

STUDENT REVOLT

Communist Takeover At Berkeley A Prototype

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■ THE RAMPARTS of America's system of higher education, long dominated by "Liberals" and Socialists, are now under assault by even more radical activists. These Schoolboy Lenins have openly declared their commitment to seizing control of our major universities and turning them into revolutionary enclaves completely outside the jurisdiction of local law enforcement. They say they mean to rule or ruin, and their recent successes suggest that they may be able to do just that.

The Communists realized early that, in order to implement student revolution on any large scale, they first needed to control a prototype American university where their youthful activists could experiment with revolutionary techniques, establish patterns, and set precedents. The university selected by the Communists to serve as the fountainhead for student revolution in America was the once-venerable University of California at Berkeley.

The capture of the Berkeley campus

has during the past four years had a serious impact on every major university in the United States. It is impossible to understand the subsequent turmoil on nearly every college campus in America without first understanding the prologue — a prologue written at the University of California at Berkeley . . . "Moscow by the Bay."

I

Most informed Americans are aware that revolutionary students led by Communist Bettina Aptheker and Mario Savio first disrupted the Berkeley campus in the fall of 1964, and succeeded in turning a phony "Free Speech Movement" into a means of acquiring serious concessions from the administration. This victory by student subversives was not won in a vacuum, but had been many years in the preparation.

Why was Berkeley the first target, rather than Harvard, Columbia, or any of a dozen other such prestigious Leftist universities? A number of factors made Berkeley uniquely susceptible. Among these was its location in the San Francisco Bay area, a super-sophisticated cosmopolitan center willing to tolerate nearly anything, from topless dancers, beatniks and hippies, to hard-core subversion.

Yes, the Bay Area was just the place for such an operation. San Francisco has been official headquarters for District Thirteen of the Communist Party, U.S.A., since shortly after the Party's founding, and the Reds' top propaganda outlets and training schools have been located there for many decades.

According to the State of California's Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities, "the Party has always operated the entire Pacific Coast and Hawaiian apparatus from San Francisco. . . ."

Since the Communist strikes of 1934, which brought Harry Bridges to power in the International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union, San Franciscans have even tolerated the use of their city as headquarters for Soviet control over Westcoast shipping. Comrade Bridges, an alien who has been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party by some three dozen former Reds who knew and worked with him in the Party, is still a Soviet puppet. In the sophisticated Bay area, however, Communist Harry Bridges is a pillar of the community—being appointed to a key city commission by San Francisco's Mayor Joseph Alioto, even after AMERICAN OPINION published a photograph of his Communist Party dues card. Obviously, a community which would tolerate and honor a Harry Bridges would tolerate anything the Reds could pull at Berkeley.

It was only to be expected, after all, that with the San Francisco area being so important a hub of Communist activities, the nation's largest university at Berkeley would become a primary target for Communist infiltration. It was Communist Georgi Dimitrov, instructing at the Lenin School of Political Warfare, who said:

*. . . Let our friends do the work.
. . . the sympathizer is generally
worth more than a dozen militant
Communists. A university professor,
who without being a party member
lends himself to the interests of the
Soviet Union, is worth more than a
hundred men with party cards.**

There were many such professors at Berkeley — both those who have car-

ried cards, and those who have regularly lent themselves to Soviet interests.

From no less an authority than William Schneiderman, who was for fourteen years director of all Communist activities in District Thirteen, we know that a sizeable campus cell made up of members of the University faculty was active at Berkeley as far back as the early Thirties.† This cell was known as "Unit Five," and often met in the home of Professor Haakon Chevalier, who was to become well known for his role in the Oppenheimer Security Case. Unit Five worked aggressively to spread Marxism throughout the Berkeley campus, and recruited key students into the Young Communist League and a constellation of subsidiary student fronts.‡

By 1939, it had become evident that the University would be conducting extremely vital and sensitive research for the government, and the Communists carefully seeded the campus with Soviet-controlled scientific organizations and moved to scatter politically reliable Comrades throughout strategic departments at Berkeley. This espionage apparatus was headed by Marcel Scherer, a graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow.

Thus it was that the foundation was well laid at Berkeley for whatever the Communists might elect to do there. The Comrades worked hard, creating an atmosphere of easy tolerance while at the same time infiltrating an already "Liberal" faculty with dedicated agents of the International Communist Conspiracy.

*As quoted in the report of the American Bar Association Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives and reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, August 22, 1958, Page 17719.
†California Report on Un-American Activities, 1943, Page 114.

‡One of the young recruits at Berkeley was Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who later headed the infamous Silvermaster Spy Cell in Washington, D.C. It was at Silvermaster's home that highly secret documents stolen by Alger Hiss from the State Department were photographed to be passed on by courier to Moscow.

