STUDENTS IN REVOLT

THE BATTLE OF BERKELEY CAMPUS

Solidarity pamphlet No 18

6D

INTRODUCTION

"There is an open, fierce and thoroughgoing rebellion on this campus."

Edward Strong, Chancellor of the University of California, September 1964

"We cannot compromise with revolution, whether at the University or any other place."

Pat Brown, Governor of the State of California, December 2, 1964

"The atmosphere on this 27,000-student campus, 12 miles from San Francisco, is more like a South American University than one in Northern California."

The Guardian, December 9, 1964

A great struggle is currently being waged by the students at the University of California, at Berkeley, USA. They are defending their right to indulge in political activity on the campus, free from arbitrary rules, regulations and restrictions imposed by the University authorities.

The Berkeley students are protesting in particular against regulations which prohibit them from advocating political and social action, from recruiting and from soliciting funds for "off-campus" political causes frowned on by the University Administration.

We are sure their struggle will interest SOLIDARITY readers. It raises issues of the utmost importance for all concerned with the defence of civil liberties and with the development of new techniques of direct action. It throws light on some of the dilemmas confronting a wealthy but increasingly bureaucratic society. It illustrates the sort of crisis such a society tends to provoke. It provides an example of what we often have to fight and of how we can fight it.

An inept and high-handed piece of official incompetence triggers off a minority reaction. The struggle gains momentum. Constantly fed by further bureaucratic bungling, it rapidly develops a mass basis. It acquires a militant programme, and a vigorous fortnightly paper of its own -- the Free Speech Movement (FSM) Newsletter. It ropes in hundreds and later thousands of students with no previous experience of politics, let alone of direct action politics. It teaches them some basic lessons about the nature of the state. It exposes the relations between university authorities, business interests, local politicians, and the state police. It dissects the whole gigantic enterprise of manipulation and mystification known as "modern education", and shows it to have conformity, docility and the acceptance of authority as its main objectives. Skilfully combining legal and illegal tactics, it constantly widens its support until in the end hundreds of uniformed cops have to be called in. More than 800 students are arrested. Picket lines are thrown up. The Teamsters Union refuses to cross them, to deliver supplies to the University. Clearly this is no ordinary struggle for or abstract debate about academic freedom!

We are interested in what is happening on this Californian campus for several reasons:

Firstly, because the Berkeley events show how whole new layers of people, not brought up in the traditions of working class solidarity and collective action, can -- in the conditions of a bureaucratic society -- act together in an effective way and rapidly acquire a deep understanding of the power structure of that society and of the means of subverting it.

Secondly, because British students face basically similar problems. They too are hemmed in with ridiculous rules and regulations. In the last decade or two there has been a deep and thorough ideological revolution among young people. It has been so deep and thorough that many of these rules and regulations now seem to date from another historical era. But the bureaucratic wheels grind exceeding slow and exceeding small. Like the Berkeley students, British students have little, if any, real control over matters that concern them most intimately -- the nature and content of university tuition, the administration of student communities, the technical and recreational facilities available, the relations between the sexes, and so on (every student or ex-student who reads this will think of dozens more before getting to the bottom of this page). The recent agitation at the Regent Street Polytechnic (see the Evening Standard, December 7, 1964) shows clearly that London students at least are fed up

with these constant infringements of their freedom. They are sick and tired of not being treated as responsible and mature people, while being expected to study "advanced" subjects under conditions which demand the greatest self-confidence and self-discipline. Every student newspaper and magazine in every university and college in the country raises in some form the issues which have come to boiling point in Berkeley.

Thirdly, we are interested because of the actual techniques of struggle which have been used. The actions of the students in Berkeley show the profound repercussions abroad of our own experiences in the anti-bomb movement during the last few years. There has obviously been an immensely fruitful cross-fertilisation of ideas and methods in this field. Now it is possible for British students to learn from what their American comrades are doing, and also for us in the anti-bomb and industrial movements to take heart again. We may have come to a dead end, but our American friends are at the beginning of something new.

Finally, we are interested for more personal reasons -- our own comrades Marvin and Barbara Garson (both previous contributors to SOLIDARITY and both well known to our readers) are intimately involved in this struggle. Barbara is in fact one of the Editors of the Free Speech Movement Newsletter. (Copies of this excellent rank and file student journal can be obtained from FSM, Box 809, Berkeley, California, USA -- 2/6d should cover the cost of the four issues produced so far.)

The text which follows is based on articles in the Newsletter and on reports from these two comrades and some others. Although both Marvin and Barbara were arrested during the December 2 demonstrations, we hope to bring you further news from California in the next issue of SOLIDARITY.

I. BACKGROUND

On many American campuses, student groups have access to the offices, equipment, secretarial staff and other facilities provided by their student "governments". At the University of California, these privileges are reserved for "non-controversial" groups (such as the hiking and yachting clubs). The groups concerned with political and social questions are relegated to a status confusingly called "off-campus". By tradition, these "off-campus" groups have used certain entrances to the campus to set up their card-tables and to display their literature, collect signatures, donations, subscriptions and so on. But first they have to get a permit from the police.

In September 1964, one of the University deans suddenly announced that one of these traditional "selling" areas -- the Bancroft-Telegraph area -- was University property, and that as from Monday, September 21, card-tables would no longer be permitted on it because they "disrupted the traffic" (where have we heard that before?).

This decision was probably taken as a result of a complaint by the Oakland Tribune ("We need not one but a million Barry Goldwaters to clear the muck and stench out of our Government, remove the dirt and corruption from our White House, and re-kindle the beacon light of hope for the enslaved people all over the world" etc. etc.). The Oakland Tribune offices were being picketted by a student group protesting at the paper's racialist policies (enslaved people within the United States itself didn't count, apparently). The paper contacted Chancellor Strong and asked him if he knew that these subversive activities were being organised from University property. Strong replied that he didn't know the Bancroft-Telegraph area was University property, but he would investigate. He did, and discovered to his apparent surprise that the area was indeed the University's property, and not the City's, as had been previously assumed. The new University restrictions followed.

The nineteen minority organisations affected by the ban registered a protest with the dean, who "clarified" his previous ruling: tables would be permitted, but only "informative" and not "persuasive" literature could be given out from them. This was unacceptable to all the groups. But more important, the real issue was now revealed.

2. THE FIRST BATTLE

The real issue was that the University authorities were worried about political activity itself, not about any "traffic" problem, and it was on this issue that battle was joined.

On the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the first week of the new ban, some of the campus groups went on running their tables as usual, taking no notice of the regulation. At noon on Wednesday, September 30, Dean Williams took the names of five students who refused to leave their tables, and told them to come to his office at 3 pm for disciplinary action. During the next few hours, more than 350 students signed a petition accepting equal responsibility with their five comrades and asking to share any penalties they might receive. At 3 o'clock, the five students reported to the Dean's office -- with 395 others. He refused to see them. They waited; and while they waited more students came. By the time Sproul Hall (the administrative building on the campus) had closed that evening, there were 500 students in it. Late on the Wednesday evening the news got round that the original five students and three leaders of the afternoon's demonstration were suspended indefinitely.

