

SLATE*

**SUPPLEMENT
REPORT**

**Fifteen Cents
Volume I Number IV**

EDITOR'S NOTE

The SLATE SUPPLEMENT is published five times a year. Two issues supplement the General Catalogue, providing information about courses and teachers. The other issues are open to any articles on higher education, ranging in scope from teaching practices to the call for revolution in this issue. These signed statements represent the views of their author, and not necessarily the views of the editors. Those of the editors are expressed in signed editorials. Occasionally we hope to supplement the Daily Californian by printing on-campus news that would otherwise not become common knowledge.

The SLATE SUPPLEMENT's devotion to controversy about education is, to our knowledge, unique among college publications. No manuscript is turned down out of hand. We are particularly eager to have continuing discussions of any topic on which we have published a contraversial position.

Phil Roos,
editor

A LETTER TO UNDERGRADUATES

from Brad Cleaveland

Dear Undergraduates,

On May 13, 1963, SLATE published the "Cal Reporter," a newspaper which charged this University with a total failure to educate undergraduates. The paper said that the University pushed the myth that you, as undergraduates, are "training for leadership," when in reality you are training for obedience; that you leave the University with a basic suspicion for intellectuals, and fear of the kinds of thought necessary for you to meet the 20th century world-in-revolution. The theme of a quote from Bertrand Russell ran through the paper:

"We are faced with the paradoxical fact that education has become one of the chief obstacles of intelligence and freedom of thought."

This is not a minor charge. The charges were clearly focused upon your situation as an undergraduate, and not the graduate schools. The response to the newspaper was astonishing. The Daily Cal made the coy comment that SLATE had again emerged like a "grouchy bear," but that it offered no "constructive solutions." This casual and inappropriate response represented the views of a great many of you, and your professors, and administrators. But those charges were not minor, they were seriously radical, and for the Daily Cal to suggest that we all sit around picking our noses while asking for "constructive solutions" is astonishing!! If the rising waters of a flood threaten to immerse you in death and suffocation, it would be more than ridiculous to reflect on "constructive solutions." Or:

THERE IS NO BLUEPRINT FOR AN EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION!!!

It was like this: on the one hand there was substantial agreement that the University stamps out consciousness like a super-madison-avenue-machine; on the other, people saying, "So what?" or "Bring me a detailed and exhaustive plan." But there is no plan for kicking twenty thousand people IN THEIR ASSES! No plan will stop excessive greed, timidity, and selling out. At best the University is a pathway to the club of "tough-minded-liberal-realists" in America, who sit in comfortable armchairs talking radical while clutching hysterically at respectability in a world explosive with revolution. At worst the University destroys your desires to see reality, and to suffer reality with optimism, at the time when you most need to learn that painful art. In between those two poles is mostly garbage: Bus Ad; PhD candidates "on the make"; departmental enclaves of "clever and brilliant" students who will become hack critics; and thousands of trainees for high class trades which will become obsolete in ten years.

Dear undergraduate, let me make this crystal clear for you. There is a contrast which exists on this campus between the common (and sometimes beautiful) illusions which we have all had, and what actually happens! . . . a gap which seems to be reaching catastrophic proportions. I will offer two sets of utterly obvious facts to show you that a violent contrast does exist; and that the University is a grotesque perversion of the conditions necessary for your freedom to learn reality and to suffer it with optimism. The first set of facts is your Charter Day Ceremony, the second, is the essentials of your undergraduate routine--a grotesque perversion of your freedom to learn.