II

THE SO-CALLED "Free Speech Movement" was not the first Communist effort to make use of Berkeley students as fodder for riots. The demonstrations against Hearings held in San Francisco by the House Committee on Un-American Activities during 1960 had, after all, been coordinated from the Berkeley campus by a radical student organization called SLATE, which was the forerunner of the revolutionary groups now

in accord with Lenin's dictum that "Communism must be built with non-Communist hands." Chief organizer of the student riots against the House Committee was Douglas Wachter, then a student at Berkeley. Wachter had also been a student at Berkeley when in 1959 he was an official delegate to the National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which announced plans to expand agitation on the nation's college campuses. He is the son



Stewart Albert of Communist Progressive Labor Party (blond in center) recruits on Berkeley campus.

active there. According to F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, these 1960 riots — viewed by millions of Americans in the film *Operation Abolition* — were organized and run by the Communists.

Like the "Free Speech Movement," the Vietnam Day Committee, and the other subsequent efforts directed by Communists from the Berkeley enclave, the 1960 riots were textbook examples of a technique which the Communists call the "United Front." This is a ploy by which a seasoned corps of disciplined Communists organize and manipulate non-Communist individuals and groups

of Communists Saul and Billie Wachter, and has never made any secret of the fact that he is a Red agent.*

Of course, as we noted, Doug Wachter worked through SLATE—an organization formed at Berkeley in February of 1958 to run Leftist candidates for positions in the student government.† Among its founders were: Communist DuBois Clubbers Patrick and

*Douglas Wachter, after serving as a photographer for several Communist newspapers, subsequently returned to Berkeley as a member of the faculty.

†So successful was it in this regard that by 1964 SLATE was able to elect seven of its eight candidates to the key positions in student government.

Terence Hallinan, two of the five revolutionary sons of avowed Marxist Vincent Hallinan, a millionaire attorney; Kenneth Cloke, son of identified Communists Richard and Shirley Cloke, and a by-lined columnist for the Communist *People's World*; Mike Tigar, a delegate to the Communist World Youth Festival in Helsinki, and a contributor to the Communist *People's World*, who later received an appointment as a law clerk for the U.S. Supreme Court*; and, Mike Meyerson, who achieved notoriety by visiting Hanoi where he was made an honorary nephew of Ho chi Minh and was presented with a ring fashioned from metal taken from a downed U.S. aircraft.

According to the California Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities:

... from the very inception of this organization [SLATE] it is quite obvious that its leaders were strongly oriented toward Communism. Some were enthusiastic fellow-travellers, and others were simply willing to be led by their more articulate, disciplined and energetic colleagues....

One of SLATE's major accomplishments was its provision of an excuse for University President Clark Kerr to pressure the Board of Regents for a modification of the long-standing rule preventing Communists from being given a formal rostrum on the campus. The first speaker to appear at Berkeley following the rescinding of the rule was Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, Chairman of the Northern Division of the Communist Party of California. Cosponsoring the much-heralded event were SLATE and the Communist W.E.B. DuBois

*The appointment was rescinded after Tigar's long record of Communist activities was publicized. Mike Tigar now works in the Washington offices of noted attorney Edward Bennett Williams.

Clubs. It was clearly no chance union.

The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, linear descendants of the Young Communist League, are largely an outgrowth of efforts of Marxist students at Berkeley. This organization, which is currently under orders from the federal Subversive Activities Control Board to register as a Communist Front, began as a "discussion group" in San Francisco and gained its first real strength when the Berkeley chapter was formed in October of 1962.

The address listed as headquarters by the DuBois Club was 1579 Scenic Avenue, the same address listed for Bettina Aptheker, Michael and Patrick Hallinan, and Ken Cloke. To a great extent, it was the leadership of SLATE which became the nucleus of the Communist DuBois Club, and the DuBois Club, according to the California Senate Report on the matter, "constituted the hard core of the so-called Free Speech Movement at Berkeley."

Obviously, a key step in preparation for taking over the campus was to bring in reliable troops to lead the student revolt. A significant cadre of the sons and daughters of long-time Communists was now congregated at Berkeley from all over the United States. The queen bee of these crimson progeny was Bettina Aptheker. Bettina had attended high school in Brooklyn, but obeyed Horace Greeley's advice when it came to selecting a college. Her grades were not good enough to qualify her for admission; but, with someone pulling some strings, she obtained a special waiver from the administration.

Berkeley literally swarmed with the sons and daughters of top Communists. Among other Red Diaper Babies, as the Communists call them, were: Ken Cloke, son of Communists Richard and Shirley Cloke; John Perlin, Vice Chairman of SLATE, the son of Communist Paul Perlin; Robert Starobin, son of Joseph Starobin, former Foreign

Editor of the *Daily Worker*; Paul Richards, son of Communist Harvey Richards; Margaret Lima, daughter of "Mickey" Lima, Secretary of the Communist Party for Northern California; Kathleen Grossman, daughter of Communist attorney Aubrey Grossman; Nora "Muffy" North, daughter of *Daily Worker* columnist Joseph North; Richard McMichael, son of Communist minister Jack McMichael; Pete Steffens, son of Communist Ella Winter and Lincoln Steffens; Michael Granich, son of *Worker* columnist Mike Gold; Lee Goldblatt, daughter of Communist Louis Goldblatt, (Treasurer of Harry Bridges' I.L.W.U.); Dennis Beltram, son of Communist Elsie Beltram; and, the list goes on and on.

A considerable number of other Red Diaper Babies, not enrolled as students, was also sent to the area to work on the Berkeley campus.

