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Twilight in the afternoon--the war at home : San Jose State College (1964-1970)

Timothy K. Fitzgerald
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TWILIGHT IN THE AFTERNOON – THE WAR AT HOME:
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE (1964-1970)

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Timothy K. Fitzgerald

August 1997

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ABSTRACT

TWILIGHT IN THE AFTERNOON — THE WAR AT HOME:
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE (1964-1970)

by Timothy K. Fitzgerald

Making extensive use of the campus newspaper and recent sources, this thesis argues that the campus movement at San Jose State College was a conscious, pre-meditated, and self-directed revolution in form and fact for gaining power and control of the college governing apparatus. The thesis reviews non-violence as a weapon for social change on San Jose State's campus from 1964-1970, and the evolution of that movement as a social force in the Bay Area.

"In loco parentis" as an instrument of social control is reviewed, as are race relations in the Black movement on the campus, including Harry Edwards' proposed Black Boycott of the Mexico City Olympics. Cultural revolution is examined as a tool of the people to modify their social conditions and their social contract, resulting in the institutionalization of the 1960s youth movement in the San Jose State campus student governing apparatus.

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I should first express gratitude to Dr. Irma Eichorn, who first suggested this topic to me in a graduate seminar of hers in 1991. Second, I am in debt to Gerhart Riechlin, who was my mentor and counselor throughout the endeavor. Thanks, too, go to Dr. Billie Jensen, who coped with my shortcomings to bring out of successive drafts this final work. The contributions of Mike Kelley, Dr. Vicki Ruiz, and Lawrence Miller made much of what follows possible. To my friends, Hobart W. Burns, Daniel Steiling, Jim Suiter, Jodi Embry, Janet Appanani, Candy Russell and Martha Estrada, I am in debt for their steadfast support, concern, and confidence. Finally, to Dr. George Moore, Dr. David Eakins, and Mr. Ron Harbeck, my appreciation for their tedious care of the final draft. It goes without saying I could never have carried the burden or the long hours of meticulous research and analysis without the urging of my agent, Barbara Bauer, and her literary agency with the promise and the hope of publication. A special thanks to Laine Gates for typing successive drafts and to my mother, Bernice Fitzgerald, for making the grammar and English proper.

This is not meant as a definitive study of in loco parentis, per se, but it is meant as a start at examining and understanding the beginning of the end. I embraced the work of Crane Brinton in his Anatomy of Revolution for the

skeleton framework of the text. But this remains but a footnote to the seminal work of Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage.

To Nanette Bridges
and Jim Harris

In Memory of
Russel G. Domer:

Activist,
War Resister,
Canadian - American

(1947- 1995)

A Poem from the Sixties

Come gather round people wherever you roam,
And admit that the waters around you have grown
And accept it that soon you'll be drenched to the bone -
If your time to you is worth saving.
Then you better start swimming or you'll sink like a stone,
For the times they are a-changing.

Come Senators, Congressmen, please heed the call,
Don't stand in the doorway, don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt will be he who has stalled -
There's a battle outside and it's raging.
It'll soon shake your windows and rattle your walls,
For the times they are a-changing.

Come mothers and fathers throughout the land,
And don't criticize what you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters are beyond your command -
Your old road is rapidly aging.
Please get out of the new one if you can't lend a hand,
For the times they are a-changing.

Come writers and critics who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide, the chance won't come again,
For the wheels still in spin
And there's no telling who that it's naming,
For the loser now will be later to win
For the times, they are a-changing!

The line it is drawn, the curse it is cast,
The slow one now will later be fast
As the present now will later be past -
The order is rapidly fading
For the first one now will later be last,
The times they are a-changing!

Bob Dylan
"The Times They Are A-Changin'"

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PREFACE

With the passage of time, let's step back and take the long view, using a wide angle lens, as it were. This history of the Sixties for our generation forms a panoramic view of a counterculture that redefined reality and reformulated Western thinking.

Unlike most philosophies, non-violent direct action is the thread of logic--a parameter--of the Sixties, in which an emerging youth culture evolved; a movement over a decade challenging the status quo of modern, post World War II America. Simultaneously, because of many undue consequences of the early Sixties (as diverse as events like the release of the Beatles' hit "I Want to Hold Your Hand") the non-violent movement advocated by Thoreau, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr., culminated in the high stakes arms race that expired with the collapse of the Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe and the decline and fall of the former Soviet Union--a power struggle which made its last stand with the crushing fall of the Berlin Wall.

Vistas of a new era sprang up from the seed sown in that decade, a new path that shook the earth as music filled the air. The "counterculture" first described by Theodore Roszak in 1968 was not a phenomenon isolated in the United States, but prevalent in song and passion throughout the

trans-Atlantic West by the late 1960s. With the advent of the Paris Communes of 1968 and the Czech revolt of 1969, the "movement" begun in America's Deep South in the Fifties had finally established itself in greater European politics.

In that decade which followed, movement activists exchanged correspondence across both sides of the Atlantic, which eventually changed the terrain of political discourse in Europe, with the advent of Green parties forming an international movement in the early Eighties. Based on nonviolence, social justice, ecology, and global responsibility, they were a direct descendant of movement politics as they evolved on college campuses across the United States in the mid and late Sixties.

With the election of President Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California (who was tempered in the caldron of social conflict that dominated American society in the Vietnam era), America continued on a collision course with the Soviet system to emerge the sole heir to the super power title once held for centuries by Britain, Germany and France.

The crises and danger to the social system as it was exposed to the generational and racial upheaval is examined in the following pages. A slice of history in transition, we can hope that the lessons of the Sixties will become a cornerstone of socio-political thought as we move into the new century and a new millennium. For as American youth

claimed during that strife torn era, this was the "dawning of the Age of Aquarius." With the advent of Black Power, Students for a Democratic Society, and a "New Left," in the prophetic words of the poet Bob Dylan, the "times they were a-changing." Many thought they saw the beginning of hope and enlightenment for a new age dawning on the face of the industrial West. This is that story, told by a participant, from the vantage point of the rank and file--the "volunteers of America."

THE EDWARDS ADMINISTRATION

James Edwards

John Merz

Tim Fitzgerald

On Campus: May 1970

INTRODUCTION

Harry Edwards, a San Jose State student and later a professor at the University of California, used to say, as had Eldridge Cleaver before him, "you are either part of the problem or part of the solution." In the late 1960s, Berkeley and San Francisco State were both part of the problem, and only San Jose State, of the three major Bay Area public universities, held the gold ring as part of the solution. As such, it is a prototype for cross-cultural pluralism in the 1990s. Perhaps as no other University in the late 1960s, San Jose State exemplified "Black and White together--we have overcome." The story of political action on the San Jose State campus in the late 1960s is an unusual one, running as it does across the grain of racial stereotypes. Seen from this angle, San Jose State makes sense, and Kent State and Jackson State are all the more senseless and tragic in their outcome.

There is a theory of history as a narrative of crisis management which stresses the importance of unplanned events. Quite naturally, decision makers who change the course of events are a key element in studying history from such a point of view. I have adopted that technique. The

years from 1964 to 1970 are a historian's gold mine, and local or regional histories in those years may well be used as an illustration of a larger picture. San Jose State, in these years, is an ideal subject of study, illustrating as it does minority and class struggle with a backdrop of a larger chaos of events. Thus the campus, which was changing from a "party school" to a socially aware community and which was responding to the crises generated from without, such as racial tension and anti-war agitation, may serve as a paradigm for what was happening on the nation's campuses in the late 1960s. At the same time it offers a unique example of some of the positive changes that took place in higher education in that decade.

James Edwards, a student leader at San Jose State in the 1960s, set an example within the example, leaving the stage prepared for the larger discussion of cultural pluralism and ethnic identity current today. This thesis will focus on the idea, the plan, the decision behind the event, seeking order out of chaos, and pattern out of the random. The general view is maintained that history is made by individuals who may be overwhelmed by larger institutions and forms of social organization, and yet remain free to determine the destiny of their own lives. The thesis will reflect the agony and the ecstasy of the "movement," and will ask several questions. Why the 1960s? Why San Jose State? And, was there indeed a "revolution"?

While consciously blocking out the constant rain of media information about Southeast Asia, this study will endeavor to focus on the "war at home." And from my own vantage point in the crowd, the Sixties were an exercise in mass violence, both in this country and overseas.

The issue that made student government important as an institution historically was what the National Student Association promoted as "Student Power" in 1965 and 1966. That was the dawn of revolutionary ferment on campuses across the country; campus life was changed permanently. San Jose State College, as an example of a typical middle class public tax supported school between 1965 and 1970, is illustrative of the degree to which the growing revolution took hold across the nation. The student administrations of Jerry Spolter, Vic Lee, Richard Miner and James Edwards broke new ground in activism and in some cases made regional or even national news.

"Fill your resume with service and honors on your campus" was still the selling point being advertised by the Dean of Students at San Jose State prior to 1965. By 1967 there were other objectives of campus student leaders, and these were at cross purposes with such a tradition of campus governance.

These discrepancies resulted (on the San Jose State campus) in the Fall of 1969, in almost eight thousand students going to the polls to elect a key Black militant

civil rights spokesperson as Student Body President, on a ticket of ethnic pluralism. This event made news on page two of the San Francisco Chronicle--after three years of repeated regional, local and national headlines featuring San Jose State. The election is a slice of Americana engaging at least two different lifestyles and exemplary of both counter-culture and straight power structures.

So far reaching were the consequences of Edwards' election in November, 1969, built on the groundwork of the Miner and Lee administrations which preceded it, that traditional student life vanished from the four corners of that college campus in the early 1970s--not to return for two decades in any form resembling the traditional domination of campus student politics by fraternities and sororities of the "Greek System." This is especially remarkable as San Jose State had, as recently as 1963, been nominated the "Party School of the Nation" in a national rating of campuses and was a stronghold of conservative thought amongst its youth. There was overt warfare in Vietnam from 1965 to 1975, but during those same years, in a sense, there was a "war" on most campuses, fought from house to house and room to room.

The story of Edwards' election is that of a courageous band of students (they were called "revolutionaries"), taking a stand against autocracy and totalitarianism in society. The cry of "fascist" often went out from such

crowds of students in that period and authorities were held in low repute.

As the Boston Massacre was to Boston prior to 1776, so the Edwards' administration was to San Jose State after Kent State. It is our duty in this age of a violent militancy and "New World Order" to remember the peacemakers, for, as Martin Luther King, Jr. said in his immortal words, "I've been to the mountain top," and, unlike him, I might live long enough to tell you about it. For the martyrs for peace and justice in this nation are no less heroes because they were anti-establishment. They were, in fact, in the mainstream of civic protest for peace and justice because of that political stance.

This nation has tried bravely to recover from deep, very lasting and personal wounds inflicted by a war not fought overseas but here at home. Concerns or frustrations still harbored by the Sixties generation go unresolved.

Thinking back on the era one could pretty much be guaranteed a thrill a minute. Student activists were on a perpetual high and for those who were not, their local drug dealer (usually a fellow student) could supply a temporary fix at a very reasonable price. Indeed, the mania of mass movements hit an all time high with everything from Woodstock to the Vietnam Moratorium to Altamont--all revolutionary "high water" marks in the lexicon of the historian's vocabulary when discussing the MOVEMENT. That

noun said it all of the era. It moved!! "Status quo" hung ominously over our heads like the "bomb"; it became passé.

The thesis herein is divided into sections topically within each chapter, first focusing on national and regional subjects influencing the San Jose State campus, then developing the chronology within the campus itself. Chapters are developed chronologically as the revolution passed through each phase of escalation.

Chapter I

PROLOGUE TO AN ERA: THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

In my youth, looking through innocent eyes, I once believed that Students for a Democratic Society, the Resistance, the "Peace" movement in general, and civil rights could all be packaged in one bag. This is the very real story of how a movement born in Berkeley, California in 1964 evolved much in the guise of that innocence until James Edwards was elected student spokesperson of that movement at the nearby San Jose State campus in 1969. This is the story of an era seen from the vantage point of a white, middle class campus (San Jose State College) in the midst of a decade of turbulence; the story of one campus in the country's institutions of higher learning and the way it radically evolved to face the 21st century because of the activism of the cold war warriors of the 1960s.

In the summer of 1964, the National Republican Party held its presidential convention in San Francisco for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President of the United States. Ronald Reagan, a "B" grade actor from Southern California's star-studded Hollywood, was allowed to play a key role in the nomination of Arizona's conservative

senior Senator, Barry Goldwater, for President. Already, Reagan was being positioned, as former president of Southern California's Screen Actor's Guild, for a run for California state office in 1966. In the fall of that presidential election year, which was still largely overshadowed by the sudden tragic death of the young Democratic President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, students gathered across the bay in the university town of Berkeley at the southern entrance of the UC campus to organize for the coming contest.

"When the University opened that September [1964] activists looked forward to recruitment and fund raising" for the movement to desegregate the South.¹ Between thirty and sixty students had worked in Mississippi for civil rights, but new rules were issued on campus, banning tables in Sproul Plaza at the entrance to the campus at Sather Gate. The activists "knew what they wanted . . . and 'a student who has been chased by the KKK . . . is not easily scared by academic bureaucrats.'"²

Defiant activists continued to set up tables and were cited by deans. Finally, the University police went to the Plaza to arrest Jack Weinberg, who was manning a Congress On Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) table on October first. Suddenly

¹W. J. Rorabaugh, Berkeley at War - the 1960s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 19.

²Ibid., 20.

several hundred students "sat in" around the car driven on campus to take Weinberg away. "The event launched the Free Speech Movement."³ For thirty-two hours Weinberg sat in the back of the car as demonstrators used the roof of the car as a podium to speak, with police permission, to the crowd of angry students. Grievances of all sorts were aired. Mario Savio, a twenty-one year old graduate student, became the spokesperson that day. "Much of Savio's appeal [in the movement] came from his ability to blend alienation, politics and sexuality."⁴

Savio declared the university's authority illegitimate. Negotiators were picked to extract concessions from Clark Kerr, president of the university. Kerr refused, imposing sanctions. "The student leaders accepted Kerr's offer."⁵ On October 4th, eight activists met to plan strategy. Out of this meeting was born the Free Speech Movement, or simply FSM. The leftward leanings of the leadership were striking, but the general student body was essentially moderate.⁶

"During October and November the pact by Kerr unraveled . . . [with the] activists' counter proposal that rights be

³Ibid., 21.

⁴Ibid., 22.

⁵Ibid., 23.

⁶Ibid., 23-24.

based on the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution."⁷

But faculty and administrators proposed limited political rights on campus. Each side believed it could get more later.⁸

"In order to gain student support, the F.S.M. began to hold rallies almost every day at noon on the steps of Sproul Hall," the administration building of U.C. Berkeley, "while students sang, administrators quarreled."⁹ But Kerr would not let the matter drop. Having won concessions, he moved to discipline leadership of the FSM. The FSM retaliated with a mass sit-in demonstration in the administration building on Sproul Plaza. At the pre-sit-in rally December 2nd, Savio spoke passionately:

There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sad at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop.¹⁰

Eventually, the protesters occupied all four floors of Sproul Hall. For a time, students were free to go, but then the entrance was blocked. The police entered the building.

⁷Ibid., 26.

⁸Ibid., 27.

⁹Ibid., 28.

¹⁰Ibid., 31.

Seven hundred and seventy-three arrests were made before 4 p.m. on December 3rd; it was the largest mass arrest in the history of the University of California. The demonstrators, once booked, were taken to Santa Rita Jail, twenty-five miles away.

The administrators could take little comfort from the possibility of eight thousand angry students massing in rallies thereafter. "Chancellor Heynes saw only too clearly he had been used, and that now Kerr intended to sacrifice him."¹¹ The FSM called for a student strike; it was called Friday, December 4th, and led by the Graduate Coordinating Council. Kerr called a meeting in the Greek Theater. Savio moved to get to the podium, but was detained by police. "Kerr's effort at unity and reconciliation had been destroyed."¹²

A movement in the spring continued with the rubric "Filthy Speech Movement." But the concessions the FSM originally sought were conceded.¹³ Thus began the largest protest movement the nation had witnessed since the times of the Abolitionists. The nation's youth took control of campuses piecemeal, as protest moved across the country like

¹¹Ibid., 35.

¹²Ibid., 36.

¹³Ibid.

a whirlwind, with students demanding rights, respect, and responsibility.

Chapter II

THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW LEFT

The "movement" that spread across the continent in the Sixties was not entirely based on an anti-war protest. It also grew to include ecology, feminism, civil rights, sexual liberation, and the identification of personal and global responsibility. Herein is the story of how Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the "campus radicals" first got a toe-hold on the otherwise quiet, almost placid, San Jose State College campus.

The movement organizers for the campus did not come with their agenda fully formed; the agenda needed a considerable gestation period. During this time the New Left engaged in coalition building, networking, and forming and (sometimes) breaking alliances with their more moderate, and even mainstream, student peers. San Jose State was not the first institution to turn radical in the Bay Area trinity of public institutions of higher learning: San Francisco State, University of California at Berkeley and, of course, San Jose State. Like Berkeley, San Jose State had sent students to work for civil rights as activists in the "Mississippi summer" campaign for voter registration in

1964. When they returned, these students, like those at Cal-Berkeley, began to mobilize their campus.¹

San Jose State got a new president in the person of Robert D. Clark in the fall of 1964. The man who had led San Jose State since the mid-fifties was John Wahlquist, an administrator with a reputation for rigid and authoritarian leadership. He was the one who had structured the college (now on the edge of clamoring for university status), and in doing so had imposed a strict chain of command. It became evident that this structure did not meet with his successor's own more liberal outlook

In the summer of 1964 Clark became the eighteenth president of San Jose State College--once the State "Normal" school and later a State "Teacher's College," before becoming an institution noted for its liberal arts. Dr. Clark had obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Southern California, and taught at Stockton Junior College until moving to Oregon in 1943.² By 1960 Dr. Clark had gone through the chairs and become the Dean of the Faculty at the University of Oregon. Although his was a traditional career, Dr. Clark was no ordinary man.³

¹Spartan Daily, San Jose State College, San Jose, California, September 28, 1964.

²Ibid., September 21, 1964.

³Ibid.

Just weeks before Clark was to assume control of the "flagship" of the eighteen state college system, North Vietnamese P.T. boats allegedly attacked two U.S. destroyers on patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin, just offshore from Vietnam --already a "hot spot" during the presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Lyndon Johnson, now in the Oval Office, took prompt action. The alleged attack occurred August 4, 1964. Within two days both houses of Congress passed the infamous Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (by 99 to 1 in the Senate), which President Johnson took as a blank check and a signal for a free hand in Southeast Asia.⁴ This action far away in Washington, D.C. would dog Robert Clark's efforts to establish San Jose State as a major institution of higher education. Vietnam would complicate the situation at the college.

Frank Bardsley, executive secretary to the student body at San Jose State, argued that fall: "A person who can put something back into the college will earn a lot more respect than someone who merely takes."⁵ Such a man was Robert Clark and the student body and faculty came to strongly admire him. He was a leader's leader, setting the example and the trend. When Clark arrived in San Jose, he found a

⁴New York Times, August 5, 1964, 1; August 7, 1964, 54.

⁵Spartan Daily, September 28, 1964.

long-established campus in the downtown area of a major city.

San Jose had been typed as an agrarian center since the founding of the state in 1850, when it briefly served as the state's first capitol. Too distant really, a hundred years earlier, to come directly under the influence of the port cities of San Francisco and Oakland sixty miles to the north, it developed the reputation as a bedroom community for the Bay Area's growing population. The city fathers, under the guidance of City Manager Dutch Hamann and mayors like Al Ruffo, led the South Bay into plowing under the crops which had made San Jose the "Garden City of the World," and turning the ground into suburbs and feeder communities which developed into satellite neighborhoods as natives watched San Jose grow ten-fold in less than a dozen years.⁶

Campus events in the fall of 1964 indicated a school which exhibited many traditional college characteristics. A review of the student newspaper in 1964 illustrates the point. In the opening edition for fall, 1964, the Spartan Daily announced an item on the front page that in six months would make headlines: Co-ed roommate arrangements were begun experimentally in boarding houses off campus. Richard Reeb reviewed None Dare Call It Treason, authored by a

⁶Terry Christensen and Philip Trownstine, Movers and Shakers (New York: St. Martin Press, 1982), 30-65.

former San Jose State graduate from the 1950s, while local Assemblyman William Stanton, co-author of the Rumford Fair Housing Act, was to speak on campus that week. The Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) held an "anti-Red" rally the same week Vice Presidential hopeful Hubert Humphrey and U.S. Senate candidate Pierre Salinger were expected to speak.⁷ The Spartan Daily referred in an editorial to the fledgling Free Speech Movement (FSM) in nearby Berkeley as a "mob riot" and called for law and order.⁸ In November, just prior to the presidential election, Glen Yarborough and Bill Cosby were expected to play to a sellout crowd in the Civic Auditorium.⁹ In mid-November the Faculty and Staff Affairs Committee of the faculty Academic Council on campus approved a "redirection" of administrative duties¹⁰ and the Greek fraternity house Kappa Sigma was put on probation for hazing activities--they got caught!!¹¹ Finally, Mary Bloomquist, a blue-eyed blond from a sorority house, was elected Homecoming Queen.

As for the New Left, it hit the ground running. Toward an Active Student Community (TASC) scheduled an engagement

⁷Spartan Daily, October 1, 1964.

⁸Ibid., October 8, 1964.

⁹Ibid., November 4, 1964.

¹⁰Ibid., November 16, 1964.

¹¹Ibid., November 19, 1964.

by William Mandel, an expert on the Soviet Union.¹² TASC continued its confrontation politics by sponsoring Clifton DeBrey of the Socialist Workers Party to speak on campus.¹³ And Dean of Students Stanley Benz was in turn accused of undercutting the TASC organization by its advisor, Charles Smith.¹⁴ Yet, in a headline announcing "SJS Not Conducive to Stimulating Atmosphere," Spartan Daily reporter Marilyn Bell wrote, "intellectual curiosity exists outside the classroom, but among too small a group."¹⁵

The New Left could have taken little comfort from the Spartan Daily reports that fall. William Correll, a Christian Science lecturer, drew a large crowd to whom he proclaimed: "Man is never the victim of circumstances."¹⁶ The Daily itself was culpable for the low level of intellectual curiosity that prevailed on campus. In an editorial, it deplored "leftist, liberal speakers like Linus Pauling and Ralph Bunche" visiting the campus as guest lecturers.¹⁷ Cherri Walker in a feature article on the front page wrote, "demonstrators, as everyone knows, are the

¹²Ibid., October 12, 1964.

¹³Ibid., October 15, 1964.

¹⁴Ibid., October 26, 1964.

¹⁵Ibid., November 6, 1964.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., October 22, 1964.

sweatshirt and sandal set . . . bored with their classes and needing a kick, they amble from cause to cause changing their placards and buttons but never their clothes." The article carried the headline "SJS Students Don't Fill Demonstrator Stereotypes."¹⁸ Of Lyndon Johnson's electoral victory, a Daily editorial had this to say: "Nevertheless respect does not mean one cannot criticize constructively . . . there is a need for unity, not stifling unity, but a unity of spirit."¹⁹ But dissatisfaction even spilled over into Daily reporting. Marilyn Bell, in another article, wrote: "SJS is built like a medieval castle, its impregnable walls of concrete [surrounded] by an unsurmountable moat of traffic." She adds that many a Joe College "is a liberal in disguise."²⁰

Giving Richard Reeb a window on the world, the Daily printed his "Guest Room" in which he criticized President Johnson for retreating on the real issue of the campaign--freedom versus statism. Reeb, one may note, was president of the Young Republicans Club on campus.²¹ Finally, no sooner had the controversy cleared, than the Daily ran a UPI article reporting that Johnson hand-picked Hubert Humphrey

¹⁸Ibid., November 4, 1964.

¹⁹Ibid., November 5, 1964.

²⁰Ibid., November 6, 1964.

²¹Ibid., November 8, 1964.

as his successor and singled out Robert Kennedy, newly elected senator from New York, as a likely rival.²²

There was more than the glamour of the national political scene to distract the average student at State. Student body president Bob Pizanno had been selected statewide chairman for a bond issue for new construction on state college and university campuses.²³ There were also troubling signs on the ballot. Proposition 14, a referendum to invalidate the new Fair Housing Act, was said to "eliminate all anti-discriminatory clauses in approved housing on campus."²⁴ It was over this bread and butter issue that cracks began to appear in the perceived unity on the campus.

In a "Letters" column regarding Proposition 14, Owen Broyles, acting chairman of the economics department, declared, "I believe for California . . . Civil Rights legislation is unnecessary."²⁵ After the election, Frederick Weed of the political science faculty wrote, "I believe it would be a great mistake for that small minority of the college community which favors discrimination to assume that their troubles are over with the passage of Prop

²²Ibid., November 12, 1964.

²³Ibid., September 28, 1964.

²⁴Ibid., October 30, 1964.

²⁵Ibid.

14."²⁶ Statewide, Republicans tried to recall William Stanton and Willie Brown for the roles they played in opposition to Proposition 14.

