

Why Stick Your Neck Out Now?

WHY SHOULD I BE AMONGST THE FIRST TO GO ON STRIKE?

This question is often used as a smokescreen for those individuals unwilling to make the sacrifice of class attendance to support the much more vital implementation of the Third World programs. There would be no need to answer this question if the large numbers of students who support the demands, yet hide behind their anxiety that their fellow students won't, join with them, expressed their beliefs on the picket lines. If every supporter is unwilling to make the first step, then the just demands of the TWLF will never be met.

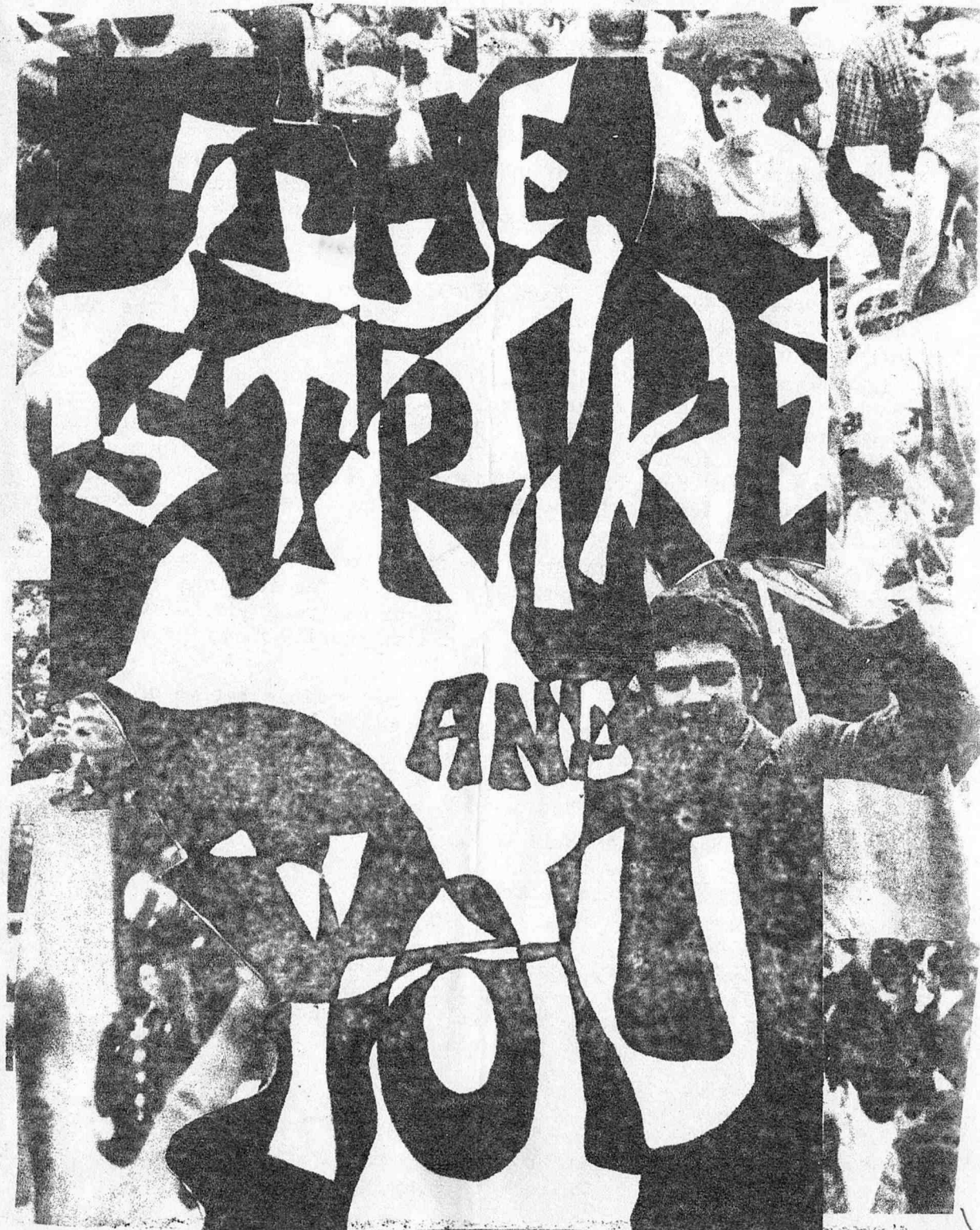
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TWLF
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STRIKE NOW!

