

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 4

MAY-JUNE 1965

10 CENTS

Hands off the Vietnam Revolution!

Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International on U.S. actions in Vietnam, adopted on February 21, 1965.

The International Committee of the Fourth International condemns the large-scale bombing attacks in North Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists in early February 1965.

These actions are counter-revolutionary reprisals against the rapidly approaching complete victory of the revolution in South Vietnam.

The International Committee is in complete solidarity with the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the Viet Cong (liberation army) in their revolution against the corrupt capitalist regime in Saigon and its imperialist supporters. The interests of the working people in South-east Asia cannot be realized until the last vestige of imperialist intervention is removed.

Cynical Betrayal

The International Committee calls for the unrelenting support of the workers of all countries for the liberation army and for the actions of the Vietnamese workers, whose aim is to expel the American forces from South Vietnam and all imperialist forces from South-east Asia.

In this struggle for national liberation, the workers will find the road to their own power in these countries. Their struggles are part of the world socialist revolution.

The successful conclusion of the civil war in South Vietnam will complete the revolutionary victory at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. That victory demolished French imperialist rule over Indo-China, but the victory was cynically betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Geneva Agreement of July 1954 which partitioned Vietnam. The pretext for this "compromise" was that only this type of settlement could avoid nuclear war in the atomic age.

Subsequently the Geneva provisions for "free elections" and national unification have been ignored by the South Vietnamese dictatorship which has received the support of U.S. imperialism: the American forces in Vietnam are now 24,000 troops, together with a large naval and air striking force.

Meanwhile, the British Conservative and Labour governments alike have built up imperialist forces in Malaysia.

Even this, however, has failed to prevent the present situation, where Saigon governments fall every few days

and the Viet Cong controls 80 per cent of South Vietnam.

The counter-revolutionary reprisals of the Pentagon aim to intimidate the peoples of South-east Asia and particularly the workers and peasants of Vietnam and of the Chinese Peoples' Republic.

Threatening "escalation" into a world nuclear conflict, Johnson and the U.S. ruling class hope to ensure the collaboration of Moscow and even Peking for a sell-out in Vietnam, to save whatever can be saved for imperialism.

The workers of the world and the people of Vietnam can have no confidence in any wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

There must be no settlement through secret diplomacy.

Working Class Action

The revolution in Vietnam will be victorious through the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants backed by the solidarity actions of workers all over the world.

Those "socialists" who demand recall of the Geneva Conference or "new diplomatic initiatives," particularly the Communist parties of Western Europe and the left wing of the British Labour Party, are advocating a new sell-out like Geneva in 1954.

The present situation and its dangers, the large-scale bloodletting over the last 11 years, are the results precisely of the subservience of these opportunists to imperialism and to the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1954.

Now, as then, there is no way out except through the international working-class struggle. In every country and particularly in Britain and the USA, the workers must demand:

HANDS OFF THE VIETNAM REVOLUTION!

WITHDRAW ALL U. S. AND BRITISH TROOPS, WARSHIPS AND MILITARY AIRCRAFT FROM SOUTH-EAST ASIA IMMEDIATELY!

STOP BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM!

END THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM!

NO SECRET DIPLOMACY!

ALL SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM!

SPARTACIST

—published bimonthly by supporters of the Revolutionary
Tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party.

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sent an editorial viewpoint.

Number 4



May-June 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

More on Vietnam:

The Newsletter,
London, England:
Dear Comrades,

New York, N.Y.
15 January 1965

The article which appeared in the January 2 *News-
letter* under the title "Vietnam: workers face 20th year
of war" by P. Desai, was deficient in both historical
accuracy and Marxist criticism. It refers to the "he-
roic" struggle of Ho Chi Minh and the Indo-Chinese
Communist Party from 1945 to 1954 without mention-
ing that this "heroism" expressed itself in a consistent
policy of betrayal of the revolutionary workers' and
peasants' movement which has served only to prolong
the war. The article does not refer to the murder of
Trotskyists by the Communists, the disarming of the
workers and peasants, and the handing over of the
population to the Allied occupation forces late in 1945.

Communist policy at that time was aptly described
by Nguyen Van Tao, a top Stalinist: "Our government,
I repeat, is a democratic and middle class government,
even though the Communists are now in power."

The Trotskyists were murdered precisely because
they stood in the way of capitulation to the Allied
powers which then included a Soviet Union anxious not
to displease its French ally. Thus, in Indo-China
Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence led to a bloodier
and more costly conflict than would have been necessary
had there been a Marxist and not Stalinist leadership.

And the outcome of the war against the French was
another capitulation! At Geneva in 1954 the fat Soviet
and somewhat leaner Chinese bureaucracies, together
with the United States, Britain and France, decided
the outcome of the war without the participation of the
Vietnamese! The revolutionary forces, following the
terms of the settlement imposed on them, withdrew
from areas under their military control with the un-
derstanding that the imperialists would permit free
elections!

Thus, the retreats and betrayals of Stalinism have
been a determining factor in the nature and extent of
the present war.

And yet another betrayal is being prepared by the
Communists in the National Liberation Front. Their
demand for a *neutral* South Vietnam leaves open the
possibility of a settlement which will leave basic prob-
lems unsolved, *and will thus require further armed
struggle.*

And this treacherous policy is not criticized in the
Newsletter article! Nor is there mention of the neces-
sity for building a Marxist party which will lead the
struggle not for neutralism, but for a *Vietnamese
workers' republic.*

What has happened to the Permanent Revolution?
Do we now put our faith in Stalinists and petty-bour-
geois nationalists? It is a Marxist's responsibility to
expose the inadequacy of the program, as well as the
treachery of the leaders, which have led the masses
to suffering and defeat. The article by P. Desai in
The Newsletter, however, fails in this respect. Instead,
it leaves us with confidence in those same forces which
have several times betrayed the Vietnamese workers
and peasants, and are once again preparing a similar
tragedy. I trust that this article does not reflect the
editorial policy of *The Newsletter.*

Fraternally,
P. Jen

And:

*The following cablegram was sent on the day the
U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam were begun:*

SUNDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1965

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH,
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
HANOI, NORTH VIET NAM:

SPARTACIST IN FULLEST SOLIDARITY WITH
DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY AGAINST AT-
TACK BY UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM.
HEROIC STRUGGLE OF VIETNAMESE WORKING
PEOPLE FURTHERS THE AMERICAN REVOLU-
TION.

SPARTACIST EDITORIAL BOARD

Havana, Cuba

We would like to thank you for the copy of your
telegram to President Ho-chi-Minh that you kindly sent
us.

We, South Vietnamese, specially are deeply moved
by the heroic and powerful movement of American Ne-
groes, students, workers, employees and personalities
demanding the end of the aggressive war of US impe-
rialism in South Vietnam and of the US attacks against
the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
and supporting the just struggle of our people.

We would like to [take] this opportunity to express
[to] you our deepest thanks and to send you our best
greetings.

Ly-van-Sáu,
[South Vietnam National
Liberation Front]

Responses to SPARTACIST No. 3:

New York, N.Y.

The analysis in the January-February, 1965 issue of SPARTACIST of the Harlem 1964 events, is the best study in depth that I have read.

Enclosed please find my check for one dollar so you can send me ten more copies of that issue.

Sincerely,
Conrad J. Lynn

London, England

We would like to thank you warmly for the way you have made a contribution to the cause of Trotskyism by publishing the facts on the arrests of our Cuban comrades. Just as the SWP takes up a position indistinguishable from any anti-proletarian apparatus in relation to our Cuban comrades, so over here the degenerated "Trotskyists" have kept a complete silence on the subject of the arrests of the Cuban, Brazilian and Spanish comrades. No doubt you are aware also that the "militant" SLL which has considerable resources behind it over here has been careful not to give any serious publicity to the activities of the arrested comrades. There is nothing more revealing to show up their complete loss of Bolshevik perspectives.

You have rendered a service to Trotskyism in the USA in the very citadel of Imperialism. . . .

Revolutionary Greetings,
Theo Melville,
Revolutionary Workers
Party [Posadas]

Spartacist Growth:

Houston, Texas

We received with great interest the statement of the YPSL Revolutionary Tendency on the dissolution of the YPSL. I and the other comrades here agree with the statement and believe they have done the right thing in going into the Spartacists. We in the Workers Party of Texas also feel ourselves in substantial agreement with you. In adopting the name we did not intend to imply that we were trying to revive or continue the Shachtmanite formulations. If anything, we feel ourselves closer to the Spartacists on the question of the nature of the Soviet Union and the role of the Stalinist parties than your newest members. Very basically, there are only two kinds of property ownership—private and collective. Whatever its bureaucratic degenerations and possible deformities, the Soviet Union has achieved socialization of the basic means of production and distribution. In spite of its tyranny and imperialist actions in competition with the capitalist world market, the Soviet Union remains a degenerated workers' state that has the basic form of a socialist system, and our attitude toward it should be one of critical defense.