In spite of the Spartan Daily evidence, university students sometimes bucked the popular conservatism and the newspaper began to report on activities at Berkeley. On Tuesday, November 17th, the Daily ran an article noting that "student rebels" were setting up "token tables" for a rally in Sproul Plaza. But the Daily kept a lid on news of the unrest until it could no longer be denied. The article that broke the story on Friday, December 4, was titled simply "Cal Students Arrested." Over the weekend, the local unit of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the campus organization the Friends of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) moved to rally support for the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. The Alameda County Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also moved to endorse the Free Speech Movement. Ironically, that same day the Spartan Daily ran a story that ten Mississippi men were charged by the FBI with the lynching deaths of three civil rights workers.²⁷

Mario Savio, FSM spokesperson, was quoted in the Spartan Daily as saying, "any solution must arise from

²⁶Ibid., November 12, 1964.

²⁷Ibid., December 7, 1964.

below. From students and faculty themselves."²⁸ This publicity provoked a study by San Jose State Student Council members, always looking for votes, on academic freedom, while Assemblyman William Stanton spoke at a Seventh Street rally on "The UC Administration Paralysis." Governor Pat Brown was quoted as saying the problems can be solved at the University of California by "evolution not revolution."²⁹ But the Governor's role, perceived as permissive by the public, would soon become live ammunition in the hands of actor Ronald Reagan, in his debut as a gubernatorial candidate.

The Daily itself modified its conservative stance in an editorial a month earlier in which it publicly stated, "there is a grave question as to the quality of judgment exercised by the [UC] administration."³⁰ And in an in-depth feature article reporter Marilyn Bell asserted "interpretation of state laws in relation to state supported schools is the key issue."³¹ Elsewhere the Daily noted the UC Faculty Senate voted 814 to 115 to "give students unrestricted political freedom."³² Speaker of the Assembly

²⁸Ibid., December 8, 1964.

²⁹Ibid., December 9, 1964.

³⁰Ibid., November 16, 1964.

³¹Ibid., December 10, 1964.

³²Ibid.

Jesse Unruh was quoted as saying that he doubted if the Regents would uphold the University of California Senate on freedom of speech.³³ This position was hotly debated in the Daily's letters column "Thrust and Parry."

Noting that the attitude at Berkeley was "I am a Berkeley student: Do not fold, tear or spindle" (an obvious reference to the IBM punch cards used statewide for registration each semester), CSCSPA (the California State Colleges Student Presidents Association) chaired by Bob Pizanno of San Jose State voted full support of "Cal Rebels."³⁴ Only after the Christmas holidays did the Daily report Jesse Unruh announcing he would not investigate the University of California uprising. That would be done by the University itself in a later much-quoted book generally referred to as the "Muscatine Report."³⁵ A beachhead on California conservatism had been made. The New Left was about to arrive.

After the holiday, campus activism took a variety of forms. Poetry readings began on Seventh Street as a regular feature of the campus. Dr. Clark took the spotlight with a night with T. S. Elliot. For a time, the Friday Seventh

³³Ibid., December 11, 1964.

³⁴Ibid., December 15, 1964.

³⁵See Education at Berkeley, report of the Select Committee on Education, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

Street poetry reading was looked upon as an anomaly, but soon the campus political fringe adapted it as a medium of their own; TASC utilized the Seventh Street forum as a platform to speak out on Vietnam. The Vietnam debate heated up in the press and in student living quarters.³⁶

In mid-February, folk singer Joan Baez spoke in the Concert Hall discussing taxes and military expenditures, and the Young Socialist Alliance joined Ms. Baez in debate over Vietnam at the Friday Forum. As a result, Carlos Ramirez, a student, returned his draft card to his Selective Service Board,³⁷ breaking with the tradition of duty and obedience, and proclaiming himself a pacifist. TASC organized a hunger strike at the administration building, and the Young Democrat Club, San Jose Peace Union, and TASC sponsored a speech by William Stanton on "Students in the Great Society." Quietly, the San Jose Mercury News asked the public, "Will SJS College Be Next?"³⁸

But peaceful protest was sanctioned by the authorities and Mayor Joseph Pace joined a long list of notables to address the campus on civil rights. Not to be left out, the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and the Young Republicans sponsored a speech by local state senator Clark Bradley on

³⁶Spartan Daily, January 11 and 12, 1965.

³⁷Ibid., February 17 and 22, 1965.

³⁸San Jose News, March 3, 1965, 21.

Seventh Street.³⁹ There Bradley stated: "We are in this fight in Vietnam to stop the Communists' takeover of the entire Asiatic continent." In response, a student picketed a Navy recruiter with a sign reading, "The military maximizes entropy."⁴⁰ But takeover was being engineered elsewhere than Southeast Asia.

It is against this backdrop of campus activity that student politics took form in the spring of 1965. Gene Lokey, a student council member who, along with Richard Miner, was appointed by Pizanno to fill vacancies, had his own ideas about who should lead and who should follow. He proposed that council members wear distinguishing blazers to denote their rank and status on campus. The blazer idea, adopted by council, was vetoed by Pizanno, but an afternoon coffee hour was instituted in its place.⁴¹ It was indicative that the party in power, SPUR (Service-Progress-Unity-Responsibility) had been in the saddle too long and "the times they were a-changin'." Lokey announced his candidacy for student body president in the upcoming spring election on January 22, one week after proposing that a statement of student rights appear in publications of the college.

³⁹Spartan Daily, March 16, 1965.

⁴⁰Ibid., March 25, 1965.

⁴¹Ibid., November 5, 6, and 10, 1964.

At Lokey's urging, the student council adopted a resolution condemning Governor George Wallace of Alabama. Pizanno moved to name Frank Bardsley as SPUR Party chairman.⁴² But the Left still had to learn the lesson of a united front. John Hansen announced for the presidency on March 31st on a platform of 1) abolishing approved housing, 2) abolishing intercollegiate sports, 3) investigating Spartan Shops (the campus concessioner), 4) dispersal of contraceptives from the campus health center, and 5) reorganization of the Spartan Daily. The Daily was notably unimpressed. Lokey, to counterattack, founded his own political party, United Collegians (UNICOL), which boasted that it was the first different political body on campus. There had been no opposition to candidates for the offices of president, treasurer, attorney general or executive secretary in the previous year's election. Membership in the SPUR "Party" was required for position in the government--until Lokey and UNICOL came along.⁴³

Now Pizanno actively stumped for his hand-picked successor, student body vice president John Hendricks. A senior, Rich Corby, was presented as SPUR's candidate for vice president. A lone wolf emerged as an unaffiliated candidate--sophomore representative Jerry Spolter--to

⁴²Ibid., March 26 and 28, 1965.

⁴³Ibid., March 30, 1965.

challenge Corby. UNICOL fielded a near full slate of candidates. Ken Lane, a resident of the dorms and Election Board Chairman, predicted three to four thousand students would vote.⁴⁴

Before the election, UNICOL was challenged in student court for election code infractions. Pizanno promised revision of regulations governing social activities, and disclosed the student body's relation to athletics. The tide began to turn toward tradition and familiarity. SPUR itself had violated the election code in 1962 and was banned from campus for one year. Corby introduced governmental reform in the form of a College Union Program Board to overhaul Associated Students internal policy. The College Union, long sought, had been approved by student voters just the prior year and construction was expected to begin in 1967.⁴⁵

On the day of the election the students spoke with a record turnout of 5,160 voters. Hansen placed a surprising third with 865 votes. Lokey took second place with 1,385 and Hendricks won with 2,355. Chuck Overs, a public address major and wild card, trailed with 202. Hendricks had control by the thinnest of majorities. Corby lost to Independent Spolter, who, along with UNICOL leader Kathy

⁴⁴Ibid., April 8, 1965.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 6, 1965.

Schwent, formed the nucleus of the "out group" in the inner workings of campus politics for the coming year.⁴⁶

For the rest of the spring semester, students were treated to politics from the right and left, along with the traditional collegiate reporting from the student newspaper. First the domino theory appeared in a Daily "View Point" in a discussion of Vietnam.⁴⁷ Then the football coach was hanged in effigy and the student council gave him a vote of no confidence.⁴⁸ Then Seymour Lipset appeared on campus and argued "The Future of the Republican Party and an Analysis of the '64 Election." Richard Reeb reappeared in another "Guest Room" proclaiming Johnson's Great Society to be "nothing more than a rehash of the New Deal." One out of four entering students was predicted to graduate.⁴⁹ "The Age of Anxiety" was picked as the theme of Sparta Camp, the think tank weekend retreat for campus leadership. A National Security Seminar was jointly hosted by San Jose State and the San Jose Chamber of Commerce.⁵⁰ And a

⁴⁶Ibid., April 28, 1965.

⁴⁷Ibid., December 15, 1964.

⁴⁸Ibid., January 6, 1965.

⁴⁹Ibid., January 17, 1965.

⁵⁰Ibid.

tutorials system was to commence in the fall.⁵¹

"Approaches to Self" was a near sellout on campus.⁵²

But all was not well in the world of campus affairs. A professor of Political Science wrote the Daily to say San Jose State "has earned a reputation as a Greek party school."⁵³ Steve Larsen, former student body president, challenged the campus as mediocre. The cause was taken up and a study indicated San Jose State was indeed apathetic.⁵⁴ Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, resigned over the "Filthy Speech Movement" (the second FSM), and Glen Dumke, State College Chancellor, was accused of "gross mismanagement" by the State Finance Committee. Not to be outdone, the local AFT demanded that Dumke resign.⁵⁵ And on May 2, 1965, President Robert Clark, ending a week of gala activities, was inaugurated as San Jose State's eighteenth president.

⁵¹Ibid., January 20, 1965,

⁵²Ibid., February 22, 1965.

⁵³Ibid., March 3, 1965.

⁵⁴Ibid., March 15, 1965.

⁵⁵Ibid.

Chapter III

CONFRONTATION POLITICS

Atlantic City and the Gulf of Tonkin, together in the fateful month of August, 1964, drew a sharp line through the New Left's Sixties. President Johnson's twin triumphs crushed whatever possibility remained of a radical-liberal-labor coalition. And, as a result of the bomb, existentialists were made amongst the disenchanted of the youth culture--for they were not always convinced "that their well upholstered consumer paradise was here to stay. Nor was it always self evident the price was worth paying."¹

Watts!! The word came to symbolize all the rage that came out of the northern black ghettos. The "problem" was no longer contained "over yonder" in the deep South, but "right here" in northern cities. With Watts, northern big city ghettos began to burn.

It all began innocently enough, as with Rodney King three decades later in the same area, with the arrest of a drunk driver. Before the night of August 12th was over, a

¹Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 23, 162, 178.

twenty block area was sealed off as five thousand African Americans rioted.² The next day violence spread to San Pedro and San Fernando by "gangs of Negroes." Two thousand National Guardsmen were called out.³ The third day, Lt. Governor Anderson proclaimed a curfew over a thirty-five square mile area and twenty thousand troops were called up over night. By now twenty-one persons were dead and over six hundred injured.⁴ President Johnson took to the air waves to proclaim: "Their demands cannot be won and their grievances remedied by violence."⁵ Citing discontent and hate as causes, Governor Pat Brown traveled to Los Angeles, while Martin Luther King, Jr. "backed the full force of police power."⁶

In the end the arrest total was 2,255; 35 people died, 762 were injured. A curfew surrounded the riot zone for fifty miles. Speculation in the press was that Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty had risen in the polls against rival Pat Brown, and this would improve newcomer Ronald Reagan's bid for the Statehouse. The next week Governor Brown released

²New York Times, August 12, 1965, 15; August 13, 1965, 1.

³Ibid., August 14, 1965, 1.

⁴Ibid., August 15, 1965, 1.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 66.

\$1,770,000 for emergency aid.⁷ The scene was set for radicalization of the California campuses through such organizations as SNCC and SDS.

The SNCC-SDS alliance was strategic, not just moral.⁸ Whenever civil rights workers were shot at, assaulted or indicted, SNCC relayed the word to Friends of SNCC groups, SDS chapters, and other sympathizers. Within a few years this minority created a tradition, a culture, a style, an approach to society, a set of tactics that played out in the movement's subsequent history.⁹

The first tradition to topple under the nihilism of the New Left was sexual taboos. Lockout and approved housing became the central targets of the Far Left in their attack on establishment norms. "The movement hangs together on the head of a penis," it was said. "Sex was not simply a pleasure but a statement." The circle was made of triangles, consummated and not, constantly forming, collapsing, reforming, overlapping.¹⁰ Arthur Miller commented on the counterculture: "If responsibility can be reached through pleasure, then something new is on the

⁷Ibid., August 18, 1965, 34.

⁸Gitlin, The Sixties, 128.

⁹Ibid., 20, 129.

¹⁰Ibid., 108, 218.

earth."¹¹ The sexual intensity matched the political and intellectual intensity.

No sooner had the Left made its statement than the statement turned out to be "we're leaving." "Their peers wanted to make families, this tiny group wanted to make history."¹² Over 1,400 Harvard students sent a petition to President Johnson saying: "We wish to disassociate ourselves from that vocal minority which . . . seeks to obstruct and misrepresent American policy."¹³

Ann Arbor soon followed suit. No one ever was in control, although a number of groups were attempting to organize and lead a national movement in 1965. During that year these groups became polarized into liberal and radical camps. Jack Newfield stated in Nation that the new generation was a "generation of dissenters, nourished not by Marx, Trotsky, and Stalin . . . but by Camus, Paul Goodman, Bob Dylan and SNCC."¹⁴ Others were asking, "Where would we be if peace were to break out tomorrow?"¹⁵

¹¹As quoted in ibid., 237.

¹²Ibid., 27.

¹³Terry Anderson, The Movement and the Sixties (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 135.

¹⁴Gitlin, The Sixties, 221.

¹⁵Anderson, The Movement, 145-48.

SDS did not want to be a single issue organization, yet increasingly their numbers were becoming concerned about one issue--Vietnam. But some members did not welcome other nonconformists who were attracted as the organization's base broadened. In January, 1966, at the University of Oklahoma, police led a raid on an SDS meeting and arrested members for possession of marijuana. As in the civil rights movement, this led to a split between liberal and radical groups who advocated different processes to bring about the same goals. America was becoming divided. As the President escalated troop strength in Vietnam during the year from 180,000 to about 385,000, most Americans felt the President should be given the chance to win the war, although U.S. troop casualties almost tripled. Pollster Louis Harris wrote: "The dialogue today is over what might be the most effective way to win our limited objectives."¹⁶

In 1966 SNCC and CORE took the final step in the civil rights movement--they expelled all white associates. The recent death of Malcolm X overshadowed the movement momentarily. He had said: "We are not going to be nonviolent with anyone who is violent with us."¹⁷ During that summer's Meredith March Against Fear, Stokely Carmichael yelled to a crowd of blacks: "You know what to

¹⁶Ibid., 148-50.

¹⁷Ibid.

tell them . . . What do you want?" They replied: "Black Power! Black Power! BLACK POWER!"¹⁸ But when young Blacks behaved like whites and demanded their Constitutional rights, the division between the World War II and the Sixties generations increased. This gap hurt Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership movement, in particular. Carmichael was making his own bid for power and criticized the Selective Service, which operated the draft, as nothing more than "white people sending black people to make war on yellow people in order to defend the land they stole from red people." "Wealthy men were immune in particular to military service Of 30,000 male graduates from Harvard, Princeton, and MIT in the decade following 1962, only twenty died in Vietnam."¹⁹

King also revealed a shift away from the liberal toward the student racial position when he announced: "We are at a moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions--but we must all protest."²⁰ Some thought perhaps the struggle for civil rights had gone too far. Perhaps the conservatives were right. A few months later, citizens had

¹⁸Ibid., 151-52.

¹⁹Ibid., 153-59.

²⁰Ibid., 161.

their day of decision at their polls when they voted in the November elections. Analysts stated then that a white backlash was a prominent factor in the defeat of liberal candidates and the election of Republican Ronald Reagan to the governorship of California.

"Usually ex-radical critics agreed that authentic community and tradition were being flattened by a 'mass society'."²¹ In the mid-Sixties the liberal, or independent, faction of students across the country seized control of campuses' governing apparatus, which would later prove important when mass protests began at the close of the decade. At San Jose State the campus witnessed bitter feuds between the Greek establishment and "liberal" independents for prestige and control of the campus governing body, thus setting the stage for more radical actions under a more permissive leadership.

At this point, John Gilbaugh, Dean of the College and the number two man on campus (prior to reorganization), urged opening meetings of the formidable Academic Council (later Senate) to the press. Burton Brazil, head of the Political Science Department, immediately opposed both press and public attendance.²² Gerald Wheeler of the History

²¹Gitlan, The Sixties, 19.

²²Spartan Daily, December 16, 1965.

Department later claimed that statements calling the Academic Council a legislative body were "pure rot."

Based on a request of the Trustees made three years earlier, Robert Clark announced reorganization of the campus into schools rather than divisions under one college. He stated, "each school should develop the organizational pattern most satisfactory for the achievement of its educational goals."²³ Slowly, the college was undergoing what would come to be seen as a radical transformation.

Dissatisfied with his new role in the College, Dean Gilbaugh sent an article to the San Jose Mercury News attacking faculty privileges.²⁴ Faculty members Charles Larson and Larry Lee demanded Gilbaugh's resignation. They wrote to Gilbaugh: "A Dean must be able to work with the faculty in the spirit of constructive cooperation and this is no longer possible." The same might have been said of the Student Council within itself.

Robert Clark moved to reassign troublemaker Gilbaugh to a teaching post, thereby opening a new post in the campus organization with a new vice president to be appointed and an executive vice president also reporting directly to him. This all would be the basis for the continuance of a feud into the next academic year.

²³Ibid., March 2, 1966.

²⁴Ibid., March 20, 1966.

A hearing was set for September 29, 1966, in which Dean Gilbaugh was to appeal his reassignment before the Trustees. The post of Dean of the College was abolished under Clark's reorganization plan, which was recommended and approved by the campus Academic Council. August 11th was the date set for the Gilbaugh hearing by a board appointed by Chancellor Dumke.²⁵ Was Gilbaugh's reassignment commensurate with his abilities? After a hearing in which Gilbaugh attacked the character of Dr. Robert Clark, the latter stated "there is no higher role in education than teaching,"²⁶ thereby sidestepping the ability issue.

Early in the fall, President Clark indicated his interest in state electoral politics. He hoped, he said, that the voters would approve Proposition Two to provide funds to expand the state college system, including San Jose. He also commented on the student body. Clark had nothing but praise for his new students, saying they "are very sophisticated compared with generations past."²⁷ Dr. Clark stressed the advantage of the new humanities program for general education, which he felt would "keep students together" through their first two years as underclassmen.

²⁵Ibid., September 23, 1966.

²⁶Ibid., October 3, 1966.

²⁷Ibid., September 23, 1966.

Dean Gilbaugh, still fighting, was not to get a hearing by the State Board until January. Gilbaugh attacked SJS faculty member Mervin Cadwallader's Atlantic Monthly article encouraging trial marriages. Students came to the support of Cadwallader and condemned the censorship implied in Gilbaugh's Daily article. Dean of Students Stanley Benz, quoting Dr. Robert Clark, stated: "People should always be free to express themselves."²⁸

A sampling of Spartan Daily stories for the 1965-1966 school year shows an interest in local issues and national politics. For example, the Spartan Daily reported that being "Greek" was an issue in 1965, as Al Mason wrote in "Why I Refuse To Join Greeks." In a parallel article, John Dorn was quoted as saying an individual should "never be placed in the position where he is forced to conform."²⁹ The Vietnam War continued to be debated at the Friday Forum.³⁰ A new treaty for the Canal Zone was announced by the Johnson Administration with little more than a murmur, and San Jose City Council approved final closure of Seventh Street. Charles Larson, spokesperson for the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), came out publicly claiming salaries were inadequate. Plans were put

²⁸Ibid., November 5, 1966.

²⁹Ibid., September 24, 1965.

³⁰Ibid., September 27, 1965.

into motion in City Hall to convert 10th Street and 11th Street to one-way streets; and Bob Dylan's "Highway 61 Revisited" was advertised as going on sale in the House of Records. Thirty-three coeds entered the Homecoming Queen contest--any one of whom would probably look good in a Playboy centerfold!³¹

In student politics, Phil Whitten emerged as the President of Students for Excellence in Education (S.E.E.). This was an organization in which another student, Ira Meltzer, had distinguished himself during the student-faculty protest over the pay cut by the legislature the prior spring. Whitten's goals for the organization were: improvement of the registration procedure, a campus lecture program, an investigation of approved housing, and expansion of the Tutorials Program.³²

Dick Miner, now Chairperson of the Student Council Campus Policy Committee, declared: "I think we should be concerned with policy that affects this campus in any way, not just concerned with Student Council." But this view was not widely shared, and there were others who did not join in this magnanimity.³³ Bill Clark, aide to Student President John Hendricks and a Council representative, said: "It is

³¹Ibid., October 7, 1965.

³²Ibid., October 1, 1965.

³³Ibid., September 29, 1965.

not the business of elected representatives to decide something which is the opinion of Council."³⁴ In a convoluted way, each side started to come to grips with their differences.

Jack Groban, dorm representative on the Student Council, slammed the New Student as reputedly a Meltzer, Whitten and S.E.E. (Students for Excellence in Education) publication on campus which served as a Lokey (e.g., liberal) front. (In it, Lokey ran a column entitled "If I Were King.") Ira Meltzer, co-editor of the New Student, was sanctioned for interfering in a counter-demonstration and the New Student was put on probation, not for the first time.³⁵ Undaunted, Whitten and Meltzer self-published the underground publication as individuals not associated with S.E.E., thereby avoiding censure by the Student Activities Board charged with regulating campus "organizations."³⁶

Meanwhile, Roger Lette, a sophomore student, announced he would burn his draft card at the next Seventh Street Friday Forum. On the threshold of being arrested for a new federal offense, destruction of Selective Service property, Lette was persuaded to recant by coed Dorothy Morris. Over

³⁴Ibid., October 7, 1965.

³⁵Ibid., October 17, 1965.

³⁶Ibid., November 18, 1965.

two thousand students and onlookers witnessed the event.³⁷ The faculty, older and recalling the McCarthy era, took Lette's public ridicule and leftist efforts to organize far more seriously than students did. Almost immediately five faculty from the psychology department held a forum on Seventh Street, steps from where Lette had stood, and debated "Mob Rule" and draft card burnings. Reverend "Shorty" Collins of the campus Christian ministry, joined in before the discussion ceased.³⁸

At the same time, Bill Clark (no relation to President Robert Clark), uneasy with the growth of radical fever in the face of the October second draft calls of married men, opposed formation of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) local chapter because they allowed non-students to participate in campus activity.

On the heels of reports that student deferments were at risk, the New Student organized a polarized "debate" in the cafeteria one rainy November day between some Hells Angels and Allen Ginsberg, the Beat poet and noted pacifist. The next week, Bay Area writer Ken Kesey lauded the Angels,³⁹ and Steve Larsen, former student body president and current graduate student, accused the New Student of creating a near

³⁷Ibid., October 27, 1965.

³⁸Ibid., November 10, 1965.

³⁹Ibid., November 18, 1965.

riot for the fun of it. The campus would come to learn the difference between riots and near riots, but the fact that this time it was all done in jest seemed to be the real offence.⁴⁰

Pat Heffernan began a series of columns in the Daily on student government politics, claiming Bill Clark was going to be Hendricks' hand-picked successor as ASB President and reasoning that was why Clark happened to fill a vacancy created by the resignation of sophomore Rick Trout as A. S. Treasurer. Perry Kneizsal, dorm resident at Allen Hall, began circulation of a petition to recall Hendricks in protest, but the Daily's campaign for a recall attempt was discredited.⁴¹ At this point, an unknown named Gary Kleeman, claiming to be a SPUR party member, began discussing campus party politics in the "Guest Room" in the Daily, arguing that the Greeks dominated the campus because they were most qualified--much to the horror of non-Greeks and independents.⁴²

What emerged from the housing disputes was a new college policy allowing lower division students, and women,

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., November 27, 1965.

⁴²Ibid., December 10, 1965. In a December 7th column, Lokey came forward and admitted there was much political motivation in actions both inside and outside student government.

to move into unapproved housing with parental consent.⁴³ Steve Larsen, reappointed to the Student Council, immediately moved to codify general standards of approved and unapproved housing.⁴⁴

All was not well with the Student Council and both Roger Allen, Daily political reporter, and Dick Miner came to the aid of Spolter in the growing and spreading Student Council infighting.⁴⁵ By this time, seven of the eighteen Student Council members had resigned. Allen stated in a Daily column, "Any government must have the power to affect drastically the lives of its students."⁴⁶ In response to the criticism, Hendricks advocated reorganization of student government, but took few steps to implement that idea.

⁴³Ibid., January 11, 1966.

⁴⁴Ibid., February 12, 1966.

⁴⁵Ibid., December 16, 1965.

⁴⁶Ibid., December 14, 1965.