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Errata: Demand 3a of the TWLF should read "Admission, financial aid and academic assistance for all Third World students who can learn and contribute."



KUC BERKELEY

THE THIRD WORLD COLLEGE

By Manuel Delgado

After three days of informational picketing, convocations, and speaking engagements, the Third World Liberation Front finds it necessary to clarify its position on certain functional aspects of the Third World College and the strike.

The questions most often raised are in regard to the structure of the Third World College, admission requirements, autonomy, and the role of Third World Students in the decision-making process of the College.

The Third World College is envisioned as a major academic sub-division of the University such as Agricultural Science, Chemistry, Engineering, Environmental Design and Letters and Sciences. It would accept students directly from high school or as transfers from other institutions and provide them with a thorough background in one or more of the ethnic study programs including familiarity with other related fields and general fields of knowledge.

Although a student enrolled in the Third World College might take courses in other colleges or schools, his degree requirements would be determined by the College's deans, department chairmen and faculty. Students and community leaders would participate equally at all levels of the decision making apparatus.

The Third World College will have its own administrative officials and its own regulations for obtaining degrees. ALL STUDENTS WILL BE EXPECTED TO SATISFY REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE ON THREE LEVELS: UNIVERSITY, THIRD WORLD COLLEGE, AND FIELD OF CONCENTRATION i.e., department of Black Studies, Chicano Studies and Asian Studies.

Admission to the Third World College will be based primarily on their potential to learn as determined by the Third World College's Admissions office. Measurements of potentiality will be designed to take into account the cultural differences and diverse life experiences of those applying for admission. Upon acceptance to the Third World College, applicants will receive financial academic assistance needed to insure their success in completing degree programs. Enrollment in the college will not be restricted solely to Third World people, but because of the nature and purpose of the College, Third World people will be given primary consideration.

Administrators, non-academic personnel, and faculty will be recruited and hired on the basis of their awareness of the problems facing Third World people and their ability to provide an educational experience relevant to the aspirations of Third World people.

Do TWLF demands lead to segregation

The TWLF has repeatedly stated that their intent is not to keep white people out of their program. It is simply a question of who is going to control the College and make the basic decisions on the functions and directions of the program.

The whole point of the TWLF program is to create institutions which can help Third World people develop the strength that will make racial animosity unnecessary. Clearly, as long as whites insist that they can tell Third World people how to study and define their own culture, or experience, racial animosity is only going to increase. Mutual self-respect (with white respect for Third World cultures most clearly lacking in the past) is the way to build good relationships.

The important thing that Third World people are interested in is not whether they can sit in the same classroom or live next door to a white person. Their concern is with whether they will have an opportunity to receive a decent education which is relevant to their needs and aspirations.

◆ Can the Strike Win? ◆

It is clear that the University can only maintain its legitimacy in the eyes of the community and the people of California when it can project the image that it is "educating the students." In order to do so, it must show that students are in class and carrying on the supposed activities of the University. Without the students in class, the University has no apparent legitimacy and can not maintain its support from the people.

It would not require a complete shutdown to establish the TWLF and the Strike Support groups in a position of power. At a certain point in a political confrontation, the growing support makes for a qualitatively different condition of political power. As classroom attendance declines, tremendous pressure is directed on both the Chancellor and the faculty to come to grips with the substantive issues involved in the strike. The struggle at S.F. State illustrates the fundamental fact that a significant number of people engaged in concerted action can ultimately transform the conditions of power.

Why Should Whites Support the Strike?

The TWLF demands will go a long way toward accomplishing self-determination for TW students. This is in the self-interest of white students both because it establishes the major principle of equal student participation and because it carves out a niche where this principle may become a reality.

But there is another and even more important point. Many whites **believe** that racism is detrimental only to those who are discriminated against. But whites are also victims of racism because it brings about a false perception of reality. This false perception of reality is in part created and reinforced by an education which distorts or omits the histories, experiences, contributions, and present conditions of TW people in this country. This is often done in a very subtle and perhaps unconscious way. TW students constantly notice it but white students rarely do.

The establishment of a TW College, which would be open to white students as well, will help to perpetuate a more honest and fuller perception of reality by correcting the distortions and filling in the omissions about TW peoples which characterize so many courses in the university. This can be a major step toward eliminating the racism which makes victims of us all.