YOUR UNDERGRADUATE ROUTINE

The Cal Reporter's charges were that the routine life of the University is destructive of anything we know of educational tradition: especially at the level where we might reasonably expect to see painstaking efforts to give mass education its highest expression -- at your level as undergraduate. In the place of such efforts, your routine is comprised of a systematic psychological and spiritual brutality inflicted by a faculty of "well-meaning and nice" men who have decided that your situation is hopeless when it comes to actually participating in serious learning. As an undergraduate you receive a four year long series of sharp staccatos: eight semesters, forty courses, one hundred twenty or more units, fifteen hundred to two thousand impersonal lectures, and over three hundred oversized "discussion" meetings. Approaching what is normally associated with learning; reading, writing, and exams, your situation becomes absurd. Over a period of four years you receive close to fifty bibliographies, ranging in length from one to eight pages, you are examined on more than one hundred occasions, and you are expected to write forty to seventy-five papers. As you well know, reading means "getting into" hundreds of books, many of which are secondary sources, in a superficial manner. You must cheat to keep up. If you don't cheat you are forced to perform without time to think in depth, and consequently you must hand in papers and exams which are almost as shameful as the ones you've cheated on. You repeat to yourselves over and over as an undergraduate that "It doesn't make any difference...it's the grade that counts,"...a threadbare and worn phrase (if you are lucky enough to make it to the third or fourth year); used as commonly as your word "regurgitation" in place of "exam." You know the measure of truth in those bits of slang: it is nauseous...you almost do "puke up your work" to professors. I personally have known students who have gotten physically sick by merely reflecting upon their routine. In the sciences and technical fields your courses are bluntly and destructively rigorous. you become impatient with "that social sciences and humanities crap." How did you get to be such puppets? You perform. But when do you think? Dutifully and obediently you follow, as a herd of grade worshipping sheep. If you are strong at all, you do this with some sense of shame, or if you are weak, you do it with a studied cynicism...as jaded youth with parched imaginations that go no further than oak-panelled rooms at the end of the line...**BUT WHETHER YOU ARE STRONG OR WEAK YOU PERFORM LIKE TRAINED SEALS, AND LIKE SHEEP YOU FOLLOW...WITH THE THOROUGHbred PHIBETA KAPPA SHEEP LEADING YOU!** up the golden stairway to the omnipotent A, to the Happy Consciousness, to success, and a very parochial mind. This is the core of your dutiful daily lives, and your homage to respectability. Reluctantly, or otherwise, you permit it to be applied by administrators who use computers on you as much because they are afraid of personal contact with you as for the

reason that they wish to keep the assembly line moving efficiently. You permit professors to extract your performance by the coercion of grades. Why do you permit this apostasy of learning...a process which prevents you from extending your thought beyond a shallow diletantism?

IF THE FACTS OF YOUR UNDERGRADUATE EXISTENCE WERE SOLELY DETERMINED BY THE "COURSE/GRADE/UNIT SYSTEM," YOUR "INCIPIENT REVOLT," TO WHICH PRESIDENT KERR HIMSELF IRRESPONSIBLY ALLUDED IN THE GODKIN LECTURES, WOULD PROBABLY HAVE ALREADY OCCURED."*

The reason why you permit, dear undergraduate, your minds to be abused, is because you are given a magnificent bread and circus. What a pain reliever! ...these "extra-curricular" activities. Coming to you from your ASUC student "government," other special bureaucracies such as the Committee on Arts and Lectures, and added to by more intellectual offerings from departmental and special grants lecture series, comes a semesterly tidal wave of exciting and highly intense stimuli which dazzles you away from the fact that you are obstructed from learning, or even questioning whether you should be learning while you are here. This bread and circus assures you that the world is really not in the midst of anything so serious as revolution, much less within your own sacred borders!! From the powerfully entertaining to the scholastically intellectual you get films, debates, art exhibits, athletics, drama, "spirit" groups, recreation, seductions of hundreds of social groups; this pyrotechnical explosion of Kultur is something terribly "other directed"; happily away from your puppet-like performance in the course/grade/unit procedural core. Your attention is diverted away from your treadmill to the candied goodness of the bread and circus. Hopefully, when you get your bachelor's degree, you will step up to higher plateaus where many kinds of "success" await you. You are blinded to the fact that you are really getting something of terrible importance while you are here:

TRAINING IN THE CAPACITY FOR UNQUESTIONING OBEDIENCE TO A COMPLEX FLOOD OF TRIVIAL BUREAUCRATIC RULES. IN THE NAME OF HUMAN LEARNING YOU ACQUIRE THE CAPACITY TO BE DOCILE IN THE FACE OF RULES. WHILE YOU ARE TRAINING, THE RULES WHICH TELL YOU HOW TO GO ABOUT YOUR TRAINING ARE DISPLACING YOUR FREEDOM TO THINK...SKILL AND OBEDIENCE ARE WHAT YOU ACQUIRE.