Then came the first real battle. At noon the next day -- Thursday, October 1st -- the students of Berkeley held a rally to protest against both the suspensions and the regulation. Tables were set up in defiance of the ban. Campus police then arrested Jack Weinberg, who was manning a table for CORE (the Congress on Racial Equality). He went limp and was carried into a waiting police car. But when the police tried to drive their car off the campus, someone sat down in front of it, and a moment later it was completely surrounded by sitting students. Speakers began to address the crowd from the top of the car, which now doubled as Jack's cell and the centre of the demonstration. From noon on Thursday until 7.30 pm on Friday, the police car was constantly surrounded and immobilised by students, numbering from about 500 during the night to about 3000 during the day.

Throughout the week, the President, Clark Kerr, had refused to meet any representatives of the students. During the demonstration, Dustin Miller said: "Clark Kerr has written that the University is a factory. He deals with us as numbers. Well, that's the language he understands, so we are

here as numbers -- hundreds and thousands." On Friday evening Kerr gave way to the pressure of numbers and persistence, and to his own wish to clear the campus for Parents' Day; though at the same time he surrounded the area with 500 policemen, including the notorious Oakland cops.

While the representatives spoke with Kerr, the demonstrators prepared for mass arrest. They got advice from a lawyer and some useful hints from veterans of the civil rights movement who had some experience of arrest and jail. It was announced that only those who were definitely prepared to be arrested should stay sitting round the car. About 500 sat there determinedly, while about 2000 looked on. At this crucial moment, the negotiators returned with a signed agreement which made some concessions to the demonstrators, though it did not guarantee free speech and assembly throughout the campus. The students began to disperse with mixed feelings. The release from tension was felt as both a relief or a disappointment. They knew this was only the first battle.

What kind of outside pressure was being put on President Kerr and Chancellor Strong? One example was given by John DeBonis, a member of the Berkeley City Council, who criticsed Kerr for his "appeasing attitude" to the demonstrators. DeBonis said that Kerr should have told the students: "We want that car to move." If they refused to let it move, Kerr should have "called out the fire department and hosed them out." And if that failed, there was always the National Guard. The trouble was not DeBonis himself, who fortunately represented only a small minority. The trouble was that Kerr and Strong gave way to this kind of pressure, and came very close to this kind of behaviour. The Oakland police, known for their willingness to use violent methods, had been called in. It was the responsibility of the students, particularly those negotiating with Kerr, which stopped the whole thing turning into a bloodbath.

During the negotiations, in fact, Kerr repeatedly threatened the representatives with a riot, and told them he might not be able to hold the police back -- they had to sign the agreement at once, or he couldn't be responsible for the result. The representatives would have had every justification if they had walked out on the meetings after such threats, but fortunately they at least remained rational and carefully negotiated each point of the agreement. They refused to be stampeded into accepting a watered-down compromise which would have been unacceptable to the students outside around the car. They also refused to abandon the negotiations or to make demands that would be unacceptable to Kerr. Their behaviour compares significantly with that of the people who were meant to be in charge of the students' education. Who were the mature adults and who were the immature children that day?

3. THE AGREEMENT

Below are the **main** points agreed to by the leaders of the students and the Administration. After each point is an explanation of its meaning, as agreed during the negotiations, and a summary of how the Administration later kept its side of the bargain.

1. "The student demonstrators shall desist from all forms of illegal protest against University regulations."

This did not restrict future protests, and the Administration would be violating its verbal commitment if it interpreted this point as being binding in the future. The only explicit interpretation agreed for this point was that the students should disband their existing protest demonstration -- which they immediately did -- but that they reserved the right to resume demonstrations.

2. "A committee representing students (including leaders of the demonstration), faculty and Administration will immediately be set up to conduct discussions and hearings into all aspects of political behaviour on campus and its control, and to make recommendations to the Administration."

The Chancellor set up such a committee on his own initiative and without consultation; in effect, the Administration took it upon itself to establish a committee of its own choosing to make recommendations to itself. Such a committee could solve nothing, and absurdly violated the spirit of the point. What happened was that the Administration appointed four faculty members, two students' representatives, and four of its own members; it then stated that the students' Free Speech Movement could choose two people to sit on the committee. The chairman of the committee, Dr Williams, called the first meeting of the committee on Wednesday, October 7, but did not have the courtesy to tell the FSM. The FSM representatives therefore went to the Faculty Club, where the committee was meeting, read the following statement, and walked out.

> Ladies and Gentlemen: As the duly elected representatives of the Free Speech Movement, we cannot in good conscience recognise the legitimacy of the present meeting. The agreement reached between the students and the Administration was, because of the urgency of the situation, loosely

worded. We have since repeatedly requested of the Administration that they meet with us to determine mutually acceptable decisions on the interpretation and implementation of the agreement. Rather than granting such a meeting, the University Administration has indicated that it reserves the right to be sole arbitrator in the dispute between us and them. This present meeting is a result of unilateral action by the Administration, and as such we cannot participate. We were not even officially notified of this meeting. We request that this body, acting as a group of distinguished individuals, recommend that the Administration immediately schedule a meeting between our representatives and theirs to resolve our present misunderstandings concerning the interpretation and implementation of the document. We would very much like to know your response to our request, and can be notified at TH8-2930. Furthermore, we respectfully request this body consider itself illegally constituted and disband.

We shall see later what happened.

3. "The arrested man will be booked, released on his own recognisance, and the University will not press charges."

In repeated public statements, the University declared that it would indeed not press charges, but that the District Attorney might. The constant emphasis has been on the idea of the DA going ahead with the case on his own. These statements violated the spirit of this point of the agreement.

4. "The duration of the suspension of the suspended students will be submitted within one week to the Student Conduct Committee of the Academic Senate."

Five days after the agreement was signed, the Free Speech Movement was informed that no such committee existed. There was an Administration-appointed faculty committee on student conduct, and the Administration tried to bring the cases of the suspended students before that. But of course the purpose of suggesting the use of a committee of the Academic Senate was precisely to remove the question of suspension from the hands of the Administration. By insisting that the students should be brought before the Chancellor's own committee, the Administration broke this point of the agreement.

5. "Activity may be continued by student organisations in accordance with the University regulations."

Both sides honoured this point of the agreement.

* * *

Here it is necessary to put in a few words about the Free Speech Movement. This is simply an ad hoc pressure group, vanguard, mouthpiece, and -- if necessary and if acceptable -- representative of the students. It exists to defend the First Amendment of the US Constitution, which guarantees to all the right to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association; and in doing so it also finds itself defending the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees that no one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Under the "supremacy clauses" of the Constitution, all provisions of state constitutions, laws and agencies are subject to the limitations placed on them by the US Constitution; this includes the University of California, which has no right to abridge the freedoms guaranteed to all American citizens.

Now, this Free Speech Movement was, of course, one more minority group at first, but then things began to change, as its Newsletter recounted: "When the Administration applied yet another restriction on the freedom of political and social action groups at the start of this semester, it seemed at first as if the small number of students who are members of these groups would, as usual, fight alone. Then, as the protest became a rally, and the rally became a demonstration, thousands of students realised for the first time how many regulations there are. Many had never known that students cannot exercise their free speech without permits, hired policemen, and a host of other bureaucratic restrictions. When the political groups first opposed the new regulation, they did not know that student support would swell into the Free Speech Movement." And the newly important FSM was addressing a much larger audience than usual when it printed its programme in its Newsletter:

"1. The students shall have the right to hear any person speak in any open area on campus at any time on any subject, except when it would cause a traffic problem or interfere with classes.