Chapter IV

IN LOCO PARENTIS--THE SPOLTER-HENDRICKS FEUD

With the beginning of spring semester, campus politics became more heated. Out of nowhere, Bill Clark proposed to Student Council that a candidate in the next election could not be associated with joint advertising of a political party.⁴⁷ This was the famous abolition of campus political parties issue that was successfully attempted. It was adopted and Kathy Schwent, much to her credit, chose to resign in protest.

To finish the kick-off of campus spring political campaigns, SDS supported a week of protest under the leadership of its first campus president, Tom McCune. It was attended by some four hundred. Again, the Young Republicans and Young Americans for Freedom sponsored a counter-protest. Not to be outdone in the abolishment movement, council member Tina Newton proposed abolishing the Homecoming Queen contest.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Spartan Daily, March 9, 1966.

⁴⁸Ibid., March 17, 1966.

By April 1st, Phil Whitten had control of SDS, speaking in front of the Student Council as its representative. Council moved to have a moratorium on campus politics until September 1, 1967. Vic Lee, vice chair of Student Council, stated in regards to abolishing parties, "I don't think a student government should limit a student's choices."⁴⁹ Miner sided with Lee. In the midst of the turmoil, Council passed a resolution concerning housing, supporting a position which would permit living in previously forbidden "unapproved housing."⁵⁰

Ever watchful, Roger Allen charged that actions in Student Council would eliminate political parties. Vic Lee announced his candidacy for vice president, closely followed by Bill Clark's announcement for the presidency. Clark called for "rational progress in student government," claiming he had the mandate for improvement. Pat Heffernan then ran his broadside in the Daily, claiming: "It seems that only groups that can afford to mount a campaign live somewhere between 10th and 12th streets," which was Fraternity Row. Al Mason, conservative gadfly, announced for A. S. president on March 31st, calling for abolition of student government itself, claiming, "I have searched in vain . . . to find a reason for its existence." Spolter

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., March 26, 1966.

also announced for A. S. presidency on a platform of "Students First" stressing his ability to implement a program advocating responsible change.⁵¹ It looked like a reincarnation of Twiddle Dee and Twiddle Dum. Jim Conklin, fraternity member and head football cheerleader, filed for the student body vice presidency. John Hendricks entered the Gilbaugh fray, claiming Gilbaugh's ideas about opening the Academic Council to the press were first proposed by John Bruckman and Steve Larson two years earlier.

Even the election board chairman noted that "a lack of issues may cause lower turnout." Spolter won in the campus' first "squeaker" with a plurality of 2,209 votes, with Clark and Mason bringing up the rear with 1,912 and 459 votes respectively. Vic Lee, whom Spolter unofficially endorsed and associated with,⁵² won the vice presidency with an overwhelming 3,252 votes, followed by Conklin's 1,311. John Bruckman secured the treasurer slot with 2,143 votes for the former SPUR party, and Ellen McAllister replaced Kathy Schwent as the Executive Secretary with 2,995. Ira Meltzer, in a sleeper, outpolled Dick Wolfe and Bill Barnett for Attorney General at 1,774 to their 1,545 and 1,023 votes in a preview of the three way splits which would come onto the campus in the late Sixties.

⁵¹Ibid., April 12, 1966.

⁵²But it was Clark's alignment with Conklin that forced this alliance.

But Spolter was hurting. Clark's campaign manager, Gary Kleeman, filed election code violations against Spolter for reinstituting a campus political party. Although he was cleared of the larger charge by the Election Board, Spolter was found guilty of going over the campaign space limit on Daily advertising, and he was barred from office until the end of the spring semester by the A.S. judiciary. This would allow John Hendricks to make the spring appointments and fill the new government with Clark's people, putting a stranglehold on Spolter's stewardship. Spolter's people were livid, although he personally felt he got off lightly.⁵³

This is probably where the matter would have ended had Hendricks, feeling Spolter would be completely vindicated, not written the state student presidents association (CSCSPA), calling Spolter's victory "tragic." The letter was released to the Daily and was published, along with a renewed call for Hendricks' recall. Roger Allen's honor society, Tau Delta Phi, spearheaded the campaign for recall. In a matter of days, Council was confronted with over two thousand signatures to recall lame duck Hendricks. Although Council moved for the election, Hendricks vetoed the resolution and the Council couldn't override the veto.

⁵³Tim Fitzgerald, Trail to Black Mountain, Volume I, (San Jose, California), 1978, 1:99-100.

Meltzer, furious, led a march on Dr. Robert Clark's house and demanded he intervene.

During the summer that followed, Robert Clark now took the opportunity to initiate a Commission on Student Government--which would include malcontents Kathy Schwent and Bill Clark--to review and make recommendations for the overall restructuring that Hendricks had promised three months earlier. At the same time, Spolter, once in office, appointed a Bi-Partisan Ad Hoc Committee on Student Constitutional Revisions, appointing Roger Allen, Phil Whitten and Tim Fitzgerald as the three non-Greek representatives.

Pat Heffernan resigned in disgust from the New Student, stating that it could not serve as the "Left or Hippie" vehicle on campus and claimed Meltzer and Whitten were not following the cannons of "good journalism." Dick Miner called on the new Constitution Revisions Committee to provide equal graduate student representation on the Student Council. At the time, four class representatives came from each class of undergraduates, and two representatives came from the graduate division. Margaret Davis, who lost to Bruchman for Treasurer, was named Personnel Officer, and Ken Lane, former Election Board chairperson, was named Executive Assistant to Spolter.⁵⁴ The "Committee of 13" was to hold

⁵⁴Spartan Daily, September 23, 1966.

open hearings all fall before making recommendations to President Clark on the fate of student government.⁵⁵ Dr. Clark had stated he would forward "specific recommendations to appropriate officers of student government, the Academic Council, and the College Administration." Joe Ryner, elected Chairperson of the Commission, identified campus government--not college government or student government--as the issue, in the commission's first meeting.⁵⁶

"Education is more than four years of concentrated classroom activity. I urge you to take advantage of the many opportunities" outside of class, stated Jerry G. Spolter, new student body president when 21,000 students returned to the largest and oldest of the California state colleges.⁵⁷ San Jose State had an impressive reputation under Dr. Clark as the nation's seventeenth largest institution of higher learning in 1966. However, it was said by the Left to offer only the environment and opportunities. The rest belonged to the student.

That academic year, Robert Clark had two vice presidents.⁵⁸ In the fall, Clark announced the appointment of Dr. Hobert W. Burns as Academic Vice President. Burns

⁵⁵Ibid., September 28, 1966.

⁵⁶Ibid., October 24, 1966.

⁵⁷Ibid., September 19, 1966.

⁵⁸Ibid.

was currently the Dean of the School of Education at Hofstra University in Long Island, New York. Clark declared that Burns would join a growing team⁵⁹ to provide leadership, development and implementation of programs of instruction, research, and support services. Pointing out that faculty must be paid "competitive salaries," Burns, a Stanford graduate (where he did both his undergraduate and graduate work), was critical of the State Master Plan of Higher Education. A native of San Francisco, he taught at Rutgers and Syracuse before going to Hofstra, and in 1959 he was named Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Chile in Santiago. He had also served as field advisor for the Organization of American States.⁶⁰

As campus politics took their confused course, the war was becoming "the issue" for many students. Pat Heffernan stated in the Daily: "There is no 'war' in Vietnam, the United States is just sort of killing people over there." This statement, unthinkable a mere two years earlier, appeared in a Guest Room editorial on September 26th.⁶¹ In a guest editorial in the Spartan Daily a spokesman at Fullerton Junior College stated: "Acceleration of the 'war' in Vietnam has given new life to student protest groups and

⁵⁹William Dusel was the existing Executive Vice President.

⁶⁰Spartan Daily, September 19, 1966.

⁶¹Ibid., September 26, 1966.

created . . . dissatisfaction with the Johnson Administration."⁶² National Guardsmen were called up during a race riot to maintain a vigil in San Francisco near Kezar Stadium. Despite its flaws, the "domino theory" was still reiterated around campus and reported in the Daily.⁶³

Other campus issues that fall included housing, student politics, and control of student publications. On campus, Jim Bailey of the Daily editorial staff defined approved housing as "the policy that sets a woman's morality by the time she goes to bed." According to the Daily, "lockout" was targeted and criticized as a coed "morals board," an instrument of Associated Women Students (AWS). The Daily editorialized the belief college women were old enough to regulate their own lives and called lockout "puritanical." The next move was for the campus Policy Committee (headed by Miner) to examine policy on lockout and present its findings to the Student Council. In Council it was said: "This is San Jose State College, not Fort Ord Boot Camp." Moulder Hall, a men's dorm, was the first to abolish lockout.⁶⁴ The lockout campaign was attacked by Dean of Students Stanley Benz's assistant, and in a Daily letter student Jeff Mullins referred to women indulging in premarital sex as

⁶²Published as a Daily Guest Editorial, Spartan Daily, September 27, 1966.

⁶³Ibid., October 6, 1966.

⁶⁴Ibid., October 21, 1966.

prostitutes. John Hendricks, still on campus, pleaded to the Commission on Student Government that the Daily be made "responsible."⁶⁵ Meanwhile four hundred students debated the meaning of the issues at the Seventh Street Friday Forum. It was for Phil Whitten to put the question, however, when he asked to put distribution of "the pill" to a student vote.⁶⁶

The Brown and Reagan campaigns for the governorship began to heat up in the press by mid-October.⁶⁷ "We don't take stands," stated spokesmen for the Associated Student Governments (ASG). In return, Spolter proposed withdrawal from the ASG and threw support behind the CSCSPA (the state student presidents association). Whitten moved to consolidate support behind Spolter's position. A rumor was leaked to ASG that the rival National Student Association (NSA) was backed by the CIA.⁶⁸

There was a sense on campus that the Daily's editorship had been turned over to anti-Greek leadership, and a sampling of stories that fall show interests somewhat different from earlier years. The Chairman of Academic Council, Dr. Harold DeBey, suggested that there was a

⁶⁵Ibid., October 31, 1966.

⁶⁶Ibid., November 16, 1966.

⁶⁷Ibid., October 11, 1966.

⁶⁸Ibid., October 28, 1966.

virtual lack of respect and an unwillingness to listen that followed the "recall Hendricks" episode. The president of Theta Chi repudiated the "Greek playpen" image on 11th street that had been reflected recently in the campus press. One student complained: "There were too few people here [at the Friday Forum] for any speaker to feel truly anonymous. Thus 'honesty' is somewhat impossible."⁶⁹ Al Mason, not to be left out, charged the ASB as being a "tool of the minority."⁷⁰ This split in student society was noticed in a series of Daily feature articles beginning October 26th. In them, Rick Skinner reported "a vast gulf has opened between students of different interpretations," although he pointed out "straight" and "hippie" alike feared the draft. One hundred thirty students were recruited to Peace Corps duty.⁷¹ The Daily reported a poetry reading on Seventh Street as "predominantly liberal, but a fringe of curious but uncommitted stop to listen."⁷²

On another part of the campus, the New Student was banned for five Student Activities Board violations in one month.⁷³ The Student Activities Board chairperson called

⁶⁹Ibid., October 6, 1966.

⁷⁰Ibid., October 10, 1966.

⁷¹Ibid., October 26, 1966.

⁷²Ibid., October 2, 1966.

⁷³Ibid., October 25, 1966.

demonstrations sponsored by the New Student "unauthorized and illegal." The Daily immediately attacked the Student Activity Board as ineffectual.⁷⁴

Joe Ryner, elected chairman of the Commission on Student Government (the "Commission of 13"), had set out as an objective at the beginning of the semester, to define "what is the role of student government and what is its legal basis?"⁷⁵ He stated: "There is no clear distinction on what is for students and what is for faculty in [the] campus policy making arena."

Student Council was still making copy for the Daily. Spolter was credited by the Daily with leading the campus out of the "Mickey Mouse" era. Jim Brewer made news as a critic of the Council.⁷⁶ The Equal Council Representation issue passed three to one, and Council moved to delete the troublesome executive secretary from the A. S. constitution, as reported out of Miner's policy committee. The fate of executive secretary was to go to a vote.⁷⁷

Spolter and Lee were invited to attend the first closed door meetings of the faculty Academic Council.⁷⁸ Council

⁷⁴Ibid., October 27, 1966.

⁷⁵Ibid., October 13, 1966.

⁷⁶Ibid., October 17, 1966.

⁷⁷Ibid., November 18, 1966.

⁷⁸Ibid., October 26, 1966.

chairman Vic Lee was quoted as saying Student "Council demonstrated neither common courtesy nor basic human respect in debating issues."⁷⁹ Student Council voted to end the flag salute in exchange for a moment of silence. Gerry Rooney, an Army ROTC cadet and former Student Council member, objected to the elimination of the flag salute which Spolter, also with military ties, later vetoed. SDS planned a protest during Parents' Day on October 14th. Jerry Rubin, Bettina Aptheker,⁸⁰ and State Assemblyman William Stanton of the 25th District were to speak at the SDS rally.

Jim Brewer and Diane Telesco wrote their famous "Animal Council" series satirizing student government. Hendricks, not to be left out, suggested that the Daily journalists quit writing for the Hearst prizes and set their sights on the Pulitzer! The A.S. Judiciary acted to void the New Student ban and cancelled special elections to fill new graduate vacancies, and a Daily editorial attacked the Student Activities Board, writing: "It looks like SAB is more concerned with harassment than justice."⁸¹

The year 1966 provided important changes at the San Jose State campus. Where the faculty and the students had been worlds apart, issues began to surface that would bring

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Bettina Aptheker was a leader of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, and a member of the Communist Party.

⁸¹Spartan Daily, November 12, 1966.

unity between students and faculty within campus factions by late 1968. The Vietnam war was, by the close of this year, a force to be reckoned with. Robert Clark was met with mixed feelings from the faculty upon the reassignment of John Gilbaugh and reorganization of the power structure. The New Left, through the publication of the New Student, found its voice on campus, and Gene Lokey steered the good ship "Associated Students" through the treacherous waters of housing problems and new dating arrangements.

Chapter V

OPEN HOSTILITIES: TROUBLE IN STUDENT GOVERNMENT

After the defeat over approved housing, conservative opinions were in full retreat on campus. The leadership amongst students fell between traditional, right, liberal and New Left--with the New Left picking up most of the press but the liberals gathering most of their fellow students' support.

Not until the volatile issue of race entered the picture did relations on campus begin to polarize between establishment types and the radicals. By 1967 the "movement" had seeped into the greater society. The California Federation of Teachers passed a resolution against LBJ's policy in Vietnam. The Kerner Commission on Violence stated: "What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal."¹

One of the major campus issues in the spring of 1967 was the establishment of an experimental college. The plan

¹Anderson, The Movement and the Sixties, 157-69.

was introduced to Council by Phil Whitten. Patterned after the Oxford style of teaching, the idea also had a closer model, as a similar plan was initiated at San Francisco State College the prior year, and over eleven hundred students registered with the program there. Jim Brewer, Spartan Daily political reporter, supporting the idea, stated that the Experimental College would be a full partnership in education between students and faculty. Brewer was further quoted in a Spartan Daily staff editorial as saying in regard to support for the Experimental College: "I don't have time for an education. I'm going to college."² Gene Lokey was named by Spolter to work with Whitten and SDS to implement Experimental College.³ David Eakins, Professor of History, was to lead a panel discussion on the Experimental College concept at the Friday Forum.

Whitten argued that the Experimental College should be based on Paul Goodman's "man in the world" model. Declaring that students "must take the time to set up student oriented classes," Gene Lokey argued, in favor of the credit/no-credit option in the Experimental College.⁴ Some of the courses to be included in the spring schedule of the Experimental College were: "Nature, Man and Woman,"

²Spartan Daily, December 2, 1966.

³Ibid., December 4, 1966.

⁴Ibid., January 5, 1967.

"Experiments in Teaching Love," and "The Linguistic History of Mankind."⁵ Hobert Burns, Academic Vice President, offered to teach a class on "Social Philosophy and Education." The whole ASB Experimental College program was granted a total of \$154.00 for an operating budget in the spring.⁶

In student government that winter, Students for Excellence in Education was reformed. The Young Republicans, after a semester of debate, repudiated their association with the John Birch Society in order to change their public image. Spolter, charged with cronyism in the Daily's "Thrust and Parry" (the letters column), sought peace with the Student Council.

At the state level, Governor Reagan put a freeze on hiring and threatened a ten percent budget cut in higher education.⁷ President Robert Clark predicted "disaster" as a result of Reagan's budget proposal, later claiming San Jose State would lose one hundred and ten full time equivalent faculty positions if Reagan's proposal were implemented.⁸ In the February 20th issue, the Daily quoted Robert Clark as stating that the U.C. Regents' rejection of

⁵Ibid., February 27, 1967.

⁶Ibid., March 2, 1967.

⁷Ibid., January 13 and February 15, 1967.

⁸Ibid., February 15 and 21, 1967.

tuition gave hope it would not be applied to State Colleges either.⁹ Hobert Burns and Hal DeBey had already spoken at a mass rally on Seventh Street called by Spolter and lent the students their support.¹⁰

In the early spring both the far left and the far right made news on campus. The American Association of University Professors, San Jose Chapter, passed a resolution for Reagan to set minimum budget figures for state colleges. The AFT, another faculty organization, had already discussed tuition, according to spokesperson Dr. John Galm.¹¹ Tuition would "shift the burden from the many to the few," according to Hobert Burns in a rally on tuition attended by some eight hundred students. Meanwhile, prominent Republicans called for right-wing Superintendent of Schools Max Rafferty to revoke campus recognition of some radical organizations.¹²

Former Dean of the College Gilbaugh, in backing tuition, charged "certain faculty are leading students to outright rebellion," and proposed elimination of part time help and a change in faculty workload.¹³ Trying to clear up the Gilbaugh matter, the State Board of Trustees decided

⁹Ibid., February 20, 1967.

¹⁰Ibid., January 13, 1967.

¹¹Ibid., January 10, 1967.

¹²Ibid., January 18, 1967.

¹³Ibid., February 23 and 27, 1967.

in favor of Robert Clark, stating: "The position to which Dr. Gilbaugh was reassigned is commensurate with his abilities."¹⁴

Student government was made more aware of racial issues. Phillip Jacklin of the philosophy faculty claimed sprinter Tommie Smith was discriminated against in housing in San Jose (there was a clause in standard rental agreements barring civil rights activists from renting).¹⁵ Claiming "if student government put out one tenth the effort into recruiting minority students as it did for Winter Carnival it would be acting more in the interests of the students," C. K. Moreland, a Black student government official, got off the first volley in the new year of 1967.¹⁶ Not to be left out, Bob Kelly, also Black, claimed if Moreland quit over his feud with Spolter, he would "be the only Negro [left] in student government." Meanwhile, Jerry Spolter claimed Moreland's work output in no way justified his \$1,000.00 stipend and severed him from his staff as his information officer. Vic Lee claimed Moreland's statement was "a blatant example of irresponsibility."¹⁷ Moreland was reinstated at a lower

¹⁴Ibid., March 29, 1967.

¹⁵Ibid., December 7, 1966.

¹⁶Ibid., January 5, 1967.

¹⁷Ibid., January 6, 1967.

salary after the issue was taken before the A.S. Judiciary and settled behind closed doors in arbitration.¹⁸

At this time a few new faces, and a few old, emerged as spokespersons in the college community. One was Jeff Mullins. Mullins satirized the pending AFT strike over faculty salaries. (Apparently another faculty union, CSEA, was barred from striking.) He defended the Moreland arbitration, and the Daily attacked it.¹⁹ Another was Rick Skinner, a Daily journalist, who stated: "Whitten and Meltzer are the 'hell raisers' on campus."

Campus publications continued to be an issue. Ira Meltzer, claiming a lack of funds and budget cuts, resigned from the New Student. The Daily stated a former extremist's voice had "expired." But Seth Katzman assumed editorship on February 15th.²⁰ Jim Brewer did indeed receive the Hearst award for his essay on marijuana use on campus.²¹ Valerie Dickerson, Black journalism major, was selected as Snow Queen for Winter Carnival, as the Ski Club's seven hundred plus members rallied to support the event. Another organization on campus made its mark with the publication of the "Tower List," a student generated and sponsored

¹⁸Ibid., January 11 and 13, 1967.

¹⁹Ibid., January 12, 1967.

²⁰Ibid., February 15 and March 18, 1967.

²¹Ibid., January 18 and February 27, 1967.

evaluation of faculty promoted by Tau Delta Phi, scholastic honor society. In Student Council, Miner and Ken Shackelford moved to consider an editorial advisory board to promote "responsibility, truthfulness and accuracy" in the Spartan Daily. According to Shackelford, the editor was not held accountable to some person or persons, unlike all other student activities. The Daily editorial the same day stated: "It is the aim of the Daily to remain free of 'undue influences.'" Dwight Bentel, chairman of the Department of Journalism which sponsored the Daily, opposed the editorial advisory board, saying he was professionally dedicated to a "free press."²² Jerry Townsend, Daily editor, made a counter proposal later that same month to make the Daily totally independent, with fixed student fees supplying funding. When the Miner-Shackelford proposal was revamped as the "Publications Advisory Board," the bill was adopted by Student Council on March 30th.²³

In the meantime, the College Union Program Board had undertaken its first symposium, the "Dilemma of American Cities" program. Black coordinator Bob Kelly invited National Black spokesperson James Farmer to speak. In a gathering in Morris Daily Auditorium Farmer claimed the civil rights movement "is a minor reformation, not a

²²Ibid., February 28 and March 1, 1967.

²³Ibid., March 18 and 30, 1967.

revolution." But in the days that followed, the Mexican-Americans on campus claimed tokenism in under-representation of their views of inner city life. Kelly responded, "The Program Board made every attempt to contact and engage prominent members of the Mexican American community." Kelly later stated in a letter to the Daily, "I'm not sorry about my part of the program" while Bruce Anderson wrote, "Most S.J.S. students don't give a damn about the ASB or its committees."²⁴

As the dawn of another election contest began to appear on the horizon, a few issues began to make themselves felt in the minds and hearts of the student body. First was the off-campus socialization that was occurring in the greater campus community. Jonah's Wail, an activity of the campus Christian ministry, opened its doors with a debate on obscenity. The Daily editorialized in favor of Planned Parenthood and liberal abortion laws. President Johnson announced plans to reorganize the draft as a lottery, and the issue was raised for the first time: Should eighteen year olds be subject to the draft if they can't vote, sparking the discussion of a possible constitutional amendment.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., March 1, 2, 7 and 8, 1967.

²⁵Ibid., March 2, 7 and 19, 1967.

Also coming to a head were the constitution revisions proposed by Spolter the prior fall and Robert Clark's report of the Commission of 13.²⁶ The first announced revision was for the Chief Justice of the A.S. Judiciary to be elected by his fellow justices instead of appointed by the student president.

But all were not happy with the continuing status quo, and Gary Williams, council member and on the Ad Hoc Constitution Revision Committee, stated: "This year's Student Council has degenerated into a petty debating society," as he resigned his office. In defense of Spolter, Phil Whitten was quoted as saying Jerry Spolter's past actions proved him to be "one of the fairest ASB Presidents I've seen," as a dispute between SPUR leader Bill Clark and Spolter began to fume. John Bruckman, silent until now in the press, came out accusing Spolter of misuse of executive funds. Under pressure, Spolter withdrew consideration of the new constitution just when Joe Rynar of the Committee of 13 announced the pending release of their year long study of student government. The study came out favoring proportional representation in Student Council.²⁷

²⁶Ibid., March 7, 1967.

²⁷Ibid., March 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18 and 29, 1967.

Spolter refused to sign the publications bill.²⁸ But for all Whitten's compliments, the real power in student government according to Ira Meltzer was Gene Lokey. C. K. Moreland attacked journalist Sue Harringer's statements on black power as "without foundation." The Daily came out for a professional military in an editorial,²⁹ while Jeff Mullins claimed the Daily could "almost be described as a Soviet press newsheet."³⁰ In response to actions in student government, the Daily began circulating a petition to free it of "political influence."

On April 2nd, just two and a half weeks from campus balloting, Gary Kleeman, former SPUR activist, announced the formation of the SPARTA Party, presumably to dissolve traditional bonds and the reputation of what had become known as a "political machine."³¹ The Student Council overrode the Publications Advisory Board veto³² after Larry Lundberg, Vice Chairman of Council, came out against an independent Daily. John Bruckman reported an ASB anticipated income of \$374,833 in the next fiscal year.³³

²⁸Ibid., March 31, 1967.

²⁹Ibid., March 16 and 31, 1967.

³⁰Ibid., March 31, 1967.

³¹Ibid., April 2, 1967.

³²Ibid., April 6, 1967.

³³Ibid., April 8, 1967.