Although the members of this Kiddie Kommie Korps ordered to Berkeley had been schooled in revolutionary activity since their early teens, organization and discipline was vital. The Reds needed a top executive for this one, and that is exactly what they sent. His name was Leon Wofsy.

Wofsy, who for fifteen years was officially in charge of the Communist youth movement in the United States, was imported to Berkeley in 1964 as a Professor of Bacteriology. Leon is the son of one of the original founders of the Communist Party in America. According to the *Worker* he qualified for the job by taking a "leave of absence" from his position with the Communist Party to return to Yale for a Ph.D. in genetics.

Comrade Wofsy was quickly brought to the University of California's branch at LaJolla by its Dean of the Graduate School of Sciences, Martin Kamen. Dean Kamen, formerly chief chemist at the Berkeley radiation laboratory, worked closely with Frank Oppen-

heimer, identified Communist brother of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Kamen was an assistant to Robert Oppenheimer at Berkeley during the research that led to the development of the atomic bomb, and has quite a background. He was, in fact, followed by government agents and photographed passing classified information to two Soviet spies in a San Francisco restaurant. So important was he, however, that no legal action was taken except to dismiss him from the



Comrade Professor Wofsy makes fun of our flag. Manhattan Project as a security risk.

Despite the fact that LaJolla was itself short of faculty and involved in an intensive recruiting program, Dean Kamen wrote an impassioned letter to the Dean of the Graduate Division at Berkeley recommending that Comrade Wofsy be hired. Upon arriving at Berkeley, Leon Wofsy almost immediately began working behind the scenes directing the Free Speech Movement.*

*Wofsy was made a Departmental Manager during his first year and has not been burdened—or tested—with classroom teaching assignments. In his third year he was made Department Chairman

Much has been written about the misnamed Free Speech Movement itself. And, since the capture of university classrooms and administration buildings is hardly novel any more, there is little need to dwell on the streetbundering aspects of this show. Certainly the controversy had nothing to do with "free speech," which already existed on the campus *in spades*. Rather, the demonstrations began over the ban against organizing and fund-raising on the campus by non-student political activists. Even this was but a convenient pretext for kicking off a Communist campaign to radicalize and literally seize control of the University.

Dr. Hardin Jones, for thirty-one years a Professor of Medical Physics, a world renowned expert in health sciences, and virtually the only outspoken anti-Communist on the faculty at Berkeley, described the situation this way:

From the moment the Free Speech Movement surfaced, it was quite obvious that it was a trumped-up affair. The "issues" were simply an excuse to demand a surrender of the administrative mechanisms of the University to hard-core revolutionaries. This was well publicized in advance. The SLATE organization was a Communist front and was founded by such old-line Reds as identified Communist William Mandel. The spokesman for SLATE, in the summer of 1964, was Brad Cleaveland [then a thirty-two-year-old "student"] who published an open manifesto calling for the movement to bring the University to a halt and to engage in sit-ins and strikes.

The object was to give the radical student movement a voice in decision-making within the University. The Regents and the Chancellors of

the various campuses, and the President of the University, were all notified by security forces in May, 1964, of the impending troubles and informed that the coming agitation was to be led by the Communists. Nothing was done about it.

The arrest by Berkeley police, on October 1, 1964, of Communist DuBois Club leader Jack Weinberg (for distributing propaganda without a permit) was thus only an excuse for a move which the Communists had been planning for months.

The Batgirl and Robin of the Berkeley rebellion were self-professed Communist Bettina Aptheker and Marxist Mario Savio.* But, as with most of the Communists' so-called "student movements" it was seasoned leadership which gave the Free Speech effort its cohesiveness and direction. This was provided

*The fates have been somewhat unkind to this dynamic duo since their stars burst so brightly on the Red horizon. It is reliably reported that, during the Free Speech agitation, Savio began substituting drug stimulants for sleep and became "hooked" to the point that in 1965 he was sent to England by a top revolutionary organization to "dry out." Savio enrolled in school in Britain, but dropped out after a month. He and his wife, Suzanne Goldberg, returned to the United States with a severely retarded child. It is believed that the retardation is linked to the use of LSD.

Savio subsequently served a short jail sentence as a result of his arrest during one of the invasions of Berkeley's Sproul Hall. During his tenure in the "crow-bar motel," he was given a Bible to read. The pages had been soaked in LSD and, it is said, the time passed quickly.

Today, Mario is a pathetic shadow of his former self. The former articulate spokesman for student revolution now gives the impression of being a punch-drunk fighter who went ten too many rounds. When he was resurrected last December in an attempt to turn demonstrations against Navy recruiting at Berkeley into another Free Speech Movement, his speech was so stumbling and slurred that he was laughed off stage.

While Bettina has not fared quite so badly, life has not exactly been a bowl of borscht for her either. My sources tell me that, after recently contributing another Red Diaper Baby to the world, Bettina suffered an apparent nervous breakdown. Her husband, Communist DuBois Clubber Jack Kurzweil, now on the faculty at San Jose State College, maintains that Bettina is "nuts."

and thereby plays an important role in hiring new faculty members. He also serves as an unofficial leader of Leftists in the Academic Senate.