Aren't you the least bit aware that such a capacity is not only necessary for life in America's giant public and private corporations, but that it is also a first class ticket to a traditional form of statehood under the designation of tyranny? No matter how well trimmed you keep your grassy lawns in suburbia after you get your bachelor's degree, your moral and spiritual servitude will

* "There is an incipient revolt of undergraduate students against the faculty; the revolt that used to be against the faculty in loco parentis is now against the faculty in absentia," from page 103 of *The Uses of the University*, Harvard, 1963 (Godkin Lectures given in 1963 at Harvard.) Kerr's comments throughout the book on higher education are made from the vantage point of a sort of disinterested observer, as though the President was not talking about his own "Multiversity," or as though he was really nothing more than a bureaucrat-employee of the Regents. Or, as Kerr himself puts it, "...he is mostly a mediator," on page 36.

not be reduced. If you have attended a Charter Day ceremony, and can recall the feelings you had, you might feel the temptation to say that it is this indictment which is grotesque, and not the University...but you are the University... it is your life I have described in its essentials.

Has it ever occurred to you, dear undergraduate, that human learning is a painful and exhilarating process which comes from asking the kinds of questions which YOU would like to ask: "WHY AM I IN THE UNIVERSITY? WHAT IS KNOWLEDGE? WHAT IS EXTREMISM, AFTER ALL, AND HOW DOES POLITICAL EXTREMISM AFFECT ME? In your present situation, if you insisted on ...now listen...if you insisted on the freedom to spend large amounts of time in a single-minded devotion to pursuing such questions, you would soon begin to feel rather out of it...you would be a kook. Any question of a fundamental, or a general character; or any question which hits you personally in a deep way, can only be considered naive and stupid. Can you conceive of taking any such question and studying, talking, and reading about it for an entire semester -- free of any other requirement -- or for an entire year, or even more time? Without interference, but only earnest guidance from "teachers?" Or is it that you must always attend to that "other" paper, the "midterm next week," or the "reading in another course?" Or is it that you do this half the time and say to hell with it the rest of the time: go to an art film, or to Strawberry Canyon, or to an exciting lecture for a one night stand on the topic of Western Civilization?

Dear undergraduate, you know what really happens to you. You almost don't have to be told. It is as though the BENEFACTORS OF THE FRUITS OF LEARNING said to you, "Here, take this beautiful piece of fruit...", and you do, and you try to take a bite, when "STOP!!," you are being offered another piece of fruit, another, and then another. At the same time, before you really begin to taste and speculate about the taste of any one piece of fruit, your FRUIT BENEFACTORS, and FRUIT BENEFACTORS' ASSISTANTS, are demanding that you describe in detail the intricate beauty of each piece; they become impatient if you do not describe the fruit "properly," and they penalize you for thoughtful slowness by calling it stupidity, and by lowering your respectability rating. Most of you learn to hate the fruits of learning. But there are a few of you -- the "clever and brilliant" -- (preferably transfers from the Ivy League), who learn in a terrific quickness, to take quick little bites from the large and beautiful fruits and then furiously hurl them as far away as possible. You clever ones learn to devour the small fruits of skill and training; those fruits are your "security insurance" in life, or perhaps you think they will lead you later to an XKE and sexy-intelligent-wife-in-silk-dress. You perform your tricks well: smiling up at your benefactors and saying "delicious....excellent!"

CHARTER DAY

It is the Charter Day ceremony in which your illusions achieve their most refined expression. In this ceremony there are loud pronouncements of University intentions. The University is portrayed as a great champion and advocate of the noble aim of education for all. The ceremony leaves the impression that the University of California not only provides training; that it not only provides for economic ascent, but that it goes much further by providing something more fundamental and ennobling under the designation of education. The University claims to "produce" enlightened citizens with a

heightened awareness of the moral, philosophical, and spiritual values of civilized life. All of the accoutrements of glory are present in this state-wide celebration: solemn music, processions, colorful robes, and impressive ritual. Attended by thousands of students, a well-polished public with many celebrities, and with major national and international press coverage, the ceremony is elevating and beautiful. The speeches are confident gestures of power and rather traditional majesty. The overall purpose of the ceremony is a peculiar mixture of exaltation of statesmen, educators, and education. The podium is always shared by President Kerr with figures such as Stevenson, U Thant, and Kennedy. The University is placed proudly in the widest context -- the world -- unashfully professing itself as a benefactor of free thought, intelligence, and the search for wisdom. The University is seen as playing a major role in the creation of world centers of learning, as well as continuing the rich tradition of education in the Western world. If you have attended this ceremony, you might easily have been overcome with the feeling that only detractors and scoffers of the worst sort would dare criticize such a "Citadel of Learning."

