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**BLST 190 Senior Thesis** 

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March 18th, 2015

Stretching the Boundaries of the University: Freedom Dreams Too Large to Swallow?

Over the last 50 years, the Black Student Union (BSU) at the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB) has used student activism to compel the university administration to dismantle institutional racism. Most recently, the BSU sent the administration a list of eight demands, of which UCSB Chancellor Henry T. Yang agreed to only seven. In this essay, I argue that the seven demands that were addressed were well within the financial and structural boundaries of the university; however, the discarded demand functions beyond the school of thought that frames the university. Because the demand challenges the prefabricated architectural and educational politics of the university, we [the BSU] faced resistance in transcending the existing ideological reality of capitalistic, white supremacy. When one's politics function beyond and actually threaten the prevalence of the capitalistic "democracy", you are a fundamental threat to order and profit in the public university system.

In March of 2013, the BSU sent the following 8 demands to Chancellor Henry T. Yang:

- 1. We demand that the "Enhanced African American Recruitment Strategies" Plan drafted by admissions be implemented in its entirety with full funding from the Chancellor's office.
- 2. We demand an aggressive recruitment of Black faculty in disciplines and programs outside of the Black Studies Department as well as within the Black Studies Department.
- 3. We demand the hiring of two full-time Black psychologists at UCSB.

- 4. We demand North Hall be re-named Malcolm X Hall in honor and respect for the Black students and countless student and staff allies who occupied North Hall and symbolically renamed it Malcolm X Hall in 1968.
- 5. We demand a permanent, student activism-centered display inside of North Hall memorializing the history of the 1968 student takeover of North Hall.
- 6. We demand access to the contact information (such as email addresses) of all self-identified Black incoming first year and transfer students to be available... so that we can conduct our own familial and individual-centered models of outreach.
- 7. We demand access to Black Alumni through the implementation of a program that allows Black alumni to give directly to retention and scholarship efforts of Black students through both monetary and social networks.
- 8. We demand that all of these be implemented within the next 3-6 months<sup>1</sup>.

After sending this list to the Chancellor, the BSU simultaneously sent the demands to the press and student organizations on campus. The BSU students then released a petition on *ipetitions.com*<sup>2</sup> that garnered just short of 500 signatures. In response to these demands, Chancellor Henry T. Yang engaged in a series of meetings with the BSU to establish a means to address each demand. After a series of meetings with the UCSB administration, the following agreements<sup>3</sup> were made:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The press release can be found in the Onyx Express New Press at: http://onyxexpress.org/2013/03/16/uc-santa-barbara-black-student-union-releases-demandslist/#sthash.2GmMleHe.xEN7xyuV.dpbs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/black-students-demand-institutional-changes/

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Agreements 1-6 were copied from the Black Student Union press release, "UC Santa Barbara's BSU Demands Met" on December 13th, 2013. You can find the article at: http://www.theabcmovement.org/2014/03/06/uc-santa-barbara-bsus-demands-met/

- 1. The Chancellor authorized funding (\$217,000) for the hiring of an Admissions Counselor for Diversity Initiatives, four student interns and a series of initiatives aimed at recruiting Black students to UC Santa Barbara. To that end, AJ Sims has been hired as the admissions counselor, the four student interns have been hired, and the enhanced initiatives to recruit Black students are being implemented.
- 2. The Chancellor authorized funding (\$414,012) for the hiring of two psychologists who have extensive experience working with Black Students and office space for Counseling and Psychological Services. To that end Dr. Mario Barfield and Dr. Meridith Merchant have been hired and they have been wonderful additions to the campus community.

3. The Chancellor has committed to raise the necessary funds, over \$2 million, to

hire four (4) endowed chairs across the academic divisions within the next 5 years (to be completed by 2018). The first endowed chair will be hired in the fall of 2015 in the Economics Department. This agreement was negotiated and agreed upon in lieu of the demand to rename North Hall to Malcolm X Hall. Chancellor Henry Yang expressed that buildings are reserved for alumni donors, and the endowment required to name a building is well above the financial resources that we have access to on the campus. Instead, Chancellor Yang offered to work with the BSU to bring 4 endowed chairs to the campus. The BSU found this to be a reasonable alternative that would enhance Black faculty recruitment and retention and provide Black students with mentors dedicated to teaching Black students about the condition of the Black world in many different

disciplines including economics, psychology, and linguistics.