Press provides mass coverage as Communist Bettina Aptheker gives the word from Reds running campus.

by such experienced Communists as attorney Robert Treuhaft* (who became a member of the Free Speech Movement's Steering Committee), Communist William Mandel (who served on the Free Speech Executive Committee) and, of course, Comrade Professor Leon Wofsy. It was the California Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities which established that: "... members of the Communist organizations on the executive and steering committees of the FSM were in firm control of the situation..."

They certainly were.

The strategy was to involve as many non-radical students and groups in the demonstrations as possible, and to open the way for their recruitment into hard-core Communist activities. A former officer in the campus Young Republicans, now a professional in law enforcement, describes his experiences

with the Free Speech Movement this way:

A bunch of the Communist kids ran over to us and said let's form a United Front. It sounded great to us. We were suckers! The Communists ran the whole show and we were window dressing to dignify their activities. Then the administration used our participation to deny they were surrendering to Communists. It's tough on the ego to admit, but the Reds really sucked us in. We were used.

Just as at Columbia three years later, the Berkeley rebellion pitted the student Marxists and their dupes against an extremely "Liberal" University President. The object was to allow President Kerr to go through the motions of "opposing" the radicalization of the campus while bending to it.

In the fall of 1964, after ten weeks of strife which featured a student strike,

*Treuhaft is the husband of identified Communist Jessica Mitford, author of the best-selling book, *The American Way of Death*.

two invasions of Sproul Hall, and the overnight kidnapping of a University Dean, a policeman, and even theft of a police car, a number of Berkeley's Department Chairmen met to try to encourage a strong stand by the Kerr administration.* The position of these leaders of the faculty was that students must be required to desist from the strike and attend classes, and that members of the faculty must be required to teach and not to join in the student strike (as many of them did). The implication was that those students and faculty who didn't obey the school's rules would be dismissed, and there would be no amnesty for past infringements.

The above decision of the faculty Chairmen was formally relayed to President Kerr and his wife† by Dr. Hardin Jones, a leader of the Department Chairmen.

President Kerr agreed to call a meeting of the students at the Greek Theatre on December seventh. But, on that date he went before several thousand assembled students and proceeded to side with the revolutionaries against his own faculty Chairmen. In the words of the California Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities:

*The second invasion of Sproul Hall, in which a non-student folksinger named Joan Baez led eight hundred persons into the building, resulted in \$15,000 damages. The idealists and humanitarians seemed to have had considerable difficulty locating suitable water closets.

†Many are convinced that Mrs. Kerr is at least as far to the Left as is her husband, and may be the power behind the throne. At Kerr's inaugural as University President in 1958, he introduced his wife (Kay) to the crowd and told how they had met. Kerr said that while Kay and he were students at Stanford they first saw each other across the room at a meeting of the Communist Party. After the meeting, he said, both approached each other with the same question: Are you a Communist?

A highly respected Berkeley professor who was at the inauguration told me: "He never answered the question. The inference to the squares was that they weren't. But I wonder whether this was a signal to the Communists on the faculty: 'Boys, we've made it.'"

... he announced a further capitulation promising forgiveness to students for all offenses. . . . Members of the teaching staff who had joined the student strike and vacated their classes were also given immunity.

The students did not wait so much as a minute to escalate their demands. As Kerr finished his talk and walked out of the Greek Theatre, Mario Savio ran on stage and seized the microphone, knocking Professor Robert Scalapino off the podium as he was about to adjourn the meeting. Savio denounced Kerr and invited the students to the plaza in front of Sproul Hall where the Communist-led Free Speech Movement demanded further capitulations from the University.

It was all pre-arranged. Clark Kerr knew that the students were going to disrupt the meeting and that it was Savio who would lead the disruption. But, attacking the Leftist Kerr from the Left was clever dialectics, and provided him with just the sort of cover he needed to bulldoze the Regents. Dr. Hardin Jones, whose brilliant career has for decades depended upon his expert scientific observation, told me:

Kerr was delighted with the cover provided by the Leftwing attack on him, but this came largely from the undisciplined student core, the Leftwing activists — individuals who hadn't enough sophistication to realize that the top leadership had to be pretty smooth and couldn't go all the way in a single step, but had to do one thing at a time.

On December eighth the Academic Senate, composed of the school's faculty, voted 824 to 115 to back the fundamental principles of the Free Speech Movement and urged the administration to turn all control over to the faculty. This incredibly radical reversal of

the Department Chairmen was forced by Kerr himself. President Kerr had selected Professor Robert Scalapino to carry the message to the faculty that he approved of the demands of the Free Speech Movement as outlined in what was called the McClosky Resolution.

There followed a jubilant celebration by the student revolutionaries, and on the succeeding day Savio withdrew from the University for the purpose of making a national tour to spread the gospel of the Free Speech Movement.