Bill Clark announced for the A.S. vice presidency, advocating more money for athletics. This indicated there had been some internal reorganization within the SPUR/SPARTA Party machine in the last year.³⁴ At the same time, John Bruckman announced his campaign for presidency. Referred to as a consistent foe of A.S. President Jerry Spolter, Bruckman came out in support of keeping the Student Council members from expressing their prejudices by "banning campus political groups." Appointed Senior Representative by Jerry Spolter, Earl Hansen, formerly associated with Alpha Phi Omega National Service Organization, announced for the Presidency on April 12th. And Nick Kopke, Committee for New Politics (CNP), announced for President stating, "If elected I will use my office to stop the War Machine."³⁵

Phil Whitten resigned from the Council in protest of a Spolter veto of Phil's resolution to condemn the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities (HUAC). And, according to Jim Brewer, the Council's daily watchdog, the Council's reluctance to take stands on issues outside the sphere of SJS had continually prevented most of Whitten's major legislation from being adopted.

Suddenly Vic Lee, heir apparent and Vice President, withdrew from the presidential race stating: "This year has

³⁴Ibid., April 12, 1967.

³⁵Ibid.

been a point of departure for many new programs. [But] I do not feel it is right to gamble with other people's money."³⁶ John Bruckman seemed to think it less of a gamble. He stated in a Daily interview: "The most important issue is the possibility of an irresponsible group taking over the one-half million dollars in student body funds." Thus he declared the boundaries on which student government politics were to be fought for the next three years at SJS and around the state of California. Richard Miner, also a candidate, was more succinct when he said, "Student government as in the sense of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy must be abolished."³⁷

C. K. Moreland, the third candidate to emerge as Vice Presidential material, advocated dissemination of birth control information from the Health Center and censoring of Council members who violated Council's rules of procedure.³⁸ The next meeting of Student Council was cancelled for lack of a quorum, thus denying the Daily proposal for independence a place on the ballot of the spring election.³⁹ Almost immediately, Vic Lee returned as a write-in candidate, even though he still campaigned very

³⁶Ibid., April 14, 1967.

³⁷Ibid., April 19, 1967.

³⁸Ibid., April 11, 1967.

³⁹Ibid., April 18, 1967.

little at first.⁴⁰ On the day of elections the Daily announced Greeks at their Houses would not be able to eat dinner unless they could prove they voted.⁴¹

Jeff Mullins sided with the Daily over the funding proposal, assuring himself a seat on the Student Council. John Bruckman, as everyone predicted, won a plurality of votes with 1,976, with Dick Miner and Vic Lee trailing second and third respectively, at 1,209 and 1,204. Kopke and Hansen brought up the rear with 797 and 273. The Vice President race, again, was split three ways. Bill Clark won a plurality with 2,314, followed by Larry Lundberg at 1,543 and C. K. Moreland at 1,310. Scott Lafavor won as Attorney General.⁴²

Almost before the balloting ended, the Elections Board was deluged with claims of election code violations. Both John Bruckman and Bill Clark were charged with advertising with illegal handouts. SPARTA Party's leader Gary Kleeman was charged with false and misleading advertising. At the bottom of this was one Bill Nicolose of the Spartan Marching Band who was charged with the publication and distribution of a "preferential ballot" in "an attempt to influence the

⁴⁰Ibid., April 20, 1967.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., April 23, 1967.

election."⁴³ Bob Gottschalk and other SPARTA Party members, distancing themselves from accusations, claimed they never intended to endorse executive officers. These charges and countercharges were based on a complaint filed with the Elections Board by Gene Lokey.⁴⁴

According to a prior decision by Rich Corby in the Spolter trial, "If no party identifies with a handout, the responsibility falls on the candidate."⁴⁵ Mullins, who got unexpected support from the Daily in his run for Council (in return for support of their "independence"), now claimed the Daily knew of the preferential ballots and should have informed the voters of possible foul play.⁴⁶ Will Schwent, tuned to his older sister Kathy's political ways, was quick to point out the infractions "involved sufficient grounds for invalidation of the entire election."⁴⁷ According to Al Carrol, another SPARTA Party member, the Daily knew of

⁴³Ibid., April 25, 1967.

⁴⁴Ibid. However, it was Tim Fitzgerald and Jim Brewer, campaigners for Dick Miner, who did the investigation that forced Lokey to bring charges. Tim Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 1:158-162.

⁴⁵Spartan Daily, April 25, 1967.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., April 26, 1967.

the alleged violations before the election even took place."⁴⁸

Rick Skinner, not to miss a lesson, claimed "students overwhelmingly rejected an anti-war platform in the defeat of CNP candidates almost across the board (especially Nick Kopke)." Ira Meltzer, CNP campaign manager, replied the CNP "Peace Platform" had been distorted. However, Skinner did admit "candidates on the CNP ticket did not campaign anywhere near the extent their opposition did."⁴⁹ Tim Fitzgerald, Miner's campaign manager, summed up the feelings of the majority, and it was noted in the Daily that had Miner and Lee not both run, one or the other would easily have defeated Bruckman.⁵⁰ In his letter to the Daily Fitzgerald stated:

The recent violations of the Election Code and other campus regulations should not be taken as lightly as the Daily has been treating them. . . . Candidates elected to ASB positions are supposed to be responsible representatives of SJS. I do not believe the actions of some of the candidates have been representative of students on this campus.

It has been said we have selected . . . "traditional student government." Yet in view of the atmosphere of deceit that prevailed in the past election, I do not believe this kind of "tradition" is desirable. Student Council must be

⁴⁸Ibid. At nearby San Francisco State charges of election code violations also flew as the Gator editor won the presidency, wherein he was accused of manipulating the news.

⁴⁹Spartan Daily, April 25, 1967.

⁵⁰Ibid.

neither a debating club nor a bureaucratic machine if it hopes to create beneficial activities for the campus community. However, the elections this year have not discouraged this from continuing. At least for one more year, "traditional" student government has been ensured.⁵¹

Gene Lokey was credited with leveling complaints against the SPARTA Party according to Election Board chairman Paul Morey. Apparently, Lokey never revealed the sources that were the base of his complaint.⁵² The SPARTA Party leaflet, incidentally, read, "Vote or Else," and threatened the demise of intercollegiate athletics and an end to "responsible" government if voters did not select candidates from their preferential list.⁵³

The Daily claimed Kopke's organization (CNP) was an outgrowth of Robert Sheer's radical candidacy in Berkeley for Congress the prior year. In support of this, immediately after the election a letter was published in the Daily stating radicals everywhere "must fight to end the system--monopoly capitalism--which is depriving them of their freedoms and their lives." Dick Miner and Nick Kopke were also charged with false advertising.⁵⁴

⁵¹Ibid., April 27, 1967.

⁵²Ibid., April 25, 1967.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., May 1, 1967.

As Gene Lokey--judge, jury, and executioner--assumed the role of prosecuting attorney, the Election Board attempted to prove conspiracy by the SPARTA Party to influence the election, having already ruled the handout illegal.⁵⁵ But, according to Gary Kleeman, against whom charges were later dropped: "The ones responsible have not been accused. Those charged are simply not guilty."⁵⁶ Jared Dreyfus claimed in a Daily letter, "the election is as sorry a display of political chicanery and disregard for ethics as I have ever seen." Another writer replied: "Citing character assassination and crying foul mostly because voters turned them down, those people conveniently forget that they came into office one year ago under a similar, though now justified, cloud of suspicion and criticism."⁵⁷

In the judicial hearings which began that week, Larry Lundberg testified that John Bruckman distributed illegal handouts printed by the SJS Marching Band. At the end of the first hearing, the Judiciary ousted Bruckman and invalidated votes cast in the presidential contest. Jim Brewer gleefully reported: "For the first time in the history of the A.S. Judiciary it has thrown out a

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

presidential election of SJS campus."⁵⁸ Steve Thomas, Chief Justice, stated they would recommend another election, noting fourteen of the sixteen candidates appearing on the preferential ballot were elected. He went on to say:

By his own admission, John Bruckman established his knowledge of the illegal handouts. By his own admission he failed to file a complaint with the Election Board. This may have handicapped his effectiveness in dealing with similar situations within his Executive Department.⁵⁹

In conclusion, Thomas stated, "The purpose of the election code is to ensure an impartial election. That an unfair election occurred does not have to be proved beyond a reasonable doubt."⁶⁰ Bruckman immediately appealed to the Dean of Students.

No sooner was the verdict out than the campus was struck by the next thunderbolt: Professor Roger Muzzy of the Marching Band was charged with playing a leading role in distribution of the preferential ballots.⁶¹ When approached, Muzzy refused to comment. Lokey was quoted about the case, saying "I'm glad that on at least one occasion flagrant violations of the Election Code have resulted in action by the A.S. Judiciary." Robert Clark

⁵⁸Ibid., May 2, 1967.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., May 8, 1967.

then came forward to state, "I believe every professional group should set its own standards. I regard students as a professional group."⁶²

The Daily revealed on May 7th that John Hendricks was behind Bruckman's election and the SPARTA Party organization, and "frequently participated in judicial hearings." Bruckman was quoted as "not optimistic at all as to the outcome of the [Judicial] opinion."⁶³ He now claimed parts of the election code were "unconstitutional," and Hendricks confirmed Bruckman's defense when he stated: "A substantial amount of evidence was on John [Bruckman]'s side." However, according to a letter by Tim Fitzgerald, "John Hendricks' personal opposition to these [constitutional] revisions was certainly a contributing factor in the death of any (bureaucratic) improvements"--including election procedure.⁶⁴

The charges of widespread faculty involvement in the election spread to the Athletics Department, where Bob Bronzon, Athletic Director, charged Kopke with "threatening to eliminate intercollegiate athletics. I really didn't want someone in there [in student government] who was

⁶²Ibid., May 9, 1967.

⁶³Ibid., May 11, 1967.

⁶⁴Ibid., May 10, 1967.

against intercollegiate athletics," he was quoted as saying.⁶⁵

In disgust, Paul Morey, Election Board chairman, then resigned, stating: "The majority of veteran politicians have proved that they have little care to uphold the constitution, the acts, the duties of their office or personal ethics. Everyone has his own cubical of mutual self interest."⁶⁶ After Stanley Benz stated, "it is not within the power of the Dean of Students to determine the eligibility of a student to run for or hold an ASB office," the appeal of the Bruckman decision went through Dr. William Dusel, Executive Vice President.

Meanwhile, Jim Brewer, pointing out the position was now up for grabs, asked who would assume the ASB presidency until new elections were held.⁶⁷ President Robert Clark appointed a faculty review committee to hear Bruckman's claims.

Bill Clark was found not guilty by the Judiciary, observing with graduate representative-elect John Ogle, "Bruckman's punishment was way out of line."⁶⁸ Spolter, in self defense, immediately resigned from office before Clark

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., May 19, 1967.

⁶⁸Ibid.

could be installed as vice president, thereby blocking Clark's last chance for the presidency with the ascendancy of Vic Lee, still vice president in limbo, to acting president pending fall elections. According to Gary Kleeman, Spolter's move was a "very astute political move. It completely frustrates the will of the students, since Lee was not elected."⁶⁹

Clark's committee decided "only the gravest emergency would, in the committee's opinion, warrant the President to directly interfere in the operation of student government."⁷⁰ Vic Lee stated as the term came to an end that he was "glad President [Robert] Clark upheld the students' right to decide rules and regulations governing students."⁷¹

The campus now stood divided, Greek houses to the right, independents and "dormers" to the left. The division, long in surfacing, was reflected in the student elections that spring. Racial tensions once isolated to the South had spread north, and sides were drawn over Vietnam. People had publicly taken stands and the die was now cast.

As the semester drew to a close, Rick Skinner said that Robert Bronzon "and his staff have created the finest

⁶⁹Ibid., May 17, 1967.

⁷⁰Ibid., May 26, 1967.

⁷¹Ibid., May 29, 1967.

intercollegiate athletic program dollar for dollar in the nation," with the help of ASB funds. As if to prove it, Tommie Smith, Black sprint champion at State, set the world record in the 440 yard dash and the 400 meters. The campus and the city prepared for "Tommie Smith Day" in recognition of their champion. It was a portent of things to come.

Chapter VI

THE NEXT STEP: DISSOLUTION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

In 1966 the Psychedelic Shoppe opened at 1533 Haight Street in San Francisco. By January 14, 1967, Golden Gate Park had hosted 10,000 "hippies" for their first "Human Be-In."¹ The "Grand Shaman" of this new wave of psychedelia was Dr. Timothy Leary, a Harvard faculty dropout. Preaching that everyone should "turn on, tune in, and drop out," Leary spoke at the gathering, which danced to the music of the Grateful Dead and the Quicksilver Messenger Service.²

Advertised well in advance of their arrival in the major cities of New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco in 1967 for the "Summer of Love," hippies were the dropouts who were turned off by the world, poverty, and political phoniness, and the

games they saw all around them With their outlandish appearance and carefree life, they will certainly continue to confound the cops and to challenge the square majority As far as they're concerned the sexual revolution is

¹"Dropouts With A Mission," Newsweek, February 6, 1967, 92.

²"The Hippies: Philosophy and Subculture," Time, July 7, 1967, 18; Newsweek, ibid.

accomplished. There are no hippies who believe in chastity or look ashamed at marital infidelity.³

San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, a ten by fifteen square block area adjacent to the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park, was the haven and headquarters for such groups as the "Diggers," who passed out free food begged from surrounding merchants.⁴ An illogical extension of New York's South Village or San Francisco's own North Beach of the 1950s era, it had added "a vague sense of mission."

The inhabitants of "the Haight" wore everything from Elizabethan motley to Judean beards. The scent of incense filled the air to mask the reek of marijuana. With the advent of the hippie subculture came the general acceptance of illicit drugs amongst many youths. One ounce of marijuana could be bought for \$10.00 and could produce as many as forty joints. LSD sold for \$4.00 a tab. Related drugs of choice included mescaline and peyote.⁵

But the utopia was short lived. Founded on the orientation of "do your own thing," it became steeped in a gratification of desire. J.R.R. Tolkien's trilogy fantasy Lord of the Rings, with its hobbits, became the guidebook of the macabre scene. Although some believed the drugs would

³Newsweek, ibid.

⁴"Haight Ashbury," Time, March 17, 1967, 27.

⁵ Time, July 7, 1967, 20-22.

eventually be legalized, and they idealized agape, a Greek love of Martin Luther King's Beloved Community, the majority were predominately white, middle class youth between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five, dropouts from a society wholly oriented to work, status and power. They looked upon Senator Robert Kennedy as the best of a bad lot. A major tourist attraction for the novelty, the hippies of San Francisco had a mock funeral in October, 1967, to bury the past, its broken dreams and disillusionment.⁶ As one flower child said, "How can you talk love to middle-aged creeps who hate you?"⁷

The Associated Press reported in October that draft resistance demonstrators planned demonstrations in twenty-four cities across the country. Eight hundred demonstrators tried to block the Oakland Draft Center on Monday, October 16th and Joan Baez and twenty-four others were arrested there. UC Berkeley planned an all night teach-in. Students and non-students picketed the Selective Service Office in San Jose. The second day in Oakland, police used tear gas and billy clubs to clear anti-war demonstrators from the streets.⁸

⁶"Death of the Flower Children," Time, October 13, 1967, 31.

⁷"Trouble in Hippiland," Newsweek, October 30, 1967, 84.

⁸Spartan Daily, October 19, 1967.

A response to these activities appeared in a Spartan Daily editorial: "The extremists are creating a climate of chaos which will repel the most sympathetic student observer. The protesters . . . must recruit for support of the public to succeed." By then it was known that a San Francisco Federal judge had issued an order restraining police in nearby Oakland from interfering with newsmen covering anti-draft demonstrators. While police arrested another one hundred fifty-three demonstrators on the third day, three thousand pickets nearby shouted, "Hell no, we won't go."

More than ten thousand demonstrators descended on the Draft Center, some bussed in from San Jose, on Friday, October 20th, only to turn the demonstration into a giant be-in.

Mario Savio, his long due process exhausted, was released at this time after serving four months of a two hundred day sentence for his part in the Free Speech Movement in 1964. Baez was also released shortly, after ten days, calling her part in the Oakland demonstrations "one of the best things I have done in my life."⁹

At San Jose State when the students returned in the fall of 1967, radicals seemed determined to dictate the boundaries of the political turf to be contested. Every

⁹Ibid., October 27, 1967.

week, starting with the opening day of school, was packed with contests and conflicts over power. The semester began civilly enough with Black instructor Harry Edwards sharing a cup of coffee with Black graduate student Ken Noel in the Spartan cafeteria. Out of that meeting of minds on September 15th came a decision to set discrimination in housing on the fall agenda. This was just days before classes began. Everyone was looking for a place to stay. At a rally that first day on Seventh Street, Harry Edwards said: "I can show you vacancy signs all over, but they're not vacant to Negroes." Robert Baron, Housing Coordinator, admitted to the Daily, "There is a good possibility of racial discrimination in nearby campus housing." College policy was that housing (approved and unapproved) listed with the Housing Office must agree to rent to any student "regardless of race, creed or national origin." According to Robert Clark, "The policy of the college is clear and, I trust, unequivocal. It is our intention to enforce it strictly."¹⁰

Baron went on to point out: "More students than ever before want to live near campus." The campus was now the fourth largest institution of higher learning in California. Vic Lee, ASB president, admitted that the discrimination charges were true, and promised Edwards' protesters at

¹⁰Ibid., September 20, 1967.

Edwards' rally an immediate investigation.¹¹ Edwards announced the formation of United Black Students for Action (UBSA), charging discrimination in housing, athletics, and the Greek system of sororities and fraternities. Other speakers attacked the Greek system as a breeding ground of racism. Edwards concluded, "Until this mess is cleaned up for everybody, it is cleaned up for nobody."¹²

In response, Dr. Clark created the post of the nation's first ombudsman and cancelled the home football game against Texas Western amidst threats of violence at the stadium if the game were played. In a standing-room-only crowd in Concert Hall, Clark made these statements and went on to say the Housing Office's effort to enforce college regulations were feeble and inadequate.¹³ Meanwhile, Fraternity Row evacuated their houses in fear of repercussions, instructing detectives and security guards to protect their property. Richard Reeb, a graduate representative on the Council, predicted that this action would simply "sow the seeds of another full blown crisis."¹⁴ The Mercury News contributed to the unrest by printing a full page on racial issues, and Edwards' charges, on page two of the September 22nd issue.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., September 20, 1967.

¹³Ibid., September 22, 1967. (See Chapter VII for a more complete discussion of the game's cancellation.)

¹⁴Ibid.

Governor Reagan began criticizing SJSU President Clark for canceling the football game, claiming he would have called out necessary force and law enforcement to see the game played. In response, Ken Noel of UBSA stated that the governor's comments indicated he was not well informed about the situation at San Jose State.¹⁵

Also that September, David Eakins, associate professor of history, announced plans for the organization of Professors Against the War (PAW) and verified rumors of a planned national draft resistance movement for October 16-20th. David Harris, leader of the Draft Resistance, spoke on Seventh Street in front of the cafeteria on his position regarding selective service. Subtly, there began a struggle between black radicals and white radicals for power on campus. Where this struggle of force would take them no one ventured to guess at the time.¹⁶

While issues of war and racism caught the attention of students, they were also diverted by the campus political scene. Lew Solitski, Grady Robertson, and Larry Lundberg were chosen as new justices in the A.S. Judiciary. Mullins and Reeb were the only dissenting votes in Council over their appointments. Elsewhere, October 11th and 12th were set for a special election for student president.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., September 27, 1967.

Registration records were shattered, with 22,359 students registered.¹⁷ Over one hundred seventy-five students jammed into the basement of Jonah's Wail on September 30th to hear Harry Edwards.¹⁸

The Young Republicans, still in the contest of sorts, announced they would not support anyone in the student election, and advocated not joining the National Student Association after Vic Lee returned with an overture to join the Association. In addition, they threatened to picket any professor who taught against the war during the week of October 16-20th. As for the special election, only Nick Kopke seemed to take notice, announcing his candidacy for president. A petition was circulated against the war and made the front page in the Daily when Vic Lee, a foreign student, refused to sign.¹⁹

Clay Newman, posing as "Little Orphan Temple," announced himself as a write-in candidate for student president, stating "What America needs is a good five cent joint." Earl Hansen and Bill Clark likewise entered the race for president as Ira Meltzer, under the banner of the American Liberation Front (ALF), demanded an end to ROTC.

¹⁷Ibid., September 18, 1967.

¹⁸Ibid., October 3, 1967.

¹⁹Ibid.

Timothy McGrath founded the Young Democrats on campus that first week in October, tying campus liberals to the state organization and putting them in touch with state legislators John Vasconcellos and Al Alquist. A photo appeared in the Daily of Little Orphan Temple's tree house and the platform he intended to "run on." As Kopke joined Meltzer's opposition to ROTC, the Vietnam issue was placed on the ballot as an "opinion poll." Mullins dropped from the presidential race as Miner threw his support behind Newman in the conflicting alignments and realignments occurring that volatile fall semester.

Student Body officers Jules Loventhal and Bob Gottschalk were appointed by Robert Clark to review class disruption of ROTC by Kopke, Meltzer and two others, and the ALF announced it intended to block Marine recruiters from campus later in the week.

Plaintively, Vic Lee noted "student values have changed drastically in the last five years, but student government has not progressed with them."²⁰ Bob Gottschalk, who had dropped out of the presidential contest due to "a death in the family," threw his support to Lee. The Vietnam plebiscite began to turn into a vote on ROTC, as protesters were arrested for demonstrating at the Marine recruiters' booth. Vic Lee won with an overwhelming landslide of 2,504

²⁰Ibid., October 9, 1967.

votes, followed by 486 for Kopke and Hansen third with 340. The Vietnam opinion poll showed anti-war fever running high. Those for peace negotiations were 1,755, withdrawal 1,238, status quo 858, escalation 811, and no opinion 171. Lee immediately called for constitutional revisions.²¹

The Experimental College enrolled another 150 students and advisor Fauniel Rinn announced it would produce a "free press," The Jabberwock. Jim Brewer was named news editor of the paper and said it would be sold for a nickel a copy.²² Meanwhile, J. Benton White, director of the campus Wesley Foundation, was named the first ombudsman.²³

Claiming Robert Clark's demands to purge the Greek system of discrimination were impossible both in time and in money, the president of the Interfraternity Council (IFC) protested conditions of probations of the Greek system, including "rush" of minority students. The Committee for Academic Responsibility (CAR), which was formed to finance

²¹Ibid., October 13, 1967. It turned out that at balloting time, Miner and Paul Morey filed as AKA Little Orphan Temple, so the write-in ballots would go to them; while Harry Tobasco, AKA grad student James Walsh, announced Little Orphan Temple would hold a rally on Seventh Street and debate all candidates.

To complicate matters, the faculty AFT leader, John Sperling, threatened to strike if the Trustees continued to ignore the collective bargaining issue before them. The CSEA sided with the Trustees, holding collective bargaining illegal, which further muddled the waters of faculty affairs.

²²Ibid., September 29, 1967.

²³Ibid., October 2, 1967.

court costs for Dean Gilbaugh, went public and asked Dr. Clark to "step down in favor of someone with more courage." They claimed the Greek system was accused without a trial.

Robert Clark then made a major statement: "Unrest is very likely to continue and grow more serious as long as the Vietnam War continues. But vigilante acts to oppose vigilante action compound disorder." He concluded, "our disciplinary code and procedures . . . are in need of revision."²⁴

Near the men's gym, Kopke, Meltzer and two others were booked for resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. Officers at the scene said Meltzer was "arrested for his own safety." A virtual human wall was formed around recruiters, which led to the second day of fighting on campus. Bringing opposition to the war in direct conflict with the "establishment," Meltzer had targeted military recruiters as a focus of the protest movement's growing militancy.

Until now the right had all but evaporated from the usual fall extravaganza, but Sue Harringer came forth to complain about the "hippie" format of the Daily, and State

²⁴Ibid., October 18, 1967. But the man most competent for revision from within, Tim Fitzgerald, was off campus that year and unable to assist. Vic Lee announced the latest proposals for constitutional revisions with the president and vice president running together on a ticket and representation to the Student Council from Academic Schools.

Senator Clark Bradley said: "State students responsible for disruption should be subject to dismissal."²⁵

In the final week of October Robert Clark convened an "Open Hearing" in Morris Daily Auditorium to discuss Marine recruitment. William Dusel served as moderator. The panel included Hobert Burns, Vic Lee, College Business Manager Glen Guttormsen and Academic Council chairperson Les Lange.

That October, the Daily noted the change of tactics by the left since Edwards' successful confrontation at the onset of the semester.²⁶ Tau Delta Phi held a debate on draft resistance as PAW planned classroom teach-ins despite CSEA objections. Pete Seeger appeared at the San Jose Civic Auditorium, and petition circulators announced a goal of 1,500 signatures pledged against the war. PAW's teach-in coincided with the "Stop the Draft" program. George "Shorty" Collins, senior statesman of ministers on campus, remarked of a letter writer in the Daily, "Why should he be surprised everyone he talks to within the Bay Area is for peace?"

Campus politics and protest combined as Scott Lafavor challenged President Clark to adhere to judicial procedure in hearings involving demonstrators. Grady Robertson also

²⁵Ibid., October 21, 1967.