- 4. The Executive Vice Chancellor has agreed to provide \$30,000 to fund a global conference hosted once every two years by different departments where faculty and graduate students who study the Black World can share their research and exchange ideas.
- 5. The Executive Vice Chancellor has agreed to fully fund a permanent studentactivism centered display in North Hall in honor of the Black Students involved in The 1968 Takeover. To that end, the Executive Vice Chancellor has authorized over \$32,000 for this project to date.
- 6. The Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs has agreed to make available the contact information of all self-identified Black first year and transfer students to the new admissions counselor for diversity initiatives in order to enhance the Black Student Union's outreach to all new students of the University.
- 7. The Chancellor agreed to fund and implement the Ella Baker Visiting Professorship in Black Studies and a post-doctoral fellowship in the Center for Black Studies Research to enhance Black faculty recruitment pipelines. To that end, Professor Shana Redmond is the 2014-2015 Ella Baker Visiting Professor and Dena Montague is the 2014-2015 post-doctoral fellow.
- 8. The Associate Vice Chancellor of Development offered to hire 2 interns in the development office with a goal of raising annual funds for the Black Student Union. To that end, two new interns, whom are also part of the BSU, have worked with the development office since the fall of 2014 to raise funds for the BSU.

This list represents well the demand for new hires, diversity initiatives, professorships, and financial resources to Black students, staff, and faculty. To be clear, I neither hope to glorify nor belittle the vast accomplishments attained by the BSU, but rather, I intend to critically analyze the willingness of the university to concede to some demands while negotiating and suspending others. The only demand that was negotiated and changed by the Chancellor was the demand to rename North Hall to Malcolm X Hall—arguably, the most controversial demand from the Black Student Union. Instead of honoring the demand, Chancellor Yang committed to raise over \$2,000,000 to hire four endowed chairs. This decision suggests that the university exercises sectarian politics; and furthermore, Malcolm X's philosophy functions outside of the prefabricated political framework of the university.

## Why these demands, at this specific time?

When the BSU released and negotiated the demands, they referred to the recruitment of Black students to UCSB over the past 45 years as an "abysmal rate of growth". The Black student population at UCSB was 3.1% in 2013. The percentage of UC eligible Black students in California was 6.3% in 2007. Not surprisingly, the percentages of UC eligible White, Latino/a, and Asian students in California were 14.6%, 6.3%, and 29.4%, respectively<sup>4</sup>. Black and Native American faculty numbers were well below the university's targeted goals for diversity, even as the university improved on their targeted goals for all other faculty minority groups. The Black faculty goal for the College of Engineering is 2.8%, while currently they do not house any Black faculty. The goal for the Division of Math, Life, and Physical Sciences at UCSB is 2.6%, while 0.4%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Griffin, Adrian. *University Eligibility Study for the Class of 2007*. California: California Postsecondary Education Commission, 2008.

of Black faculty occupy positions in this division<sup>5</sup>. Historically, Black students and other people of color have felt less comfortable than their white counterparts on the campus<sup>6</sup>. Some of the incidents that made clear the campus climate for Black Students at the UC was the 2010 "Compton Cookout" Party hosted by white fraternities at UCSD and a similar 2011 "Gangsters and Hoes" themed party in Isla Vista—the student community adjacent to UCSB<sup>7</sup>. Black students across the UC protested these stereotypical parties and compelled the UC to become more involved in addressing the racial climate on our campuses. In addition, Sondrina Bullitt, a UCSB McNair Scholar in 2011, emphasized the need for relatable mental health professionals of color for minority students<sup>8</sup>. These facts have been thoroughly documented by the university administration and student publications. These conditions led Black students to dismiss the hegemonic claims that Black people just need to work harder to compete with other students and faculty, and instead, led them to claim that the toxic conditions and lack of recruitment and retention strategies towards Black students, staff, and faculty stem from structural racism in the public education system.