We have been laboring under the impression that the Spartacist movement was more or less a tentative organization with the perspective either of helping to form a larger revolutionary organization or eventually

rejoining and revitalizing the SWP. We would be interested in your comments on this.

Our own plans, as we finally worked them out, have been to conduct the Workers Party as a political, labor, and social action group concentrating on Texas, and specifically Houston, and forming as a separate entity a sort of committee of correspondence to establish regular communication among revolutionary socialists nationwide. . . .

The dissolution of the YPSL and particularly the action taken by its Revolutionary Tendency have caused us again to reconsider our course of action. We are requesting membership in the Spartacists, if this is agreeable to you. We would have done so sooner, only we did not think that, geographically isolated as we are, it would be possible under the rules of discipline of the organization. [All our present members] are serious and willing to donate time and energy. We are very strictly disciplined and have been very selective in letting in members. We want no kooks or dilettantes and make sure we know each person before he is admitted. We are all agreed on all basic issues and programs, feel very greatly the need for the formation of a disciplined, dedicated, revolutionary organization in this country, and feel we agree with the program of the Spartacists. . . .

I am enclosing a copy of the Workers Party local constitution and am very anxious to hear from you soon.

Fraternally,
Ramon

Austin, Texas

We have considered ourselves socialists for quite some time, and have come to place our hopes in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. As Trotskyists we believe your group to be the most potentially effective radical organization around. We would like to formally apply for membership in Spartacist with this letter. . . . We believe that we understand the concept of democratic-centralism and of candidate membership.

Since there are [several] of us applying at once from Austin, we would like to be given status as an organizing committee.

Yours for the
Fourth International

Baltimore, Md.

I would like to request acceptance of my application, for membership in Spartacist, by the Editorial Board.

I am fully aware of the nature of Spartacist organization, its conditions of membership, and its positions.

I, as a Marxist-Leninist, and a follower in principle of Leon Trotsky, am prepared to act as a dedicated and disciplined member of Spartacist. I, with the Spartacist organization, look forward to the creation of a communist society as forged out of the struggles of the proletariat led by the revolutionary vanguard party.

Comradely greetings

The above letter is typical of a number of applications recently received from the Baltimore area.

(Continued Bottom Next Page)

Conspiracy and Treachery in Alabama

From the beginning the black voter registration campaign in the South was an assertion of potential independence—directed against the underlying social system as well as the segregationist political apparatus which helps maintain it. Revolutionary in implication because it involved organizing masses of black workers and share-croppers in struggle, the mass character of the movement poses a dangerous threat to the American ruling class and its politicians. Hence they use every means at their disposal to derail the movement—including sending in such kept leaders as Martin Luther King—to head it off and deliver it to the Democratic Party where the job of beheading and neutralizing it can be finished off.

Racist Bosses Supported March

The spectacle of Northern “liberal” political bosses, such as Wagner and Rockefeller, shedding crocodile tears over the racist violence and supporting the Selma-to-Montgomery march, corroborates our opinion. For example, Wagner’s representative to the march, Deputy Mayor Paul Screvare, was in direct control of the New York City administration last summer when thousands of his cops terrorized the people of Harlem for four days under the pretext of suppressing a “riot.” And this was merely an *intensification* of the daily oppression and intimidation of Negroes and Spanish-speaking minorities carried out by the “liberal” big-city machines. (Wagner’s true role was made clear a few weeks ago at a Catholic breakfast-rally attended by 5,600

N.Y. cops featuring ultra-rightist William F. Buckley as speaker. Buckley, in the course of a long invective against the civil-rights movement, praised the “restraint” of the Alabama troopers and pleaded that they had been “provoked” and were justified in attacking the Selma marchers with clubs, cattle-prods and tear gas. For this, amidst enthusiastic “stomping, whistling, and cheering” by “New York’s Finest,” Wagner congratulated Buckley for his “eloquence.”)

Perversion in Selma

Through the King leadership, Lyndon Johnson managed to corral the Selma civil-rights movement into a virtual rally of support for himself and for these same racist bosses in the Democratic Party. In fact, the march acquired the character of an “official” parade directly launched from Washington, with a corps of food and latrine trucks, doctors and nurses, swarms of politicians, etc., plus Federal troops standing guard along the route. The tempo of mass pressure for democratic rights in the South had made it necessary for Johnson to offer some sort of voting rights law. However, in the granting of this concession, Johnson has made every effort to bend it to the interests of capitalism—and particularly to the benefit of his party. It is clear that Johnson timed his Voting Rights bill and the deployment of troops to coincide intimately with King’s maneuvers in Selma. In this way Johnson, the racist cracker, has made himself appear as a “great white father” and the Federal government as benefactor and defender of the Negro people—a master stroke of cynical dupery.

Celebration on the Left

The mindless enthusing of the *Militant* and others over the Selma-to-Montgomery march only attests to the extraordinary political shrewdness of Johnson: firmly directing King’s activities with one hand, staunchly defending “states’ rights” with his other hand, all the while cautioning “both sides”; and then sending in troops and pushing the vote law from the “middle of the road.” In addition to adding its voice to the chorus celebrating the march and the mobilization of Federal troops, the “revolutionary” *Militant* committed the further betrayal of calling upon Johnson to *keep his troops in Alabama*, and reiterated its demand to the bourgeoisie that the American troops in Vietnam be sent to Alabama. The grotesqueness of the demand is clear when one recalls what troops are fighting in Vietnam—the notorious Marines and the anti-communist elite “Special Forces”! For “revolutionists” to proclaim that the democratic revolution in the South can be carried out on the bayonets of imperialism, instead of by the organized black and white workers in struggle against such forces, is simple treachery.

Breach in the Democratic Party

In spite of Johnson’s efforts to make his voting rights bill “work” for racist capitalism, it appears that what

... CORRESPONDENCE

Death of a Comrade:

Loftus, Australia

This is to advise you of the death of John P. (Jack) Kavanagh on July 6th 1964 in his eighty-fourth year, six days before his eighty-fifth birthday.

There isn’t much I can say at the moment except that he fought for the rights of the workers up to the last few weeks of his life, when he became bedridden, and his mental facilities collapsed.

Wishing you success in the struggle.

Edna L. Kavanagh

The Workers Vanguard, a Canadian socialist paper for which comrade Kavanagh wrote, carried the following biographical note about him in its issue of June 1963:

“Our correspondent from ‘down under’ was president of the Vancouver Trades Council in 1912-1913. During the trial of the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 he was sent to England to raise funds for the strikers’ defense. A founding member of the Canadian Communist Party, he went to Australia in 1925. He was expelled from the Australian CP in 1934 for Trotskyism.” ■

will emerge is a potentially valuable concession by the power structure to the civil rights movement, giving Negroes in Alabama and several other states the right to vote. Of course the ruling class intends to do all it can to assure that this right is not exercised in a way that would threaten it, i.e., by going outside the Democratic-Republican party framework. In addition, it is vital to note that (as numerous news analysts have pointed out) the bill applies in practice *solely to those Southern states in which Democratic machines bolted for Goldwater in 1964*, while ignoring the voter restrictions of other states, such as Louisiana, which remained loyal to Johnson. Thus, it is obvious that Johnson wishes to pay back Governor Wallace and various other Southern politicians for this defection. Through the services of King and other "policemen," Johnson feels he has the Southern Negro vote "in the bag" and can afford to push a voting law through Congress—toward pulling the rug out from under his opponents inside the Democratic Party *with black votes in 1966 and '68*.

A Southern Labor Party

Recognizing this trap, civil-rights militants in the South must make it their main task to broaden the struggle for democratic rights into a political struggle against Johnson and the two-party fraud, and to *work towards an independent party based on the needs of the Negro people and the whole working class*. With such an organization, ready to defend itself and its people from the racist attacks of cops, troopers, and hoodlums, black people would have little trouble getting and keeping the right to vote, Federal law or no. Only in the context of organizing for independent political struggle does voter registration have meaning.

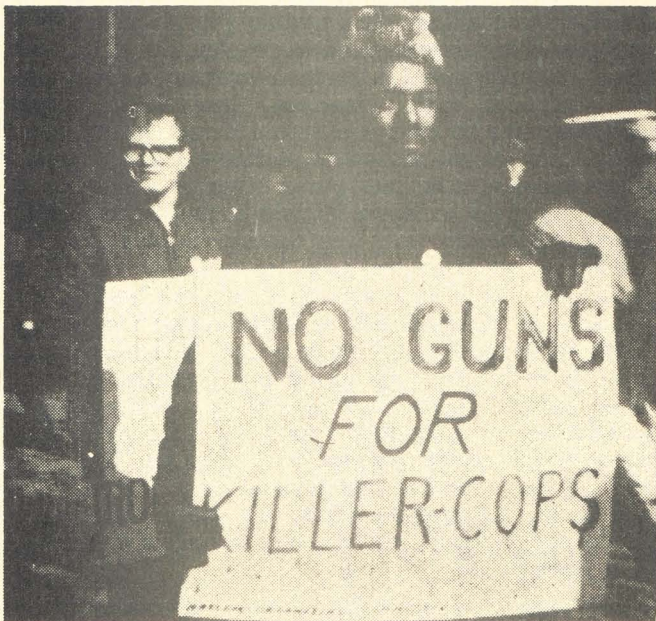
In addition, the civil rights movement must realize that *it cannot look to the Federal government for "protection" of any sort*. If the past history of Federal inaction and collaboration with the segregationist apparatus is not enough proof, the Selma case should

make it clear that Johnson will mobilize Federal forces and pass voting-rights bills only when he feels that the interests of the American racist *status quo* will benefit. Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression. The civil-rights movement will then find itself witch-hunted, its meetings raided and supporters arrested, by the same F.B.I. it is presently beseeching to protect it. The illusion of "non-violence" spread by King and others is a criminal *disarming* of black people, and is consistent with the role of these "leaders" as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence. The movement must look to itself, not to the Federal government, for protection.