The TWLF has taken the initiative for student self-determination and for the elimination of racism in education. Supporting the demands of the TWLF becomes, therefore, not simply an act of paternalistic altruism, but an act of self-interest. The struggle of the TW students is the struggle of all students. When the demands of the TWLF are realized, a major step toward the goal of relevant education for all students and toward significant social change will have been made.

The goal of the Third World College will be to provide an education of the highest quality while allowing students to retain their cultural identity, thus enabling them to return to their communities to live and to create an atmosphere conducive to political, social, and economic changes.

The demand for autonomy and control of the college by Third World people was necessary to retain the flexibility and latitude required to develop a meaningful curriculum and course content.

To allow the white majority to control the Third World College would result in its conformity to existing organizational and academic standards which have proven ineffective in fulfilling the pressing needs of our society. The role of the Third World College within the Third World communities, its political and economic orientation, and its definition of Third World people, will serve to counteract the domination over Third World people.

The Third World Liberation Front has established a progress committee to oversee implementation of the College. TWLF specifically requests of the administration, and the other powers that be, that they immediately establish the structure of the Third World College. The structure will consist of a declaration of the existence of the Third World College with guaranteed funding, open positions for co-deans associate

The Third World Liberation Front has established a progress committee to oversee implementation of the College. TWLF specifically requests of the administration, and the other powers that be, that they immediately establish the structure of the Third World College. The structure will consist of a declaration of the existence of the Third World College with guaranteed funding, open positions for co-deans, associate deans etc., co-admissions officers, co-personnel officers, and chairmen for the individual departments of Asian Studies, Black Studies, and Chicano Studies recruited and hired by Third World faculty, Third World Students and Third World Community leaders.

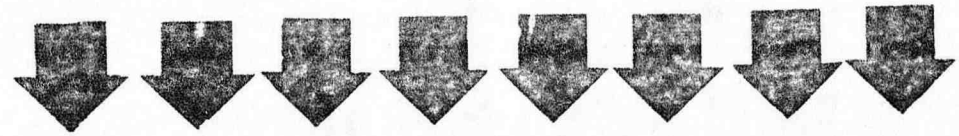
The further developments and implementation of the Third World College will be carried on by these administrators in conjunction with the Third World Liberation Front.

To further the education of the University community, TWLF asks Chancellor Heyns to declare a suspension of classes so that a university meeting might take place on Tuesday, January 28, 1969, and that there the TWLF proposals be discussed by TWLF students and faculty with those administrators and faculty members capable of implementing them. And we challenge Chancellor Heyns to a publically televised debate between himself and TWLF and Third World faculty members on the merits of the TWLF's proposals.

what does the TWLF want: → SELF-DETERMINATION ←

The TWLF is demanding the end of all forms of racism in the university. The end of racism requires first of all that Third World peoples are proportionately represented in terms of faculty, administrators and specific numbers of admissions. But the TWLF is demanding far more than that; they are demanding "self-determination". This means a recognition that racism in America has involved not only economic deprivation and the failure of white society to provide Third World people with a meaningful education, but also the systematic destruction of whole peoples and the deliberate attempt for more than three hundred years to obliterate the basic sense of dignity of entire groups of people. Dealing with racism also means facing up to racism on this level. It means recognizing not only the TWLF demands for jobs and admissions, but also recognizing that they are peoples with unique histories, cultures, problems and needs. It means recognition of the necessity for members of these unique cultures to define for themselves what it means to study these cultures. It means that one cannot take the position of the administration which expresses concern for Third World studies programs and then turns around and requires a structure of white control which denies the validity of those cultures by asserting the ability of whites to judge and plan for members of those cultures. How can one study in dignity one's own culture, a culture filled with white denials of its peoplehood, within structures that continue these same denials.

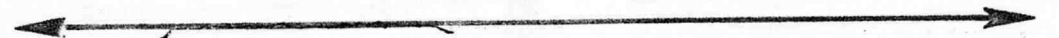
But there is more than this to the demand for self-determination. The Third World students are concerned that the university serve the needs of their communities. Much has been said about how the university has served the interests of the dominant white community and especially the business community. The TWLF is concerned with developing structures that move towards guaranteeing that the university will be involved in programs that directly benefit their oppressed Third World communities. Self-determination means that Third World people must have the power to set up such programs, that choices as to curriculum, faculty and administration will take into consideration not just academic requirements but also the needs of Third World communities and see that it is these community needs and not those of the white community which prevail. Is this an unjustified request? Clearly the needs of Third World communities are so great that every institution in America can be called upon to help. Since these needs have not risen accidentally, but are the result of hundreds of years of deliberate suppression, white institutions have a special responsibility to help.