Also within the original press release in March of 2013, the BSU stated:

Given the hostile racial climate throughout the UC system and a multitude of issues adversely affecting Black students here at UCSB, we as concerned leaders of the campus community have created this list of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Diversity, Equity, and Academic Policy provided these statistics to the BSU students during a meeting with Chancellor Yang in March 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ranking, Susan. University of California Santa Barbara Campus Climate Project Final Result. California: Ranking and Associates Consulting, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sarnicola, Regina. *Race Matters: "The Compton Cookout"*. Santa Barbara, California: The Bottom Line Press, May 2010. https://thebottomline.as.ucsb.edu/2010/05/racematters-the-compton-cookout

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Bullitt, Sondrina. Attitudes and Perceptions of Mental Health among Black UCSB Students. Vol. 1. Santa Barbara, California: UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal, 2011. 171-197.

demands out of true concern for health of current and future Black students here at UCSB. It is our belief that Chancellor Henry T. Yang must be called to action and held accountable in addressing the structural deficiencies and lack of institutional support for Black students on this campus.

At this point, the BSU would not accept that the shortcomings of Black students and faculty were a result of individual failures. There were institutional impediments to the success of the Black students, faculty, and staff. These demands called into question these institutional deficiencies, like the lack of recruitment and retention facilities, and also proposed viable initiatives to begin to address them.

In retrospect, all of the administration's commitments align with what authors Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic refer to as "Race Remedy Law"9:

Some critics even argue that our system of civil rights law and enforcement ensures that racial progress occurs at just the right slow pace. Too slow would make minorities impatient and risk destabilization; too fast could jeopardize important material and psychic benefits for elite groups. When the gap between our ideals and practices becomes too great, the system produces a "contradiction-closing case," so that everyone may see that it is truly fair and just.

Chancellor Yang proposed a "contradiction-closing case". The university prides itself on diversity and inclusion in brochures; however, the BSU argued that these attractive words were not honored, and the lack of practicing these diversifying and inclusionary ideals was eroding Black student, staff, and faculty life. Ever since the radical demand for a Black Studies Department at UCSB in 1968, Black students and faculty have requested institutional changes, quite similar to those represented in our 2013 demands, which continuously garnered silence from the university. We can even see that the Black students in 1968 faced similar campus realities as the BSU in 2013. In his address Racism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. Critical Race Theory an Introduction. New York: New York University Press, 2001. 54.

at UCSB, 1968 BSU member Maurice Rainey writes:

Inadequate representation of Black people and other minorities in administrative and faculty positions is due to the pervasive racism that is invested in the whole make-up of the UCSB campus. Charges that there aren't enough competent Black people, as well as other minority, to fill high positions on the UCSB staff, administration, and faculty are spurious. Such charges merely serve to delay the eventual confrontation between UCSB campus and the issue of racism<sup>10</sup>.

Rainey's statement can easily be applied to the BSU demands of 2013. It seems as if our administration is seeking just the right slow pace of change. Essentially, most of our demands addressed unfulfilled promises by the university. We organized to attain resources that are inherently granted to white students. All of our demands reflected remedies for the current condition of Black Students at UCSB except for one:

We demand North Hall be re-named Malcolm X Hall in honor and respect for the Black students and countless student and staff allies who occupied North Hall and symbolically renamed it Malcolm X Hall in 1968.

## The Takeover of North Hall, 1968

The history of the 1968 event is not unlike histories across the country for Black Studies. In 1968 and 1969, there were Black student protests at over 200 campuses in the nation. UC Berkeley students faced disapproval from Governor Ronald Reagan and the UC regents when they attempted to invite Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver to host experimental lectures on campus. Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rufferty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "Racism at UCSB" by Maurice Rainey. This note has been archived, but it can be found at this website: https://livinghistory.as.ucsb.edu/2012/04/03/black-studentorganizing-at-ucsb/

called their request "asinine and ridiculous" <sup>11</sup>. San Francisco State Black students led a 5-month long strike to forward their vision of a revolutionary Black Studies Department in the winter of 1968. This type of militant Black student activism symbolically prevailed after the death of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, and it represents the transition from civil rights activism to Black Power Movements. SF State Black student, Jimmy Garrett, questioned, "How do you liberate education from the domination of the system? <sup>12</sup>" Additionally, these students were moving away from integration with the dominant society and moving towards separatist ideologies. Garrett claims, "We are no longer striving for an integrated society. Those days are gone. We are struggling for self-determination. Self-determination for our Black lives; self-determination for our Black communities; and self-determination for a Black education" <sup>13</sup>. The Black Power Movement, largely inspired by the philosophies of Malcolm X and popularized by Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), influenced many of the protests and demands during this time, including the Takeover of North Hall at UCSB.