Kerr, who had promised key members of the faculty that he would attend the December eighth meeting of the Academic Senate to support a resolution for law and order, never showed up. The next day, Professor Jones met with President Kerr at Kerr's Santa Cruz mountain retreat. Dr. Jones quotes Clark Kerr as telling him:

"Hardin, you've got to help me. The faculty doublecrossed me. I didn't even know this Professor McClosky. I saw his recommendations, but I rewrote the first three sections of it so that there could be no possibility of anyone interpreting this as the University's sanction of illegal activity on or off campus. The item having to do with turning the student discipline over to the faculty, I crossed out altogether.

"It was that rat Scalapino. He doublecrossed me. The Governor and I are calling him Mr. Scalopini these days. The rat told the faculty that I was in favor of the report on academic freedom and the McClosky Resolution. I wasn't! Won't you talk to the [Board of] Regents? You know the Regents. You can go to them and plead my case."

Hardin Jones is a gentleman, an honorable man of great dignity. Such men are often prone to credit others with the same sense of honor. Believing



This is typical of the daily agitation at Berkeley.

Kerr, Professor Jones went to the Regents in Kerr's behalf. "He got me to do his lying for him!" the Professor now says ruefully. It was this way:

Kerr had not been forthright with me. It was quite a shock to learn this because I had been in close touch with him for many years and didn't realize his totally Machiavellian character. I naturally assumed that he was as interested in protecting the University as I was.

Professor Jones then went on to describe to me how he began to recognize that the Free Speech Movement was manipulated from above as well as below:

It was a terrible shock to realize that Kerr was maneuvering out Chancellor Edward Strong — who wanted to enforce the University's rules. When I realized this, I began going back and checking to see precisely what had been happening in

the preceding days, especially from the fifth to the eighth of December.

I collected together the professors who had been present with Kerr when he talked to McClosky about the proposition on "academic freedom." I assembled everyone right in this living room . . . and they all told the same story; that Kerr had met with McClosky, that he had been enthusiastic about McClosky's proposition. . . .

He did not disagree and did not challenge anything McClosky had in that document — which passed on to the faculty, unchanged, with the recommendation from the President that this was what he wanted. He was engineering the whole thing from behind the scenes at the same time he was decrying it as a fraud to anyone he thought capable of reaching the Board of Regents to stop him.

Perhaps a brief excursion into Kerr's background will help us to better understand just what was happening — and why Berkeley was picked by the Communists as their launching pad for student revolution in the United States.

In 1934 and 1935, Clark Kerr served as a field advisor to the California Relief Administration. According to the Senate Report on Un-American Activities, "This was the period when the Communist infiltration of the State Relief Administration was gathering considerable momentum." He then served with several government agencies during and immediately after the War. As the Senate Factfinding Report puts it:

. . . many of Kerr's most intimate colleagues during these years were at the same time teaching at the Communist school and participating in a wide variety of pro-Communist activities. Some of them came to work at the Berkeley campus after Kerr became its Chancellor. . . .

Was Clark Kerr knowingly helping the Communists? Absolutely! As the Senate Subcommittee on Un-American Activities put it:

The tolerance of the radical student groups, the opening of the campus to Communist officials, the reluctance to curb the activities of the most brash and defiant student rebels, and the obvious distaste for adequate security precautions, speak for themselves.

They certainly do. And, there has been serious reaction.

One of the primary reasons for Ronald Reagan's election as Governor of California was his promise to investigate Communist activity at Berkeley and to put an end to subversion there. Although the Governor has two very able men who keep close tabs on the campus, nothing has as yet been done. Reagan dropped the investigation of Berkeley at almost the same time he announced the dismissal of Clark Kerr. On January 26, 1967, Governor Reagan deferred the probe indefinitely, "because it would be unfair to ask a new University president to take office in the midst of such an inquiry." This, of course, presupposed that a new President would not want the mess cleaned up immediately.

Californians mistakenly believed that, with Kerr removed, Reagan would appoint a tough administrator who would cleanse Berkeley's Aegean stables—and that therefore a formal investigation was probably unnecessary.* Such was not the case. The new President, who

*Kerr was on his way out before Reagan took over anyway. The Regents (who are appointed by the Governor) had endured all they could take. But, Governor Pat Brown asked the Regents to delay their action until after the election. They thus fired Kerr at their first meeting after those elections. He has, however, since been hired to teach industrial relations at Berkeley at the modest salary of \$30,000 per annum.

had Reagan's heartiest support, is Charles J. Hitch. Like Kerr, Hitch is a member of the notoriously Leftist Council on Foreign Relations. He came to Berkeley in 1965 to assist Kerr after having served in the Defense Department as one of Robert McNamara's Whiz Kids. He had previously worked for the mysterious Rand Corporation, the Establishment's Orwellian "Think Tank" in Santa Monica, California. Himself part of the Kerr regime, Hitch was a most unlikely choice to do battle with the entrenched Left at Berkeley. To put it succinctly: He hasn't.

The Kerr song is gone, but the melody lingers on and on and on.

III

THE Free Speech Movement was an incredible victory for the student revolutionaries, but it was a victory that would have been totally out of their grasp were it not for faculty sympathy. As California's Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities reported:

... there was a militant left-wing element in the faculty. . . . many professors who were sympathetic with the FSM used their students . . . and there were other instances of professors and teaching assistants deliberately indoctrinating their students in an attempt to gain support for the FSM.