"2. Persons shall have the right to participate in political activity on campus by advocating political action beyond voting, by joining organisations, and by giving donations. Both students and non-students shall have the right to set up tables and pass out political literature. The only reasonable and acceptable basis for permits is traffic control.

"3. The unreasonable and arbitrary restrictions of 72 hours' notice, student-paid-for police protection, and faculty moderators, required for speakers using University buildings, must be reformed."

The Free Speech Movement was also important because it drew the correct lessons from the struggle, and because it was interested in widening the struggle. The events on the Berkeley campus provoked demonstrations of sympathy on other campuses -- UCLA and UC at Riverside, Reed College, San Francisco State, Cornell, University of Michigan, Roosevelt College, Harvard, Penn State, Pittsburg, Princeton, Oregon State, and NYU. As the FSM Newsletter said: "Our actions here will serve as an impetus to students at other universities who are under similar or even more oppressive restrictions, and also as a reminder to more fortunate campuses of the importance of safeguarding their freedoms." This is precisely the message that we are giving to students at universities in this country; we are proud to consider ourselves, as it were, the British section of the Free Speech Movement, and to put forward this pamphlet as the British edition of the FSM Newsletter. But now back to the struggle at Berkeley.

4. STALEMATE

During the next few weeks, the movement got bogged down in a morass of negotiations, administrative committees, etc.

The FSM spoke to Chancellor Strong, but he neither could nor would disband the illegitimate committee. He neither could nor would reinstate the suspended students. He neither could nor would bring their cases before the kind of committee agreed on by both sides. The FSM tried to speak to President Kerr, but they got a runaround and no audience. The FSM spoke to Vice-President Bolton, and agreed to his conditions for a discussion, but he then refused to discuss the two immediate problems -- the suspensions, and a legitimate study committee. The FSM sent a telegram to Pat Brown, the Governor of the State of California, asking for an appointment with the Regents, and saying that they would have to consider alternative action if this, the last legal hope, failed. They also told Bolton of the possibility of renewed demonstrations.

At midnight on Wednesday, October 14, Professor Ross, a friend of Kerr, met the FSM Steering Committee; he didn't come as a representative of the Administration, but it was obvious that he did come as a result of the threat of renewed demonstrations. By 4 am on Thursday morning, the Professor and the Steering Committee agreed on the following interpretation of the previous agreement:

1. The existing study committee would be expanded from 10 to 18 members. The Administration would appoint two more representatives, the Academic Senate would appoint two more representatives of the faculty, and the FSM would appoint four representatives of the students. Thus each side would have six representatives. The FSM would also be able to send five silent observers. The voting would have to be unanimous.

2. The suspended students would immediately be brought before the new Academic Senate Committee on Student Discipline.

3. President Kerr would issue a statement that he would give serious consideration to the recommendations of the study committee.

The FSM Steering Committee agreed to give Professor Ross until 5 pm on Thursday to get official approval of this interpretation of the agreement. Ross went to see Kerr and Professor Williams, the chairman of the study committee. Kerr went to the Regents, and Williams went to the Chancellor. By 5 o'clock, everyone had agreed to the interpretation (though the Regents took a long time coming round). It was also agreed that the meetings of the discipline committee would be tape-recorded, and that lawyers for both sides would be present. Chancellor Strong agreed verbally to accept the recommendation of the discipline committee.

The authorities chose this moment to make some more silly mistakes. On Thursday night, after the new agreement had been reached, Kerr resumed his habitual red-baiting. He claimed that 40% of the FSM were not students, and that many of them were Communists or Communist sympathisers. (He also claimed that "49% of the hard-core group are followers of the Castro-Mao line" -- see the Guardian, December 9, 1964.) Later that night, the Regents sent the FSM a telegram telling them that they had set up their own committee to handle the dispute properly and that it was "not necessary" for the FSM representatives to speak.

In this atmosphere, things began to drag and the FSM began to press for stronger action.

Two committees had been set up. One, dealing with the suspensions, was to recommend to Chancellor Strong; the other, dealing with political freedom on the campus, was to recommend to President Kerr. The committees were meant to solve the disputes, but doubts quickly arose. Kerr first stated that he would listen to the recommendations of the committee on political freedom, and then stated that the students of the FSM were not students and were Communists. He then joined the Regents in asking the State Legislature to draft laws making otherwise legal demonstrations illegal on the campus. He had already

decided what kind of recommendations he would listen to! Strong first stated that he, likewise, would listen to the recommendations of the committee on discipline, and then rejected the committee's recommendation that the suspended students should be reinstated while their cases were being heard. He then rejected the FSM's request that their lawyers should be able to question witnesses before the committee. He too had already decided what kind of recommendations he would listen to!

The FSM Newsletter commented: "It is more than evident that the Administration has its own plans, its own goals, its own means; and these plans, these goals, these means have nothing whatsoever to do with what the two committees decide. The committees are picture windows -- but like all good picture windows, you can see right through them." It warned: "We do not know how long the already established committees will take, and we do not even know that the Administration will listen to their decisions. But let it be known that we can be stopped only by so many detours before the road begins to lead nowhere, and then there will remain only one road -- that of direct action. We continue to meet, in growing frustration and with deepening doubt as to the value of the committee proceedings. We are not the professionals the bureaucrats claim we are -- but we learn fast and we will not falter again. We shall not again consider a new procedure, a new committee, as 'a major victory'." And it insisted: "Let us return to the issues. We demand these on-campus freedoms for all: freedom to advocate off-campus political and social action; freedom to recruit for off-campus political and social action; freedom to solicit funds for off-campus political causes; and freedom from harassment of both the 72-hour rule and mandatory presence at meetings of tenured faculty moderators and police."

Then came the careful call to action: "Committees cannot mediate rights: they can only urge their reinstatement. Our lawyers are certain that the rights being denied cannot legally be denied. We expect to have full freedom of speech on this campus. There will be no settling for half of the First Amendment and two thirds of the Fourteenth. Though our hands are now tied with red tape, red tape is not inviolable. It can be cut, it can be broken, it can be ignored. Once we did ignore it, in the days preceding October 2, and we got promises -- promises of procedural meetings that have decided nothing but have dragged much. Perhaps we should not have moved on October 2. Perhaps our subsequent demands should have been stronger, our subsequent position firmer. If our greatest weakness was letting our hands be tied, then we must make this our greatest lesson. When the morass of mediation becomes too thick to see through, action must let in the light."

At this time, as you might expect, the local "progressives" came tagging along and giving their usual bad advice about "not doing anything to alienate all our potential supporters in the community". But by now all the activists agreed that they had been caught in sticky red tape and that they should never have let the committees become things of such importance. As one of them said, "When it became apparent that the Administration was not prepared to allow us our rights, when we realised that continued negotiations would make for little gain but lose much time, when days turned into weeks and disagreements into deadlocks, then it became necessary to return to the power of numbers, of voices, of direct action."

5. ACTION AGAIN

So on Monday, November 9, the Free Speech Movement resumed its "legal-illegal" demonstrations. Eight or ten tables were set up in front of Sproul Hall, in open and peaceful defiance of the still extant Administration rule that off-campus political and social groups could not solicit money or take names of potential members or organise on campus for off-campus action. This demonstration lasted for about two hours, during which various speakers addressed a crowd of about 500 from on top of an old dresser. Among the speakers were three professors who were decidedly in favour of the FSM's means and ends.