By developing now a party commanding respect and winning gains through the organization of black power, yet a party without racial exclusivism, Negro militants will lay the basis for eventual working-class fusion. This fusion will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and in desperation is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry and their state.

Only Through Struggle

The Selma-Montgomery events must be clearly recognized as an intended perversion of the civil-rights movement. But militants can turn the projected empty voting-rights law *against* the Democrats, against the maintenance of the capitalist system, the survival of which is inextricably linked with the continued oppression of black people. The key to filling the voting process with content is *voting for and building a new party fighting for the political, social and economic rights and needs of the working people*. ■



Pickets protest witch hunting "Harlem Riots" Grand Jury on day SPARTACIST editor subpoenaed to appear at Criminal Court Building. The well-hated New York Red Squad cop, Fritz O. Behr, watches.

MALCOLM X

Of all the national Negro leaders in this country, the one who was known uniquely for his militancy, intransigence, and refusal to be the liberals' frontman has been shot down. This new political assassination is another indicator of the rising current of irrationality and individual terrorism which the decay of our society begets. Liberal reaction is predictable, and predictably disgusting. They are, of course, opposed to assassination, and some may even contribute to the fund for the education of Malcolm's children, but their mourning at the death of the head of world imperialism had a considerably greater ring of sincerity than their regret at the murder of a black militant who wouldn't play their game.

Black Muslims?

The official story is that Black Muslims killed Malcolm. But we should not hasten to accept this to date unproved hypothesis. The New York Police, for example, had good cause to be afraid of Malcolm, and with the vast resources of blackmail and coercion which are at their disposal, they also had ample opportunity, and of course would have little reason to fear exposure were they involved. At the same time, the Muslim theory cannot be discounted out of hand because the Muslims are not a political group, and in substituting religion for science, and color mysticism for rational analysis, they have a world view which could encompass the efficacy and morality of assassination. A man who has a direct pipeline to God can justify anything.

No Program

The main point, however, is not who killed Malcolm, but why could he be killed? In the literal sense, of course, any man can be killed, but why was Malcolm particularly vulnerable? The answer to this question makes of Malcolm's death tragedy of the sharpest kind, and in the literal Greek sense. Liberals and Elijah have tried to make Malcolm a victim of his own (non-existent) doctrines of violence. This is totally wrong and totally hypocritical. Malcolm was the most dynamic national leader to have appeared in America in the last decade. Compared with him the famous Kennedy personality was a flimsy cardboard creation of money, publicity, makeup, and the media. Malcolm had none of these, but a righteous cause and iron character forged by white America in the fire of discrimination, addiction, prison, and incredible calumny. He had a difficult to define but almost tangible attribute called

charisma. When you heard Malcolm speak, even when you heard him say things that were wrong and confusing, you wanted to believe. Malcolm could move men deeply. He was the stuff of which mass leaders are made. Commencing his public life in the context of the apolitical, irrational religiosity and racial mysticism of the Muslim movement, his break toward politicalness and rationality was slow, painful, and terribly incomplete. It is useless to speculate on how far it would have gone had he lived. He had entered prison a burglar, an addict, and a victim. He emerged a Muslim and a free man forever. Elijah Muhammed and the Lost-Found Nation of Islam were thus inextricably bound up with his personal emancipation. In any event, at the time of his death he had not yet developed a clear, explicit, and rational social program. Nor had he led his followers in the kind of transitional struggle necessary to the creation of a successful mass movement. Lacking such a program, he could not develop cadres based on program. What cadre he had was based on Malcolm X instead. Hated and feared by the power structure, and the focus of the paranoid feelings of his former colleagues, his charisma made him dangerous, and his lack of developed program and cadre made him vulnerable. His death by violence had a high order of probability, as he himself clearly felt.

Heroic and Tragic Figure

The murder of Malcolm, and the disastrous consequences flowing from that murder for Malcolm's organization and black militancy in general, does not mean that the militant black movement can always be decapitated with a shotgun. True, there is an agonizing gap in black leadership today. On the one hand there are the respectable servants of the liberal establishment; men like James Farmer whose contemptible effort to blame Malcolm's murder on "Chinese Communists" will only hasten his eclipse as a leader, and on the other hand the ranks of the militants have yet to produce a man with the leadership potential of Malcolm. But such leadership will eventually be forthcoming. This is a statistical as well as a social certainty. This leadership, building on the experience of others such as Malcolm, and emancipated from his religiosity, will build a movement in which the black masses and their allies can lead the third great American revolution. Then Malcolm X will be remembered by black and white alike as a heroic and tragic figure in a dark period of our common history. ■

Bay Area Spartacist Committee, 2 March, 1965

NEW YORK WELFARE STRIKE

A century ago Karl Marx wrote: "The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labor . . . the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." Today, as U.S. capitalism is attaining a cyclical peak of unexampled prosperity, the relief rolls in New York City are growing at least as fast as the National Income. "Poverty" is the liberal's catchword and alibi, but the fact remains: in New York, the richest city the world has ever known, not only does a quarter of the population live in hovels but almost half a million citizens of this city are kept from starvation only by the "Welfare" dole. Some 6,000 social workers are employed by the City to administer these people—it was these 6,000 who this January struck through the entire month, the largest and longest strike of public employees in the history of this state.

Partial Victory

Strikes of public employees are illegal in New York State. Under the Condon-Wadlin law not only may the strike itself be enjoined, but all strikers are subject to penalties ranging from departmental fines to dismissal. In the course of the strike each striker was told several times that he or she was fired, and nineteen union leaders were imprisoned for over a week. Nevertheless the strike remained solid throughout, and terminated in a clear, though incomplete, victory for the workers. The penalties threatened by Condon-Wadlin have been effectively blocked, and the settlement imposed by the "fact-finding" arbitration agreed on at the close of the strike gives the workers very substantial gains, even though it falls short in a number of important areas. The scope of this settlement is indicated by two facts: a.) the workers receive across-the-board wage increases ranging from 11.3 to 14% (from \$600 to \$950), b.) the improvements in working conditions agreed to will cost the City when they finally come an amount equivalent to the direct wage increase.

Militant Strikers

This major strike has a significance going far beyond the local problems of the N.Y. Department of Welfare: in its motivation and dynamism it was at least as closely related to the Southern civil rights struggles and the Berkeley Free Speech fight as it was to traditional trade unionism. The social workers at the Welfare Department are in a large majority young college graduates with a degree in the "liberal arts." They are a highly fluid group, without such permanent ties to the job as pension investment, family responsibilities, etc. This is expressed in one durable statistic: the turnover rate of 40% among case workers. This figure can only be an index of monumental inefficiency, but to the City administration it is more than acceptable. It saves money in two ways: by keeping a majority of staff in the lowest paid category, and by making it difficult, often impossible, for those on relief to get assistance to which they are legally entitled but which an inex-

perienced and overburdened worker cannot provide. As a result, all the socially and intellectually rebellious factors present in this stratum of American youth came to be directed against the City administration.

SSEU

For this revolt to catch fire, however, an effective organizational instrument was needed. Since the McCarthy era, when the left-wing United Public Workers union was smashed, the welfare workers had been represented by a local of the AFL State, County and Municipal Employees, dominated by high clerical employees in the central welfare administration—a company union. This grip was finally broken by an independent rank and file led union of social workers, the Social Service Employees Union. Last October 9 the SSEU decisively won a collective bargaining election giving it the right to represent all non-supervisory social workers. Although the AFL affiliate subsequently replaced its leadership with a more militant group and supported the strike, the leading role throughout was played by the SSEU.

The great strength of the SSEU has been the militancy of its members, which time and again upset the calculations of the City, and made it impossible for the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council to carry through maneuvers aimed at selling a rotten compromise to the workers, maneuvers which at the close of the first week of the strike had come so close to fruition that newspapers were announcing an imminent settlement.