But SLATE did criticize; the indictment implied that the Charter Day ceremony is an unmerciful sham; an example of unparalleled demagoguery. And many of you who have been elevated by Charter Day agreed with the Cal Reporter's charges...as did the Daily Cal, by implication, when it blandly fretted that no constructive solutions had been offered. Why the confusion; and why did the Daily Cal have such a posture? In order to answer this I will turn to the other of the "two sets of utterly obvious facts" I said I would use to prove that a violent contrast exists on this campus.

DEAR UNDERGRADUATES!!

I am no longer interested in cajoling you, arguing with you, or describing, to you something you already know. What I am about to say to you at this point concerns you more directly. I will entreat you to furiously throw your comforting feelings of duty and responsibility for this institution to the winds and act on your situation. This institution, affectionately called "Cal" by many of you, or, as the Daily Cal might put it, "the Big U," does not deserve a response of loyalty and allegiance from you. There is only one proper response to Berkeley from undergraduates: that you organize and split this campus wide open!

FROM THIS POINT ON, DO NOT MISUNDERSTAND ME. MY INTENTION IS TO CONVINCING YOU THAT YOU DO NOTHING LESS THAN BEGIN AN OPEN, FIERCE, AND THOROUGHGOING REBELLION ON THIS CAMPUS.

I would like to briefly explain to you now why such a course of action is necessary, and how, if such a revolt were conducted with unrelenting toughness and courage, it could spread to other campuses across the country and cause a fundamental change in your own futures.

I have used the phrase "world-in-revolution" several times to this point. I would like to say to you now that most of you are incompetent to deal with that phrase. It is a phrase which betrays a distinct view of reality...a view of reality out of which might grow an effective "opposition" in the present American scene where the only opposition seems to be crystallizing along reactionary

lines. "World-in-revolution" is a phrase...a view of reality which contains a large measure of truth, one which is certainly debatable. BUT IT IS NOT DEBATED BY YOU. The catastrophic gap between the incubator world of your Multiversity, and the the world of reality is represented by your ignorance of what "world-in-revolution" means. The University teaches you to bury your heads in the sand, trembling in ignorance of the American black revolution for Civil Rights, the impending revolution in Automation, and likewise in ignorance of political revolutions, which, like thunderclapping salvos, explode the world over. The Multiversity is the slickest appeal ever made for you to fortify your organization man mentalities, for you to lead privatized lives in which it is a virtue for you to go greedily "on the make." In urging you to rebellion, I have action in mind, not further understanding. What more is there to understand when you can so easily discover that a Peace-Corpsman who left Cal is now living in Nigeria in a separate small house with the conveniences of suburban America, plus two houseboys, and that a young girl Civil Rights worker from the Bay Area who goes to Mississippi lives in abject poverty with a family of eleven black American citizens, in a shack with no running water, with lice, with rats, and in constant fear for her life?

In this Multiversity, you will not learn so much as a cursory meaning of what a world-in-revolution means to you. You will not learn the utterly profound fact of what a revolution is:

THAT A REVOLUTION COMES ABOUT WHEN ENORMOUS NUMBERS OF FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS ARE OPPRESSED TO POINTS FAR BEYOND WHAT WE BLANDLY LABEL AN "INTOLERABLE SET OF CONDITIONS."

Nor will you learn that to be a counter-revolutionary is to go about the business of slaughtering enormous numbers of human beings whose inflamed spirits and starved stomachs force them to cry out for the freedoms which you spit upon in your apathy.

AND YOU WILL LEARN MOST OF ALL NOT TO ENTERTAIN SO MUCH AS THE POSSIBILITY THAT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN KOREA AND SOUTH VIETNAM ARE PRECISELY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ...THAT THE AMERICAN NATION IS INVOLVED IN DESTROYING POPULAR NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS, AND APPEARS TO BE GETTING ITSELF LOCKED MORE AND MORE IN THAT SUICIDAL AND INHUMANE POLICY.

You will learn not to entertain such thoughts, even though such statements have been made on the floor of the U.S. Senate (by Wayne Morse, U.S. Senator from Oregon), where nobody seems to have taken these fantastic charges seriously. And you will learn not to react when you hear other Americans say "After all, God's on our side, we're savin' those illiterate savages from the Commies, even if we gotta mutilate 'em to do it Goddamit!!!"