A series of events led up to the Takeover of North Hall. In 1964, the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) was founded in the UC system, and this program demonstrated moderate affirmative action that waived admission criteria for 2% of incoming UC students<sup>14</sup>. EOP effectively recruited Black students to UCSB. In the summer of 1968, Governor Ronald Reagan cut \$250,000 from the EOP budget and failed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Biondi, Martha. *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

to include \$2.5 million in the state budget for EOP<sup>15</sup>. At the same time that minority recruitment programs were facing budget cuts, the BSU and Black student athletes sent Chancellor Cheadle letters of grievances about the paternalistic and racist treatment of Black football players by their coach "Cactus" Jack Curtice<sup>16</sup>. In response to these grievances, Chancellor Cheadle referred the students "from one committee to another," in an effort to defer students' requests<sup>17</sup>. After Chancellor Cheadle ignored their grievances, the Black Student Union created a list of 8 demands, occupied North Hall, and symbolically renamed it Malcolm X Hall on October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1968. At the time, North Hall housed the university's central computer system, which was vital to the functioning of the university. The occupation attracted the Chancellor's attention—as well as 1000 bystanders and the police department. The Chancellor agreed to the students' demands, which included the creation of our Black Studies Department, the Center for Black Studies Research, a Black Studies library, and the formation of a task force to address the toxic racial climate at UCSB.

On one hand, the symbolic renaming of North Hall to Malcolm X Hall was an organizational tactic to attract the public's eye; on the other, I speculate that the renaming of it also represented Malcolm X's philosophies pertaining to direct action, urgency in addressing the deplorable condition of Black people, education of Black people on Black history, and separation of the Black community from Western society. Malcolm X's influences are evident during the Takeover of North Hall. To rally other students to join

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> This note has been archived, but it can be found at this website: https://livinghistory.as.ucsb.edu/2012/04/03/black-student-organizing-at-ucsb/ <sup>17</sup> Quote from Booker Banks, a BSU member, during the Occupation of North Hall. This quote was printed in the *El Gaucho* Newspaper on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

the BSU protest, the BSU leader Bob Mason yelled to the crowd outside of North Hall, "It's your country, white people. You're the one's who set it up. Black students have taken a stand [against institutional racism in the university], and we will win by any means necessary". Mason's statement reflected that of Malcolm X in his speech on the founding day of the Organization for Afro American Unity, which was a continental African organization dedicated to the eradication of colonialism and sectarianism:

That's our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary. We don't feel that in 1964, living in a country that is supposedly based upon freedom, and supposedly the leader of the free world, we don't think that we should have to sit around and wait for some segregationist congressmen and senators and a President from Texas in Washington, D. C., to make up their minds that our people are due now some degree of civil rights. No, we want it now or we don't think anybody should have it.

Through demands, occupations, and even subtle threats of violence, the BSU at UCSB, like many other Black students of this time, responded to Malcolm X's call for urgency in the fight for Black freedom. Mason even separates himself from the United States by claiming that it is "your [white peoples'] country". His call is reflective of Malcolm X in his speech in June of 1963 at the invitation of Adam Clayton Powell in Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City. He states, "God wants us to separate ourselves from this wicked white race here in America because this American House of Bondage is number one on God's list for divine destruction today". The influences of Malcolm X are also shown in the BSU's educational goals. In an interview after the Takeover, Mason stated, "We want the college of Black Studies so that Black students can come to learn about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This quote was used from the Living History Project archive website: http://scalar.usc.edu/works/livinghistoryproject/black-student-organizing

themselves. We want education not indoctrination."<sup>19</sup> For Malcolm X and the Organization for Afro American Unity, education was stressed because knowledge and proper education raises the Black consciousness. It makes Black people more aware of their Blackness as a social construct rather than its stereotypical associations with inferiority.