Leadership Weakness

The SSEU, however, also showed certain weaknesses. The strike was not adequately prepared financially or materially, and above all the union's efforts to inform and mobilize the welfare recipients before the strike were negligible. As a result, the City did not feel real pressure until the strike was well into its third week, as the clients received their standard checks (sent out by machine) and postponed attempts to obtain emergency assistance. Much more significant, in the long run, a section of the SSEU leadership proved highly receptive to the seductions offered by the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, and could be kept in line only by the overwhelming militancy of the ranks. However, militancy as such is neither a good guide nor a durable guarantor. It must translate itself into the formation of a coherent, conscious, and far-sighted leadership for the potentially historic significance of the strike to be realized. ■

SPARTACIST Special Supplement

- Editor Subpoenaed by
"Harlem Riots" Grand Jury
- What Gives in Vietnam?
- Leaflet to Welfare Strikers

a copy free on request from: SPARTACIST
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N. Y. 10001

The Student Revolt

by Geoffrey

The free speech revolt on the University of California's Berkeley campus is another indication that the great society is unlikely to get beyond the press-agentry stage. The revolt was, in the last analysis, directed against the values and assumptions that are essential to the liberal consensus, and indicates a deep-seated dissatisfaction, if not open revolt, among social groupings whom the establishment might legitimately expect to support it. The students and teaching assistants at Berkeley are not among the economically deprived marginal groups. They do not represent forgotten pools of poverty which the President's domestic war is supposed to mop up. On the contrary, the students at Berkeley are by and large drawn from middle class families, especially the intelligentsia, and from the upwardly mobile working class. Regardless of their social origins, they have every prospect of being able to share in the benefits of the economy of abundance. A U.C. diploma, or advanced degree, is virtual assurance of split level income opportunities for the aspiring student. The Great American Way of Life is open and accessible to these students, and this fact gives their rejection of the established way a profound meaning.

Attempts by the detractors of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) to dismiss the whole matter as confined to a few disaffected radical students are futile in the face of the mass participation which the events evoked. The strike which climaxed the struggle brought the University to a virtual standstill and involved in one degree or another of active participation a majority of the graduate students (a large majority in the case of the liberal arts), and a minority of the overall student body which approached fifty percent. Movements of this proportion cannot be considered mere ideological byplay out on the fringes; rather, they must reflect underlying social discontent in significant strata of the population, whether this discontent manifests itself in economic or, as in this case, in intellectual and moral forms.

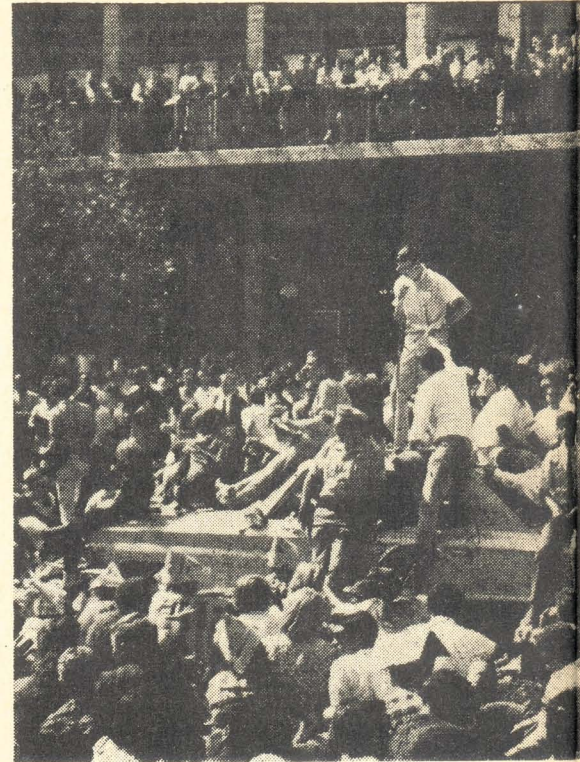
The political periphery of the Berkeley campus has of course been making small waves for a number of years. Since the fifties there have always been diverse organized radical movements on the campus, sometimes relatively large and sometimes smaller, but never deeply rooted among the students, and even on the most popular

issues, able to involve only a numerically insignificant percentage of them in political and social struggle. All three of the basic radical tendencies have been represented, Social Democratic, Stalinist, and Trotskyist, with now one and now the other rising to greater prominence. Since the beginning of the sixties, there has been a generally increasing degree of student political activity, but even at its height this has been little more than an interesting part of the over-all campus background and has had little impact on the lives and consciousness of the great majority of the students.

Restless Students

Probably the most famous of these earlier controversies was the loyalty oath fight of 1950-51. However, this was largely a faculty affair, to which the students were mainly spectators, and the eventual ignominious capitulation of the great majority of the liberal faculty was scarcely an example to inspire students. Later, however, a larger (but still very small) number of students began to be involved in political action. SLATE, originally organized to challenge Greek control of the official student organization, the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC), became a general issue-oriented catch-all organization of liberals and radicals, and directly or indirectly organized student participation in a number of causes such as abolition of capital punishment (around the Chessman case), fair housing, and most spectacularly, in opposition to the HUAC. The response of the students to the hosing of spectators and hecklers at the May 1960, HUAC hearings in San Francisco brought the first mass turnout of students, when about three or four thousand people, roughly half of whom were students, protested the police action on the following day. However, this event proved episodic in character and it was not until the build-up of the national civil rights movement a few years later that significant numbers of students again became involved in politics and social action.

In 1963 and 1964, campus political action, around the civil rights question, began to have real impact on the outside community. The Berkeley campus contributed more than its share of cadre elements to the national movement, and to such actions as the Mississippi summer project. Locally, a series of job actions began, starting



MASS ACTION. U. C. students surround car. Top of car used.

with the picketing of Mel's Drive-Ins by Youth for Jobs. The Ad Hoc Committee to End Job Discrimination then spearheaded an attack on the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco which culminated in an all-night sit-in by a thousand or so demonstrators, the majority of whom were students, the first mass arrests, and a substantial victory. The auto-row demonstrations kept things going and added new mass arrests. Meanwhile, in Berkeley itself, CORE's campaign against Lucky's Stores, while involving fewer people, created widespread controversy, over the militant economic sabotage tactics used by CORE. This action also brought out the first rank and file counter-movement, with fraternity and law school types helping Lucky's to clear away the check stands swamped by the CORE demonstrators. These student activities drew real blood, and when, in the period before the election, the Ad Hocers turned to picketing William Knowland's *Oakland Tribune*, they took on the most powerful single force in Alameda county. Simultane-

volt at Berkeley

y White



Photo by Dorothy White

campus police car when Jack Weinberg of as podium while Weinberg was held inside.

ously, students were harassing the world's largest bank, Bank of America, with picket-lines and "bank-ins."

Thus, at a time when the civil rights movement nationally was in a state of decline, the Berkeley students had scored a number of victories over significant, if relatively minor, opponents, and were now a real annoyance to the most powerful forces in the state. Furthermore, the trend of developments made it clear that the student civil rights movement and student activity in directly related political fields was creating an incipient mass movement, and that given the right developments nationally and internationally, the establishment would be dealing with something much more significant than a few score dedicated individuals.

A Long Chain of Abuses

In this context it is not surprising that the University administration chose the fall of 1964 to renew its campaign against student political and social action. True to its tradition as a

liberal institution, the University of California has a long history of infringements on student and faculty political rights. In the recent past there was the Regents' loyalty oath, which had purged the faculty of some of its more principled members. For several years Communist Party speakers had been banned from the campus. Eventually President Kerr lifted this ban (wisely, it turned out, for when the students flocked to hear the first "legal" CP speaker, it became painfully apparent that the CP had nothing to say), but replaced it by a series of unreasonable restrictions applying to all outside speakers, such as 72-hours notice and the presence of a tenured faculty member. The Kerr directives of 1959 attempted to restrict involvement of campus organizations in off-campus political questions, and the administration stooped to such petty harassments as requiring student groups to pay for unneeded and unwanted police protection for their meetings.

Shortly after the beginning of the fall term, Dean of Students Katherine A. Towle announced that the tables which the various organizations had been in the habit of setting up in the area next to the main entrance to the University campus were in violation of University rules, and would no longer be tolerated. Since this was the main means by which the student action groups operated, the enforcement of this regulation would have been an insupportable blow to the student organizations. These organizations agreed jointly to resist, not only by protesting through channels and by legal picketing, but also by ignoring the ban. Thus was established the basic pattern for the future development of the FSM.

At the core of the united front were the civil rights organizations, aided by the radical groups—Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Independent Socialists, DuBois Club, and Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL)—liberal groups, religious organizations, and even organizations of the right like Campus Young Republicans, Students for Goldwater, and University Society of Individualists. Its demands were simple:

1. The students shall have the right to hear any person speak in any open area of the 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 organizations, 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 administration was evidently taken by surprise at the student resistance. Their first excuse was that the tables blocked traffic, but this was so manifestly absurd that it was dropped in favor of arguments based on a state law forbidding political activities on public property. When, in the face of the unexpected strength of the student protest, the administration revised the ruling to permit tables with "informational material" but not calls for action or recruitment, the real political nature of the ban became clear. The next move came from the administration which took the names of five students who were manning illegal tables and ordered them to report to the dean's office individually for disciplining. The students replied by turning in to the dean's office a statement by four hundred students that they too had been manning tables or were intending to, and demanding equal treatment with the five. All reported to the dean's office en masse, and the first Sproul Hall (Administration Building) sit-in resulted. The students continued to man the tables and the five students and three others were indefinitely suspended.