You will not learn that, at home, here in the good ole U.S.A., in the Civil Rights Revolution which is now going on, the phrase "white backlash" is the simplest way to say "the bigotry of the majority;" that "white backlash" is a counter-revolutionary phrase, used by "scholars," so-called liberals, advocated by conservatives, or used by anyone else who adopts the hideous posture of "studying," or analyzing the "problem" of the black man in America. Nor will you learn that the real meaning of "white backlash" is "Don't bug me

nigger...you're buggin' me with that civil disobedience...now stop that or we'll show you who has the tear gas, cattle prods, and shotguns!!"

Is it really necessary for thirty thousand black and white Americans to march up Telegraph Avenue to Bancroft Way, many of them fellow students, chanting for the rights of black Americans, before you see the contrast between your world of Oskie Dolls, fraternity boys on drunken weekend blasts where alcohol is transformed from joy into arrogance, and cute Daily Cal stories on Ludwig? How long will it take you to see the meaning of a casual remark I heard recently: "The fraternity system is to education as the South is to the United States?"

Is this too simplistic a view of your lot as undergraduates? You might say in protest that only a few students are in the ASUC "government" of political castrates, who think they are training for leadership; that the Daily Cal is merely a handful of sell-outs "going on the make" in that jaded commercial enterprise called the press, which is owned in large part by the Regents of this University. You might say that many students scorn the old "Saturday virtues" of beer cans and bermudas, along with the peculiar fraternity brand of the little-marlbora-man complex. "It's all on the way out," you might say, "we're growin' up...our answers are 'blowin on the wind.'" Really? Will you say that? Then I say to you, what about the dormitory undergraduates? Last year the Regents arrogantly denied some dorm students permission to set up a small campus radio station. No pretenses...the Regents simply said that dorm "boys" were incapable of responsibility in the matter and incompetent to use the airways. Kerr's whimpering protest to the Regents took the disgusting form of publicly saying that the boys were merely "engineering types," who only wished to express their tinkering mentality. Two SLATE students came to the side of the engineers in a Daily Cal letter. Do you recall how those virile young American engineering students responded to the whole affair? THEY AGREED WITH THE REGENTS AND KERR!!

Proceed. You might say that there are many students who do not live in organized living groups; that the independents are more mature. I will concede this point, but only if you agree that you are judging by mere appearances. For it is true that in the realm of what may only be called social "style," the independent who has broken ties with organized living has taken a slight step forward. After all, some of them even look European! The Jean-Paul Belmondo coolness, the stylized life of the terribly cosmopolitan Terrace, and all the rest. Of course, the majority of independents have little or no politics, and where it really counts -- that puppet-like performance for grades, that scramble after grades and respectability -- they do the same as the rest of you.

Regarding the radicals, those who are now going to jail in the Civil Rights Revolution: they are beginning to learn what the world-in-revolution means. I would make only one irreverent comment to them. They shouldn't bitch because the whole campus doesn't go to jail with them: because they are the real leaders on the campus, and yet while on the campus they too become sheep. They take the flunkings of professors who penalize them for attending a San Francisco court, rather than a Berkeley class; the same professors who donate money to the Civil Rights fight as long as it stays three thousand miles away in the South.

The only large group of student I personally respect, other than the Freedom Fighters, are the drop-outs. Ignominious lot! What a fate...that one would be

forced to give up that little registration card with respectability written all over it! This "Hidden Community" of unseemly hangers-on in Berkeley now numbers in the thousands. Those most bugged by this "element" are the ASUC types. They screech, "You can't even tell them from students sometimes (although some are very dirty)..and they're using our student union!" If they have flunked out (or dropped out) of the University how can they deserve respect? Well...if I thought it was a virtue to perform like sheep I wouldn't be urging revolt. The fact is that these students are the real ones. Many have had the guts to cut their social umbilical cords, become genuinely free, and to begin coughing up their own mistakes. They don't take the fatal step which the Cowell Psychiatric Clinic calls "regressive:" which means to go back to Mama, or, God forbid, to a Junior College. They face life in its own terms, and many do something rather shocking around Berkeley: they learn to read a book. And I might add that many of them are also Freedom Fighters. (Incidentally, do you know the latest figures? According to Cowell, close to fifty percent of those of you who are graced with the mantle of "Freshman at Cal," are eliminated by the end of the third year).