Is A Strike Coercive?

We have been conditioned to accept the violence and force used by the privileged class of this society but not the force with which oppressed peoples react. Yes, the strike is coercive but so much more is the normal, non-strike functioning of the University. To speak of the coercive aspects of the strike as immoral while at the same time silently acquiescing to the planned violence of the society and the University's role in it, is in every sense hypocritical. For example the University's war and war-related research, (the H-bomb was designed here, for a start), and chemical-biological warfare research, directly implicate it in America's war against the Vietnamese people and other oppressed peoples in Latin America and Asia. The University's counter-insurgency research make this institution a partner to the government's ruthless oppression of ghetto rebellions. The University has aided the growers in fighting the grape-strikers. Furthermore, the very resistance of the University to the creation of a Third World College and Third World-controlled enrollment makes it a partner to the oppression forced on the unprivileged classes of society.

To participate in the strike is, admittedly, to participate in an act of coercion but it is one very different from the coercion that made the demands necessary in the first place. The act of striking manifests the determination aimed at and necessary to the achievement of certain demands. If the TWLF demands are just, as we hope you will be convinced that they are, then you are faced with a choice of either fighting for those demands or acquiescing in the denial of them. If we are forced to use a strike, it is not out of choice but out of necessity in facing such a coercive society and university. One cannot in this kind of situation escape from the relative uses of coercion, because there is no middle ground. One is either a participant in the limited coerciveness of a strike or one participates by acquiescence in the continuing oppression of Third World people in this society and university.



"Lowering" of Educational Standards

Many white students have expressed concern that acceptance of the TWLF demands for a Third World College with open admission for members of the Third World will somehow lower the educational standards of the University and the value of a University degree. But is this really the case? Students at Berkeley and elsewhere are insisting that the kind of education presented at the University is not a value-free experience, and that education must become relevant and directed to answering real questions about society's needs. However, the University as it is presently constituted is a white middle-class institution, and the education offered here reflects the cultural values of the white middle-class.

Obviously, the entrance of large numbers of Third World people into the University will change this. They will have the group power, which a few individuals do not have, to resist the pressure to submit to a culture which is alien and basically hostile to them and the community they represent. A Third World College, controlled by its students and staff, will be a place where the previously excluded ideas and perspectives of oppressed peoples can enter the University.

On the other hand, the distribution of economic and political privilege in this country is such that Third World children are prevented from acquiring certain skills that white middle class children learn as a matter of course. It will take intensive efforts and sacrifices on our part to enable Third World students to gain what schools in the ghettos and barrios have kept from them. If we do not accept this responsibility however, what we are really saying is that we accept the system of privilege which gives us access to elite jobs because we were born into middle class white families and condemns other to low paying and menial jobs.

Even more than this, the needs are so great and pressing that strictly academic criteria for judging programs seem most inappropriate. A course on Mexican history from 1510 to 1583 might be academically desirable, but a course dealing with the problems of Mexican-Americans in regaining their property rights in New Mexico might be more relevant to the immediate needs and concerns of the Mexican-American community. At this moment in history who can demand that academic considerations take precedence over the needs of the Third World communities? Moreover, whites do not have the right to make that choice. That choice must rather lie in the hands of those people for whom the choice is a question of survival, those people who are members of the Third World community.