Students Capture a Car

Two days later the authorities attempted a showdown. University policemen approached Jack Weinberg who was manning a campus CORE table and asked him to desist from this illegal activity. When he refused he was arrested and placed in a campus police car which had been driven up to the spot. However, before the police could drive away with their prisoner the car was surrounded by students who sat down in front of it and behind it and would not let it move. In almost no time five hundred or so stu-

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dents were surrounding the car, and if the police had arrested Weinberg, the students had in effect arrested the police. Without prior planning, but on the basis of what they had learned in previous civil rights demonstrations, the students showed an ingenuity and boldness which amazed even friendly outsiders, and terrified the administration. FSM made the top of the captured car their speakers' platform, setting up a loud-speaker system which turned the Sproul Hall Plaza into a giant open air rally. The crowd was continually addressed by a series of FSM spokesmen and others, exhorted, informed, and entertained. A commissary was set up, and food and cold drinks passed out for the hot afternoons, and hot coffee and food in the cool night. The inevitable sleeping bags and blanket rolls appeared, and it became apparent that the students were determined to stick it out.

The actively participating crowd varied in size from time to time, but five hundred was probably the average, and at no time did it fall below three hundred. On the second evening of the siege, the fraternity-football contingent put in an appearance, but finding themselves outnumbered, they confined themselves to desultory heckling. Within an hour or two the hostile elements melted away, and tensions relaxed. Around the central core of committed demonstrators was a constantly shifting periphery of the uncommitted. Mainly students and campus community people, they observed, listened, discussed. For most it was a conflict of values, between their commitment to the traditional rules of free speech and fair play on one hand, and to the sanctity of property and orderly process on the other. Two months later it was the ultimate decision of many of these people to support the protest which made the strike a success.

As long as the students made no attempt to release the prisoner by force, and as long as the police made no attempt to use force to release the car, the situation was at an impasse. However, with the newspapers and TV yelling "anarchy," and the right wing press and politicians calling for blood, the impasse had to be resolved. Demonstration leaders were summoned to a conference with President Kerr who had previously refused to negotiate with them. They were offered an agreement whereby if the students released the car and promised to "cease illegal forms of protest," they would in turn be guaranteed against reprisal; the matter of student political activities was to be referred to a com-

mittee which would include FSM leaders and the case of the eight taken to "the student affairs committee of the academic senate." The academic senate is the organization of the tenured faculty members on the campus. The arrested man was to be taken to the station, booked, and released on his own recognizance. Kerr told the student leaders that if they rejected this proposal, the matter would be turned over to the five hundred police who were being held close at hand. After negotiating a slight improvement in the wording which would not cut them off indefinitely from "illegal forms of protest," the leaders returned to the demonstration, explained the situation, and while warning against probable bad faith on the part of the administration, recommended acceptance of the truce. Under the prevailing conditions, no formal vote, of course, could be taken, but it was clear that the leaders' position had the support of the overwhelming majority of those present, and thirty hours after the original arrest, the crowd quietly turned its back on the car and walked away.

Students Capture Sproul Hall

The following two months were a period of prolonged negotiations and much confusion, with the now formally constituted FSM waxing and waning according to underlying moods among the students and the degree of tactless provocation exhibited by the administration. When it turned out that there was no Academic Senate Committee on Student Affairs, suspicions of official bad faith were strengthened. The Chancellor obligingly filled the gap by appointing a tripartite committee of faculty, student, and administration representatives. Of the student representatives, two were from the FSM, and two from the official ASUC Kehilah. However, FSM refusal to deal seriously with this suspect committee did produce reforms in its composition, and the committee itself finally called for mitigation of the disciplinary action against the eight. As weeks passed without decisive action, there appeared to be a distinct possibility that the momentum of the student movement would be dissipated in the maze of official channels and committee meetings.

This period of confused negotiations, however, was ended by action of the administration. On Friday, November 27, Chancellor Strong, chief administrative officer of the Berkeley campus, sent letters to four of the top leaders of FSM, including Mario Savio, initiating new disciplinary action on the basis of the siege of the police car. Students hitherto only mildly interested were outraged at what appeared to them to be simultaneously double

jeopardy (all the students involved had already been suspended), ex post facto, and the administration's repudiation of the recommendations of its own hand-picked committee. FSM recognized that with its leaders' heads on the block there was no more room for negotiation, and held three consecutive rallies on Sproul Hall steps, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, each larger than the previous one. At the end of Wednesday's rally over 800 demonstrators occupied Sproul Hall. The great Sproul Hall sit-in was on.

Once in possession of the administration building, the students proceeded to such varied activities as showing old Chaplin movies and holding regular classes and seminars as part of the Free University of California. They draped their FSM banner across the front of the building, and most important, set up a public address system which they used to speak to the constantly changing but always huge crowd in the plaza in front of the hall. All efforts by the administration to persuade the student leaders to evacuate the building failed, and sometime during Wednesday evening, President Kerr, at the end of his resources, appealed to Governor Brown. Brown is a true liberal Democrat, and further has a reputation for weakness, indecision, and mildness. However, when such a vital part of the system as the University faces a serious threat, he is capable of quick action. Some five hundred police, from Berkeley, Oakland, the Alameda County sheriff's office, and the California Highway Patrol were sent to the campus with orders from Brown to evacuate Sproul Hall, by force if necessary.

The demonstrators were told they might leave the building freely, but if they did not do so at once they would be arrested. Very few left, and in the small hours of Thursday morning the arrests began. Some walked out with the arresting officers, but the great majority followed the standard civil rights technique and went limp. After carrying, dragging and throwing the demonstrators down the stairs of the building, the police took them in buses and police wagons to the Santa Rita County Prison Farm where they were charged with such offenses as trespassing, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and failure to leave a public building. 801 demonstrators were arrested; about eighty percent of them were students or employees of the University, or their wives, one was a faculty member, and many of the remainder were people more or less closely associated with the broader University community. These mass arrests constituted a serious defeat for the administration forces. By appealing to

outside authority and resorting to armed force they lost still more stature in the eyes of many members of the University community hitherto uninvolved in the controversy. The governor's action, however, was very well received by the press, both conservative and liberal, though the specific techniques of the police, such as dragging students down the steps by their heels, did receive some criticism.

Students Strike the University

The FSM, through its affiliated Graduate Coordinating Committee, had long been laying plans for a strike in the case of just such an emergency. Even with most of its leaders only slowly filtering back from Santa Rita prison, the machinery automatically clicked into action Thursday morning. But no machinery, no call, was necessary to instigate the strike. On Thursday morning the arrests were still taking place in Sproul Hall, and the wave of indignation generated by the police occupation of the campus, and especially the sight of the notorious Oakland police, virtually closed the University. Preliminary strike talk had prepared the minds of the students for this form of action, and they now took it more or less automatically. The previously created apparatus of the FSM organized, channeled, and sustained the spontaneous outburst. Picket lines were set up at all entrances to the campus, and some delivery trucks were turned back. The major buildings were also picketed, and roving picket lines moved about the campus. Students were asked not to attend classes, teachers not to teach, and staff not to report for work. The student appeal won a response in all these categories, and in the liberal arts departments the strike was an overwhelming success. For two days the administrative machinery and the academic heart of the University were paralyzed.

Key to the success of the strike was the role of the teaching assistants, graduate students studying for their Ph.D.'s. At Berkeley, as at so many other prestige universities, the actual teaching duties of the faculty members are of secondary importance to their role as researchers, writers, ideologues, and in many cases providers of technical services for outside interests. The major teaching of undergraduates is done by the teaching assistants, whose status is intermediate between that of students and faculty, and whose rather meager teaching salaries see them through to their doctorates. The support of these men and women, who of course had no tenure or union and only their own solidarity to protect them from reprisals from their department heads or the University administration, was crucial to the suc-

cess of the strike. Support from teaching assistants in the liberal arts was overwhelming, and in the departments of philosophy and mathematics it was virtually unanimous. All in all the strike was an outstanding success, far more so, in fact, than the FSM leadership had anticipated.

Epiphany in the Greek Theater

The climax of this decisive battle of the free speech revolt took place, appropriately enough, in the Greek Theater, a gift by the Hearst family to their University. The Academic Senate, comprising the tenured faculty members and those others who had been with the University two or more years, had been a complaisant tool of the administration since the days of the Regents' loyalty oath fight in the 1950's. Now, however, it could no longer be considered reliable from Kerr's point of view. With administration prestige at a low ebb and a large minority of the students in open rebellion, Kerr needed faculty cover for his next move. He found this through the well-known liberal Professor Robert A. Scalapino, chairman of the Department of Political Science. This academic politician was generally reputed to have realistic ambitions to replace the inept Edward W. Strong as Chancellor of the Berkeley campus.