²⁶Ibid., October 6, 1967.

pointed out the peculiar circumvention of the judiciary on the Kopke and Meltzer cases.²⁷

Robert Clark scheduled a "Day of Concern," featuring a speech by Edwards, and found opposition from two sides. On the one hand, Clark Bradley said, in a "Guest Room" reprint, "For nearly ten years the college campuses of the Bay Area have been a battlefield for groups of extreme leftist and communist elements." Apparently, Bradley asserted, Robert Clark did not learn from the lessons of President Clark Kerr (of Berkeley FSM days).²⁸ On the other side, the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC) objected to Clark's "Day of Concern," and threatened to disrupt activities. Clark, now intimidated from both sides, withdrew the "Day of Concern," to the chagrin of Blacks forced to accommodate MASC.²⁹

Navy recruiters on campus prompted a police alert as the administration asked for city police to stand by. Jeff Mullins printed a letter announcing the "contingency plans," claiming he would sell popcorn at the festivities. Notably, the next demonstration was quiet, with Meltzer entering the secluded recruiting area to debate the officer of the day,

²⁷Meltzer and Kopke's cases had been turned over to a joint faculty/student committee rather than the traditional judiciary, of which Robertson was a part.

²⁸Ibid., October 30, 1967.

²⁹Ibid., November 3, 1967.

Lieutenant Commander Williams, a Black officer, for thirty minutes. Edwards was not so easily rebuffed and he and Louis Lomax debated "The Negro Revolt and the Black Revolution" in Morris Daily Auditorium on schedule. For his part, Edwards said: "Either the nation will clean up the ghettos or they will be burned up," at his appearance with Lomax at Morris Daily.

Vic Lee now felt the heat of the turn of recent events, and moved for the Student Council to set up a booth to counsel alternatives to the draft. Independently, the next day Mike Rutz, grad student and former Army lieutenant, set up a booth beside the Navy recruiter to present "the other side of the story."

By this time, Senator Clark Bradley had hired Jack Cox, former San Jose State student and Young Republican president, to assist in making a full time effort to undermine Robert Clark's authority on campus. In the Daily "Guest Room" Bradley charged in a speech to Republican women in Sunnyvale that "the Jabberwock was a . . . left wing conspiracy." He was quoted as saying: "Academic freedom is being interpreted as meaning 'you can say anything filthy that you want.'" He charged the Experimental College paper was planned and programmed by the communist conspiracy.

The Daily next announced that Robert Clark would take a ten day tour of the Dominican Republic prior to Thanksgiving. It is interesting that this may have been

timed to place him off campus when the Dow Chemical Company would interview State students, as Dow had been targeted as a major war manufacturer of napalm by national leftist leadership.³⁰

On November 21, 1967, the Monday morning of the so-called "Dow Demonstration" everyone was in his place. The police were at the ready on San Fernando Street; the school administration held down the fort within the barricaded Administration Building; and the crowd of gathering demonstrators grew as the publicized deadline of 1:00 p.m. approached.

The demonstration had been well advertised since the previous Thursday, with front page articles and photos in each issue of the Daily. The confrontation began Friday, when student and faculty groups petitioned Dr. Dusel, executive vice president, to ban Dow from recruiting on campus.³¹ The headlines on Monday read: "Dow Chemical Recruiters to Face Protesters Today." Ironically, a pep rally was scheduled to be held on Seventh Street on Dr. Clark's behalf, to mark his absence. SDS and PAW were

³⁰Ibid., November 9, 1967. While on the subject of leadership, where Terry Anderson claims the movement "was without spokespersons or direction" the account herein would seem to discredit those conclusions.

³¹Ibid., November 18, 1967.

scheduled to begin a rally on Seventh Street in front of the Administration Building at 12:15 noon.³²

At approximately 1:00 p.m. as planned, Dr. William Dusel moved to the junction of Seventh and San Fernando Streets and appeared to be ordering the crowd, now grown to an estimated four thousand, to disperse. As if at a predetermined signal, an estimated eighty police officers in riot gear began to move down San Fernando Street from Sixth to Seventh Street and up Seventh, clearing all bystanders in their way. Wielding tear gas and billy clubs, the police arrested twelve, including Professor David Eakins, in the melee, and sent approximately fifteen to seventeen individuals to the hospital with injuries. On Tuesday, the Daily stated: "San Jose Police used tear gas, smoke bombs and billy clubs to disperse an estimated 4,000 students."³³

Student President Vic Lee called the use of tear gas by city police "deplorable." The Daily staff comment by Ray Burton was that, "prior to the arrival of the police, en mass [sic] the protesters were somewhat restrained." Chief of Police Ray Blackmore took full responsibility for authorizing the gas. Dean Stanley Benz said the reason for the order was a broken window at the administration building

³²Ibid., November 21, 1967.

³³Ibid., November 22, 1967.

entrance. The Daily, however, claimed the window was broken after the police assault.³⁴

Governor Ronald Reagan used the "riot" as an excuse to point to growing disregard for law and order on "that campus." Chancellor Dumke stated, "I have no sympathy with those who would use riots and violence to press their views on others" (which is exactly what the left perceived him doing). He called for those responsible to be punished and the students involved to be expelled. There was a growing assumption on the right that these demonstrations were the instigation of off-campus agitators--as if mere students were incapable of pulling off such violence unassisted. Jeff Mullins charged the administration with "precipitating the events leading to Dow." He was at least partially correct.³⁵

Tom Fink and another student named Kaufman were later suspended for their role at the door--one accused of breaking a window with a mysteriously well-placed chair, and the other with burning a flag. Were they agent provocateurs? They never did figure, before or after, in campus political movements.³⁶ President Clark returned on Tuesday in that dark November to find his campus in

³⁴San Jose News, November 21, 1967, 21.

³⁵Daily, November 25, 1967.

³⁶Ibid., February 16, 1968.

shambles. He later remarked that, when he moved to speak to the thousand angry students gathered for the second day of demonstrations against Dow, it was the first time he saw real hatred in their eyes as they looked at him.³⁷ The campus had reached flash point!

³⁷H. Brett Melendy and Robert Clark, Oral History, 1964-69. (San Jose: San Jose State University, 1983), 43.

Chapter VII

BLACK BOYCOTTS: THE MEXICO CITY OLYMPICS

On one level this section is the story of a half dozen San Jose State student athletes and their Black spokesperson, Harry Edwards, presenting their grievances on behalf of Black people to America and the World. On another level, it is a story of raw power, played out on the stage of the American Civil Rights Movement, and fostering the militant goals of "Black Nationalism" as opposed to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s milder "nonviolence." The story etched in history is of a struggle that, once initiated, took on a life of its own, ending almost tragically as a sheer act of courage on the part of two young San Jose State student athletes.

In this event there are three major players of special interest, Huey Newton, H. Rap Brown, and Harry Edwards. The Black Panther Party was founded in the spring of 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. It was named after the symbol used by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Lowdes County, Alabama, the year before in a Black voter registration drive. Both young men were well versed in Black Nationalism as advocated by former SNCC Director Stokely Carmichael, and they had been members of the Afro-

American Association in Merritt Community College in Oakland, California prior to founding the Panthers.¹

Newton was dissatisfied with Afro-Americanism and vowed to establish his own brand of Black Nationalism in the streets of Oakland in the gubernatorial election year of 1966.

A second figure, H. Rap Brown, was the new Director of SNCC and had replaced Carmichael in the spring of 1967. He and his lieutenant, James Foreman, actively promoted SNCC-sponsored civil rights "actions" in the Northern cities throughout 1967.² For example, on April 28, 1967, over a year prior to the Mexico City Olympics, Cassius Clay, who became a Black Muslim as Mohammed Ali, refused induction into the U.S. military. For this act he was indicted for draft evasion and stripped of his boxing crown as world heavy weight champion. The following Sunday, Martin Luther King, Jr. eulogized Clay from the pulpit for his courage in opposing the military. A pacifist, King had come out against the war just months before.³

¹Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black and Green, Black Nationalism in the United States (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 103-5; Bobby Seale, Seize the Time, The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey Newton (New York: Random House, 1970), 15-34.

²Kenneth O'Reilly, Racial Matters, The F.B.I.'s Secret File on Black America 1960-1972 (New York: MacMillan, Inc., 1989), 247-56.

³New York Times, 29 April 1967, 1; 1 May 1967, 1.

Stokely Carmichael, a member of King's congregation that Sunday, said of the Boxing Commission's ruling, "If they want his title, let them get into the ring and get it." Later, June 20th, while Clay's lawyers were empaneling an all-white jury, H. Rap Brown announced that he and James Foreman were in Houston (the site of the Clay trial) to witness Clay's treatment at the hands of American justice.⁴

The third major figure was Harry Edwards, a twenty-four year old sociology instructor at San Jose State University in the fall of 1966. After having been a student-athlete at San Jose State in the early sixties, he went on to Cornell to get his Masters in sociology. He was a Ph.D. candidate there, while he taught at San Jose State for two years. During this time Edwards initiated the United Black Students for Action (UBSA) and with their support--mostly Black athletes--Edwards proceeded to launch his own protest against racism in the City of San Jose and on the San Jose State College campus. This was a year after the defeat of the Rumford Fair Housing laws by the citizens of California at the ballot box.⁵

This was not the first Black student group to organize on a Northern California campus. As noted, Afro-American associations already existed, about this time, and Huey

⁴New York Times, 21 June 1967, 1.

⁵Joe Palermo, "Black Power on Campus, Our Beginnings," San Jose Studies 14 (Spring 1988): 34-35.

Newton had established a Panther-sponsored Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State in the spring of 1967 in support of playwright LeRoi Jones.⁶ During that spring Jones made news opposing College President John Summerskill while seeking to establish a Black Studies class on the San Francisco campus.⁷

Newton by this time was renowned, having mobilized his Black Panthers in an armed visit to the State Legislature in Sacramento to lobby against gun control. Black Nationalists armed with unloaded rifles descended on the State Assembly in session and sent shivers up the spines of America's middle class. The protest did not go unnoticed by the local Federal Bureau of Investigation and by 1967, J. Edgar Hoover was waging a vendetta against the Panthers.⁸

Harry Edwards' first move at San Jose State was to present a list of demands before the campus when school started in the fall of 1967. A rally on San Fernando Street was called the first day of school. These demands were presented at a rally attended by college President Robert D. Clark⁹ and hearings were held on campus the week prior to

⁶Pinkney, Red, Black and Green, 104; Reginald Majors, A Panther is a Black Cat (New York: W. Marrow, 1971), 161.

⁷San Francisco Chronicle, May 25, 1967, 12.

⁸Racial Matters, 276-79.

⁹Melendy, Clark, Oral History, 69-70.

the Texas Western Football game scheduled for Saturday night.

Informed by authorities that Blacks (possibly Panthers from Oakland) would descend on San Jose and disrupt the game once in progress, a charge not denied by Edwards, Clark's Director of Athletics, Bob Bronzon, advocated cancelling the game and Clark concurred.¹⁰ The hearing that week resulted in undeniable evidence that discriminatory practices, on and off campus, were occurring. Edwards had made contact with the Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State, which sent a spokesperson to Edwards' rally the first day of school. There was reason to believe the "rumors" concerning a threatened Black invasion.¹¹

Clark was severely chastised in the public press for cancelling a football game. In a front page headlined article in the San Francisco Chronicle, newly elected Governor Ronald Reagan (then putting together his "favorite son" candidacy for the Republican nomination for the presidential election in 1968), agreed with State Superintendent Max Rafferty that "the Marine Corps should have been called out rather than cancel the game."¹²

¹⁰Palermo, San Jose Studies, 44-45; Melendy, Clark, Oral History, 71.

¹¹Palermo, San Jose Studies, 37.

¹²San Francisco Chronicle, September 25, 1967, 1.

Not satisfied with this "moral" victory, Edwards pushed ahead with his predictions of racial violence.¹³ By this time, Black Panther Newton had himself been picked up on charges of involuntary manslaughter for shooting a police officer in the streets of Oakland, and it soon became apparent that SNCC desired an alliance with the Black Nationalist Panther Party.¹⁴

H. Rap Brown, accompanied by Carmichael, had visited San Francisco in May of 1967 to demonstrate his support for the actions of Jones at San Francisco State. Later in the summer of 1967, at the peak of a riot in Jones' home town of Newark, New Jersey, Brown appeared to be mobilizing a SNCC action. Later that same week at a National Black Power Conference held in Newark, 1,100 Black delegates voted unanimously to boycott the Summer Olympics to be held in Mexico City in October, 1968.

With the boycott of the Texas Western football game and his recently publicized dispute in the process with Governor Ronald Reagan, Edwards was left in the "cat-bird seat" to call the next shot on racial unrest. There was a restlessness in the Black movement, and Martin Luther King's authority was unquestioned no longer. Just before Thanksgiving, on the weekend of November 23, there was a

¹³Ibid., November 16, 1967, 3.

¹⁴Ibid., October 25 and 28, 1967, 5 and 8.

Black Youth Conference in Los Angeles. James Foreman of SNCC was the keynote speaker. Tommie Smith and Lee Evans of the San Jose State track team both attended a meeting scheduled by Harry Edwards. Out of this meeting of fifty or so Black athletes came the formation of the Olympic Committee on Human Rights (OCHR). As a result of the meeting with Edwards, the Black athletes at the Conference issued three unanimous demands. Edwards got the Black athletes to resolve that: (1) they should boycott the Mexico City Olympics, (2) they should boycott the white-dominated N.Y. Athletic Club, and (3) they should refuse to compete in any athletic contest attended by the apartheid country, South Africa.¹⁵

The South African resolution was merely window dressing on the main thrust--a move to unite Blacks in carrying out the Olympic boycott originally adopted at the Newark Convention the prior July. At the Youth Conference, Foreman spoke on the theme "Liberation will come from a Black thing," and "the 'thing' which had been colonized becomes man during the process by which it frees itself." Bringing world racism to the attention of his audience, he stated, "Only a community of concerned could withstand and by mass participation . . . bring about [this] revolution, [or] the

¹⁵Harry Edwards, The Revolt of the Black Athlete (New York: Free Press, 1969), 63.

revolution will not occur."¹⁶ As can be seen, the two hundred person conference was moved to take direct action.

This decision of the OCHR itself was sent through the telegraph of the sports media and was widely reported, including the New York Times sports pages--those same pages that reported Juan Carlos's¹⁷ victory in the 200 meter dash in an all-comers meet a month earlier. The nation, on the verge of the first televised Winter Olympics, was exceptionally receptive to sport news at that time.

The OCHR was not without opposition. For example, the F.B.I. mobilized press releases quoting past and present Black athletes, including Ralph Boston, Olympic broad jumper, in opposing the much reported potential boycott of the Olympics in Mexico City in 1968¹⁸

By December 16, editor Robert Lipsyte of the Times reported Edwards had held a press conference flanked by Floyd McKissick of C.O.R.E. and Martin Luther King, Jr. in midtown New York City, to demand Avery Brundage's resignation from the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.)¹⁹ In the article, Edwards stipulated it "would be

¹⁶James Foreman, Making of Black Revolutionaries (New York: McMillan and Co., 1972), 560-64.

¹⁷Juan Carlos' name is problematic. He was referred to in the press as "Juan" but on campus he was "John." Like Smith, he was Black.

¹⁸Racial Matters, 253-61.

¹⁹New York Times, 16 December 1967, 59.

insane to pass up any means to help avoid destruction [of] the goal of Human Rights." Edwards here was playing off fears by Blacks of a dissolution of the movement. Edwards added, "The country the Negro loves doesn't love him back." In the Times Monday edition, December 18th, Rody of the I.O.C. was quoted as saying it would be the equivalent to somebody "burning down his own house" to boycott international recognition.²⁰

But Russell Baker in a Times editorial the same day sarcastically disagreed, and a reader's letter appearing on the same page emphasized both the degree of social separateness and militancy Black people shared in the United States that winter. Edwards wrote in Sociology of Sport, "it is significant that Black athletic dissenters have not demanded overall change . . . only an equitable opportunity to achieve at all levels throughout the existing system."²¹ He continued, "...the sports establishment's response . . . has been to use these adherents as scapegoats [upon which to vent their feelings]."²²

On February 15, the I.O.C., which in 1963 had barred South Africa from the Olympics because of apartheid, threw down a challenge to Edwards by readmitting South Africa to

²⁰Ibid., 18 December 1967, 18.

²¹Harry Edwards, Sociology of Sport (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1973), 314.

²²Ibid.

the Mexico City games. The next day at the indoor track and field meet at the New York Athletic Club only six Blacks--in a sport dominated by Blacks--were reported to have appeared as contestants.²³

On February 27th, the New York Times in a front page article announced that the Council of African Nations had voted to boycott the Mexico City Olympics if South Africa participated. The African connection Edwards had thus sought was won and was now a fact that Brundage had to face. For the next two months, Brundage and the I.O.C. wrestled over the politicization of the Olympics by the African nations.²⁴ As an overnight celebrity, Edwards enjoyed a favored position with Black activists on college campuses, but midway through the negotiations with the I.O.C. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, taking the steam out of the Black revolution that had been sweeping the country.

It is well to review these events. On March 13th Eugene McCarthy narrowly lost to President Johnson in the New Hampshire primary. Four days later, Robert Kennedy entered the Democratic race. Meanwhile, King's attention was focused on preparation for a Poor People's March to Washington later that spring. He was, however, distracted

²³New York Times, 16 February 1968, 41.

²⁴New York Times, 28 February 1968, 46.

by a strike of garbage workers in Memphis, Tennessee.²⁵ Groping at straws, King had announced his March on Washington December 16th--at about the same time Edwards went public on the Black boycott. President Johnson's report from the Commission of Civil Disorders, capping four hot summers of riots in Northern ghettos, was expected daily.

King's march was billed as a "kind of last resort for non-violence, a search for an alternative to riots."²⁶ King himself had said: "It is nonviolence or nonexistence." He then went on to say nonviolence was on trial in Memphis.²⁷ As the New Republic reported after the fact, "White America [was] concerned for the security of its children and the safety of its streets."²⁸ Only days before King's fatal moment, President Johnson told the nation, "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President," thus removing himself directly from public criticism.²⁹

²⁵New York Times, 25 March 1968, 46; 26 March 1968, 31.

²⁶"Cities in '68," New Republic, 16 December 1967, 5-7.

²⁷"I've Been to the Top of the Mountain," Newsweek, 15 April 1968, 34.

²⁸"An Appraisal of McCarthy and Kennedy," New Republic, 13 April 1968, 22-30.

²⁹Newsweek, 15 April 1968, 26.

The day of King's assassination, Stokely Carmichael took to the streets with the cry, "When White America killed Dr. King, she declared war on us . . . we have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders." A man on the scene of the King slaying that afternoon, James Lowe, of the U.S. Justice Department, was quoted as saying: "All I could think of was Kennedy, Kennedy, Kennedy." Robert Kennedy was quoted in the street as saying: "I had a member of my family killed."³⁰ For two days northern cities burned.³¹

Dr. King's death was said to have "dealt a perilous wound to the American Soul," as the nation edged to the brink of racial war.³² In the grim aftermath of King's assassination, the nation looked on as Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy traded wits in the bid for America's youth. Arthur Schlesinger wrote in "Why I Am for Kennedy," published May 4, "Some Liberals condemned his [RFK's] failure to run as opportunistic and then when he decided to run they condemned that as opportunism too." But he added, "no political leader of our time [has] so deeply and vigorously concerned himself with the fate of the vulnerable

³⁰"King Is the Man, Oh Lord," Newsweek, 15 April 1968, 36.

³¹Ibid., 28-29.

³²Ibid.

or powerless as Kennedy."³³

As the last hope for peace in America confronted usurper McCarthy and traditionalist Hubert Humphrey in the California primary, America awaited the outcome. One Wisconsin professor was quoted earlier in Newsweek as saying: "Our students are . . . working for Gene instead of burning down their dormitory and hanging the dean in effigy."³⁴ There would be time enough for that later. Robert Kennedy, on his part, pleaded, "If you will give me your hand, I will work for you and we will have a new America." Taking up King's crusade, Kennedy said prophetically of Vietnam, "They made a desert and called it peace."³⁵

But on June 6th, less than ten weeks after King's assassination, Robert Francis Kennedy, too, was dead, only minutes after announcement of his California victory. The strongest voice for moderation lay slain in a hotel kitchen in Los Angeles. Meanwhile, Brundage, who had by then conceded the point to the African boycott and reversed the I.O.C. position on South Africa after Vice President Hubert Humphrey came to his side to speak against the politicization of sport, contended with a defeat. By now

³³A. Schlesinger, Jr., "Why I Am for Kennedy," New Republic, 4 May 1968, 19-23.

³⁴"We Want Camelot Again," Newsweek, 25 March 1968, 38.

³⁵Ibid.

Edwards had won two of his three points but was losing momentum in the confrontation with the establishment as the Olympic trials approached that summer.

A July article in U.S. News and World Report indicated that Blacks were moving away from civil rights and integration toward "a kind of voluntary separation . . . to form what is coming to be called a 'Black Society'."³⁶ "Black Power" had come to mean political power to take control of big city governments -- or of their own neighborhoods or school districts. Here for the first time we hear of "Black Capitalism" from Richard Nixon. "Large numbers of Negroes [seem to] have decided that real integration is not possible."³⁷ Norman B. Houston of the NAACP wrote, "Negroes are trying to build their own society just as the Japanese and Jews did. . . . They are trying to develop cultural roots and become as independent as possible."³⁸ The times they were "a changin'."

In a previous meeting of Olympic qualifiers that summer, the vote was 12-13, with one abstention, to abandon the movement for the boycott by Black participants. Meanwhile, Edwards, who had been shadowed throughout that spring and summer by the F.B.I., slipped out of sight and

³⁶"Negro Leaders Shift Strategy," U.S. News and World Report, 22 July 1968, 30.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

into obscurity just before the Olympiad began, staying with Larry Lomax of Los Angeles. He had been warned that he could suffer King and Kennedy's fate if he attempted to travel to Mexico City.³⁹

Edwards was intensely aware of the plight of the Afro-American in the late sixties, and he had seized upon a visible issue as a significant rallying point in the depths of disillusionment of the "movement" prior to King's death. His efforts had helped the Black protest to go into the streets and into the institutions in 1968 and 1969 in California.

His own testimony indicates that the basic issue faced by Blacks throughout American society was racism and a lack of power.⁴⁰ The goals of the "revolt" therefore were the same as those of any other legitimate phase of the Civil Rights movement; "equality, justice, the regaining of Black dignity lost during three hundred years of abject slavery, and the attainment of the basic human and civil rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and the concept of American democracy."⁴¹

The confrontation in Mexico City had the support of some of the white athletes. For example, as early as August

³⁹Edwards, The Struggle That Must Be: An Autobiography (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 154-56.

⁴⁰Edwards, Sociology of Sport, 323.

⁴¹Edwards, The Revolt of the Black Athlete, 38.

first the U.S. Olympic all-white rowing team announced a resolution of sympathy toward the plight of Black Americans. That same month middle class white youths took to the streets of Chicago to protest Hubert Humphrey's nomination. Shattered over the war, these young Americans struggled on the streets of Chicago with Mayor Richard Daley's "tacsquads" and tear gas, while the Convention steamrolled the nomination of Johnson's hand-picked successor to lead the party in November. Eugene McCarthy, completely out of touch with both the convention and the people in the streets, remained sympathetic. But as the tear gas cleared after Humphrey's acceptance speech, there was one demonstrator yet to be heard from. Tommie Smith had before him the Mexico City Olympics.⁴²

In a sure and certain manner, Tommie Smith, Peter Norman, and Juan Carlos stepped onto the victory stand in the Mexico City Olympics to be awarded their gold, silver, and bronze medals, respectively, for the 200 meter dash. As the national anthem played through the stadium speakers, Smith, Norman, and Carlos turned toward the flags of the United States and Australia and in one motion, with heads bowed, Smith raised his black-gloved right hand and Carlos raised his black-gloved left hand in a Black power salute to protest Black poverty in racist America--their home

⁴²New York Times, 15 August 1968, 20; 18 August 1968, 60; 1 September 1968, 16.

country. For that act, world record holders Tommie Smith and Juan Carlos were banned by the International Olympic Committee from further participation in the Olympiad. Thus ended one of the strangest tests of will between generations to be played out in the world arena in the Vietnam era.⁴³ And thus was to begin a new wave of protest throughout the nation, a nation torn by racial strife for almost a decade, and criticized around the globe for its imperialist policies in third world countries.

The form of the protest stunned the nation and cut Brundage to the quick. He had argued very persuasively that politicization had no place in sports, and that the Games must go on as he had in 1936 when the Olympics were scheduled to be played in Berlin--thus generating for Hitler the world stage which he sought. The same stand taken thirty-two years later in Mexico City proved his undoing. Times had changed. Within four years, Avery Brundage, then seventy-four, would resign from his lifelong supervision of American athletics on the international stage. Boycott organizer San Jose State instructor Harry Edwards (then but twenty-five) would go on to obtain his doctorate from Cornell University and become chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of California, Berkeley.

⁴³Edwards, The Revolt of the Black Athlete, 104, and Allan Guttman, The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 293.