A short time after the tables had been set up, about half a dozen deans came to take the names of the people manning them. The conversation usually went as follows:

Dean: Are you manning this table?
Student: Yes.
Dean: Are you collecting money?
Student: I'm accepting contributions.
Dean: Do you have a permit?
Student: No.
Dean: Do you know you are violating a school rule?
Student: I know the school rule is unconstitutional.
Dean: Will you cease this activity?
Student: No.
Dean: Will you identify yourself?

The student then gave his name or produced his registration card. As soon as his name had been taken, another student took his place, and the conversation was repeated. In the end 75 names were taken; then the deans refused to take any more, although there were lines of students waiting to replace

their comrades whose names had been taken. Once more, solidarity was having its effect.

On Tuesday, nearly 200 students representing nearly every department and including many graduates, again manned several tables. This time no deans appeared, so a list of the names of those present, together with another list of about 500 names given by onlookers the day before, were sent in to the Administration. Again on Wednesday, November 11, and through the week, the tables remained, and the students decided that the tables would remain there in front of Sproul Hall until they became legal in the traditional areas.

The demonstrators were honoured by several distinguished guests. In addition to hundreds of reporters and photographers, there were Berkeley's Mayor Johnson, members of the District Attorney's staff, the Berkeley "Red Squad", and, of course, FBI agents taking time off from not catching murderers in Mississippi. The authorities outside as well as inside the campus were beginning to take the whole business seriously.

The FSM Newsletter provided factual news as soon as it became available and also pursued the fundamental issues. Barbara Garson wrote: "Must we always make this massive effort in order to effect a minor change? The answer is Yes. Yes, because power still lies with the Administration. Our lives at school are still ruled and regulated by officials who are not responsible to us. Our recent rebellion did not attempt to change this. Indeed, this change cannot be made on one campus. Yet I dream of someday living in a democracy. On campus, committees of students and faculty will make the minimum regulations needed to administer (not rule) our academic community. I hope to see democracy extended to the offices and factories, so that everyone may have the satisfaction of making the decisions about the use of his productive energies. I look past government by the grunted consent of the governed. Someday we will participate actively in running our own lives in all spheres of work and leisure."

As the student struggle began to develop this new temper and this new awareness, voices were again raised, as they will always be raised in these situations, urging caution, moderation, avoidance of "excesses" and "extremes", and not doing anything which might upset this or that professor. Here again the FSM Newsletter dealt once and for all with such advice: "We are told and told that in order to get and keep faculty support, we must be ready to approach the Administration on our knees, to wheedle and whine, to beg and bargain. But what is faculty support worth? Undoubtedly, the faculty is a potentially powerful force. University professors are not easily replaced; a faculty strike would

be almost impossible to crush. However, academicians do not have the tradition of solidarity. Unlike less skilled workers, they have never stuck together and struck together. They allow their colleagues to be victimised one at a time. They are loath to use their power to fight for their own freedoms or anyone else's. When a professor is hounded out of the university, the faculty forms a committee. They want us to use their tactics. They think they are on our side; but they have an innate instinct for submission. They may think like men; but they act like rabbits.

"Theoreticians at Berkeley give this rabbitry an intellectual justification. Sociologists and political scientists fear 'conflict' and 'mass action'. Their theory calls for a government of competing elites, quietly and privately vying for the right to control our lives. This theory leads to safe and quiet government. Democracy is dangerous in their eyes; they think it leads to totalitarianism. In some cases it may be possible for elites to compete. Industrial elites armed with money may be able to negotiate on an equal basis with government elites who have armies. Students, however, are like Negroes and workers: they have little force except for their numbers and the strength of their commitment. To ask these groups to give up mass action is to ask them to submit to the rule of the elites who have power that doesn't come from numbers. Faculty members ask us to give up our only weapon, and to rely on their intervention. They ask us to stop using the tactics that frighten them. They want to be the elite that competes for free speech. But if they are really interested in free speech, why don't they act in their own way, while we act in our own way? Must we beg and bargain with them, as well as with the Administration, to get their backing? Will the rabbits save us from the wolves? Will they even try?"

The FSM decision to set up tables in defiance of the ban resurrected the whole movement. For three weeks, normal political activity was carried on under a minimum code of standards set by the FSM. They promulgated their own regulations on free speech, including the right to man tables, collect money for political and social action, and so on. For three weeks this side of university life was run by the students under their own regulation. An alternative Administration of the University community was beginning to emerge.

Finally, the Board of Regents of the University of California met to decide the dispute. The Regents, as the phrase goes, "represent the community" -- that is, they are presidents of oil companies, airlines, newspaper chains, and law firms. Mrs Randolph Hearst is on the Board, as a "housewife". The students felt that they were not properly represented, so

the FSM called for a demonstration outside the meeting, to take the form of a peaceful request to be heard. No less than 5000 students gathered outside, but the meeting room had no windows. The Regents refused to hear any proposals, whether from the official student representatives, from the FSM (which was beginning to become unofficially representative of the aggrieved students), or from the faculty.

After the meeting, the Administration issued a set of rules which were designed to restore the status quo ante, except that in future students were to be disciplined if their activity on the campus "leads to" illegal activity off campus. This is an open blow at civil rights demonstrators. Of course it was to be the Administration that would decide how and when any activity "leads to" illegal activity. The students pointed out that they preferred to be tried in ordinary courts, where they would have at least some rights. But with the physical presence of the tables authorised again, it became more and more difficult to challenge the right of the Administration to be judge in its own cause. The Administration had graciously returned what it had burgled from the students' house, but picked their pockets on the way out. They began to see that ultimately the Administration would have to be removed from power before the students would be permanently free from such arbitrary rule.

But they were not quite ready to think very far along these lines. The FSM was constantly both strengthened and weakened by being joined by hundreds of new well-wishers. They added numbers to the movement, but as usually happens they also added pressure for moderation, which prevented the direct actions from going as far as they might otherwise have gone, so that the students had never actually disrupted the normal functioning of the University institutions. Mario Savio, one of the leaders who opposed this tendency, said: "We are indulging in degenerate practices. We are leading our followers into social coitus interruptus!"

"Our American ideals are not fragile objects of historical interest to be sheltered from the reality of today's world. They are strong and resilient and as serviceable today as in 1776. They need no special care except daily exercise, and no shield but truth."

President Clark Kerr, when accepting the Alexander Meiklejohn Award for academic freedom, 1964.

What a coincidence! This was our prescription too!

8. THE BIG SIT-IN

Then, just as everything was settling down again, when the Free Speech Movement seemed to be dead, the University Administration suddenly announced new disciplinary action against two of the main leaders. All the other charges that had been made had been either quietly dropped or else quietly settled by simple reprimands, but now Art Goldberg and Mario Savio were charged with organising the capture of the cop car and the sit-ins. Art was also accused of threatening a policeman that he would be mobbed if he tried to move the prisoner in the car. Mario was also accused of actually assaulting a policeman. Here is the text of part of the letter he received from Chancellor Strong:

"By this letter, I am initiating disciplinary proceedings against you, based on the following statement of charges:

"1. On October 1 and 2, 1964, you led and encouraged numerous demonstrators in keeping a University police car and an arrested person therein entrapped on the Berkeley campus for a period of approximately 32 hours, which arrested person the University police were then endeavouring to transport to police headquarters for processing.