Short-circuiting the Academic Senate, Scalapino brought together all the department heads. These professors, on the whole men who either have a disposition to be attracted by the administrative side of affairs or at least less aversion to it than the average faculty member, were in the aggregate more inclined to be sympathetic to Strong and Kerr than the average faculty member. For the minority who were strongly opposed to the administration's position, Scalapino used the blackmail of threats of a legislative investigation, the immediate replacement of the liberal Kerr by a right wing reactionary (Max Rafferty, the ultra-rightist State Superintendent of Education, always seemed to be lurking somewhere in the wings), and other frightening pictures of the utter destruction of the University. Thus he was able to secure unanimous approval of a series of proposals which, while saying many kind words about freedom of speech and political discussion, in actuality made as their sole concession to the students the promise of amnesty from the University, but not civil, discipline for all actions hitherto taken. With this fig leaf of faculty covering, Kerr made his play.

Kerr called a University meeting for Monday morning, December 7, in the Greek Theater. A University meeting is for all students, faculty and employees. It automatically suspends all

classes and closes administrative and department offices, so that the effectiveness of the strike on the morning of its third day was obscured. The meeting was well attended by some eighteen to twenty thousand persons, overwhelmingly students but with an unusually large attendance by faculty and a healthy sprinkling of employees. The convening of this assembly provided a convenient way of making a rough estimate of the nature of public opinion among the students at this time. When President Kerr was introduced, about one third of the audience cheered him, while about one third jeered. Considering that it is not at all customary for American students to jeer their president on solemn occasions, even in times of stress, this small event gives an additional indication of the depths of the feelings involved.

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Scalapino presented the Department Heads' proposals, striving to put behind them the full weight and prestige of the faculty. Then Kerr spoke. Unlike Chancellor Strong, Kerr is a man of tremendous accomplishments and ability, and a key member of the liberal establishment in California. Having come up through the Institute of Industrial Relations, he is by experience and training a man of the highest skills in the use of the liberal rhetoric, in the art of that kind of compromise, adjustment, and accommodation which somehow always leaves the positions of the power structure intact, and the opposition with the feeling that the great man was really on their side, but for some reason unable to help them.

That Monday morning Kerr was making the fight of his life and used all his skills. But he was speaking to an audience whose intelligence and sophistication he and his supporters had consistently underestimated and who, by and large, had learned more in the past two months than many students do in the full four years. Many had read "The Mind of Clark Kerr," a

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clever critique by Hal Draper of Kerr's theory of the role of the "multiversity" as set forth by the president in his Godkin Lectures at Harvard. To this audience Kerr presented himself as a mature and benign statesman, firm in the defense of principle but always ready to reason together with others if only they, like him, would be reasonable men and show due respect for the principles of law and order which guaranteed everyone's freedom. He was one willing even to concede that his opposition might have some legitimate grievances, which no doubt could be met in the right atmosphere. But above all he was one who would fight to the death to defend the principles of his beloved University, now threatened by anarchy within, and by implication by the now awakened dogs of know-nothing reaction without. On an exalted note he pledged his personal honor to the amnesty provisions of the Department Heads' proposals, announced the resumption of classes at one o'clock, and declared the meeting closed. Would this great performance have won the uncommitted center? It is doubtful, but we shall never know for sure. As Kerr ringingly announced, "This meeting is now closed," Mario Savio, the charismatic leader of the FSM, began walking across the stage toward the microphone. Before a stunned audience of 18,000, Savio was seized by half a dozen campus policemen, knocked down, and carried bodily off the stage.

In thirty seconds the delicate, laboriously created image so skillfully worked up by Kerr and Scalapino was smashed beyond all recall. The instant revelation of what lay behind the dignity, the beautiful rhetoric, the air of sweet reasonableness, galvanized the audience. Kerr was ashen and visibly shaking. Scalapino, of whom it was said in cruel jest that he had been Chancellor of the Berkeley campus for twenty minutes, was distraught. In one instant the uncommitted were committed, and shouted their shock and protest. This soon settled down into the steady chant, "We want Mario!" The hard core of Kerr supporters left as instructed, but the great majority, the hitherto silent ones as well as the hitherto committed, stayed to wait for Mario. Behind the stage Savio was being held in a small dressing room by the police while FSM lawyers were demanding that he be charged or released. Steve Weissman, leader of the striking graduate students, encountered Kerr and said, "It sounds as if the students want Mario." The shaken president replied, "Yes, I guess they do." In a few minutes, Kerr collected

his wits and ordered Savio's release. With that feeling for the occasion and rapport with his audience which has made him the outstanding public figure in the FSM, Savio walked to the microphone and said: "I just wanted to announce that there will be a rally on Sproul Hall steps at noon today." On that note, the meeting ended.

The Faculty's 4th of August

The rest, although formally of greater importance, seemed like anticlimax. Some of the Department Heads began to repudiate Scalapino, who they felt had compromised and misled them. Scalapino and other Department Heads were subject to attack in departmental meetings which were unprecedented in academic circles. The Academic Senate was to consider the problem at its Tuesday meeting. At its Monday noon rally immediately following the Greek Theater meeting, FSM announced that in order that the Senate might meet in the calmest possible atmosphere the strike would end Monday night, and that no activities would be scheduled for Tuesday. On Monday afternoon the strike was about 80% effective.

When the Senate met, it was presented with a resolution from its Committee on Academic Freedom. Its text was as follows:

"1. That there shall be no University disciplinary measures against members or organizations of the University community for activities prior to December 8 connected with the current controversy over political speech and activity.

"2. That the time, place, and manner of conducting political activity on the campus shall be subject to reasonable regulation to prevent interference with the normal functions of the University; that the regulations now in effect for this purpose shall remain in effect provisionally pending a future report of the Committee on Academic Freedom concerning the minimal regulations necessary.

"3. That the content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the University. Off-campus student political activities shall not be subject to University regulation. On-campus advocacy or organization of such activities shall be subject only to such limitations as may be imposed under section 2.

"4. That future disciplinary measures in the area of political activity shall be determined by a committee appointed by and responsible to the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate.

"5. That the Division urge the adoption of the foregoing policies and call

on all members of the University community to join with the faculty in its efforts to restore the University to its normal functions."

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With the administration forces demoralized and in disarray, positive action was virtually assured. The most serious opposition came in the form of an anti-force-or-violence amendment offered by Lewis Feuer, who claims to have once been a Marxist and is entrusted by the University with the task of instructing students in the obscurities of this ideology, and Nathan Glaser, who as co-author of *The Lonely Crowd* no doubt wished wholeheartedly for the good old days of "other-directedness" on campus. The depth of Feuer's intellectual and moral degradation can be judged by his main supporting argument—that the KKK might use the resolution as cover for organizing synagogue defacements and pogroms! The Klan threat not being a particularly pressing problem on the UC campus, this amendment was supported by only about 150 out of the nearly one thousand faculty present. It is interesting to note that this hard core of opposition was characterized by the presence of a disproportionate number of ex-radicals of one kind and another, who for various reasons of Stalinophobia, fear, and cynicism were totally unable to respond to the moral

challenge FSM presented. The final vote on the unamended resolution was 824 yes to 115 no. Thus the faculty, after months of hesitations and pettifoggery, finally placed itself formally on record in support of the students' demands. This was without doubt the high-water mark of the whole campaign, and no matter what retreats the faculty might later make, no matter how much it might fink on its own position, that vote stands in the record and validates the student movement in a way that permanently altered the terms of the equation.

No doubt the fiasco in the Greek Theater contributed heavily to the lopsided nature of the vote, but it is likely that the majority position represented a more fundamental response to the continuing pressure of the students which posed the question to the faculty in sharper and sharper terms. For those like Feuer and Glaser, especially the former who had had some pretensions to influence among the thinking elements in the student body, their opposition to the resolution marked the end of their political and moral, and to a considerable extent also of their intellectual, influence among all sections of the students with the exception of the fraternity-football elements, and these are not interested in ideas anyway.

Triangle of Forces

Throughout this struggle the faculty has played the role of the third part in a three-part equation involving students, faculty, and the external society represented by the administration and the Regents. That section of the FSM leadership whose background was primarily in civil rights, which usually deals with situations wherein an independent third force is not present, tended at first to underestimate the importance of the faculty and also, when the faculty acted, to overestimate its reliability as an ally. However, the healthy scepticism of the politicals in the leadership combined with the militancy of the civil rights elements to develop the tactics best designed to force this wavering group to take a stand, and to utilize that stand once made. When liberal Democrats, both real and pseudo, raised counsels of caution lest the faculty be antagonized, the FSM rejected this suicidal advice and redoubled its pressure. This tactic, combined with the very real felt grievances of the faculty itself which has been disregarded and treated with refined contempt by the administration, won the faculty to its position of December 8, and prevented its effective use by Kerr and company.