The University of California at Berkeley, in short, is virtually in the hands of the Reds.

Berkeley's Professor Hardin Jones is powerfully concerned about the situation. He has for years studied the takeover at Berkeley with clinical observation bred of decades of scientific research. He especially emphasized to me that "the prerequisite for this successful student movement was the leadership and organizational skill supplied

by key members of the faculty." He recalls that John Searle, one of the faculty leaders of the Free Speech Movement who was quickly promoted to full professor, went so far as to complain that the students weren't aggressive enough. Dr. Jones told me he heard Searle speaking at a freshman orientation program "chiding the students because they weren't sufficiently active in political affairs. He said the trouble with this glorious student movement is that it stops whenever he and his friends stop stoking it with leadership. He said, 'You students have got to realize that you have to carry your own responsibility. You've got to get into the student movement and make it work.'"

Searle was the official spokesman for the Chancellor's office, and you may be certain that freshmen were well indoctrinated. He is a self-avowed Marxist.

Dr. Jones estimates that, when the Free Speech Movement began in 1964, Berkeley had about two hundred Marxists on the faculty — ranging on the political spectrum all the way from pacifist socialists to militant Maoists seeking to begin a bloodbath on the morrow. He told me that "recent votes in the Faculty Senate, particularly on the Eldridge Cleaver issue, indicate the number of these people has increased by about a factor of two — and they keep bringing in new ones. This means that practically all of the staff recruitment has been aimed at bringing in Marxists and revolutionaries." Such recruiting of Communists for the staff is of course facilitated by the placing of people like Leon Wofsy in positions as Department Chairmen, where they have a large say in who is hired, promoted, or fired.

After observing the situation at Berkeley for over thirty years, Dr. Jones has concluded:

At the top, behind the radical faculty activists—hidden from sight—is a much more powerful group which

I know little about. This "inner group" does not overtly participate in radical activities but gives orders to people like Wofsy who in turn direct the radical faculty. Curiously, this group is not using Marx's theories at all, but employing modern group psychology for control and manipulation of people for the purpose of concentrating and holding power. They seem to have absolutely no moral principles or ethics—only that insatiable thirst for power. It is a criminal conspiracy which is using the students to achieve its own ends.

Dr. Jones believes that this "inner group" controls the faculty activists, who in turn control and manipulate the student activists. Each group tends to think it is totally in control and sees those it manipulates below, but not those maneuvering above. "If you talk to the radical students who are not Communists," says Professor Jones, "they think you are insane if you say they are playing a role in a Communist conspiracy. They say, 'We are not Communists.' And, of course, they are not. They naively think that everything that has happened here has occurred because they have screamed, kicked, hollered, and howled. They think it is they who are the potent force.

"This is pure balderdash. They would have achieved nothing if it were not for the revolutionary forces in the faculty and administration. When the faculty or administration surrenders to them, it does so only to institute Leftist schemes it has sought all along. Now, the members of the faculty who are involved, of course, clearly realize that they are pulling strings, but in turn they seem unable to admit the presence of an even more powerful structure that lies above them and manipulates them."

Both the radical faculty and students are controlled and well rewarded through special grants and scholarships.

Leftist Department Chairmen regularly arrange for funds provided by the Regents to be given out for special projects. For example, a paper organization called the Humanities Institute, with large amounts of tax dollars to spend, has funded two summer projects at Berkeley by Professor Eli Katz, a relative of Leon Wofsy. Katz is an identified Communist who was once fired from his teaching job for security reasons but was rehired on the basis of his "eminence as a German scholar." The fact that an expert in this field who reviewed this case at New York University reported that Katz was *not* a competent scholar has been ignored.

The financing of the Left by the "In Group," as it is referred to, is especially effective in arranging financial aid to radical students. A real pot of gold for the student radicals was the federally financed Work Studies Program, which funneled great sums of money into New Left activities. Leaders of the Marxist Students for a Democratic Society have regularly told their members that any problems they have with the Work Studies Program will be "fixed."

There can be little doubt of that. Work Studies workers were even paid with funds from the federal National Education Act to do precinct work for Marxist Robert Scheer in his 1966 campaign for Congress. Scheer, who is Editor of *Ramparts*, describes himself as well to the Left of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—which he regards as too tame. Scheer's campaign manager was Carl Bloice of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

IV

THE TAKEOVER at Berkeley has severely affected the students' outlook on education. Incoming freshmen have a strong desire to conform, to do what is "in." The Left attempts to get to them right off the bat and convince them that being a revolutionary is the thing to do.

In the 1966 freshman orientation program at Berkeley the new students were formally addressed by Miss Patricia Popkin, whose grandparents were co-founders of the Communist Party, U.S.A. She was a national officer in the subversive S.D.S. organization and an entering graduate student. Dr. Jones told me:

Miss Popkin was on the program to greet the entering freshmen, officially on the program mind you, and she was herself an entering graduate student from out of state! In her speech she said: "I am here to tell you what the New Left is all about. We in the New Left don't waste any time arguing about what Trotsky said to Stalin. We get right down to direct political action. We intend to make a revolution in this country." Leaflets encouraging the freshmen to join S.D.S. were handed out at the door.