Given our current conditions, why do students and activists still resonate with Malcolm X?

Students and activists today gravitate towards Malcolm X and his philosophies in the same ways as Malcolm's children of the 60s. We recognize the conditions that Black people face today are, as Amiri Baraka theorizes, *the changing same*. We are familiar with the "ever-changing yet forever the same" conditions that Sunni Patterson recalls in the aftermath of the hurricane in her poem *We Know this Place*. As she recalls the familiarity of resting with death right beside her, she recites:

And we know this place.

It's ever-changing yet forever the same:

Money and power and greed, the game.

They suck and devour the souls of the slain.

What a feast for the beast at their table of shame

Hurricane Katrina, which was a disastrous atrocity to mainstream, is ever too familiar for Black America. Similarly, we are just as familiar with the brutal murder of Emmett Till for looking at the wrong white woman as we are with the murder of Trayvon Martin for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Quoted in the *El Gaucho* Newspaper On October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

walking through the wrong neighborhood with a pack of skittles and can of iced tea. Time and time again, we patiently wait for the so-called American justice system to convict the murderers of Black youth such as Mike Brown. As Robin Kelley points out in his article "Why We Won't Wait", as we waited, state officers and vigilantes murdered Tanisha Anderson, Aura Rosser, Ezell Ford, Akai Gurley and many other victims of police terrorism. After all of this waiting in the midst of brutal violence against the Black community, our judicial system continuously fails to provide justice for Trayvon Martin, Oscar Grant, Mike Brown, Ezell Ford, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Rekia Boyd, Meagan Hockaday and countless others.

It is the philosophies of Malcolm X that urge activists today to stop waiting for the so-called justice system to solve our problems, and instead, to actively organize to create changes in our community. It was Malcolm X who taught us to be agitators and not merely advocators. It is Malcolm X who is reflected in the Dream Defenders decision to organize a 32-day occupation of Governor Rick Scott's office in Tallahassee, FL and demand that George Zimmerman be arrested for the murder of Trayvon Martin. It was he who taught the BSU to take matters into our own hands and demand that the university address the impediments of structural racism in the university rather than tirelessly wait for our campus legislatures to grant us resources. We admire the students, staff and faculty that occupied North Hall in the name of Malcolm X, and we still resonate with students who bravely demanded the formation of our Black Studies Department, Center for Black Studies Research, and Black Studies Library.

Why does Malcolm X Hall strain the architectural politics of the University?

Angela Davis' dismissal from UC-Los Angeles exposes the University of California's prefabricated and conservative politics that do not allow the infiltration of opposing ideologies. In 1969, Angela Davis accepted a teaching position at UC Los Angeles in the Philosophy Department. At the time, Davis was striving to complete her PhD and actively organizing in the Communist Party and Black Panther Party in southern California. Her objectives within these organizations were to forward a Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution in the context of the Black Liberation struggle<sup>20</sup>. Prior to Davis' first course at UCLA, she was accused of being a communist and a gunrunner for the Black Panther Party in the campus newspaper and the San Francisco Examiner. Back in 1949, the University of California—like most state institutions in California—took a stand on communism prohibiting the hire of Communist Party members. Governor Ronald Reagan and the UC regents used this statute to justify the dismissal of Angela Davis from UCLA. In response to the governor's and regents' ridiculous justifications for firing Davis, Davis performed a speech at UCLA outlining the hypocrisy of the regents to attempt to ban political ideas in the classroom given that the university is political in its nature. Davis begins her speech by outlining the relationship between politicization and education. She states:

I think the goal of the educational process is to create human beings who have human concerns. Human beings who know and understand themselves and are able to pass human judgments on what's going on around them. Education should not mold the mind according to a prefabricated architectural plan; it should rather liberate the mind. It should liberate the mind from established definitions and plans. The mind has to be liberated merely in order to perceive the world, to see society, to understand what its advantages and disadvantages are... Now I maintain that political opinions should be brought into the classroom, they belong in the classroom. I think that education itself is inherently political.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Davis, Angela. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. New York: International Publishers Co, 1988, 188.