On Wednesday noon, following the Tuesday Academic Senate meeting, FSM called a victory rally and de-

clared its wholehearted acceptance of the Senate's resolution. Some have attacked this action as premature, contending that it fostered illusions and that no real victory was won. While it is true that the action of the Senate did not mean that the students had won the concrete points they were struggling for, this was never claimed by the FSM leaders. It was a profound victory all the same, for it transformed the FSM from a group of marginal malcontents disrupting the University into the legitimate spokesmen for the whole academic community. It meant that as long as the struggle was confined within the framework of the academic community (and the Regents really form no part of this community, being on the contrary the means by which this community is controlled by the outside), the victory was complete, the administration forces utterly routed.

Where the Power Lies

This marked the end of the militant phase of FSM activities. All that could be done to force the Regents' hands had been done. A petition and letter-writing campaign was organized, but after what had gone before this was generally recognized as futile and meaningless. The campus waited for the Regents' decision. Two phenomena were noticeable in the mood of the campus during this period. One was a rapid decline in the euphoria engendered by the faculty action and an increasing pessimism about the reaction of the Regents. The other was an intense emotional feeling of solidarity and comradeship among the students, a feeling which included for the first time much of the faculty and which transcended the rigorous hierarchical lines of the academic set-up.

The reply of the Regents came just before the Christmas vacation, and by this time everyone anticipated what it was going to be. The Regents, after many declarations in favor of free speech and other good things and denial of any intent to prohibit advocacy, in substance rejected the demands of the Berkeley Academic Senate, brusquely as far as the attempt to take over disciplinary power was concerned, indirectly on other matters. From this model of unclarity one thing emerges distinctly. The Regents reassert their authority and treat with demeaning contempt the demands of their faculty and students. They will dispose, and they alone. At the moment they chose to be relatively conciliatory, but they do not negotiate. They will run the University as they also run the Bank of America, the Tejon Ranch, Signal Oil, and the like.

At this stage, February 1965, it appears that the students have won *de*

facto, if not *de jure*, most of their demands. The obdurate Chancellor Strong was replaced in a face saving way by the affable Martin Meyerson, a man of far greater sensitivity and sophistication and therefore perhaps in the long run a more dangerous opponent, but one far less likely to back himself into a corner where he cannot make concessions when they are called for. The new rules when they come out are likely to be relatively reasonable, and Kerr's pledge of University amnesty for the FSMers stands. There is even a widespread rumor that he had to lay his personal prestige on the line to prevent gorilla elements on the Regents from exacting reprisals. Thus, even on the level of their formal demands the students appear to have won a major victory, in substance if not in form. It is probable that it will be quite some time before there is any further serious harassment of the student political organizations. Tables will be set up, action mounted, illegal acts advocated, and speakers heard. Of course another round will come, especially if state politics shift, as appears likely, to the right.

Future of the FSM

Barring the unforeseen, the current intentions of the FSM are to disband, leaving only a skeleton apparatus to serve two functions: First, as an information center which can get material telling the story out to interested parties, and especially to other campuses; and second as an agency to defend the 801 now facing charges in the civil courts and others who may be victimized in any way as a result of their part in FSM. Having won the right to advocate, the students now want to get back to that task, and others want to explore the possibilities of more genuine intellectual communication between students and teachers and within each group opened up as a by-product of the free speech struggle.

The Deeper Gains

The gains of the students are not, however, limited merely to gaining more elbow room for their social and political action, gaining more favorable conditions for operating the anti-establishment underground, important though these gains are. The intangible gains have been summed up by Bob Starobin, a teaching assistant in History, a former editor of *Root and Branch*, and delegate to the FSM Executive Committee from the Graduate Coordinating Committee, in the following eight points:

1. The myth of liberalism has been completely shattered.
2. The students have a much better

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- understanding of the bureaucratic mentality and how to deal with it.
3. They have had an education in political alignments and how political power is distributed. They know better how power is achieved and held.
 4. They have developed serious doubts about the Democratic Party and in many cases overt hostility toward it.
 5. They have had an education in tactics, especially in the uses and limitations of civil disobedience.
 6. They learned about the unreliability of the press. Even *The Chronicle* lies.
 7. They have received an education on the role and nature of the police.
 8. The faculty felt, correctly, that they had lost the respect of their students.

These points are very well taken, and some require further elaboration. Persons not acquainted with the Berkeley situation should bear in mind that this is not a reactionary institution run by political and academic Neanderthals. On the contrary, it is a truly liberal institution. Its president is seriously considered for a Cabinet post in the Great Society administration. The most clearly political of its Regents are in a majority Democratic appointees, many by the liberal Democrat Brown who called out the troopers. Even Scalapino, Kerr's faculty spokesman at the Greek Theater meeting, had earned a liberal reputation both in his academic work and as a radio commentator. The faculty has a strong liberal leaning, especially in the liberal arts, and those faculty members like Glaser, Feuer, and Lipset who were most vicious against the FSM had a reputation as left liberals and even aspired, in the case of Feuer and Lipset, to be considered some sort of radicals. The moral collapse of such an institution and such a set of individuals cannot but, for the students involved, sweep away much of the liberal myth in its wake.

The lesson in power is also of vital importance and two sided. If the movement had any collective heroes, it was the teaching assistants, the elite of the graduate student body. Given the present set-up, this group, previously of low status and apparently powerless and exposed to the worst hazards of reprisal and vietimization, has in actuality the power "to bring the machinery to a grinding halt." In the December strike they discovered that power and used it. They are not likely to lose this consciousness, nor awareness of the fact that their role has

won the respect of faculty and undergraduates alike. The teaching assistants now have a viable trade union affiliated with the AFT.

There is also the negative side of the power equation. The students have learned that even after totally defeating the administration within the academic community the administration still stands, intact, because the ultimate sources of power lie with the outside power structure, represented by the Regents. More and more students see this power structure correctly, not as a bureaucratic monster but, by one name or another, as a self-conscious, organized ruling class. Its academic representatives, Kerr, Strong, and the like, have much autonomy, and ordinarily its many internal splits obscure its character. But when the chips were down in the FSM fight, it acted as a disciplined, conscious class. Knowland and Brown were united. This lesson too is not lost. To return for a moment to the comments of Starobin: "The greatest single gain of the FSM is the politicization to one degree or another of a major portion of the student body."

This struggle also appears to mark the end of principled non-violence as an issue in this area. Faced with armed cops in the hundreds, the students were obviously in no position to adopt tactics of self-defense, so that the question was never sharply posed. However, the whole spirit of converting the enemy through love, the self-righteous condemnation of "un-CORE-like attitudes" which had been a dominant theme in the actions around 1960 was notably absent. The students were most grateful for the support of folk-singer Joan Baez, for example, but when she called on them to enter Sproul Hall with love in hearts this plea was received with considerable cynicism. When, during the arrests at Sproul Hall, a large detachment of police tried to seize the microphone of the public address system which the students were using to address the crowd in the plaza, the students resisted by grabbing the policemen's legs and clubs, trying to trip them, and in general pushing non-violence to its extreme limits. For the demonstrations following the HUAC affair in 1960, male students were told authoritatively to wear jackets and ties if at all possible. Now, however, the search for middle-class respectability is treated with contempt, and on the ideological level the doctrine of pacifism, though still strong, no longer predominates.

A Few Questions

For Marxists and revolutionaries the whole FSM must be not only a source of great satisfaction and inspi-

ration but also the occasion of raising some serious questions. The first and most obvious of these is to what extent can we expect similar phenomena elsewhere? Really, this is the same as saying, "Why Berkeley?" A number of reasons suggest themselves. First, The University of California is probably more heavily infiltrated by the federal government, and especially by the military and the AEC, than any other major university. This increasing identity between the government in its most coercive aspect and the University has had its effect on the over-all institution, to the detriment of free scholarship and undergraduate instruction. Second, Berkeley is a prestige university, in academic standing second probably only to Harvard. It is indisputable that it is among the best students that the disaffected are to be found. An independent study of the academic standing of those arrested in Sproul Hall, for example, revealed that they had a grade-point average much higher than that of the general student body. Indeed, a local sports columnist suggested that the best way to lick the Reds in FSM was to give more athletic scholarships to deserving patriotic footballers who couldn't make the grade at present.

Third, the local bourgeoisie tends to have more of a coexistence attitude toward dissidence than elsewhere . . . up to a point! Bay Area cops beat where New York cops would shoot. The local labor movement too is influenced by a large number of ex-radicals who retain the rhetoric of their past while jettisoning its content. In such an atmosphere it is easier for dissidence to gain a foothold.

Fourth, Berkeley has accumulated over the years a sizable fringe of disaffected semi-bohemian elements who, while they have no formal connection with the University, cluster around it and form a supportive element for student radicals. Among these fringe elements are many radicals who, while not yet ready to quit politics altogether, are also not anxious to pursue them strenuously, and find in Berkeley an atmosphere conducive to living on their political, light-duty slips. In short, the student radical does not face a harshly hostile environment once he steps beyond Sather Gate.

Fifth, there is the class character of the student body itself which is drawn mainly from the intelligentsia, the professional classes, and the comfortable section of the working class. Pop may have been a working man, but the home has provided enough security to make chance-taking possible. In a period like the present the response is bound to be greater among these middle-class elements than among the

children of the working class in such neighboring institutions as Oakland City College. There, working class students are desperately anxious to get out of the class and won't jeopardize their chances by agitating. Finally, all of this of course is self-reinforcing. The word gets around and dissatisfied elements transfer in from the University of Nebraska.