Dr. Jones estimates that before 1964 at least seventy percent of the students at Berkeley were oriented towards vocational or professional goals. "At present," says the Professor, "I doubt if as many as seven percent of the students are vocationally and professionally oriented. Most are just drifting around. They haven't selected real goals in life and they are encouraged by the radical faculty not to select real goals." Professor Carl E. Schorske, an assistant to Chancellor Roger Heyns, even told the new students during freshman orientation week that they should have no goals during the undergraduate years except trying to remake their "systems of moral and ethical values."

The net result of all of this has been that far fewer students who enter school actually graduate. Many wind up in the Berkeley Commune — a Red center comprised of militant drop-outs who live near the campus. It has its own

S.D.S. chapter, which calls itself The Molotov Cocktail Party.

Typical of the attitude of many of the radical professors is that stated by Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Boyd, who recently told an alumni association that capitalism is essentially wrong because it's only out for a profit, whereas the students know that Marx had a great deal to offer and will perhaps win out in the end because he had humanity's interest at heart. As Professor Jones remarks: "After all, if they hear this from the Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, and they also hear it from most of their professors of history, political science, English, speech and sociology, they begin to think it must be right."

Given the political persuasion of the faculty, it is almost impossible for the typical student coming from a basically non-ideological home to wind up on the political spectrum anywhere but on the road between the A.D.A. and Mao Tse-tung. A law-enforcement observer at Berkeley describes the situation in these terms:

With many of the kids who have gone to Cal and gone off the deep end it is as if they had gone to Nepal. The parents don't have any idea where their son or daughter went or what language he or she is speaking. They don't know what is going on or why. The parents are in a state of shock. How many people do you know who sell Oldsmobiles that know anything about Marxism-Leninism?

So the kid comes home from Cal and wants to go to Cuba for the summer, and they go along with it. The youngster says that all the kids in his Societal Problems Class are going. When the kid returns with a beard and a red flag, and leaves home, the parents are bewildered. The youngster will not talk to his

parents because he has been instructed that his parents are his enemy and that there is no use talking to adult reactionaries because they don't understand anyway.

Such alienation is both a personal and a national tragedy.

V

HAVING surrendered *de facto* control of the campus to the students, the Berkeley administration is now doing its best to make it appear to the public and the Regents that it maintains some vestige of authority. In order to do this it has composed what has come to be known as the "U.C. Three-Step," a variation of an ancient theme known as "dialectics." In the U.C. Three-Step, one takes a single tiny step forward and two giant steps back. Although it is not taught at Arthur Murray's, school administrators all over the country, taking their cue from the maestros at Berkeley, are getting the hang of it.

A perfect example of this was exhibited last spring when Frank Barkacke, a Berkeley graduate student and teaching assistant was, of all things, suspended for his part in anti-draft activities. Under threat of a strike by teaching assistants, the administration soon offered to rehire Barkacke. Thus, both sides were appeased. Those who disapprove of Barkacke and others involved in pro-Vietcong activities were appeased in February by his dismissal; a month later, after the public and politicians had forgotten the incident, the administration appeased the teaching assistants by rehiring him.

The radicals and the students waltzed together to the Three-Step again in April of 1968. The Tricontinental Students Committee, a recently organized New Left group whose pin-ups are Communist Ahmed Ben Bella, Communist Fidel Castro, and Communist Mao Tse-tung, scheduled a campus

meeting to display its support for the Vietcong. As the day of the rally approached, irate opponents were told, according to the *Berkeley Gazette* of April first, that Chancellor Heyns "has gone fishing." On the morning of the rally the administration suspended its permission; but, as the *Daily Californian* described it:

An eleventh hour compromise later yesterday afternoon averted a major confrontation between the University administration and a broad-base coalition of campus radical organizations over the temporary suspension of a controversial meeting. . . . At 3 p.m. yesterday, Executive Vice Chancellor Earl F. Cheit issued a statement listing five requirements that Tri-Con had agreed to meet. He said these were to help insure that the meeting would be "a purely educational and intellectual activity to shed more light on the war in Vietnam."

The "intellectual activity" was described in the *San Francisco Examiner* of April second:

All six speakers in Pauley Ballroom — which was decorated by a large handmade N.L.F. [Vietcong] flag — expressed admiration for the Viet Cong and repugnance for the U.S. government. A crowd of about 800, including many students, cheered and applauded whenever the Tet offensive, described repeatedly as a Viet Cong victory, was mentioned.

The shedding of light was done by such objective scholars as Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Communist Black Panther Party; Marxist agitator Mario Savio; avowed Communist Pete Camejo; Red organizer John Roemer of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party; and Nguyen van Luy, a spokesman for the

Vietcong. The U.C. Three-Step worked once again, and, after the Communist rally was over, the administration did nothing to punish those who violated its "conditions."

The crowning achievement of last spring's revolutionary activities was to be a Vietnam Commencement in which faculty supporters of Campus Draft Opposition would stage a mock graduation ceremony in honor of those students who had signed pledge cards to refuse military service. Approximately two hundred faculty members had also signed pledges to help draft-dodgers with financial aid and counseling. Thirty percent of the senior men signed the Campus Draft Opposition pledge, and the C.D.O. had the support of the University's Chancellor, Roger Heynes.