"2. On October 1, 1964, you organised and led demonstrators in "packing-in" the hallway immediately outside the office of the Dean of Students in Sproul Hall at the Berkeley campus for several hours during the business hours of that office, thereby blocking access to and from said office, disrupting the functions of the office, and forcing personnel of that office to leave through a window and across a roof.

"3. On October 1, 1964, you led and encouraged demonstrators forcefully and violently to resist the efforts of the University police and the Berkeley City police in their attempts, pursuant to orders, to close the main doors of Sproul Hall on the Berkeley Campus.

"4. On October 1, 1964, you bit Berkeley City police officer Philip E. Mower on the left thigh, breaking the skin and causing bruises, while resisting officer Mower's attempts to carry out his orders to close the main doors of Sproul Hall."

A policeman's lot is still, it seems, not a happy one, even in the land of the free.

As a visiting professor from England said later: "This sudden decision shocked the campus. Either the administrators were incredibly stupid, or they were deliberately trying to bring about a new conflict with the students." (Guardian, December 12.) Anyway, whether the authorities thought that things were quiet enough for them to "get the ringleaders" -- that is, victimise some of the leaders -- or whether they hoped to provoke a battle they could win, the Berkeley students showed that they had learnt, and learnt well, the lesson of solidarity.

The new charges were made on Friday, November 27. The weekend was spent in discussion and organisation. On Monday and Tuesday rallies were held protesting against the charges and demanding that the University Administration should relinquish its right to punish students for offences which were punishable in the ordinary courts. Then at noon on Wednesday, December 2, the Free Speech Movement began its biggest demonstration -- a mass sit-in at Sproul Hall (the administrative building on the campus).

About 1500 students, headed by the Stars & Stripes and accompanied by Joan Baez singing "We Shall Overcome" through a megaphone, went up the steps of the building and took it over from top to bottom. All administrative work came to a stop, and the employees were sent home. But this was no ordinary obstructive sit-in. Sproul Hall was declared to be the "Free University of California". One floor was set aside as a quiet study hall. Classes were held at various places in the building by graduate students. Some of the classes were on standard academic subjects, such as mathematics, American history, anthropology, Italian, biology and aesthetics. Others were concerned with local politics and the civil rights movement. One was on "the Nature of God and the Logarithmic Spiral". In other places films were shown, including Charlie Chaplin and Laurel & Hardy classics. And there were the usual groups playing bridge or strumming guitars. The students had taken over the centre of the campus.

At 7 pm Sproul Hall officially closed, and the students were formally asked to leave. They stayed. At midnight they settled down for the night, expecting no arrests until the building officially opened again at 8 am on Thursday. But at 2.30 the lights came on and FSM leaders came round telling the students to prepare for arrest immediately -- girls should take off their earrings, boys should ubutton their shirts, and so on. At that time the only policemen around were the few well-mannered Berkeley cops who had been there all along. At 3.15 Chancellor Strong came and read out a statement ordering the students to disperse; when he came to the phrase

"You have disrupted the operation of the University", there was a roar of disapproval and delight. This last warning was ignored, and the students waited. At 3.30 am on Thursday, December 3, the arrests began. They continued for thirteen hours, and more than 800 people were arrested by the end of the demonstration on Thursday afternoon.

Most of the students went limp on arrest, not because they were pacifists or adherents of non-violence so much as because this was the most suitable technique for slowing down the whole process as much as possible so that as many people as possible could take part or at least see what was going on. More and more police came in until there were about 700 of them involved. These included not just the original Berkeley police, but police from Oakland and San Francisco, Sheriff's Deputies from Alameda County, and even the Highway Patrol (the California State Police), who were sent in by Governor Pat Brown -- this was when he called the sit-in a "revolution".

The usual charges were "Trespass" and "Unlawful Assembly", though the latter was later changed to "Refusal to Leave a Public Building". No one resisted arrest, but those who went limp -- the great majority -- were also charged with "Resisting Arrest". The police knew this charge wouldn't hold up in court, but they made it all the same because it meant they could raise the bail. They have their little tricks too. Their reply to the tactic of going limp was to drag the students down the stairs by their feet, kicking them and banging their heads on the way.

The arrests began up on the fourth floor, and the police gradually worked their way down. After an hour, they had managed to make only 20 arrests, and many of the students lower down went back to sleep to wait their turn. At 8 pm, when the building should have opened and the other students began arriving for their classes, the police were still working on the third floor. On the second floor, some of the FSM leaders set up a public address system and began a rally from a window; their audience was the thousands of students and reporters and other people in the plaza below.

Suddenly the police rushed in and seized Jack Weinberg and one of the loudspeakers. Jack's arrest, which was particularly brutal, was witnessed by a CBS reporter; the police attacked him too, but he managed to get to a telephone and send in his story. (The television was the only news medium which reported the demonstration fairly and accurately throughout.) After this, the students realised what to do, and a hundred of them packed close around the speakers and the equipment to keep the rally going to the bitter end. A short while later, police from the Highway Patrol and the Alameda Sherrif's department

made another raid, charging the crowd with clubs. After ten minutes they had fought their way to within a few feet of where Barbara Garson was addressing the people outside, but the students were so thick that the police had to give up, and the rally continued. Arrests then went on in an orderly manner again. When the police reached the window, the equipment was lowered by rope, and the rally continued on the steps outside until the whole thing was over.

At the beginning, bail was set at $250, or $350 for those who "resisted arrest" (went limp). On Thursday evening, it was reduced to $55 and $110 respectively. Before the arrests were over, $8000 in bail money had been contributed, much of it by faculty staff; even so, most of the students were not released from the Alameda County Prison Farm, where they had been charged, photographed and finger-printed, until 4 am on Friday.

Also before the arrests were over, a general strike of students had begun. This lasted until Friday evening, and was estimated to have been about 65% effective. The Mathematics Department was the most militant, and the Business Department (surprise, surprise!) was the scabbiest. The graduate students were the backbone of the strike. Many of the teachers cooperated, willingly or unwillingly, by cancelling their classes. The junior teachers were the backbone of this sympathetic action. Members of the Teamsters Union delivering supplies to the campus respected the student pickets to some extent. The war between the students and the Administration was now open.

BLACK FRIDAY (October 2)

Provoked and much irritated
The very young underdog
Felt so hurt
He demonstrated
To be heard
Throughout three days and two nights

In a dense bureaucratic fog
Five hundred cops at his sides
The boss let him enter
And underdog was greeted
And seated
And cheated
Completely out of his rights

Underdog is growing wise
He will not be cheated twice

(from the FSM Newsletter)

7. DUAL POWER ?

The next move was up to the Administration. President Kerr announced that he was in Chicago "on business", but he was still in Berkeley conferring with Governor Brown and other Regents trying to come to a new agreement to present to the students as a fait accompli. It was announced that the Monday morning classes were to be cancelled and that there would be a general University meeting at 11 o'clock in the Greek Theatre. The FSM said the strike would continue, and made thousands of phone calls to keep the students out and to set up the picket lines good and early on Monday. The Administration wanted to settle the dispute before the meeting of the Academic Senate on Tuesday; the FSM wanted to settle the dispute on its own terms and in its own time.

