interested in the free university ideal.

Although the United Front and the New Free University had worked together from the start, it became apparent with the withdrawal of UMAS from the United Front on February 21 that all was not harmonious. UMAS' statement of withdrawal said only that "the struggle to obtain justice for the Chicano community had always been,

"This institution is racist in the sense that it is not relevant to blacks or chicanos."

and will continue to be, essentially a Chicano struggle."

Through all this activity, lasting now for a full quarter, certain functions have had to go on as if nothing had happened. And yet, if the aim of the United Front members has been to force attention to their demands by disruption of normal activities, they have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams.

As Associated Students President Paul Sweet said, "It's impossible to get anything else done. Every Monday I walk in here, thinking I'm going to get some of my other work done, and I'm hit in the face with a crisis."

It is certainly impossible to have

anything like a "business as usual" policy, and yet many students keep on asking, "Why don't you just ignore them? They'll go away."

The point is, as most leaders of both the administration and student government believe, they won't "go away." Among other things, most of those under attack believe too strongly in what the minorities are asking for to ignore them.

The Chancellor recognizes this, as he indicated in his strong speech to the Regents two weeks ago; yet the Chancellor can do nothing alone. Full implementation of the demands would require commitment to the goals of the United Front by the Academic Senate, the Regents, the Sheriff's office, and the California Co-ordinating Council of Higher Education, among others. Some of these are possible, while others are next to impossible.

It has all made for a rather tense quarter. The threat of violence is always present, basically because enough people on both sides feel that there is a threat of violence: the prophecy may yet be self-fulfilling.

VI.

WHO KNOWS/ CARES/THINKS

If the forces of history seem to have converged on UCSB all at once, all at one place, it is only symbolic of what is happening all over the country—indeed all over the world.

There is a revolution underway—but as the blacks and chicanos repeatedly stress, it need not be a violent revolution. Their point is that there will be a revolution, and the way it comes about is immaterial to the final verdict. They obviously would much prefer it to be non-violent, but they are not staking the future of its success on this precept.

One can expect that things will not ease off next quarter, either. Instead he should expect that the burden will be shifted from the administration to the students and faculty. Associated Students elections will come in the middle of the quarter, and it is almost certain that United Front leaders will try to broaden their base of support in this way.

In actuality, events at Santa Barbara have been quieter than at other schools. The administration has shown an almost surprising reluctance to use its power to blow the dissidents right out of school. If it continues to use this restraint while moving forward on any number of programs which the school needs, then the atmosphere might remain quiet.

All of which is not to say that UCSB will ever return to surferdom. The demands are not ends in themselves, but means to the more equitable society which is the minorities' goal. UCSB will continue to be in a constant state of flux, and hopefully will prove to be even more dynamic in the future.

This article has of necessity not been exhaustive. Each of the events might have been an article in itself, but nevertheless, we felt that an overview of the situation would be helpful in understanding the Winter Quarter at UCSB, 1969.