Tommie Smith returned to San Jose State to embrace the Black Nationalism of the Panther Party, and with a cry of "Free Huey" went on the campaign trail in support of Eldridge Cleaver, Panther Peace and Freedom third party candidate for President.⁴⁴ Tommie Smith became an athletic coach himself at Oberlin College under Jack Scott. Carlos faded into obscurity. Thus came to a close a chapter in the evolution of the politicization of sport begun in the Berlin games of 1936 and first played out in Hitler's Germany, where Brundage first took a position on sport in world political events.⁴⁵

In his treatment of the modern Olympiad in his much heralded book The Games Must Go On (1984), Allen Guttman alluded in the final chapter to the great irony of Brundage --that the stand against politicization of sports made in 1936, which elevated him to national acclaim as former head of the American Athletic Union, should prove his undoing thirty-two years later in Mexico City where two young sprinters from Edwards' San Jose State College defied the International Olympic Committee ban on athletic protest, and brought home to the world community, by televised games, the indignity suffered by Black America. By 1972 the Games were the focus of international intrigue and covert activity as

⁴⁴San Francisco Chronicle, 20 October 1968, 35; Pinkney, Red, Black and Green, 107.

⁴⁵Guttman, The Games Must Go On, 301-5.

Israeli athletes were held hostage again in the German corridor. The American boycott of the Olympics en masse in 1980 was, in retrospect, only a footnote. In 1984 the Soviets themselves boycotted the Olympics in Los Angeles.⁴⁶

We probably never will really know what transpired in those moments that led to the victory stand demonstration in Mexico City. Even today, Smith is vague and non-committal about his activism. What it did for the movement that had begun to falter is a matter for a major book on the subject. Smith's and Carlos's sheer act of heroism cannot be overstated or detracted from, however conflicting and clouded the issues may have become over time.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷K. Moore, "The Eye of the Storm," Sports Illustrated, 12 August 1991, 60-66; Harry Edwards, The Struggle That Must Be, 137-45.

Chapter VIII

ESCALATION: 1968

One of the core narratives of the Sixties is the story of the love/hate relations of radicals and liberals Radicals needed liberals--presupposed them, borrowed rising expectations from them, were disappointed by them--radically disappointed and infuriated by them. Made trouble for them, then concluded that liberals' suspicion, possessiveness and quellers of trouble were the "enemy."

Promise and timidity were two facets of a large political culture, what might be called custodial or managerial liberalism. Whenever movements rocked the boat, [the] imperative was to hoist it back on an even keel. . . . The "liberal manager" . . . is a custodian of order . . . [whom] the New Left's political culture reared up to oppose.

Liberals! the very word had become the New Left's curse.¹

The upheaval was more radical in form because of mounting frustration and subsequent alienation, most of it caused by the endless war. A Columbia University vice president said that there were two wars, one in Vietnam and the other on the campuses.²

¹Gitlin, The Sixties, 127, 247, 203.

²"Why Columbia Happened," Newsweek, October 14, 1968, 46.

On April 26, 1968, SDS called a national student strike.³ As H. Rap Brown had said of violence in America, it was "as American as apple pie."⁴ "It remained true to the decade's bitter end, that most of the New Left thought of violence as the harsh currency of the 20th century."⁵

Ronald Reagan deserves much credit in his first term as governor for focusing national attention on higher education across the country. While he skillfully manipulated the media, radicals learned from this former actor the lessons of "street theater" and the tactics to maximize publicity for themselves and their cause.

By 1968 Ronald Reagan was proposing austerity in California public education. While Regent Edwin Pauley described the proposed budget for the UC system as "unlivable," Reagan asked that \$24 million be slashed from state college budgets. Described as a "friend and political ally of Reagan's," Chancellor Glen Dumke decried a faculty turnover of ten percent a year as Reagan refused to raise taxes--the only feasible alternative to cutting support. Officials of Berkeley worried that 1,600 students there would have to spend an additional quarter or two on campus

³Gitlin, The Sixties, 293.

⁴Ibid., 316.

⁵Ibid.

because required classes were overcrowded.⁶ Reagan seemed determined to keep colleges lean until "they stiffen campus discipline." John Summerhill, who had just resigned as president of San Francisco State, pointed to Reagan, stating: "No state leader encourages the people to have pride in their great University" or "to build and strengthen their fine state colleges."⁷

In the winter of 1968, Dr. Hobert Burns came out against military recruiting, urging San Jose State students to join Stanford and Columbia in rejecting military training. Burns' stand was a moral one: "Speaking as a private citizen, privately."⁸ Chancellor Dumke, referring to the so-called "silent majority," stated: "Merely [watching dissent] is not enough. It is up to us to contain it, and if possible direct it. . . . We must decide first of all what we want our educational institutions to be and how we want them to operate."⁹ But 1968 was a year every young person had to take a public stand, for before the next year was to begin, the decade of the "Now generation" was to be in shambles.

⁶"Austerity in California," Time, March 1, 1968, 71-72.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Spartan Daily, December 6, 1967.

⁹Ibid., December 7, 1967.

On December 8th, the interim "Statement of Student Rights and Responsibilities" went to Dr. Clark for his signature. The final draft was locked up in committee of the Academic Council for most of the semester. It was largely the handiwork of five people, including two students--Craig Donneley and Jose Alvarez--appointed to the task by Vic Lee. Gene Lokey, however, is often credited with working behind the scenes to see that the final draft got Student Council approval. "They want freedom but not the responsibility," Jose Alvarez sadly stated in the Daily.¹⁰ Regarding this issue, Vic Lee stated: "These events focused our attention on the problems existing in society. . . . They have shown us that we can no longer turn our backs and pretend those problems no longer exist."¹¹

Meanwhile work on the student body constitution continued apace. It was decided in Student Council Chambers that the president and vice president would run on a "ticket." The legislative body was to be cut from twenty-one members to thirteen and be proportional to their respective numbers in the three divisions of the college.

¹⁰Ibid., January 6, 1968.

¹¹Ibid., January 17 and February 16, 1968.

"The present constitution is at the root of our problems," Vic Lee stated.¹² Believing that the constitution more important than the "Statement of Student Rights and Responsibilities," Lee concentrated on the Constitution in spite of the fact that six elected Student Council representatives had already resigned.

Meanwhile the Dow demonstration issues were still alive. Chief Justice Margo Richmond of the A.S. Judiciary raised the issue of double jeopardy in regard to the Dow cases, which led to the issue of using testimony at judicial hearings later in county court. For his part, Dr. David Eakins pleaded nolo contendere.¹³

In the spring, Dow Chemical again tried to return to the campus. Demonstrations against Dow were peaceful and President Clark appeared well prepared. A large demonstration of one thousand students turned out to protest, out of almost 23,000. Jeff Mullins, in his perennial Daily column, credited Gene Lokey with heading off a Dow riot that spring.¹⁴

But across the nation during the election year of 1968 radicals were stepping up their demands, and building and strengthening their own support. At Columbia University in

¹²Ibid., February 19, 1968.

¹³Ibid., February 22, 1968.

¹⁴Ibid., March 9, 1968.

downtown Manhattan, 150 protestors demonstrated against construction of a gymnasium near Harlem. Thirteen were arrested. This was the latest of a long series of disputes over a few acres in Morningside Park, a thirty acre area dividing Black Harlem from the campus, even though the University was using \$10 million from a Ford Foundation grant to "improve the neighborhood."¹⁵

Columbia was described as an "academic enclave surrounded by poverty and decay." In late April, SDS moved to push a notch up in revolutionary tactics and occupy a building. Rejecting the offer to negotiate, they marched on the Park, then proceeded to Hamilton Hall and held Dean Henry S. Coleman and two others barricaded in their offices as hostages. The next morning, sixty Black students took charge and the SDS group, led by twenty-year-old Mark Rudd, seized Low Library and occupied President Greyson Kirk's office--indulging themselves in his luxury quarters.¹⁶

The Black group issued a formal statement from Hamilton Hall: "We are prepared to remain here indefinitely. Morale is high." Shortly thereafter, Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown showed up at Hamilton Hall to counsel the Black students. The students, soon supported by an estimated 4,700

¹⁵"Agony on Morningside Heights," Time, March 8, 1968, 48.

¹⁶"Columbia at Bay," Newsweek, May 6, 1968, 40-44; "Siege at Morningside Heights," Time, May 3, 1968.

picketing fellow sympathizers, issued three demands: (1) cessation of the controversial project to build a new gym at Morningside Park, (2) sever the school's ties with the Pentagon-affiliated Institute for Defense Analysis, and (3) a grant of amnesty from disciplinary action for demonstrating.

Hamilton Hall had been seized on a Tuesday afternoon. By Thursday, five buildings were occupied, including Avery and Fayerweather Halls. Some people believed if a few heads were cracked in the process of securing the buildings, so much the better. But President Kirk wanted no violence. "Massive police intervention might draw hostile crowds from neighboring Harlem." Besides, one of the buildings housed five hundred rare manuscripts and theses.¹⁷

At the request of Mayor Lindsey, Columbia yielded on the seven year plan to build the gymnasium in Harlem's Morningside Park. The university officials closed the University on Friday. One thousand five hundred students signed petitions against the "tasteless, inconsiderate, and illegal protest." But the negotiations fell through over the issue of amnesty. Just who were this band of student radicals who called themselves "Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS)?

¹⁷"Columbia at Bay," Newsweek, ibid.; "Siege at Morningside Heights," Time, ibid.

Founded as a youth arm of the labor movement in its heyday, on June 11, 1962, by fifty-nine persons, "SDS was the white man's SNCC." The main catalyst of their thinking had been the Vietnam War. The so-called "Port Huron statement" drafted by graduate student Tom Hayden and others at the founding urged a new "democracy, of individual participation, where each person shares in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of their life (e.g., participatory democracy)." Action was considered justified if institutions or individuals were illegitimate.¹⁸

There was, of course, a report on the disturbances at Columbia, the so-called Cox Commission Report chaired by Archibald Cox, Harvard lawyer, assisted by five others. This report cited the liberal administration for allowing the situation to deteriorate to "flash point."

There was another report earlier that year, in April, which sounded the gravest note of alarm to those in high places, and to the establishment in general. This was the Kerner Report, or the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders:¹⁹

Though it sharply condemned rioting, it directly implicated white Americans in the existence of the

¹⁸"Who Are the SDS?," Newsweek, May 20, 1968, 62.

¹⁹"Why Columbia Happened," Newsweek, October 14, 1968, 96.

ghetto . . . white institutions created it, white institutions maintained it, and white society condoned it.

Vice Chair of the eleven member commission was Mayor John Lindsey of New York City.²⁰

Student politics occupied much of the attention of the Spartan Daily during the spring of 1968. Jim Brewer, back on the Daily with his column "The Cross Eyed Rabbit," stated he would run for President. After all, "how can a rabbit do worse for you than the turkey you got in there now?" he asked. The A.S. Constitution was to be put to a vote in the student election of May 1st and 2nd, and to go into effect April, 1969. But Lee felt the job should be left to the next year's Council, and attention turned to election eve politics.²¹

John Merz, Student Council member, pointed out in a letter to the Daily that only nine of the original twenty-one elected councilmen continued to sit in the chambers. Bill Clark resigned as vice president in order to enter the Army April 28th, leaving vice chair Bob Gottschalk to take his place.²² Earl Hansen, perennial candidate, again appeared on the scene touting his new radio station "Catch

²⁰"Roots of Riots Call to Battle," Newsweek, March 11, 1968, 37.

²¹Spartan Daily, March 20-27, 1968.

²²Ibid., April 15, 1968.

Up" KXUP in a rivalry with the campus radio station KSJS. John Graham announced for president, along with Scott La Favor. Hansen proposed a new political party, the Dollars and Sense Party.²³ Other campus heavies, including Dick Miner and Jeff Mullins, soon joined Hansen at a founding meeting of the party.

The task before Miner was to keep "no enemies to the left," so he had the appearance of being the clear liberal anointed to move for the political center. He accomplished this by backroom maneuvering and uniting factions within the left. Days before the election he appeared to accomplish his task and, with the use of the Dollars and Sense Party, managed to line up other malcontents against the formidable Fraternity Row.

Earl Hansen was in a face-off with Councilman Bill Langdon for vice president and Jeff Mullins ran against conservative spokesperson Steve DeLucchi for treasurer. Bob Wallich appeared poised against Gerry Rooney. But there was a hitch in the Election Code, now under scrutiny due to constitutional revisions. Gene Lokey saw to it that a candidate had to have a majority of votes in order to win. A mere plurality was insufficient.²⁴ So the day after the election, Langdon had beaten Hansen 1,825 to 1,499 and

²³Ibid., April 17, 1968.

²⁴Ibid., April 25, 1968.

Mullins was seven votes short of a majority. There was to be a runoff not only between Mullins and DeLucchi for Treasurer, but for the presidency as well, because Miner finished with 1,206 votes to Graham's 1,269 and La Favor's 775. (Roger Allen polled a distant 80). Gerry Rooney won with 1,997 votes to Wallich's 720 and an unknown, Marles Aliamo, won uncontested with over 2,000 votes for Executive Secretary.²⁵

Miner, who had made light of campus politics thus far in the election, now took off the gloves. He stated: "The biggest issue facing this campus and the nation is racism and all its economic, political and educational ramifications."²⁶ The runoff was scheduled for the following week. A debate was proposed and Miner said the forum scheduled for Tuesday in Morris Daily Auditorium presented a fantastic opportunity to show who really knew what was happening locally and throughout the country.

The debate lasted two and a half hours in front of an estimated three hundred students. Graham's final statement claimed: "Involvement is a platitude." Miner touched on the same subject, saying: "Involvement is more than just a phrase." Thursday night Miner won with 2,534 votes to 1,808; Mullins squeaked in with 2,119 votes to DeLucchi's

²⁵Ibid., May 1, May 3, 1968.

²⁶Ibid., May 3, 1968.

1,941. The election proved to be the end of an era. Miner later charged there was interference from the athletic department once again, and he claimed slander against him by Fraternity Row, but there were no election code violations filed in either the first or the runoff election.²⁷

This all provided the dramatic domestic backdrop against which the major figures (Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey, Republican Richard M. Nixon, and third party candidate George Wallace) played out their bid to succeed Lyndon B. Johnson for the presidency. Early on there was a feeling the President could not quite envision anyone succeeding him: "The once irrepressible Humphrey may have become a bond servant of Lyndon Johnson In a way he [Johnson] might even prefer a Republican victory . . . rather than a victory of another Democrat." This was Time Magazine's analysis of the situation as the candidates came out of their respective conventions.²⁸

This theme was repeated in the early days. How could Humphrey establish himself as his own man? "The foul mouthed (anti-war) fringe may prove more of an asset than a liability in the long run." But aides counseled Humphrey to court the doves or risk losing the left wing of the

²⁷Ibid., May 4, May 5, 1968.

²⁸ "Humphrey," Time, September 20, 1968, 15-16.

Democratic Party. Instead, he attacked Nixon, who retorted in a feature page in Time:

The days of a passive presidency belong to a simpler past . . . the next President must take an active view of his office. He must articulate the Nation's values, define its goals and marshal its will. The President today cannot stand aside from crises, he cannot ignore division. He cannot paper over disunity. He must lead.²⁹

Thus Nixon was challenging Humphrey to break with the Johnson administration over bombing North Vietnam and bring action to the peace table established in Paris.³⁰

If riots were indeed becoming relics of the recent past in some militant Black minds, they insisted guerilla warfare was inevitably the next phase. But Blacks weren't providing an easy target for third party candidate George Wallace and his American Independent Party.³¹ Blacks now feared that the November election would be followed by a determined and even violent effort to turn back the racial clock.³²

Throughout September, the media hammered away on the point that Humphrey was no dynamo like Kennedy or

²⁹"Nixon on the Presidency," Time, September 27, 1968, 18.

³⁰"A Modicum of Cheer," Time, September 2, 1968, 17.

³¹"An End to Negro Riots," Newsweek, September 30, 1968, 26.

³²Ibid., 27.

Johnson.³³ Then in the first week of October, Humphrey decided it was time to cut the strings to the Johnson Administration while still not repudiating Democratic policy. He went on the air with a televised broadcast. His key statement was: "I would stop the bombing of the North as an acceptable risk for peace." He went on to say, however, he would "weigh that risk against key evidence the communists were willing to restore the DMZ [De-Militarized Zone]." His quid pro quo undercut his more dramatic overstatement. Result? Equivocation.³⁴

Nixon's position was secure. He would not discuss for the record future settlements that might damage the outcome of the war. As a result, the California Young Democrats voted "not to even begin to consider supporting Humphrey" unless he agreed to meet six demands, including immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. Throughout October the media reported Nixon's success across the country as Hubert Humphrey with "dogged determination" pursued the front runner.³⁵

³³"Democrats: What Went Wrong?" Newsweek, September 30, 1968, 21.

³⁴"Some Forward Motion for HHH," Time, October 11, 1968, 20; "HHH's Bombing Halt," Newsweek, October 14, 1968, 31.

³⁵"How Nixon Does It," Newsweek, October 21, 1968, 33; "Democrats Tough Going," Ibid., 34.

Then, on the eve of the election, there were news leaks of a bombing halt. Hanoi was rumored to agree to the conditions, from as trustworthy a source as President Nguyen Van Thieu. Humphrey stalwarts, as they had done since Chicago, kept their eyes on the polls.³⁶ Now Humphrey took the initiative. He attacked Nixon for refusing to debate him: "Let's tell him . . . to discuss the issues." Nixon remained aloof and assured. If a bombing pause could be agreed to and there was no risk, he would not object.³⁷

Due in part to the large turnout for Jess Unruh, Speaker of the Assembly, on October 15th, when he hinted for the first time he would run against Reagan in 1970, it was announced October 23rd that Vice President Humphrey would visit the San Jose State campus on the following Friday. The next day the Daily ran an article announcing Humphrey intended to deliver an appeal aimed directly at students. Challenged by A.S. President Dick Miner to "tell it the way it was," Humphrey directed his remarks to the role of youth in society. "This generation can cause the changes needed," he said to an estimated audience of ten thousand students and San Jose residents. Echoing what David Horowitz, editor of Ramparts, had said on campus the prior semester, he

³⁶"A War on the Way Out?" Newsweek, October 28, 1968, 32-35.

³⁷"HHH: Harris, The Halt - The Hope," Newsweek, October 28, 1968.

added: "Our foreign policy can be no better than our domestic morality. . . . The potential of the poor can be brought forth and I want to be the man to call forth that goodness. . . . If we fail here, we can do no better abroad." He added: "I want to get that war over with as much as you," reflecting on his themes from his previous televised Salt Lake City speech. Theodore White wrote in The Making of the President 1968 that it was the best speech of his campaign.³⁸

And well it may have been. On October 30th, Eugene McCarthy at long last endorsed Hubert Horatio Humphrey for president. Jeff Mullins, no longer serving as A.S. Treasurer, assumed the role of acting Northern California Chairman for Students for Humphrey. Miner stated: "After private conversations with Humphrey, many of us were convinced he was the man we should work for." Touching off a final flurry of activity, President Johnson declared a long-withheld bombing halt on Friday, November 1, 1968. Political opinion leaders remained skeptical. History professor Robin Brooks and Daily staff editor Kenyon Jorden came out with a campaign to vote "NO for President." It looked like a squeaker for Nixon. The election still appeared close enough possibly to wind up in the House of Representatives.

³⁸Spartan Daily, October 24-26, 1968.

Chapter IX

COUNTER OFFENSIVE: THE REACTIONARY RIGHT

SDS under the leadership of "new blood" was moving from "protest to resistance." The promise, long in the making, was that a radicalized youth culture presaged a movement that could go it alone, reaching the young and the Left.¹ But for Timothy Leary and Steve Alpert, political systems were equal oppressors and power trippers.²

So youth culture became the hope, and therefore the target of counterculture entrepreneurs and New Left organizers alike. But major differences were masked: 1) According to youth culture proper, the "enemy" was adults, their institutions and culture. 2) According to counterculture entrepreneurs, the "enemy" was the established culture or civilization itself, neither of which was necessarily organized by age. 3) According to the New Left the "enemy" was the political and social system, and/or the dominant institutions, and/or the inhabitants of the commanding heights. 4) According to Liberal Reformers the "enemy" was particular policies.³

¹Gitlin, The Sixties, 229.

²Ibid., 208.

³Ibid., 220.

The counterculture was thus denied institutions in which "hip" collectivity and their cultivation of individual experience could cohabit.⁴ Dope, hair, beads, easy sex, all that might have started as symbols of teenage difference or deviance, were fast transformed into symbols of cultural dissidence.⁵

The core of what came to be called the counterculture was organized by intellectual entrepreneurs, street corner theorists of post scarcity, campus dropouts with advanced degrees, and visionary seekers quickened by drugs.⁶

To quote Gitlin, "every day had been converted into the extraordinary."⁷ Black separatism was on the upswing, Black radical candidates for cross-race alliance were a scarcity. Yet if revolution was imminent, the Black underclass rioting in the streets were plausible cadres. Huey Newton, Bobbie Seale, Eldridge Cleaver became legends in their own time.⁸

Robin Morgan describes the attitude on campus best in "Goodbye to All That" printed in a February 9, 1970 issue of the underground press The Rat.

⁴Ibid., 206.

⁵Ibid., 215.

⁶Ibid., 214.

⁷Ibid., 203.

⁸Ibid., 347.

It seems obvious that a legitimate revolution must be led by, made by, those who have been most oppressed: blacks, browns, and white women. With [white] men relating to that the best they can.⁹

"The Panthers were tailor made for the romance: they were young, tough, crime-seared. 'Brothers on the block' replaced the 'band of brothers in a circle of love.'"¹⁰

The university became the prototype for society as a whole.¹¹ "What made the revolution mood possible was more than apocalyptic events, it was that collective willingness to suspend one's better judgment." But turning the pages of the New York Review of Books (January 30, 1969 edition) we find the title: "Revolution in America?" confirming revolution was the right question.¹² "To invoke the Revolution was to [increasingly] claim title to the future."¹³

The feared backlash began in California before the ballots were even counted. At San Francisco State trouble had begun in November 1967 when the Black Student Union (BSU) wrecked the office of the student newspaper for "racial slurs." President Robert Smith, newly appointed to

⁹As quoted in Ibid., 373-74.

¹⁰Ibid., 350.

¹¹Ibid., 345.

¹²Ibid., 346.

¹³Ibid., 345.

replace John Summerskill, was ordered by Chancellor Dumke to suspend George Murray, the twenty-two-year old minister of education for the Black Panthers. He was suspended for "inciting students to violence."¹⁴

The Black militants responded by calling a student strike. But when the faculty met to debate their support of the strike, they moved instead to demand Dumke's resignation for having given the order in the first place, resenting Dumke's intervention in local affairs. They also voted a suspension of instruction. New outbreaks of violence forced President Robert Smith to close down the campus.¹⁵ S. I. Hayakawa, a semantics professor and now president of the college, assumed control of the campus and ordered it reopened with the backing of six hundred police in riot gear. A life-long conservative, he refused to negotiate student demands for a Black Studies Department and unlimited admissions of Black students.

Thus Hayakawa became the third president at San Francisco State in twenty-seven months. He complained to the press, "There are many whites who do not apply to Blacks the same standards of morality and behavior they

¹⁴"Shutdown at San Francisco State," Time, November 22, 1968, 55.

¹⁵Ibid.

apply to whites."¹⁶ To complicate matters, Hayakawa's own faculty resented the fact he had not gone through the presidential selection process required of all other presidents. But he did rouse a pro-administration committee of traditional campus organizations under the name "Committee for Academic Environment" to counter slogans of "shut it down!!" with "keep it open."

After Christmas break the casualty list at San Francisco State was as follows: 150 arrests, 25 arson reports, and hundreds hospitalized for beatings at the hands of TAC squads.

The American Federation of Teachers started a strike for higher pay at San Francisco and San Jose State, hundreds of student protesters were arrested at San Fernando Valley State, picket lines formed at Chico, Fresno and Sacramento.¹⁷

But the immediate demands of the Black Student Union and Third World Liberation Front were ignored. It was reported: "The California State College network is in danger of falling apart."¹⁸

John Bunzel, Political Science Department Chairman, was quoted as saying: "There really is no sense of community [at San Francisco State]. Students go to class, then go

¹⁶"Semantics at San Francisco," Ibid., December 6, 1968, 83.

¹⁷"Unsteady State," Time, January 20, 1969, 59.