When the legal counsel of the Board of Regents said this might involve a violation of federal law, the University told the C.D.O. it could not hold the commencement. Then (here it comes—one, two, three . . . cha cha cha) the University turned around and issued a permit for the same group to hold a Vietnam "rally" and gave them use of the Sproul Hall steps instead of the Greek Theater. Campus Draft Opposition then held the exact program which it had originally planned, and even used an already-printed program for the occasion. By a slight change in semantics (changing the word *commencement* to *rally*) the administration again surrendered to the Communists and their supporters. The faculty organizer and Master of Ceremonies for the affair was, of course, Comrade Professor Leon Wofsy.

The people of California, incidentally, pay Comrade Professor Wofsy the sum of \$30,000 per year—the same salary as that received by a U.S. Congressman—to carry on his activities at Berkeley.

This year's *cause célèbre* for the revolutionaries is the Eldridge Cleaver is-

sue. Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Communist Black Panthers, is teaching a course at Berkeley in "racism." His academic credentials are somewhat lacking, but his credentials as a criminal are absolutely professional—including convictions on narcotics charges, rape, and assault with a deadly weapon. He is currently charged with the attempted murder of two Oakland policemen.

Once again, the U.C. Three-Step is in motion. First the administration said that it would not provide classroom facilities — and then relented. But, it said, there would be no academic credit for the course — and then it dumped the issue in the hands of the Regents.* The Regents, admitting that they will do almost anything to avoid a repeat of the Free Speech confrontation, postponed judgment on giving credit for the Cleaver course until a later date.†

The radical students are openly practicing confrontation politics, the Academic Senate is covertly practicing negotiation politics, and the Regents are practicing procrastination politics. Meanwhile, the Reds run the University of California at Berkeley.

VI

THE ULTIMATE goal of the Berkeley Communists, and of those at every other major American university, is to make the campus a completely autonomous enclave which can be used as a base and staging ground for revolutionary operations. This situation is already in existence in many South American countries where students store weapons and make forays into the community, yet are immune from arrest by law enforcement authorities upon return to the campus. The campus is a sanctuary

*The Regents are appointed to sixteen-year terms by the Governor and theoretically run the University.

†One brave Regent left the room ostensibly to go to the bathroom before a recent vote on the Cleaver question and never returned.

where the police have no authority.

To a large extent this has already been accomplished at Berkeley, from which the attacks on the Oakland Induction Center were organized and launched, and where classroom facilities are used by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party to conduct courses in Marxism-Leninism. The Berkeley administration officially recognizes as legitimate campus organizations such subversive groups as the Communist Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Party Forum, S.D.S., the Tricontinental Congress, the Communist W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the Communist Young Socialist Alliance, and at least a dozen other Marxist-Leninist groups. The students are aiming at running the campus themselves through these New Left groups and turning the school into what they call a "free university." Already, Berkeley police are forbidden to arrest revolutionaries on the campus without specific permission of the administration.

Actually the confrontation so feared by the Regents is the only way to solve the problem at Berkeley. Law enforcement personnel close to the scene believe that by removing three hundred of the most radical professors, and expelling a thousand student activists, the University of California at Berkeley could be restored to an institution of higher learning. But, a successful confrontation would require a united front composed of the Regents, the administration, and the taxpayers. As of now, the revolutionaries know they are dealing with weaklings.

The situation is serious. As Professor Hardin Jones maintains, the Berkeley campus has become the first Marxist university in the United States:

The University of California at Berkeley is annually turning out more genuine committed revolutionaries than were previously produced by the

Communist Party in the whole nation. I estimate we are turning out more Communist revolutionaries than we are engineers. They are going to have a terrible effect on society. A lot of them are going into teaching. It's beginning to show.

Indicative of how important exporting revolutionary activists can be is the fact that one of the faculty leaders during the Columbia rebellion was Serge Lange. During the previous year, Lange had been on the Berkeley faculty working closely in the mathematics department with Stephen Smale. Comrade Professor Smale is one of the leaders of the Marxist-Leninists on the Berkeley faculty and began his career as a member of the Labor Youth League, successor to the Young Communist League, while a student at the University of Michigan. By amazing coincidence, Smale was at Columbia visiting his old colleague, Serge Lange, when the revolt occurred. His job apparently accomplished, Lange is now back at Berkeley.

Obviously, Berkeley is the key.

New Left conventions regularly feature workshops conducted by former Berkeley students on how to capture a university. All over the country, timid administrators are giving in to student demands rather than face what happened at Berkeley or Columbia. Students are learning that the way to get what they want is to make threats. They are learning that the law of the jungle applies in the halls of ivy. Those who believe that all progress comes through the threat of violence are able to point to concession after concession as justification for their acts.

"Power comes out of the barrel of a gun," according to Mao Tse-tung, and every time a campus administrator knuckles under to a small, but tough, group of student Marxist-Leninists, thousands more students become convinced that Mao is correct. ■■