There were 15,000 people at the University meeting on Monday, December 7. Just before it began, Mario Savio came in to take his seat at the front of the auditorium and got more applause than Clark Kerr when he came in to take his seat on the platform. The President's announcement contained an almost complete surrender. The Administration undertook to pursue no charges against any students for any past actions, though it retained the right to punish future offences. And the Administration would retain the existing rules about freedom of speech until it received the report of a faculty committee on academic freedom, and there was an implication that it would accept this report.

The meeting was punctuated by alternate booing and cheering. Then Kerr tried to declare it adjourned, but there was a great chant of "We want Mario", and Mario Savio walked up to the platform. Before he was able to speak, he was seized by six big cops and dragged off the stage, struggling and shouting to ask if he was under arrest. He wasn't, since he hadn't committed any offence, and when he was released he returned to the theatre to announce that the FSM would hold an immediate rally at the plaza outside Sproul Hall. The University meeting closed.

The FSM rally filled the plaza with about 8000 students. At the same time some "loyal" students held a nearby rally which drew about 500 people. The FSM rally was in effect a revolutionary assembly. Several faculty members spoke. One department chairman said: "Power is in your hands. I ask only that you use it wisely." Kerr's proposals were discussed and dismissed. The general feeling was that the regulation of free speech

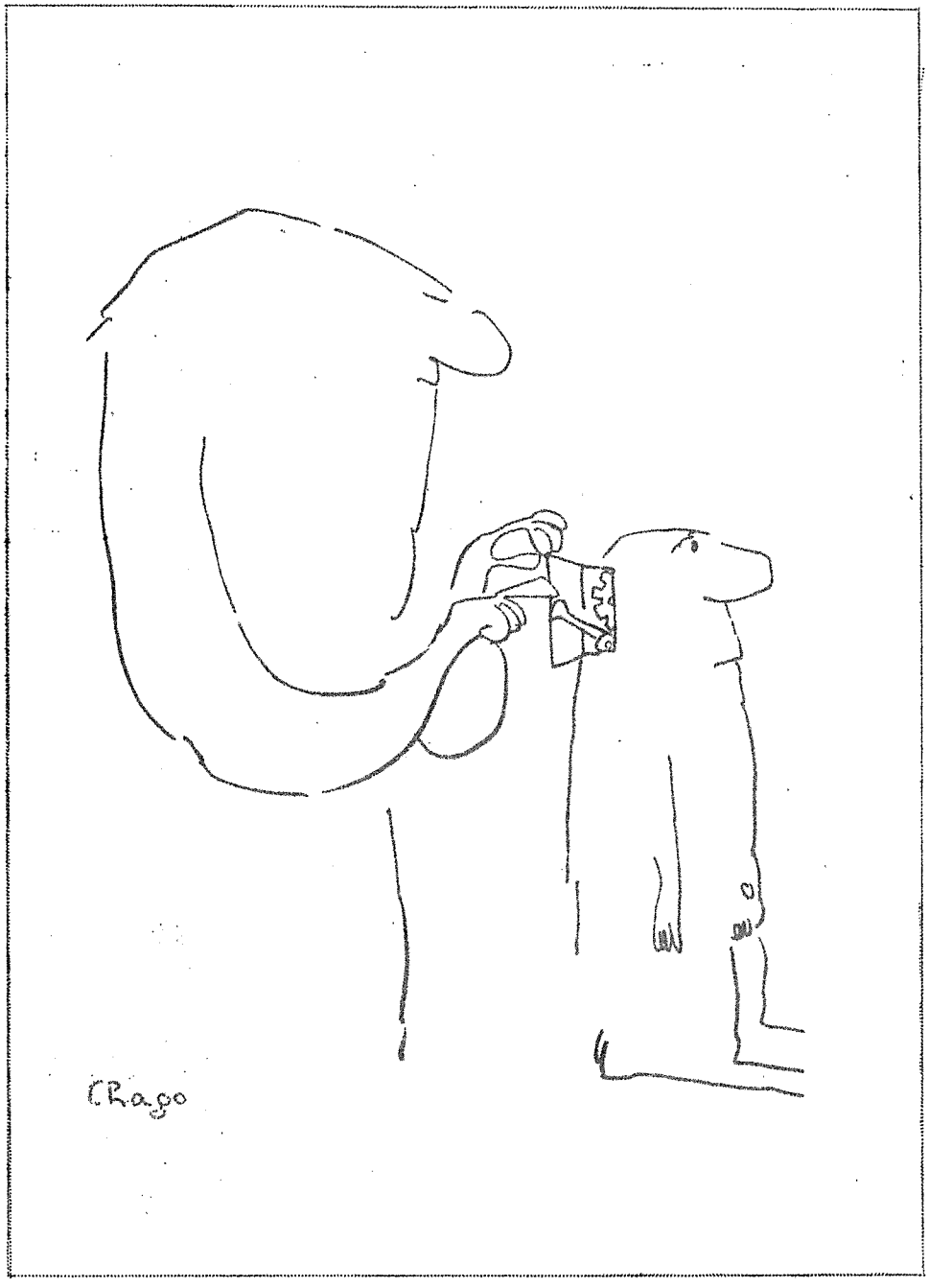
should be in the hands of the faculty, not the Administration, and that the Academic Senate, which represented the faculty, should take the initiative and ignore the Administration's proposals. This would, of course, be an illegal action, but the situation had reached a stage when the students were beginning to decide for themselves what was and what was not an illegal action. They were telling the faculty to take back its duty of running the university in consultatiom with the students. They were not going so far as to demand students' control of the campus, but they were certainly demanding the next best thing. In the meantime they decided to continue the strike for the rest of Monday; but Tuesday was to be a day of calm for the meeting of the Academic Senate. The students' leaders added that they would call for a resumption of the strike if the faculty didn't take this opportunity of settling the dispute in the ideal way.

As we write, we are still waiting for more news. Barbara Garson, who is the smallest woman we know, has been charged with assaulting a police officer, though we have no information as to whether she bit him, or, if so, on which thigh; and Marvin, who out of his respect for the truth and his belief in the principle of openness called the policemen "sons of bitches", has been charged with disorderly conduct. We hope to hear from them again soon. For the latest news, see the next issue of SOLIDARITY.

Meanwhile the Berkeley campus is on the verge of revolution or civil war. Even those who are closest to events do not dare guess what will happen next. As Marvin told us, "This is a revolution, and revolutions are not subject to prediction." The University of California is huge, and Berkeley is its biggest campus, with as many students as there are in the whole University of London. There were several precedents for what has happened. The Berkeley students were already famous -- or, in the eyes of the authorities, infamous -- for their demonstration against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco four years ago; and more recently for their demonstration against Goldwater in San Francisco six months ago. They are now famous for the demonstrations briefly described in this pamphlet. What they will be famous for next is up to them. We are sure that whatever it is it will be worth watching, and we are with them all the way.

C. B. Cox, the visiting professor from England who wrote in the Guardian on December 12, said: "Among intelligent young people in America there is a new spirit, energetic, idealistic, nonconformist, politically alive, which is fighting the evils of a degenerate capitalism....The new students are making a major reappraisal of the American way of life, and putting their beliefs into practice. It is often said that Berkeley campus is

the most politically alive in America, and that what happens here today will be repeated all over America in five years' time." The controversy is supposedly about free speech, but it actually goes much deeper than that. The people who run the University Administration are important spokesmen for the whole managerial society, and they know it and the students know it too. California is an extreme example of the modern American managerial society, and its University is its academic status symbol. The IBM card has become the symbol of what the students are against. They carry picket signs against it. They wear IBM cards punched to read "Free Speech or Strike". They feel that they are fighting not just a University, not just a State, but the whole structure of authoritarian society in America. They have taken over their campus as a symbol for taking over their country. They have swept aside their Administration as a symbol for sweeping aside their Government. They are their own masters.