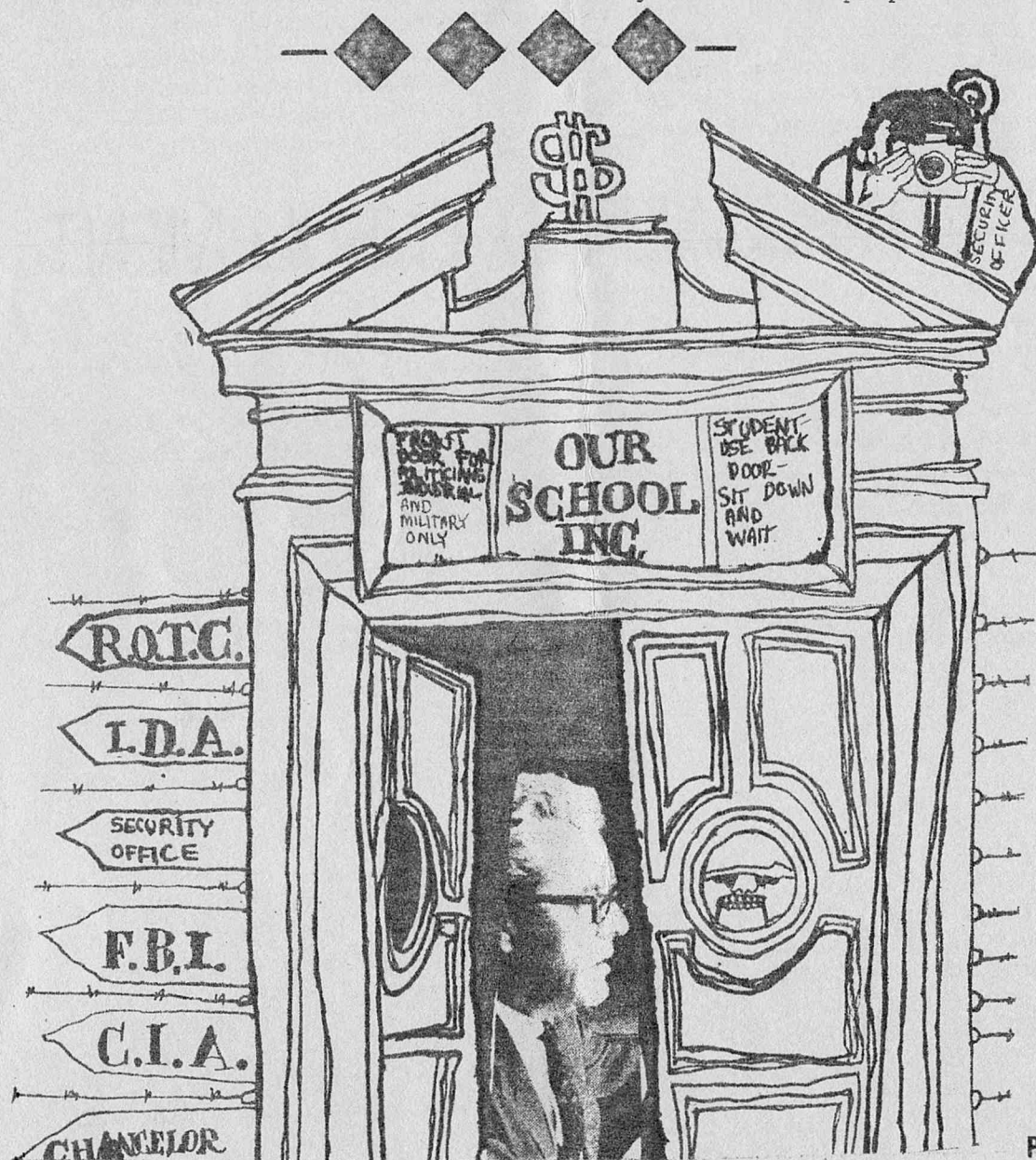
THIRD WORLD ENROLLMENT

There has been a great deal of confusion about this demand. What is being asked for, and all that has been asked for, is that "admission to the Third World College...be based primarily on...(Third World applicants') potential to learn as determined by the Third World Admissions Office"(TWLF statement). Standards for admission for Third World applicants have to be set by those people whose commitment to Third World cultures and whose understanding of those cultures are clear. This can only be done by an admissions office controlled and administered by Third World individuals.

The demand arises, first of all, out of a rejection of the normal standards for admission. Many white students have raised objections as to the validity of standards such as grades and SAT tests, and for Third World youth such criteria are even more invalid. Entrance exams, for instance, assume a white middle class high school education and then test the individual on his grasp and interpretation of what has been taught. How do you test a Third World person who refuses to believe the distorted education that he did receive?