At the moment the Berkeley campus seems isolated from the rest of the students in America. However, the news is being spread by direct contact, and the media are now taking it up more seriously. FSM leaders expect that the isolation will end soon, and their expectation may be well founded. Surely where similar conditions prevail and where there is sufficient provocation, the same underly-

ture to create a mass movement or to develop impressive intellectual leadership significantly reduces its appeal. The empiricism which infects American society generally has not left the radical movement unscathed. Having lost confidence in its own role, the left tends to deprecate the need for theory and wax euphoric at each outburst of militancy, happy to follow where it would never think to lead.

More fundamental, however, is the fact that objective circumstances do not permit the students to link up with decisive social forces. This reinforces their tendency to see their struggles in isolation. Although many elements among them would be overjoyed at the prospect of outside support, they see a working class in actuality largely passive, if not hostile, to their

only be transcended by learning from it, not ignoring it. Otherwise, for example, the same stale old class-collaborationist platitudes that sunk the movements of the 1930's through support of Roosevelt and then of World War II would seem like exciting new ways to manipulate for radical ends capitalist-imperialist politicians like Pat Brown, Lyndon Johnson, and their successors.

Bridging the gap with living struggles is also a vital necessity for the Marxist movement. To succeed would be revitalizing, organizationally and ideologically. To fail would encourage all those sick symptoms which grow out of prolonged isolation and impotence. There is no reason to be unduly pessimistic concerning the possibility of making this link. The FSM is now entering its evaluation stage and is breaking down into its component parts. It has been highly politicized and has been exposed to the power structure which many of its supporters have come to see clearly as a ruling class. With this basis, continued openness on the part of the students and an approach by the revolutionary left, at once ideologically self-confident and also willing to recognize the unique break-through which the students have achieved on their own, can build an enduring and powerful movement, an important step toward the creation of a revolutionary force in the United States.

Two Currents in FSM

Finally, it is noticeable that two separate currents come together in FSM. One, which supplies a large part of its leadership, especially on the tactical level, consists of those for whom the primary issue is one of certain specific rights and demands, freedom of advocacy and organization, freedom from unreasonable harassment by the authorities. What these elements want is enough elbow room to conduct their political and social campaigns, at this point primarily around civil rights, but including other issues as well.

There is another current which joins this one, and for whom the symbol of the enemy is the IBM machine. They speak less in terms of civil rights and civil liberties, of political and social action, than in terms of alienation, of the intellectual degradation of the university by the multiversity, knowledge factory, concept. They feel cheated in their education, and dehumanized by a soulless machine. Only a small minority of those who supported FSM were interested in personally participating in political and social action. FSM became a truly mass movement because of this second current—because these

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ing dissatisfactions may be expected to find open expression in forms influenced by the FSM experience.

Role of the Left

The FSM was not hostile to the traditional left, and there was absolutely no red-baiting. Rapport with the various left tendencies, and FSM identification with left ideologies, was limited, however, by a number of factors. One, of course, is the traditional American pragmatism and eclecticism, in which the Free Speech Movement participates. The FSM and its allied organizations have been unable to jell an over-all ideological attitude. The impact of the organized left was further diminished by its highly fragmented state with Stalinists, Trotskyists, and social-democrats all split and in one degree or another of disarray. Moreover, the majority of the FSM people have a strong reaction against what they interpret as infantile factionalism and sectarian attitudes. Given the students' pragmatic attitudes, the inability of the left in the last quarter cen-

aspirations, and because of their own middle-class character they are cut off from what small sparks of militancy do exist.

These factors taken together have tended to make the FSM regard the ideology of all the left groupings as equally irrelevant. This empiricism is a serious weakness in the movement. No one with a realistic view of the scene would expect this mass movement to submit meekly to the embraces of some branch of the traditional left, to accept uncritically the pre-conceived ideology of the older groups. However, if the necessity of a world view of sufficient clarity is not recognized, the movement stands in peril of dissipation and disintegration in the face of larger questions which can be approached only in the light of a more general over-view.

The movement can ill afford to repeat all the errors and false starts of previous generations whose efforts in the main ended in downright betrayal of the subjective desires and intentions of the participants. The past can

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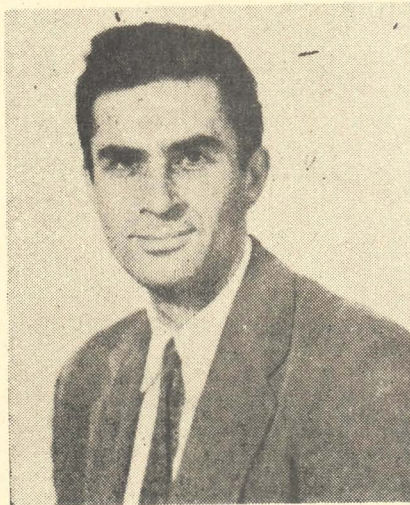
students felt that this way they could strike back at the machine, reassert their humanity and individuality, and perhaps make the University into a true community of scholars. Their moral integrity is one of the most impressive things about the FSM revolt.

However, while the first current, the politicals, were able to win the limited demands they were fighting for—that is, in essence, more favorable conditions for their underground movement—the hopes of the second group were doomed to disappointment. True, after the Academic Senate meeting of December 8 there was a brief period of euphoria when it seemed that honest communication and mutual respect could be established between faculty and students, and that the community of scholars could exist apart from and in spite of external social forces; but already now this mood is evaporating, the old barriers coming up again, the faculty retreating, and the IBM machines are clicking on. As long as the university is a vital part of the capitalist establishment no community of scholars can exist, and the moral corruption of moribund capitalism must taint the campus as well as every other social institution. This section of the students, naive if you will, hoped with the aid of the faculty to be able to take the University away from the ruling class. This was a vain illusion, of course.

The bourgeoisie will no more give up its knowledge factory than it will its General Motors plant, and it needs the one as much as the other. Some educational reform may be forthcoming, but nothing that will meet the needs of these students. The question is, then, what will their reaction be? On the one hand, it could be a retreat into a personal world, marijuana and bohemianism for some, and surrender to split-level values for others, and in both cases disillusionment and cynicism. But this is not necessary. They have been in intimate contact now with the underground opposition, the civil rights advocates and the politicals. There is genuine communication and respect between the two groups, and perhaps their values can lead them to understand that the road to the free university, and the intellectual freedom and honesty that this concept implies, lies only through the overthrow of the capitalist system which corrupts their environment. In that case we may come to see a transformation of the whole social and political climate in the United States.

The University and Capitalism
With the changes which are cur-

Socialist in Berkeley Elections



Geoffrey White

rently taking place within the structure of western capitalism, the university becomes a more and more critical part of the over-all system. As automation eats away at the traditional working class and the white collar elements as well, the bourgeoisie more and more needs its trained specialists. Not only have they technical tasks of the highest order to perform, but the bourgeoisie is also in increasing need of reliable and skilled ideologues and of social engineers to manage the manipulated society. Their dilemma is that this job cannot be done by third rate, unskilled, uncreative people. Giving more athletic scholarships won't meet their needs. Their professional people, if they are to do the job, must have education as well as training. But to the degree that education, intellectual freedom, and creativity are permitted, to this degree there is the danger of the kind of revolt which took place in Berkeley.

It was a middle class revolt of people to whom the system offered its most attractive material rewards, and status gratifications too. These students had it made, but in the FSM revolt they rejected the whole set of values and assumptions of the split-level society. What they want is something else, not yet sharply defined but not to be found in the Great Society. But the Great Society needs these students, and in their revolt against it they expose a sickness in that society from which it is not likely to recover. ■

The Bay Area Spartacist Committee offered a socialist alternative to Berkeley electors this April. The campaign attacked the liberal Democratic majority of the City Council as political abettors of the Vietnam atrocity and of the Johnson diversion of the civil rights movement. The campaign platform centered on the demand for immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and support of the right of American Negroes to armed self-defense in the face of racist violence. Local demands featured rigorous rent control, thirty-hour week for city employees, and abolition of the police red squad.

The candidate for Berkeley City Councilman, Geoff White, West Coast SPARTACIST editor, received 2,051 votes, about 6 percent of the total, against a full slate of liberals. He had previously run for the same office in 1963 as a candidate of the SWP.

Support of the candidacy was asked from those groups calling themselves revolutionary-socialist. White was endorsed by the Independent Socialist Club, of which Hal Draper is a leading figure; PL refused endorsement; and the SWP had not arrived at a position by the time of the election. The SWP candidates for Oakland Mayor and School Board were publicly endorsed by the Spartacist Committee, but critically so in view of the SWP's central campaign slogan "Withdraw troops from Vietnam, Send them to Alabama." High points of White's campaign were a speech from the steps of the University's Sproul Hall, scene of the mass sit-in during the recent student rebellion, and a three-way debate with representatives of the liberal and conservative slates. ■

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