The reaction of the authorities has been predictably violent, from the University Administration itself, which initiated and provoked and continued the dispute, upwards to the State Governor (an ex officio Regent) who called the students' movement a revolution, and downwards to the Berkeley janitor who called the student demonstrators scum. The general feeling is well represented by the California Alumni Council, speaking for more than 50,000 graduates of Berkeley, which demanded the sternest disciplinary measures against the rebels. Remember that the University of California depends on the rulers and rich men of the State of California for its huge budget, just as every American state university depends on the local bigshots for financial and "moral" support.

In the same way, of course, the Berkeley students depend on their rulers and their parents for their grants, and the teachers depend on the University for their jobs. But then the University itself depends on its teachers and its students for its very existence -- the teachers and students, in the end, are the campus, and this is why the FSM has been able to get its own way. The University rules and regulations have been brushed aside, with the minimum of violence and fuss, because the students are many and their opponents are few.

All this is true of every British university. The administration depends on the University Grants Committee (which comes under the Treasury) and on the local councillors, landowners and businessmen; and the students depend on their local authorities or parents; and the teachers depend on the administration. So, if you are a British student, you might think they've got you by the balls -- and so they have, if you are on your own. But if a lot of you stick together all the way, you've got them by the balls, because you, the students (and the teachers), are the university, college, polytechnic, call it what you will. They can get one of you, or a dozen of you, but they can't get a hundred or a thousand of you. The Berkeley students took the great step of learning to deal with their problems by direct action and mass action. You can learn from their example, and if you learn how to deal with your problems, you will know how to deal with much bigger ones -- if there is National Service again, or a major strike one day. It's up to you.

A Berkeley professor said: "We teach the students liberal values. They fight for them on campus, and the Administration puts them in jail." British students, too, are taught liberal values, and British students, too, are denied the right to put them into practice. Will British students, too, fight for them, and go to jail for them, and be their own masters?

* * *

REVIEW

the mind of clark kerr

by Hal Draper. Published by Independent Socialist Club (P.O. Box 910, Berkeley 1, California, USA). Price 25 cents.

What sort of man is Clark Kerr, President of the University of California ? What kind of 'educationalist' could summon a thousand policemen - ready to use tear-gas and clubs - onto a student campus to help restore respect for a certain kind of 'law' and a certain kind of 'order' ? What really goes on in the head of the Head of a modern American University.

Hal Draper, editor of the journal 'New Politics' and of the book 'Introduction to Independent Socialism' and former editor of 'Labor Action' has written an excellent pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet is dedicated 'to the students who sat down'. It is published by the Independent Socialist Club - a non-aligned revolutionary group - as 'its contribution to understanding the background of the Battle of Berkeley of October 1-2, 1964'. The contribution is in the best tradition of revolutionary literature : sober, factual, fearless and itself an inspiration to further action. We will quote from it extensively.

Draper's pamphlet is really a review of two books by Clark Kerr.* Together these books present an integrated picture of Kerr's vision of the society around him and of the place he assigns to the new type of "multiversity" in such a society.

The books candidly proclaim views that are 'rife in many academic and elitist circles' although often only 'formulated in minced and allusive terms'. They are in the tradition of Anne Lindbergh's 'Wave of the Future' (1940) and of James Burnham's 'Managerial Revolution' (1941). From Olympian heights of non-commitment, Kerr analyses and describes the coming of bureaucratic society. He does not overtly take sides. He presents himself as 'the interpreter of an inexorable reality'. He is, so to speak, 'the Administrator of History, merely informing us how to act in conformity with its rules'. He would like us to accept his vision of the future 'as the imperative of history'.

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* 'Industrialism and Industrial Man' by C. Kerr, J.T. Dunlop, F. Harbison and C.A. Myers (Harvard University Press, 1960) and 'The Uses of the University' by C. Kerr, (Harvard, 1963).

In what follows, excerpts from Draper's pamphlet are given between single quotes, excerpts from Clark Kerr's books between double quotes.

This is Kerr's 'orgiastic dream of the bureaucrat's paradise' :

1. The New Order will result (and is resulting) 'from the present convergence of the two dominant systems : a capitalism which is becoming more and more authoritarian and bureaucratic, along the road toward Russian totalitarianism; and a Russian Communist system which has softened up and become somewhat milder; the two merging somewhere in between into an undifferentiated "Industrialism". The imperative is the force of industrialization. It is the road to progress.'

2. The Leviathan State has taken over; 'it has expanded everywhere. It is "omnipresent". (There is no mention of T.V. eyes in the glades, but Big Brother is in the book). The State will never "wither away" as Marx utopianly predicted.'

3. Full-blown Bureaucratic or Managerial Elitism : 'The progressive and socially decisive elements are only "the managers, private and public", with their technicians and professionals. "They are the vanguard of the future". Kerr bluntly defines the elements he is addressing : "In particular, we hope to speak to the intellectuals, the managers, the government officials and labor leaders who today and tomorrow will run their countries..." There is no pretence of a role for the people, other than as the working cattle who are to be herded by the managers-bureaucrats.'

4. The Road Ahead. 'There is a convergence toward one-party-ism in form or fact. "The age of ideology fades". "Industrial society must be administered; ... the benevolent political bureaucracy and the benevolent economic oligarchy are matched with the tolerant mass". "Parliamentary life may appear increasingly decadent and political parties merely additional bureaucracies ... not only all dictatorships but also all democracies are guided." "The elites become less differentiated - all wear grey flannel suits." Professional managers run the economy : "Economic enterprise is always basically authoritarian under the necessity of getting things done ... Authority must be concentrated ". The managers "will be bureaucratic managers, if private, and managerial bureaucrats, if public". "Class warfare will be forgotten and in its place will be the bureaucratic contest ... memos will flow instead of blood". The individual will be neither an independent man nor a human ant, but something in between. As a worker, "he will be subjected to great conformity", regimented by the productive process, and will accept this "as an immutable fact. The State, the manager, the occupational association are all disciplinary agents".

There will be a certain "freedom". "Society has achieved consensus and it is perhaps less necessary for Big Brother to exercise political control. Nor in this Brave New World need genetics and chemical means be employed to avoid revolt. There will not be any revolt anyway, except little bureaucratic revolts that can be handled piecemeal".

5. In all this no space is wasted on 'ritualistic obeisances to democracy. There is no pretence, no lip-service. It simply is not in the picture'. Where will freedom lie ? "Maybe", muses Kerr, "in the leisure of individuals". "Along with the bureaucratic conservatism of economic and political life may well go a New Bohemianism in other aspects of life... The economic system may be highly ordered and the political system barren ideologically, but the recreational and cultural aspects of life diverse and changing... The new

slavery to technology may bring a new dedication to diversity and individuality". "The new slavery and the new freedom" Kerr comfortingly concludes "go hand in hand".

Won't there be any protest against all this ? Won't there be any opposition ? Will the people prove infinitely malleable in the hands of the manipulators ? Kerr rules out the likelihood of protest. From whom would it come ?