There is an additional problem. Any significant attempt to have the university serve the needs of Third World people requires the recruitment of Third World youth in large numbers to the university to take university programs which offer education directly related to their needs. It is a twofold problem of admissions and programs. There would be no point in recruiting Third World youth to the university if there is to be no program for giving them a relevant education. On the other hand, even with such a program being offered, recruitment is difficult because of widespread apprehensions about the university in Third World communities, apprehensions clearly justified by the university's action in the past and society's actions in general. For a hundred years, Third World people have simply not been welcomed by the

university even if they did want to come here. To remedy this, it will take a dramatic and positive change in admissions policy that is a clear sign to Third World communities of a change in attitude. Such an act would be the placing of admissions decision-making power into the hands of an office staffed and controlled by Third World people.

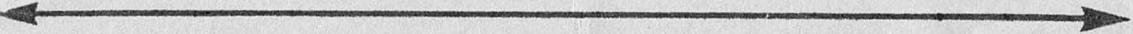


Now we can answer the question of whether the administration acted in good faith. First, it should be remembered that the administration has only reacted to the demands of the TWLF, it has not initiated programs of substantial import without first being put "up against the wall." Second, these channels have attempted to cut out the more substantial parts of the Third World proposals, i.e. field work study and community involvement. It is not enough that the administration make concessions on personnel matters. Much more important is the question of giving the Third World policy making power. Third, the administration has remained adamantly opposed to the crucial issue of self determination. Going through "proper channels" has only resulted in nine months of denial of the most fundamental needs of the Third World students. The deadline for submission of the University's budget is February 14. For these reasons the TWLF has had to turn to a strike at this time to try to implement their programs. This history should make clear that the administration's intransigence has left the TWLF with no recourse but to call a strike.

Discrimination at BERKELEY!

The University follows a pattern of racial discrimination in its hiring practices. At present, despite all the effort Heyns claims to have made, out of a total of 16,123 employees on the University campus only 1440 or 9% are Third World people. With four to five thousand hirings last year, the number of jobs held by minorities increased by only 306. If minority people were employed equal to their representation in the state it would mean an increase of 2300 more employees. Simply to bring the number of minority students up to their percentage in the state, to parallel the employment situation, would require admission of 6500 more students. Thus in both academic and non-academic matters it is evident racial discrimination operates in the University.

Finally, the University is racist in that it actively aids in the suppression of efforts of Third World people to take control of and better their own life situation. This University has been deeply involved in the Vietnam morass, both by technological research and with social scientists advising the government on how best to wage a political struggle. Counter-insurgency research projects, such as Project Camelot have drawn heavily upon the Berkeley faculty; this campus is one of the centers for research on chemical and biological warfare, most of which would be used against people of the Third World. At home the University has actively intervened in the struggle between the growers and the grape strikers-- on the side of the growers; it has been active also in devising sham schemes like "black capitalism" to try to co-opt Third World people, and prevent them from making meaningful changes relevant to their lives. page 11



The Administration makes continual references to extensive efforts on behalf of minority persons. What does the record show? Heyns's "extensive efforts" have resulted in the addition of four blacks, nine Mexican-americans, and one Indian to the faculty. If Third World minorities were given employment and admitted to student status up to their percentage in the state, their numbers would increase by over 8,400.

University authorities have frustrated reasonable attempts to participate in the implementation of Third World programs, obscuring their intransigence with tokenism:

1. The Chicanos asked for a Presidential Assistant with decision-making powers. The University gave them, as a result of long negotiations and of the arrested 11 Chicanos, an assistant to the President whose contract stipulates that he can do no more than suggest.
2. It took months of long negotiations merely to have the Administration approve a course proposed by the Asians, that all parties considered to be reasonably structured and designed.
3. The Political Science department turned down a proposed Black Studies course on Racism, Colonialism, and Apartheid, and one week later the same department granted tenure to a racist who the University of Kentucky would not have.

One of the essential aspects of the Third World College is the program's emphasis on Third World community involvement. The Administration's proposal specifically excluded field work study from the curriculum, clearly contrary to the vital needs of the Third World people.

The above history indicates that in addition to being frustratingly complex, the "proper channels" have denied the fundamental right of self-determination for Third World peoples. In this context it can be argued that American society is thoroughly permeated with a maze of "proper channels" which serve to censor, deflect and suppress those energies that seek to realize just demands such as the demand for self-determination. In the University, a reflection of the society it serves, academic "proper channels" perform much the same function. It is not merely that these bureaucratic channels are frustratingly complex. Much more important, these proper channels have denied the fundamental right of self-determination for Third World peoples.