¹⁸Ibid.

home or to their jobs." Many complained the individual college campuses had become unmanageable because most of the power in the system lay in the chancellor's office in Long Beach. According to Smith, "the effectiveness of three recent presidents at San Francisco State was destroyed as much by the Trustees and Chancellor as by anything that happened on campus."¹⁹

"San Francisco State was and is one of the most liberal institutions in this country." Students controlled a budget of over \$400,000 per year. "San Francisco State College's strike [became] the first sustained assault on an institution by its students," embroiling political leaders of the city and state, and the off-campus community as well.²⁰

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰San Francisco State was founded in 1887 and is part of the eighteen state college campus system in California. In 1920, the legislature created a State Board of Education to govern the then emerging State Teachers Colleges. By the late 1950s, with the onset of the post war baby boom, colleges across the state were experiencing an explosion in growth. In 1960 the legislature passed the Donahoe Higher Education Act establishing a Master Plan of Education in California and a board of trustees to govern the state college campus system. Under the Master Plan, the top twelve percent of high school graduates were eligible to enter the University of California system of nine branch campuses. The upper third of high school graduates were eligible for the state colleges, and anyone with a high school diploma or over twenty-one years old could attend the community or junior colleges. This plan thus distributed responsibility for graduate research at the university level, undergraduate teaching at the state college level, and vocational training at the junior college level.

Eruptions also occurred over Black studies and admissions at Queens College in New York, Swarthmore and Brandeis. Nathan Hare, Black studies instructor at San Francisco State, said: "The Black Student movement today wants 'in'. In the search for integration [the Black] achieves disintegration."²¹

The state of California's endless campus disorders drew Melvin Field to do a poll. In it "Californians showed they are not only sick of the chaos but that more of them yearn for repressive measures. Thirty-eight percent, up from 19%, strongly opposed giving students more voice in deciding campus rules. . . . The biggest fact in Reagan's popularity . . . is his 'firm handling of college riots.'"²² In

Sixteen members of the Board of Trustees were appointed by the governor for staggered eight year terms, with five ex-officio members numbering the leadership at the state capitol. A chancellor and vice chancellors were appointed by the trustees to operate the eighteen campus state college system. Authority rested with the Chancellor, Glen Dumke, former president of San Francisco State prior to the adoption of the Master Plan. In practice, though, the Master Plan encouraged rivalry between the UC system and the state colleges.

Although Dumke claimed the state college system was "far more a federation than an empire" many, including Robert Clark of San Jose State, would dispute that respective ordering. Many besides Clark were striving for campus autonomy, and there were five faculty organizations vying for exclusive negotiation rights with the trustees.

William H. Orrick, ed., College in Crises (Nashville: Aurora Publishing, Inc., 1970), 5-16.

²¹"Black Mood on Campus," Newsweek, February 10, 1969, 53-56.

²²"California Backlash," Time, March 14, 1969, 60.

contrast, Time announced:

Radcliffe women will live in the same houses with Harvard men, take all their meals in the same dining halls, and be governed by the same administration No one is sure where the limits may lie College authorities seldom try to direct the mores of the students nowadays As a result, bitter confrontations have been few.²³

The May 2nd issue of Time reported Kenneth Clark of New York City College stating:

Our major educational institutions have not delivered the services to humanity that could be reasonably expected of them. If the public became seriously angered at the Universities the nation at large will be in more serious trouble than ever.

But Harry Edwards, now at Cornell, once again was going to stretch the envelope of possibilities. Coming from a "virtually all white San Jose State," Edwards looked back on his boycott of the Olympics by saying: "What value is it to a Black man to win a medal if he returns to the Hell of Harlem?"²⁴

At 2:00 a.m. on Friday, April 18, 1969, the lid blew at Cornell. It was Parents Weekend. Two thousand visitors were expected. At 6:03 a.m. one hundred twenty Black students seized Willard Straight Hall, the college union,

²³"Can Hip Harvard Hold the Line?," Time, March 14, 1969, 70.

²⁴"The Black Boycott," Time, February 23, 1968, 61.

shouting "Fire." SDS immediately set up a picket line. Feeling threatened by rumors of armed fraternity men of Delta Upsilon, Harry Edwards advised his classmates to arm themselves.

Black protestors demonstrated against Cornell's racist attitudes and smuggled in "a small arsenal of rifles, shot guns and knives." President John Perkins had agreed to several demands but, like Hayakawa at San Francisco State, refused to cooperate on the issue of a separate college run entirely by Blacks. There were differing opinions as to the cause of the demonstration. Blacks said it was sparked by a cross burned on a "sister's" lawn; whites, because three demonstrators of a prior December were disciplined.²⁵

The siege ended after thirty-four hours, when President Perkins gave in to the demands, including amnesty. Time asked, "How far can [a university] compromise before it loses all integrity?" For Perkins it was a simple matter of life being worth more than property. For the Blacks, it raised the notch on the revolution once again, since Columbia. But for members of SDS, who called a rally after the showdown which was attended by 6,000, there were many who were having second thoughts about "the Revolution."²⁶

²⁵"It Can't Happen Here, Can It?" Newsweek, May 5, 1969, 26-28; "Agony at Cornell," Time, May 2, 1969, 30.

²⁶Ibid.

The war at home was heating up. As Harry Edwards led a standoff at gunpoint at Cornell, the citadel of the revolution, UC Berkeley was headed for a confrontation of its own. Communes had emerged in the Haight Ashbury district in San Francisco and across the bay in Berkeley along Telegraph Avenue, the gateway to the UC campus. The UC Regents awoke in April 1967 to the fact they owned much of the land occupied by the "hip" counterculture.²⁷ It was then they voted to condemn their property in order to raze the buildings along Dwight near Telegraph for a proposed housing project for the growing class of underclasspeople.²⁸

Most of the students and "street people" were satisfied with things as they were, but not until after the Berkeley city elections of 1969 did the street people and hip subculture move on the now vacant land. Michael Delacour, a merchant on Telegraph Avenue, became the spark plug unleashing the pent-up resentment which flowed just beneath the surface of the campus ever since the Free Speech Movement (FSM) five years earlier.²⁹

At a meeting on April 13th, FSM leaders agreed to promote, through the weekly street journal The Berkeley

²⁷W. J. Rorabaugh, Berkeley at War, 124-35.

²⁸Stanley I. Glick, "The People's Park" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1984), 1-25.

²⁹W. J. Rorabaugh, Berkeley at War, 154-56.

Barb, a "People's Park," literally one square block of area once occupied by tenement buildings. Activists were called to converge at Dwight Avenue on Sunday, April 20th, for direct action.³⁰

By Sunday, May 11th, the Park was a formal reality and was completely landscaped for public use. The Regents were aghast. Property rights had been violated. Worse yet, they were virtually ignored. Delacour, appointed by builders of the park, now began negotiating with the UC administration to absorb the newly created People's Park into UC programs, and abandon plans to erect multistory dormitories. The Regents wouldn't hear of it. On the morning of Thursday, May 14, the County Sheriffs moved onto People's Park and a construction crew began to erect a high fence. A rally was planned for noon that day at Sproul Plaza, abutting Telegraph Avenue, where Dan Siegal, newly-elected student body president, was scheduled to speak.³¹

At high noon, Dan Siegal did address a crowd of several thousand and was clearly heard to say, "let's take back People's Park." Whatever else he was going to say was drowned out by shouts of, "take back the Park. Let's march to the Park!" The mob set off down Telegraph for a

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 159; Glick, "The People's Park," 54-63.

confrontation with the Alameda County Sheriff's deputies standing at the ready a few blocks away at Haste Street.³²

The mob turned violent as they came under attack by tear gas canisters and began hit and run tactics in small groups up and down the Telegraph Avenue district. After over two hours of evasion, Sheriff Frank Madigan ordered buckshot substituted for bird shot in the shotguns the deputies carried, and the hunt was on. As a result, Alan Blencard was permanently blinded, and James Rector, a visiting San Jose State student, was fatally wounded with a piece of buckshot lodged in his heart. He thus became the first real martyr in the student movement, ironically over the ecological issue of planting shrubs and flowers.

That night Governor Ronald Reagan called out the National Guard. A seventeen day siege of the city of Berkeley ensued. One hundred and ten people were admitted to local hospitals for treatment of gunshot wounds the first day of the People's Park riot.³³ Word went out to all the California campuses to converge on Sacramento ten days later, where a rally of ten thousand youths marched and stood patiently while Richard Miner and others charged Sheriff Frank Madigan and his deputies with negligence, insisting they stand trial for murder. The ante had been

³²W. J. Rorabaugh, Berkeley at War, 160-61.

³³Ibid., 163; Tom Hayden, Reunion (New York: Random House, 1987), 456-58.

raised another notch. Henceforth, nonviolence would not surface as a valid response in the movement's radical lexicon.³⁴ Some of the innocence of the movement died in the streets of Berkeley, although in its place a renewed faith in the rightness of the cause and the justness of radical action was born.

What had been the "movement" was increasingly becoming the "Left"--period.³⁵ But "most of the struggling took place within and between the movement's battered psyches."³⁶ If everything was at stake in Vietnam, if "the White House thought Vietnam was the sine qua non of American Power," it was!³⁷ The Nixon administration used agent provocateurs to taint moderates. The CIA's Operation Chaos for movement surveillance and the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO files bulged.³⁸

The 1968 school year began with a rivalry between the newly elected (and conservative) executive secretary, Marles Aliamo, and Tim Fitzgerald as Miner's personal executive assistant. Early in the fall, Ms. Aliamo seemed determined to redeem the power of executive secretary, which had been

³⁴Tim Fitzgerald, Trail to Black Mountain, 2:62-63.

³⁵Gitlin, The Sixties, 380.

³⁶Ibid., 396.

³⁷Ibid., 396.

³⁸Ibid., 378.

slipping away under each succeeding president since Kathy Schwent served under John Hendricks. In the interim, it had become the custom for presidents to appoint their own assistants and to pretty much ignore the elected post of executive secretary.

By October, 1968, outright animosity broke out between the officers. Miner, now president, took the matter so seriously he called a rare executive staff meeting, and told all present that Fitzgerald acted on his (Miner's) authority and he expected the elected executive secretary to stay out of affairs of his office.³⁹

Within weeks, Fitzgerald was moved from his closet quarters on the second floor to Miner's outer office, which he continued to share with public relations director Jim Brewer for the remainder of the school year. Soon he made his presence felt in a letter to the Daily entitled "Our World Too," in which he outlined youth's grievances against the older generation.⁴⁰

At about this moment, news of Tommie Smith's protest in Mexico City broke. Susy Lydle indicated the campus's first reaction to Smith's and Carlos' solitary demonstration. "I have never seen more respect and dignity . . . pride for the

³⁹Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:25.

⁴⁰Ibid., 2:19-20, 23-24.

Black race," was her staff comment in the Daily.⁴¹

On the "home front," the new student body treasurer, David Aikman, replacing Mullins, launched an investigation of campus athletics, looking at recruitment, scholarships, coaching and treatment of athletes. At the same time, C. K. Moreland, representing U.B.S.A., requested all funds from the televised Stanford football game be withheld until after the results of Aikman's investigation.⁴²

Upon returning to San Jose, Smith said he had no regrets after he and Carlos had been given forty-eight hours to get out of Mexico City. "No. I take life as it goes," he told a reporter. Mel Whitfield, head of the U.B.S.A., stated: "We are in total agreement with the actions that our Black young warriors took."⁴³ Dr. Al Rutherford, president of the local AFT, stated: "You have shown the world the degree men are willing to go to suppress other men."⁴⁴ On October 23rd, Smith and Carlos spoke before a crowd of 1,500 on Seventh Street.

Staff comment in the Daily regarding athletics in general was less conciliatory. "If athletes don't like what they're getting, why don't they just leave?" Robert Clark

⁴¹Spartan Daily, October 22, 1968.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., October 23, 1968.

came to the defense of Bob Bronzon, athletic director, stating: "I have the highest respect for his abilities in directing the athletic program."⁴⁵

On October 27th, Dave Aikman announced that Robert Clark and Mel Whitfield would form a joint committee of three students and three faculty to focus investigation on athletics. Miner explained the Associated Students's interest in the matter: "We are concerned with student monies [being] spent properly." However, speaking to the issue of "going slow," Aikman stated: "Things will be so well covered up and the issues will be so dead we'll be out of office before anything happens."⁴⁶

One person did not intend for the issue to become a dead letter. The figure to emerge on the campus scene that fall was James Edwards, younger brother of Harry Edwards of Olympic boycott fame. In concert with Ken Noel, Harry's right arm the previous year,⁴⁷ James worked quietly, reportedly proceeding to engineer a boycott of future football games with Brigham Young University because of "racial discrimination." This so-called BYU incident opened up an entire front for the student government and Miner's relations with Robert Clark.

⁴⁵Ibid., October 27, 1968.

⁴⁶Ibid., November 7, 1968.

⁴⁷Edwards, Revolt of the Black Athlete, 9.

Miner, in concert with A.S. Treasurer Dave Aikman, began a lawsuit of the Associated Students against Dr. Robert Clark for the reinstatement of rights and privileges of the Blacks who boycotted the game. At stake were their athletic scholarships and reinstatement in school. The draft, with bated breath, awaited their fate.

The student government hired legal counsel and sued on the grounds the Intercollegiate Athletic teams, along with the new College Union Building and the student newspaper, the Spartan Daily, were the property of the Associated Students and only the A.S. Treasurer could designate the appropriation of the student property. In late spring, with legal counsel from the Chancellor's staff, Dr. Robert Clark successfully defended his action on the grounds the Associated Students were not the aggrieved party and had no right to sue.⁴⁸

The students on campus shared a bond now. Many were "bloodied troops" and reduced to simply "the Left." The movement began to set its sights on long-withheld goals. One of those was the A.S. constitution. Apparently Richard Miner was not watching where his ombudsman was taking the campus that spring of 1969. After semester break, Earl

⁴⁸Spartan Daily, December 6, 1968; December 10, 1968. Hobert Burns then announced the Academic Council had approved the establishment of a Black Studies Department that November. Ibid., December 18, 1968. A Mexican American Studies program was instituted that spring.

Hansen had joined forces with another rival, Grady Robertson, to form the Anti-Strike Committee. Out of this emerged a conservative School of Business spokesperson, Jim McMasters, who, when he joined forces with executive secretary Marles Aliamo and her campaign against the new student body constitution, became a formidable opponent of the student administration and a contender for the coveted AS (Associated Students) presidency in the spring election.

Robertson, too, had aspirations for the presidency and could not be talked into sitting out the election. To make divisions within student government even more fractured that semester, Bill Langdon, AS vice president, seemed to be widening the gap between himself and the Miner administration (the "machine" as Aliamo would have it) as he also positioned himself for the presidency. The major players began quickly lining up support after Sparta Camp for the "tickets" of president, vice president and treasurer which were called for by the new election code under the newly-adopted constitution that March. Rather than abolish political parties, as had already been tried, Fitzgerald, Miner's executive assistant and delegated the responsibility for final drafting of the constitution, conceived more competitive races, with tickets and a run-off for majority support in the entire executive branch. Thus solidified, dissent would be minimized, or so the Miner administration argued when the document was presented to Student Council

and the student body for approval.⁴⁹

Each presidential hopeful picked a key man for vice president. McMasters singled out Rob Foss, a money man who could bankroll an expensive campaign. Aikman chose Mike Rutz, a hardliner in the Miner administration who had joined Miner and Aikman in confrontations with the College over student parity on the campus auxiliary organization, Spartan Shops, and the College Union Board of Governors. Langdon, chairman of student council, took the traditional path of the vice chairman of Student Council, ascending to vice president and then president, by electing to have John Merz on his ticket's vice presidential slot.

Both Langdon and Aikman had had a voice all year on the governing bodies that regulated student monies. This included the Spartan Shops (an auxiliary organization that existed primarily to regulate the college book store), the College Union Board of Governors (that was putting in place operation policy for the new Union to open in the fall), the intercollegiate Athletic Board (which governed policy of campus intercollegiate sports), and the Special Allocation and Budget Committees, which stipulated the use of almost half-million dollars in student funds annually. Together, they had carved out their respective turf over these issues, Murphy and Ruiz playing key roles in gaining student

⁴⁹Spartan Daily, December 11, 1968; December 18, 1968.

majorities on some of these boards for the first time. Although it was student money, the college administration, in the persons of Glen Guttormson and Stanley Benz, actually determined policy.

The Blacks and Chicanos, however, were not going to sit in silence, excluded again. Both Student Council member Juan Antu and Black boycott organizer James Edwards made overtures to Aikman to be on the Left ticket. Both insisted Aikman step aside to let them run for president on a ticket backed by Aikman and Miner. Aikman wouldn't hear of it and sewed up his ticket's fate with another Miner heavy and confidant, John Murphy, as treasurer. With McMasters' pick of Black conservative Bob Kelley for treasurer, the stage was set for the "bad boys" image of Aikman's ticket against the "good guys" image of McMasters'. McMasters seized this opportunity to drive a wedge between his opponents by naming his ticket literally "The Good Guys"--clean shaven and in suits. Langdon picked an associate of Hansen's, Black activist Reggie Toran, as his treasurer in an effort to hold the middle ground. When the smoke cleared three weeks later, McMasters was a clear victor with almost the fifty percent needed to avoid a run-off. Second and third went to the Aikman and Langdon tickets respectively. Grady Robertson finished a distant fourth in what could only be described as a "blood letting." The campus poured out for two days to stand in long lines to vote. The campus was

divided and splintered, typified by Antu, who ran a write-in campaign to protest Anglo supremacy.

Hardly had the last ballot been cast when cries of election code violations echoed across the campus. The Election Board, formed of a half dozen volunteers, was overwhelmed with hearings. The Judiciary ordered an injunction to stop the "run-off" on a request from Fitzgerald and acting Attorney General Roger Olsen. At bottom, the issue was whether McMasters' treasurer candidate, Robert Kelley, had fraudulently misrepresented himself as College Union Program Board Chairman on all his statements of qualifications. True, he had once served as member of a sub-committee of the Program board, but detractors insisted he had never sat in the most powerful appointed post in student government. As a result of Fitzgerald's negotiations with the Academic Council that spring, the battle was joined by all the ticket contenders as a special election was called to fill six new student seats on the Faculty Academic Council. Fitzgerald himself had joined James Edwards to be elected to the existing two seats on the Academic Council in the previous presidential primary.

The issue of "Blackness" was not to negate the sincerity of Robert Kelley's embracing "Black capitalism" or Reggie Toran's representation of a form of civil rights that had died with the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Both had long been involved, in their way, in campus activities. However, compared with the student activism and militancy of James Edwards that spring, the fact was they were not considered by the students as the "real thing" (as a Coke commercial advertised nightly on TV). Students knew and felt this--for the issue of legitimacy was very strong that year on campus. The others were what James Edwards called "Uncle Toms"--a category which had been argued frequently that spring. Second only to the issue of Vietnam, racism had effectively been countered in the issues which James Edwards personified.

Would the campus elect an avowedly activist white radical ticket or would they opt for a milder liberal in student affairs on campus? Much of the debate was "smoke and mirrors" and there was very little substance concerning this issue. But then again, when was the last time a campaign of substance was seen on campus at San Jose State?

Chapter X

EDWARDS' YEAR: 1969-70

We could not imagine any life without the movement, but the movement no longer held any life for us.¹

"Counter institutions" mushroomed offering excitement, collectivity and employment: Underground newspapers, pamphleteering publishers, rock bands and promoters, hip FM radio, all manner of cooperatives, drug distribution networks, crash pads for runaways, free medical clinics, anti-authoritarian Free Schools.²

There was an ambivalence toward the movement after the Vietnam Moratorium and the "days of rage." A self-enforcing fatalism permeated the air. For those who were politically active there was even yet more reason to worry--about being watched, bugged, taped. The sheer knowledge that smoking pot was illegal and that the police were on the lookout for it injected apprehension into every manner of everyday life.³

¹Gitlin, The Sixties, 396.

²Ibid., 214.

³Ibid., 218.

A National War Council was called by the Weathermen for Christmas, 1969.⁴ But before they met, early in the morning of December 4, 1969, the police shot down Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of the Illinois Black Panthers on the West Side of Chicago.⁵ This came on the heels of the second Vietnam Mobilization on November 15th, which drew half a million people to San Francisco's Polo Grounds in Golden Gate Park and over a million to Washington, D.C., and had no less than musician David Crosby announce to the rally in San Francisco, "politics is bullshit."⁶ The movement, leaderless, was at its apex.

Early in February, the Chicago Eight were convicted on various charges and sentenced for contempt by Judge Julius Hoffman.⁷ On February 4, 1970, a riot in Isla Vista, near the University of California's Santa Barbara campus, culminated in the burning of the local branch of the Bank of America in protest of the Chicago Eight verdict.⁸

On April 30th, President Richard Nixon announced the previously secret bombing of Cambodia and the targeting of

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 406.

⁶Ibid., 428.

⁷Ibid., 415.

⁸Ibid., 402.

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Viet Cong strongholds within that neutral country.⁹ Perhaps fifty to sixty percent of the college students in the United States took part in the ensuing demonstrations.¹⁰ Thirty ROTC buildings were burned or bombed during the first week in May.¹¹

"Once the initial shock and rage wore off, Kent State proclaimed to white activists nationwide: 'the government is willing to shoot you.'"¹² The college campus, the sanctuary of the movement throughout the decade, had been violated. "It was double or nothing, and for many old movement hands, the answer was 'nothing.'"¹³ In large measure, from 1971 on, the anti-war initiative passed into new hands. Students were stampeding away for the [old] "New Left."¹⁴ For, as the movement's link between future and past snapped, the present had to be filled with meaning by other means.¹⁵

The task now was to "work on yourself." If there was going to be a New Age at all, it was going to come from the

⁹New York Times, April 30, 1970, 1.

¹⁰Gitlin, The Sixties, 410.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., 414.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., 417.

¹⁵Ibid., 424.

purification of the self.¹⁶ Protection of the biosphere and reproductive rights became major positions.¹⁷ Postgraduate employment could no longer be taken for granted. Life in the margins lost much of its glamour. Family life began to look more attractive.¹⁸ The Selective Service had followed a government policy deliberately using the draft as an instrument of class privilege--to keep college-aged male students busy acquiring approved skills and not on the job market.¹⁹ "With the social order at stake, Congress moved with dispatch to grant eighteen year olds the right to vote."²⁰

We may conclude with Gitlin that the input of the counterculture was both more elusive and more sweeping than history yet notes.²¹ The all-or-nothing moods of the Sixties proved to be poor training for practical politics. The premium the movement placed on the glories and agonies of existentialism ill equipped many students for life after

¹⁶Ibid., 415.

¹⁷Ibid., 421.

¹⁸Ibid., 423.

¹⁹Ibid., 412.

²⁰Ibid., 411. Nixon had moved toward a draft lottery and indicated that he was going to phase out the draft. In 1970, one hundred forty thousand American soldiers came home under his Vietnamization program.

²¹Ibid., 431.

school.²² In the fall of 1970, Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin dropped dead of drug overdoses. A few months later, Jim Morrison collapsed and died. All of them were twenty-seven years old.²³ In the end one might only repeat what Todd Gitlin said, quoting Rabbi Tarfon nineteen hundred years ago: "It was not granted you to complete the task and yet you may not give it up."²⁴ As the years progressed, the campus's electorate slipped slowly but decidedly left.

Throughout the mid and late Sixties, San Jose State had in many ways been living in the past, out of step with the avant garde. With Edwards' election the campus came face to face with the responsibilities of leadership. As Todd Gitlin said of the Greensboro students who founded SNCC, instead of saying that segregation ought to stop, they acted as if segregation no longer existed.²⁵

Whether out of frustration from the faculty strike that winter, grievance over another student confrontation in the judiciary, or the offer of a better position, Robert Clark chose this auspicious moment to abandon San Jose State for the University of Oregon, where he had been recently offered the presidency.

²²Ibid., 437.

²³Ibid., 429.

²⁴Ibid., 438.

²⁵Ibid., 85.

No sooner had the announcement been aired than Tim Fitzgerald was appointed to the faculty screening committee by the Academic Council, and then to the Chancellor's "Rainbow" selection committee to help pick a replacement for Dr. Clark. Hobert Burns, who assumed the role of acting president, was presumed to be the frontrunner for Clark's job. At this same time, Fitzgerald was appointed along with James Edwards and Juan Antu to a committee to determine the fate of the minority role in the Educational Opportunity Program (E.O.P.). That summer Fitzgerald was appointed by Miner as liaison to Burns' executive committee to restructure college administration.²⁶ This placed him in an enviable position with respect to the politicians on campus, both left and right.

Richard Miner didn't resign from the AS presidency until October first, keeping the way open for a scattered and disarrayed Left to reorganize and come back for a second effort. The judiciary, with Burns' support, had ordered a completely new election, disbanding the prior spring's tickets. Langdon, acting ASB president after October first, had ordered the special election for early in November, giving the Left two precious months to regroup.²⁷

²⁶Both the Academic and Executive Vice Presidents, as well as the Dean of Students, were interim positions that fall.

²⁷Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:64-65; Spartan Daily, September 30, 1970.