The intellectuals ? This is how Kerr deals with them. "The intellectuals (including the university students) are a particularly volatile element, capable of extreme reactions to objective situations - more extreme than any group in society. They are by nature irresponsible, in the sense that they have no continuing commitment to any single institution or philosophical outlook and they are not fully answerable for consequences. They are, as a result, never fully trusted by anybody, including themselves". And anyway, according to Kerr, the managerial bureaucrats will easily cope with the intellectuals. "It is important who best attracts or captures the intellectuals and who uses them most effectively, for they may be a tool as well as a source of danger". Kerr spells out the alternatives quite clearly. Tool or danger ! As Draper points out 'Everybody must be either on the F.B.I. informer rolls or on the subversive list'.

The workers ? No, says Kerr, echoing Burnham. Hierarchical organization will have destroyed solidarity and the will to struggle. "One of the central traits is the inevitable and eternal separation of industrial men into managers and managed". And anyway, protest itself can easily be managed. "Today men know more about how to control protest, as well as how to suppress it in its more organized forms. The Soviet Union has industrialized and China is industrializing without organized strikes. A controlled labor movement has become more common".

Draper points out that in his pamphlet he cannot deal with 'the scandalous puerility of this view of the history of protest in Russia and China, where literal millions of human beings had to be destroyed in the process of "controlling protest". Draper merely reminds his readers 'that on October 2, 1964, there was an army of almost 1,000 police called onto campus - to "control protest" by students - by the man who wrote these lines in cold blood.'

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Holding such a vision of society it is not difficult for us to guess the role Clark Kerr assigns to a modern university (or "multiversity" as he prefers to call it).

'Kerr presents the university as an institution which is, and will be, increasingly indistinguishable from any other business enterprise.' When Kerr talks of "the university's invisible product, knowledge" or "the university being called upon to produce knowledge as never before" he is not speaking metaphorically. He means it quite literally. Just listen to him : "The production, distribution and consumption of knowledge in all its forms is said to account for 29% of gross national product ... Knowledge production is growing

at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy ... What the railroads did for the second half of the last century and the automobile for the first half of this century may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry : that is to serve as the focal point for national growth".*

Draper points out that there is a kernel of truth in this assessment of the increasing role of knowledge. But is Kerr's talk of the "knowledge industry" to be taken seriously ? Does he mean that his "multiversity" must become increasingly like a factory ? Again, let Kerr speak for himself : "The university and segments of industry are becoming more alike. As the university becomes tied into the world of work, the professor - at least in the natural and some of the social sciences - takes on the characteristic of an entrepreneur. The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically". In other words, as Draper points out, 'there are railroads and steel mills and supermarkets and sausage factories - and there are also the Knowledge Factories, whose function is to service all the others and the State'.

"The university", Kerr correctly states is "inside the general social fabric of a given era". Kerr rejects and shows justifiable contempt for the old Cloister or Ivory Tower approach. (He rejects this approach, incidentally, because it is technologically inefficient and not because it would make of knowledge and culture leisure-class attributes). But Kerr then goes on to make it quite clear that by the integration of the university into society he means its subservience to the dominant strata of society and the manipulation of the educational system in the interests of those who rule. He lashes out at those " non-conformists " who would seek "to turn the university, on the Latin American or Japanese models, into a fortress from which they can sally forth with impunity to make their attacks on society".

"The politicians" Kerr writes "need new ideas to meet the new problems. The agencies need expert advice on how to handle the old. The professor can supply both". The role of the university is clearly seen as 'providing intellectual servicemen for the ruling powers'.

Kerr sees quite clearly the role of the state in this gigantic transformation. Like all the more far-sighted spokesmen of modern capitalism, he has abandoned 'laissez-faire' long ago. "The campus and society are undergoing a somewhat reluctant and cautious merger ... The university is being called upon ... to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activity with industry as never before; to adapt to and re-channel new intellectual currents".

What are these "new intellectual currents" to which the university must adapt ? They turn out to be 'the impact of the new mass of government money (federal grants) pouring out of Washington' into education. The cold war, the space race and Sputnik

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* In his recent Foundation Oration at Birkbeck College, London, Lord Bowden - Mr. Wilson's new Minister of State for the Department of Education and Science - quoted this passage of Kerr's writings with evident relish. Great bureaucrats clearly think alike.

have deeply influenced the pattern and content of education. "The multiversity has demonstrated how adaptive it can be to new opportunities for creativity; how responsive to money... ". "Federal support has become a major factor in the total performance of many universities... There has been a hundred-fold increase in twenty years in higher education's revenue from government". Two-thirds of the sum devoted to research projects in or affiliated to universities went to "relatively few" universities, accounting for 75% of all university expenditures on research and 15% of total university budgets.

But even in the bureaucrat's paradise, nothing is given free. What do the universities have to give in return for this enormous 'aid' ? In return, Kerr says, "the federal agencies will exercise increasingly specific controls and the universities dependent on this new standard of living will accept these controls. The universities themselves will have to exercise more stringent control by centralizing authority, particularly through the audit process. In a few situations, self-restraint has not been enough restraint; as one result greater external restraint will be imposed in most situations".

Kerr is quite open about all this. There is no double-talk. To drive his point home he quotes the following limerick :

"There was a young lady from Kent
Who said that she knew what it meant
When men took her to dine,
Gave her cocktails and wine;
She knew what it meant - but she went."

Kerr follows this with the comment : "I am not so sure that the universities and their presidents always knew what it meant, but one thing is certain - they went".

Clark Kerr does not shun the label of bureaucrat. He relishes it. Discussing the role of University Presidents today he writes : "Instead of the not always so agreeable autocracy, there is now the usually benevolent bureaucracy, as in so much of the rest of the world... Instead of the Captain of Erudition... there is the Captain of the Bureaucracy who is sometimes a galley slave on his own ship ...".

Kerr is gratified that the "multiversity" has emerged from the phase of "intuitive balance" into that of "bureaucratic balance". He is intent on emphasizing that the Coming Men in the new university-factory are not the scholars (either humanist or scientist), not the teachers, not the faculty, but that its "practitioners" are "chiefly the administrators, who now number many of the faculty among them, and the leadership groups in society at large".

'Administrators - and "leadership groups in society at large" : it may be somewhat clearer now what Kerr means by "merging" the university with "society", i.e. with what part of "society". The multiversity, writes Kerr, is no longer to be thought of as an "organism", as Flexner did. "It is more a mechanism - a series of processes producing a series of results - a mechanism held together by administrative rules and powered by money".

An essential 'difference between an organism and a mechanism is that a mechanism is always controlled by a superior power outside. This points up the inaccuracy of Kerr's constant use of the term "merger" : a mechanism does not "merge" with its controller. The kind of "merger" that Kerr is celebrating is the "merger" of the horse and its rider.'

Space prevents us from dealing more fully with Draper's excellent pamphlet. For those who may be interested, 'Solidarity' will shortly be publishing a book by Paul Cardan on 'Modern Capitalism', several chapters of which deal with very much this kind of topic. The book develops the analysis fully, showing the overall structure of bureaucratic capitalism, pinpointing the nature of the conflict inherent to it and explaining why such a society cannot transcend these conflicts. It will be essential reading for all those who wish to grasp the real meaning of the great struggle of the students at Berkeley, U.S.A.

L. Campusino.

Published by Bob Potter, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.