THE FIVE DEMANDS

1. That funds be allocated for the implementation of the Third World College.

The TWLF's first demand is that appropriate funding be made available for a Third World College, in which there would be various departments relevant to the Third World's needs. The college structure has been proposed because it is the reasonable way to approach a program which has at least three different aspects (Asian Studies, Black Studies, Chicano Studies) each of which is important and unique enough to require departmental status. A Third World College is also proposed in order to maximize the amount of autonomy of operation that would be available in running the program.

2. The demand for "Third World people in positions and power."

The second demand is for the hiring of more Third World people in important administrative positions throughout the university structure. People of the Third World not only want to control their own college, but also want a major role in determining the way in which the university is run, just as faculty members want to control their own departments as well as have a say in general university policy. Third world administrators are more sensitive to the needs of Third World community groups, potential applicants, and students.

3. Specific demands.

- a. Admission, financial aid and academic assistance to applicants.
- b. 30 work study positions for the Chinatown and Manillatown projects and 10 EQP counselors including a full-time Asian Coordinator.
- c. Expansion of Work Study program jobs to the AASU East campus Berkeley High School to include at least 30 positions.
- d. That the center for Chicano Studies be given permanent status with funds to implement its programs.

This demand is for much fuller support for some crucial Third World programs. These are programs which are important to the attempts of Third World students to fully serve their communities, and are programs which have received little help from the university in the past.

4. The demand for Third World control over Third World programs

This demand concerns the central issue of self-determination, a demand which has been discussed in detail earlier in this pamphlet.

5. That no disciplinary action be administered in any way to any student, worker, teacher, or administrator during and after the strike as a consequence of their participation in the strike.

The final demand concerns amnesty for persons involved in the strike. This type of demand is similiar to the law that apartment dwellers who raise grievances with their landlords not be evicted for doing so. The university, by its refusal to meet the just demands of the TWLF has created a situation where those concerned have to take direct action. The TWLF and supporting strikers are in effect doing the university's work for it. If the demands are just, then those who fight for them should not be penalized.



TW College—A Realistic Demand?

ARE THE STRIKE DEMANDS REALISTIC?

One objection to the posing of these demands as strike demands, is that the demands cannot realistically be met in full, and therefore a strike is futile or rash. Let us take the question of a Third World College. That the administration was willing, when pushed, to set up a Chicano Studies program and a Black Studies Department indicates the feasibility of establishing a Third World College. Since the Third World people would take on the task of initial administering and hiring, no new demands would be made on university manpower.

There is no shortage of money. Funds could be appropriated from the Urban Crisis program, claimed to be the university's response to urban needs. Funds could and should be channelled off from war research programs into people-serving programs like the Third World College. The priority should be that which serves the people; the Third World College is such a proposal.

▶▶▶▶ "Proper Channels" ◀◀◀◀

HAVE THE "PROPER CHANNELS" BEEN EXHAUSTED? IS THE ADMINISTRATION ACTING IN GOOD FAITH?

Many students and most faculty members respond to the strike demands with an understandable anxiety about the exhaustion of "proper channels." Let us look at the history of the use of these channels.

It has now been 9 months since the Afro-American Student Union presented its proposal for a department of Afro-American Studies to Chancellor Heyns. The program proposed was well conceived and left few questions unanswered regarding its nature. Following this submission of the AASU proposal, Dean Knight expressed his intention to work closely with the AASU. However, Knight re-wrote the proposal which became a secret document. A spokesman for Dean Knight noted in the Jan. 20 Daily Californian that "once a proposal gets into review channels it is not made available to other people."

The Administration's refusal to recognize the essential issue of self determination for Third World people was not limited to their paternalistic attitude to the TWLF. It is significant that both David Blackwell, head of the implementing committee for Black Studies, and U. C. Black Assistant Chancellor for Student Affairs Andrew Billingsley, were excluded from key administrative meetings on minority problems. The administration is unwilling to allow Third World participation in the department on a decision-making level. The executive committee of the College of Letters and Science kept the administration's version of the AASU proposal for creation of the department from the Third World people and made decisions, directly affecting the lives and programs of the

Third World peoples, without consulting them or informing them of the nature of these decisions. Further, the L&S Executive committee has no plans to include Black students on the implementing committee. In fact, as Professor Seabury noted, student participation on decision-making levels "was never formally discussed." (see Daily Cal, Jan. 16).