Meanwhile the Right was also making efforts to dissuade Left leadership from the pending confrontation. McMasters would not commit, one way or the other, to seeking the presidency. Grady Robertson took the initiative and called a meeting of all liberals, including Langdon supporters, to plan a course of action. The meeting was held late Labor Day weekend at the Red Ram pizzeria, a college hangout. It ended inconclusively when Fitzgerald walked out. The "mob" was clamoring for blood; he still sought peace.²⁸

In the meantime, the campus was alive with the actions of the first real liberal student council and the pending Vietnam Moratorium, in which John Merz figured in a prominent role. After the Moratorium, Fitzgerald and "Little Orphan Temple" organizer Jim Walsh, a graduate student, began the serious exploration of Left leadership for someone to replace Aikman at the head of the Left ticket. (Dave Aikman had left school and Mike Rutz was preparing to transfer to UC Berkeley.) Few thought the task worth attempting seriously. However, on filing day, the Election Board Chairman announced that Edwards, Merz, and Fitzgerald would challenge acting President Langdon and the McMasters slate of Steve Brennan and Frank Haber.²⁹

²⁸Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:86.

²⁹Ibid., 2:119-120. Brennan had figured as an instigator in the Bruckman preferential ballot two years before, and insiders noted this would be a final showdown between Greeks and Independents as represented by Theta Chi

During ten feverish days the campus went bananas over the tickets. The night of the election, McMasters polled only fifty-one votes more than Edwards, receiving 1,966 to 1,916. Langdon placed third. The stage was set for the run-off election of the decade. Edwards and Fitzgerald put all their cards on the table, advocating more funds for minor sports (big time football was excluded from mention), expanded E.O.P., and support for the anti-war rally scheduled in San Francisco later in the month. The election was conceived as a plebiscite of the anti-war and civil rights movements.

Days before the balloting, a member of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity started a rumor--Edwards' election would be anathema to Fraternity Row. He claimed Edwards would "burn down" 11th Street. Edwards switched to the offensive and, joined by Fitzgerald, blitzed six Greek houses in one night, demanding an apology from the SAE fraternity members after a tense confrontation where Edwards' radical tone came into play at the SAE house itself.

At a convocation held the next day in Morris Daily Auditorium, Edwards spoke for over forty-five minutes on institutional racism, to the dismay of conservative McMasters who had joined him at the podium for a debate. Bill Langdon publicly endorsed the Edwards Ticket (as the

member Brennan and former Allen Hall resident Fitzgerald. (Spartan Daily, November 3, 1970.)

Left ticket had come to be known), thereby throwing his support to his former ally John Merz (now a member, along with Edwards and Fitzgerald, of the Faculty Academic Council).³⁰ The SAE member who had drawn Edwards' wrath on 11th street the night before publicly apologized for speaking out of turn. The stage was set for an upset.³¹

The press had not expected Edwards to place in a run-off, and now the movement throughout the Bay Area held its breath as its hopes and aspirations were literally put to a vote. Fitzgerald was late to arrive at campaign headquarters election night, and was one of the last to hear of the incredible victory and vote of confidence. His work, and that of John Merz and James Edwards, not to mention perhaps a hundred supporters and well-wishers, had paid off. The final tally was 4,262 to 3,549. The Spartan Daily's half page headline ran "IT'S EDWARDS" in bold type the next day. The story was carried by the San Francisco Chronicle and had also been followed by the local off-campus press. The movement was about to become institutionalized.³²

It had not been a good year for traditional campus politics. As was earlier noted, the electorate was split.

³⁰The Faculty Academic Council was renamed the Academic Senate shortly after this account, a name it retains today.

³¹Spartan Daily November 19, 1969; Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:130-32.

³²Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:135-37; Spartan Daily, November 21, 1969.

It had voted in a bi-modal pattern, choosing the extremes over the moderate middle more than once. Edwards now had his hands full organizing a government. Fitzgerald, for his part, delegated a dozen executive branch tasks, all of which had been idle for half a semester, and began to focus on the budget for the spring budget review.³³ After the notoriety brought to it by Aikman the prior year, the spring budget review was expected to be another showdown with the Athletic Department. During semester break, to the surprise of almost everyone, Fitzgerald turned this task over to newcomer and aide, radical Ron Harbeck.³⁴

Edwards was bent on cutting football from the budget. He had a majority on Student Council who would endorse this position. But he had to reckon with McMasters' organization, Fraternity Row, and the conservatives on faculty committees in order to avoid a conflict that would lead to a recall.

The first confrontation came with McMasters over a career day to be held in the Student Union ballroom. Spokespersons from the Left wanted to exclude business

³³Stepping off the Chancellor's presidential selection committee as he did so.

³⁴Actually, unknown to almost everyone but a select few, Fitzgerald had been the victim of an assault with a deadly weapon and left town quietly after dark to retreat to San Diego for most of the spring semester. Once he was underground, Edwards took uncontested control of the student apparatus. Fitzgerald, Black Mountain, 2:159-173.

recruiters, particularly those from the military/industrial complex, from "their" Union building. The showdown came at the Union Board of Governors meeting, when Merz led a rearguard action to allow the recruiters access to the building. Not to be outdone, the campus radicals--who were never happy with the political alliance put together by Walsh and Fitzgerald--demonstrated outside the building the day of the career fair. They tried to gain access to the ballroom and disrupt the recruiting but were rebuffed by campus police. Several were arrested for disturbing the peace. Edwards needed to make peace amongst his own.³⁵

The opportunity came with the celebration of the opening of the new Student Union, which the Edwards administration now occupied. At the suggestion of Jim Walsh, an all-night "wake" was held, featuring the Grateful Dead in concert. Peace came to the campus.³⁶

In the spring another festival was celebrated with the advent of the Survival Faire, featuring the dawning of a growing support on campus for the ecology movement. The fair anticipated the first Earth Day by several months. The student administration capped a week of workshops and booths by burying a brand new Ford Pinto in the front lawn, near

³⁵Spartan Daily, December 8, 1969.

³⁶Ibid., December 17, 18, 1969.

Seventh Street and the campus cafeteria.³⁷

Edwards moved to consolidate his grip on his administration. Under his authority, and from Harbeck's vantage point on the AS Budget Committee, he moved to take punitive measures against the Athletic Department. Before departing, Fitzgerald had procured the tapes of the athletic investigation (done during the Miner administration) from Dave Aikman, and they were examined by some of Fitzgerald's staff after he left. Football funds were not only restricted, they were cut out altogether. For the next fiscal year, to further confound Bronzon's control of intercollegiate athletics, Edwards authorized, with Student Council's approval, much larger allocations for national caliber minor sports--such as judo.

In regards to campus housing, a nexus that had hung like an albatross around the neck of the college for several years, Edwards borrowed upon Fitzgerald's initiative for creating a "Student Tenant Union"--first conceived the prior year in Berkeley. The AS Housing Committee, under the auspices of the new Tenant Union, authorized a tenant survey, the first of its kind in the surrounding campus community, under the leadership of Mike Buck (who became AS president during the 1971-72 term). The survey was completed in record time within Edwards' term, creating the

³⁷Spartan Daily, February 16, 17, 18, 20, 1970.

basis for new college policy in housing in succeeding years. A third prong was the initiation of Student Legal Aide to provide free representation to student tenants in municipal court against the ravaging of surrounding landlords.

Under Merz's guidance from his position as chairman of Student Council and AS Vice President, student use and operation of the College Union facility was provided more student authority and responsibility. A Crisis Center was initiated over semester break, coupled with the advent of a "switchboard Hot Line" run by the San Jose Free Press. Twenty-four hour round-the-clock operation was also instituted due to student input and a majority on the Union Board of Governors, during Dead Week and finals.

Throughout this period, Acting Dean of Students Robert Martin's adjunct Advisory Staff to student government, headed by Louie Barozzi, worked for understanding between the races. In the spring, John Merz and Edwards led a march on the local Lucky's market a block from campus on Seventh Street to boycott grapes--thereby becoming one of the first Black leaders on a California campus to attempt to bridge the growing gap between Blacks and Caesar Chavez and the Chicanos.³⁸

Further, under Harbeck's leadership, the generous funding provided for by Fitzgerald as Treasurer in the

³⁸Spartan Daily, March 23, 1970.

fiscal funding of cultural events sponsored by the College Union Program Board was expanded and reinforced.

Edwards, however, worked under constant constraints that could not be settled as rapidly as the McMasters crisis he had faced upon installation in office. Langdon's interim administration, expecting the worst after the off-season November elections that had climaxed Edwards' ascendancy, plundered the General Fund with lavish expenditures and official "perks." In Fitzgerald's first report to Student Council in December, he estimated there remained less than \$20,000 in the treasury for unfunded activity. The true nature of this crisis became apparent before Christmas, when S. T. Saffold, Director of the reorganized E.O.P. (and Tommie Smith's former roommate), came with a request to Edwards for allocation of \$10,000 in contingent funds to support the fledgling, minority-run E.O.P. The request died on the Treasurer's desk, remaining an unfulfilled campaign pledge. Hard on the heels of this rejection, Grady Robertson and his allies submitted a proposal for sponsorship of a "New World" cultural center to be located in the new Union. Again, Fitzgerald rejected the appeal out of hand. Neither of these appeals ever reached Student Council for consideration.

What Fitzgerald had his eye on was the use of these unallocated funds for a new transmitter at the campus radio station, which barely had enough wattage to be picked up

across the campus. A new transmitter would raise a signal powerful enough to reach Stanford's Palo Alto, U.C.'s Santa Cruz, and south to the other end of the county (all about twenty miles distant). He discussed the importance of reaching out to the greater community at several levels. During his campaign, Edwards had endorsed the street journal, the San Jose Red Eye, as the official house organ of the administration. Eventually, this drive to bring the voice of the campus, KSJS, into the home of any resident in Santa Clara Valley was successful.

The worst legacy that Langdon left Edwards was his preemption of the elected president's traditional right to staff all student government committees. Due to negotiations by Miner the previous year, there were now over one hundred seats to be filled by students on the Faculty Academic Council operating committees. Langdon filled these too, prior to Edwards' swearing in. In consultation with his advisors and executive staff, Edwards sent out a letter requesting that all committee chairmen submit their resignations to him so that he could review their appointments and confirm or, if he decided it necessary, replace the Langdon appointments with his own.

The coalition which Robertson, Fitzgerald and Walsh put together in the fall lasted only as long as Edwards was able to maintain a consensus. Feelings still ran strongly beneath the surface, complicated by Langdon's making a third

(and successful) bid for the presidency against John Merz and the Edwards' organization that spring. Whether Fitzgerald's seasoned presence would have made Merz's bid for the presidency to succeed Edwards successful is problematic. However, Edwards, the least familiar of the three on the ticket with the formalities of administration, demonstrated his able leadership qualities in a brief span of months and with lasting effect.

On the weekend of April 30th, a new crisis arose. During a national conference on the movement at San Jose State, word came of the invasion of Cambodia and Nixon's widening of the war effort. Betrayed, the students on the West Coast rallied behind San Jose State as the protest headquarters receiving and sending news bulletins of the outpouring of demonstrations flowing from campus to campus.³⁹ Stanford struck!⁴⁰

In an effort to cut these lines of communication, Governor Ronald Reagan ordered all school buildings of higher education closed. In defiance, Hobert Burns made an exception of the student-owned and operated College Union. It could have cost him his job and, later that week, as the campus rallied for a demonstration of its own and Edwards

³⁹Ibid., May 1, 1970; San Jose Mercury, May 1, 1970, 1, 29; May 4, 1970, 6.

⁴⁰San Jose Mercury, May 4, 1970, 15. "It was the first widespread student strike in the 73 year history of that University."

pleaded for unity and peace,⁴¹ Hobert Burns publicly resigned--flashing a peace sign at the end of his statement. The campus was in for a donnybrook.⁴²

The Spartan Daily was shut down in accordance with Reagan's order, as were all classes. Journalism students, however, with student funds, still published a "Strike Daily" and mobilizing, continued into the night off-campus. One day, an estimated five hundred students marching from the campus were blocked off at both ends of Fifth Street. Thugs, later claimed by Left leadership to be plainclothes police from Ray Blackmore's police force, waded in with clubs, beating the students without quarter. Edwards referred to it as "bestial violence."⁴³

Edwards got his budget, with the demanded cut of football funds for the next fiscal year. Also set to rest were the disposition of the rallying call of the conservative San Jose State Marching Band, which had its lavish funds brought under control. The Spartan Daily, too, did not escape surveillance, but was subject to a new Communications Board to replace the A.S. Publications Act Richard Miner had drafted three years prior.

⁴¹Earlier in the week, Edwards had said, "We must win the minds of the mass of students with protracted political campaigns." Ibid., May 1, 1970.

⁴²Ibid., May 7, 1970, 1, 16; May 9, 1970, 1, 15.

⁴³Ibid., May 5, 1970, 1, 16.

Governor Reagan, noting San Jose State as the lone remaining dissenting voice of the movement in public education in the Bay Area, recommended to the State Board of Trustees, of which he was a member, that it appoint John Bunzel, the right arm of S. I. Hayakawa during the San Francisco State strike a year earlier, to the presidency of San Jose State, ending Hobert Burns' interim status.⁴⁴

The Left had expended itself on its final stand for equality and justice. At its final moment came its darkest hour--a twilight in the afternoon. The curtain of blackness coming down only later that year, by the irony of a visit by Richard Nixon, obviously staged to bait radicals in the Bay Area one more time for the press advantage, and an eye to how that would play in the suburbs on TV that night.

⁴⁴Bunzel was a compromise choice. Earl W. Jones, also of San Francisco State, ". . . was favored by the most conservative wing of the 16-member Board" of Trustees. Ibid., July 15, 1970, 1, 24; San Francisco Chronicle, July 15, 1970, 1, 30.

Chapter XI

EPILOGUE: COME THE TWILIGHT

To paraphrase Gitlin, we had compressed a lifetime of politics into a handful of years.¹

For all their emphasis on social equilibrium, the best selling social critics agreed that the heroic individual was paying a steep price in autonomy and meaning for the security and comfort he was reaping from the managed bureaucratically organized society.²

For the multitudes who could afford the ticket, [their payoff] for hard work and a willingness to accept authority promised to them a generous share in the national plenitude.³

In the 1960s, for the masses of untutored youth the future looked like a bleak place indeed. "The centers of power wanted better trained personnel and government subsidized knowledge. To harness knowledge to power no institution was more important than the University."⁴ That

¹Gitlin, The Sixties, 178.

²Ibid., 19.

³Ibid., 16.

⁴Ibid., 20.

was the significance of the confrontation that began in Berkeley in the fall of 1964 and lasted, uninterrupted, until the fateful day of May 3, 1970, when over a dozen students were gunned down on their own campus by their own state National Guard at Kent State, Ohio.

"Whatever answers the movement came up with it was not free to choose the questions thrust upon it."⁵ The movement had played its last card in nonviolent direct action. Hereafter, splinter groups or factions would dominate the media with their violence and terror.

With the townhouse explosion in New York on March 6, 1970, Billy Ayers and Bernardine Dohrn went underground with the Weatherman faction, all that remained of the once massive movement of the Students for a Democratic Society.⁶ Beginning with Mark Rudd and the takeover of Columbia University in the spring of 1968,⁷ this radical Far Left splinter group made connection with the National Liberation Front (NFL) that summer.⁸ The national SDS convention in June of 1969 saw the birth of the Weathermen, with the

⁵Ibid., 5.

⁶Peter Collier and David Horowitz, Destructive Generation, Second Thoughts About the Sixties (New York: Summit Books 1989), 70.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., 74.

Maoist Progressive Labor faction acting as midwife.⁹ SDS dissolved over the tactical question of whether to base the coming protest on class or racial lines.

On October 8, 1969, six hundred of the "action faction" under the leadership of Bernardine Dohrn and the Weathermen, descended on Chicago for three "days of rage," spilling violence and hate in their wake.¹⁰ Dohrn issued a proclamation on February 17, 1970 stating the Weathermen had been instrumental in Timothy Leary's escape from a minimum security prison the prior September 12th.¹¹ There were over five thousand bombings, large and small, across the country between January 1969 and April 1970.¹² When the townhouse explosion killed three Weathermen, leaving only Kathy Boudin and Cathy Wilkerson miraculously to survive, the movement began to disintegrate. The final plaintive cry went out when Nixon expanded the Vietnam war by bombing Cambodia during the final weekend of April, 1970.

The Weathermen were not heard from much, beyond rumors, until the publishing of Prairie Fire, a handbook on violence and terror, in the fall of 1973.¹³ By then the Black

⁹Ibid., 81-82.

¹⁰Ibid., 89-90.

¹¹San Francisco Chronicle, February 17, 1970, 2; Collier, Horowitz, Generation, 100.

¹²Collier, Horowitz, Generation, 106.

¹³San Francisco Chronicle, July 7, 1974, 2.

Panthers had also made their own final stand. Fay Stender, an activist with the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964 and co-founder of the Prison Law Project, provided the vital link between Black Panther Huey Newton, the Soledad Brothers and the fate of George Jackson, a Black prison inmate.¹⁴

On January 13, 1970, in the "O" wing of Soledad Prison in California, George Jackson and two other Blacks were charged with the murder of a prison guard.¹⁵ On August 7th, Jonathan Jackson allegedly used arms provided by Marxist Angela Davis to walk into the Marin County Court House and take a judge, an Assistant District Attorney and three women jurors hostage in an effort to affect his brother's fate. The Judge and Jonathan Jackson were both killed in the shootout that followed.¹⁶ This action was the visible edge of the Black Liberation Army, the prison arm which grew under the influence of the Black Panther Party.¹⁷

On August 21, 1971, George Jackson, now detained at San Quentin Prison and apparently aided by lawyer Stephen Bingman of the Prison Law Project, killed five people in an apparent breakout attempt before being gunned down by prison

¹⁴Collier, Horowitz, Generation, 29, 30.

¹⁵Ibid., 31, 33.

¹⁶Ibid., 39.

¹⁷Ibid., 41.

guards. Jackson had done ten years for robbery, over a year of it in solitary.¹⁸

On February 6, 1974, another faction, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), a small clique, kidnapped Patty Hearst, heiress to the Hearst newspaper fortune.¹⁹ At first they demanded two million dollars in food be given to the poor,²⁰ but many of the poor refused to accept the blackmail. Nevertheless, thirty-five thousand cartons of food were given away in the next two months. Then, on April 16, 1974, Patty Hearst appeared as "Tanya" and took part in a bank holdup in the Sunset District of San Francisco. Hearst was now a fugitive. Almost a year later, the SLA's Pennsylvania hideout was discovered by the FBI.²¹ Patty Hearst and her accomplices were arrested in Berkeley on September 19, 1975, along with William and Emily Harris, the masterminds of the SLA.²² The long futile flight of the Radical Left had expended itself as the flight of fugitives, as common hoods, from justice.

Bernardine Dohrn and Billy Ayers were assigned to the FBI's most wanted list and in January, 1976, were expelled

¹⁸Ibid., 42-43.

¹⁹San Francisco Chronicle, February 6, 1974, 1, 4; February 10, 1974, 4.

²⁰Ibid., March 25, 1974, 2.

²¹Ibid., March 13, 1975, 1.

²²Ibid., September 19, 1975, 1.

by their own Weather Underground.²³ As a result of a Brinks holdup in Nyack, New York during October, 1981, the Weather Underground was finally brought out of hiding and to justice. By then, Nixon was a faint memory, as was Vietnam. President Gerald Ford had brought the Vietnam War to a blessed halt with the evacuation of Saigon. President Jimmy Carter was faced with an exodus of millions of South Vietnamese who had sympathized with American diplomacy. Many had been culpable of atrocities against their own people and now became boat people, people without a country, seeking refuge in any country that would have them. Finally, under President Ronald Reagan, many of these people were brought to America, the final resting place for many a refugee in years and wars past.

²³Collier, Horowitz, Generation, 113-14.

ADDENDUM

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

The original topic of this thesis was "California Insurgency: 1967-70" but I found it necessary to reduce the scale of the study to just San Jose State and its environs-- still not a small task, but one that was important to me, since I was a participant in the events on the campus in those years.

I remember clearly the academic year 1967-68 which brought an extraordinary change in my life. In three short years thereafter I became an expert in insurgency and fifth column activity. I had avoided the draft with a hearing impairment in a physical examination in 1967, but before that I fully expected to graduate from an ROTC program at State to become a Supply Officer in South Vietnam. The prospects, to say the least, were disturbing.

I remember most of 1968 as one long thrill punctuated by moments of incredible despair (when Martin Luther King, Jr. died, I counseled my classmates not to worry, we still had Bobby Kennedy). And then there was the Democratic California primary and Chicago Democratic convention and we were left with just this vision of Tommie Smith's clenched fist, a solitary figure at the Mexico City Olympics. In the span of the next three short years I moved from the

sidelines to the center of leadership in the San Jose State movement.

In 1965, I was a dorm officer spring and fall in one of six dorms that housed 1,200 residents at that time on State's campus. In January 1966, I was elected Inter-Dorm Representative and appointed by my service organization (Alpha Phi Omega) as representative on the campus Homecoming Committee. That fall, after a victory of the out-group or "Independents," the new student body President, Jerry G. Spolter, appointed me co-chair of the committee to revise the student body constitution.

In spring 1967 the "King Maker" of the perennial out group, Gene Lokey, asked me to be Richard Miner's campaign manager for Student Body President. Had I stayed at State and kept my grades up, I would probably have been elected to Student Council in spring of 1968. As it was, I spent the 1967-68 school year at California State University at Hayward organizing anti-war Young Democrats. On my return to San Jose state in the fall of 1968, I was appointed Richard Miner's Executive Assistant--as if Miner ever needed one. He was his own executive, and I tended mostly to administrative and legislative affairs.

First, I must point out I was an outsider, whose basic peer group, those with whom I had initially associated at San Jose State University, had vanished prior to 1968, and, being a highly political animal, I made allies those of a

like mind. This led to a close relationship in the summer of 1969 with graduate student James Walsh, and the rebuilding of my own support group--in the absence of Richard Miner and office-mate Jim Brewer. At the beginning of the school year in Fall, 1969, there was a Labor Day mass meeting of every left of center "mover and shaker" on campus. Grady Robertson became the spokesperson that night and remained the focus of the "leaderless left" throughout the Fall.

The "modus operandi" that Robertson and I evolved that Fall of 1969 was to hold a series of about half a dozen caucuses with opinion makers, off campus, usually late into the evening at Robertson's house. In the intervening time, Walsh and I would discuss strategy in his studio behind what had been Miner's house the prior year.

Initially, Walsh did not attend the caucuses at Robertson's, so I acted as intermediary. Both Walsh and I had experienced directing a campaign--he in the Fall of 1967 for a write-in candidate, and I that prior spring for Dick Miner.

The usual spring student body election was thrown out by the campus judiciary, necessitating a "special" fall campaign. None of the three of us actively sought the presidency that fall; we merely acted as facilitators to fill the void of the absence of spring candidates who had left. Yet we wanted to hit upon an alternative to Greek

liberal, Bill Langan, then acting President. An early election that Fall would have made the left solution, the Edwards ticket, unlikely, as the shift of the initiative from Robertson to Walsh was a slow process evolving over six weeks, and not until late in October was an Edwards' ticket and candidacy acceptable to all the vying contenders who might take it upon themselves to form a splinter ticket.

The fate of Edwards' victory was sealed, as is often the case, by filing time with the election board. We had successfully persuaded everyone involved to rally behind only one voice. That unity continued into the elected administration.

The first anti-war action I saw was the prior April when I participated in a rally and march in San Francisco. That same month I was elected uncontested with James Edwards to one of the two student seats on the faculty Academic Council and not until then did I come into my own, with both the liberty and the de facto authority to set my own policies. My most significant achievement was adoption of a new student body constitution (the first in a decade) that was largely my handiwork. By December 1969 (after the Weatherman episode in Chicago known as the "days of rage") I was on James Edwards' ticket as his treasurer, had attended the mass anti-war rally at the Polo Grounds in San Francisco and, as a fan of Mick Jagger, was at the ill-fated Altamont

rock concert. My political orientation had clearly changed from my early years in college.

On October 15, 1969, I heard James Edwards exclaim on the steps of Morris Daley Auditorium that the Moratorium of that day was a "fraud," and if they would desegregate only 80% of California housing, he would go only 80% of the way to Vietnam. If it were in my power, I would have given him the lock on student government that very moment. Further, at that moment I felt like giving him the keys to the entire city!!

There were, in the final analysis,¹ three people who had to be satisfied or at least acquiesce on the composition of the left student body ticket that fall: James Walsh, Grady Robertson and myself. Our political activity resulted in the election of James Edwards, and his ticket, of which I was a part.

I, for my part, am prone to recall fondly the heart-wrenching "bull sessions" of 1965 and 1966 that resulted in the decision to mobilize and, too, I recall clearly in 1970 when I stepped over the line from simple protestor to off-campus active resistance. I surely was a revolutionary by degrees and surely a most reluctant one at that. Unlike Richard Miner, Phil Whitten and a dozen others I could name,

¹The first known effort to account for the Sixties' turbulence at San Jose State was by Tim Fitzgerald in a self-published two volume narrative entitled Trail to Black Mountain (1978).

I never once attended an SDS meeting and never, even while Edwards' Treasurer, considered myself a member of the "New Left"--nor did they accept me. Instead they seemed to regard me, particularly after my return from the sojourn at Hayward in 1967-68, as their campus tactician and a "home grown" radical who never shook his liberal sentiments.

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