Davis goes on to say, "The University has become political, as far as politics are defined, by the controlling political apparatus in this country... This is the politicization of the University". Davis goes even further to highlight the fact that the government [selectively] invests in university research that advances war technologies in Vietnam and therefore the University perpetuates the War in Vietnam—a war that Davis and many other Black revolutionaries saw as hypocritical for America to fight for "democracy" in Vietnam when Black populations within our own country are deprived of human rights. Davis asserts that, "the university is political in its very acceptance of the racism that goes on this country". She criticizes the University's investment in Vietnam and lack of investment in the education of students of color and recruitment of faculty of color. Davis' criticism of the administration's hypocrisy and sectarian politics helps us understand why certain political factions are welcomed to the University while others are dismissed<sup>21</sup>.

In the context of UCSB today, the sectarian politics that govern our university are readily identifiable. In 2010, UCSB Athletics, Chancellor Henry Yang, and the family members of UCSB football coach, Jack Curtice celebrated the late coaches' influence on UCSB athletes by building Curtice Gate—the entrance to UCSB's main athletics field. The construction of this gate is extremely disrespectful to the countless Black athletes that expressed their disdain for Coach Curtice for his racist and paternalistic practices. In order for the gate to be built, UCSB alumni donated money in honor of Coach Curtice. Endowments, or lack there of, was the precise reason that Chancellor Yang denied the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The UC chooses to support the Vietnam War while it dismisses communistic ideologies.

BSU students' demand to rename North Hall, Malcolm X Hall. The university architecture is governed by capitalistic politics that let profit overshadow racist ideologies reflected in our architecture. The university allows capital to govern and politicize its architecture, while Malcolm X's philosophies work to dismantle and illegitimize dominant university politics and practices.

Another, and immensely more powerful, display of the university politics internationally lie in the enormous UC investment in companies who profit from the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The University of California's irresponsible investments are perpetuating and supporting a war against Palestinian people in the name of profit. We can see state politics continuously reflected in UCSB's architecture and practices. There is a very clear and direct conflict between the dominant university politics and Malcolm X's philosophy in his article in the *Egyptian Gazette* in 1964:

The number one weapon of 20<sup>th</sup> century imperialism is Zionist dollarism, and one of the main bases for this weapon is Zionist Israel. The ever-scheming European imperialists wisely placed Israel where she could geographically divide the Arab world, infiltrate and sow the seed of dissension among African leaders and also divide the Africans against the Asians. Zionist Israel's occupation of Arab Palestine has forced the Arab world to waste billions of precious dollars on armaments, making it impossible for these newly independent Arab nations to concentrate on strengthening the economies of their countries and elevate the living standard of their people... In short the Zionist argument to justify Israel's present occupation of Arab Palestine has no intelligent or legal basis in history ... not even in their own religion.

In this article, Malcolm X denounces the occupation of Palestine and helps students understand the flaws of Western capitalism that govern the UC's investments in Israeli-occupied Palestine. Malcolm X shows that the Zionist occupation of Palestine is actually an act of imperialism—which implies that the UC is supporting imperialistic apartheid regimes by investing war technologies for Israel. Moreover, Malcolm X's statement

highlights the prefabricated politics of the university that show through their investments.

If we accept Davis' stated goals of education, we can assert that UCSB is crippling the education of our students by exercising sectarian politics that further capitalistic, imperialistic, and white supremacist agendas. In no way do we [the BSU] expect that all students will fully agree with our politics or those of Malcolm X; however, we do believe, as Angela Davis states, that knowledge has to transcend the immediate political reality in order for students to understand the advantages and disadvantages of today's society. In closing, I want to reflect on a statement by scholar Herbert Marcuse<sup>22</sup>:

Knowledge is transcendent (toward the object world, toward reality) not only in an epistemological sense – as against repressive forms of life – it is political. Denial of the right to political activity in the university perpetuates the separation between theoretical and practical reason and reduces the effectiveness and the scope of intelligence.

If UCSB wants to implement the so-called world-class and diverse education that they promote, then UCSB must stretch its boundaries and support the development and sustenance of the so-called "other" factions of political thought—such as the Black radical tradition. Confining Black radical thought to the small departmental walls of Black Studies cripples the educational development of ALL students at UCSB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Marcuse, Herbert, *An Essay on Liberation*. Beacon Press: 1971.