Are you aware that the most salient characteristic of the "Multiversity" is massive production of specialized excellence? SPECIALIZED EXCELLENCE. It will be some time before machines will displace the super-trades; thus massive training centers are necessary. But why do we insist upon calling them educational centers rather than training centers?

THE MULTIVERSITY IS NOT AN EDUCATIONAL CENTER, BUT A HIGHLY EFFICIENT INDUSTRY: IT PRODUCES BOMBS, OTHER WAR MACHINES, A FEW TOKEN "PEACEFUL" MACHINES, AND ENORMOUS NUMBERS OF SAFE, HIGHLY SKILLED, AND RESPECTABLE AUTOMATONS TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.

We all know that this is necessary to some extent for the maintenance of "American know-how;" otherwise the system would collapse and anarchy would reign, etc. But the forbidden fruit is to ask the devastating question WHY? WHY ONLY KNOW-HOW? Or is it that we wish to produce the largest populaion ever known to man of highly skilled idiots? We may safely say that graduate schools should perform the function of training for specialized excellence...but even then not exclusively. And if you will recall, we are discussing the matter of undergraduate freedom to learn. What has occurred when undergraduate education is eradicated; whether it be for the excuse of "too many students," or "exploding knowledge," or in the name of political expedience during the "Cold War?"

WHEN THIS OCCURS IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES, THE RESULT IS ABANDONMENT OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT IN WHICH THE RADICAL PROPOSITION OF EDUCATION FOR ALL IS THE CENTRAL AXIOM.

Dear undergraduate, your "learning" has come to an impasse. Below the level of formal responsibility (the Regents, President, and Chancellors), THE Academic Senate (the faculty) itself is guilty of a massive and disastrous default. It is said that the Regents have given to the faculty the power and responsibility to deal with your learning. To put it mildly, the Academic Senate has turned that power and responsibility into a sham, an unused fiction. If this be true, then who is responsible for seeing to it that the faculty do something? We can cancel out President Kerr: he has already admitted publicly

that he is incompetent to attend to the matter of undergraduate learning. That takes us back up the bureaucratic ladder again...do you know what the phrase "The Regents of the University of California" means? Following is the meaning of that phrase:

Eward CARTER: Chairman of the Board of Regents, Director, Broadway-Hale Retail Stores, Northrup Aircraft, Pacific Tel & Tel, and First Western Bank; Dorothy CHANDLER: Director, L.A. Times, and wife of Norman CHANDLER of the Southern California News Publishing empire; William COBLENTZ: Corporation Lawyer, San Francisco; Frederick DUTTON: U.S. Assistant Secretary of State; Mrs. William Randolph HEARST: ("Housewife"), of the Hearst national newspaper empire; Mrs. Edward HELLER: ("Housewife"), widow and heir to Edward HELLER, Director, Permanente Cement, Wells Fargo Bank, Schwabacher & Fry partner, and Pacific Intermountain Express; William E. FORBES: Southern California Music Company; Lawrence KENNEDY: Attorney, Redding, California, (just prior to Mr. Kennedy's appointment as a Regent, it was strongly urged that it might be appropriate to appoint an educator to the Board of Regent); Donald H. MC LAUGHLIN: ("Mining Geologist"), Director, Homestake Mining Company, one of the largest gold mining operations in the world, recent interests in Uranium mining, Director, Western Airlines, American Trust, and a Peruvian copper mining operation; Samuel MOSHER: Director, Signal Gas & Oil, and Long Beach Oil Development Company, which was accused publicly a few months ago, by Lt. Governor Glenn Anderson, of trying to wrest public control of a recently discovered state owned oil field off Long Beach with a projected worth of over 3 billion...enough to shake up the world market and give California Petroleum men a virtual monopoly; Edwin PAULEY: Director, Pauley Oil, Western Airlines; William Matson ROTH: U.S. Special Deputy for Trade Relations, Director, National Life Insurance, Matson Shipping, Honolulu Oil, Pacific Intermountain Express; Norton SIMON: Director, Hunt Foods, Mc Calls, Wesson Oil & Snowdrift, and also "Land Developer;" Phillip BOYD: former mayor of Palm Springs, Director, Deep Canyon Properties, Security National Bank; John CANADAY: Vice President, Lockheed Aircraft, Director, Corporate Public Relations, Lockheed Aircraft; and Regent number sixteen on our list is the one and only representative of organized labor (the most reactionary element in labor at that): Cornelius HAGGERTY: President, Construction and Building Trades Council, AFL-CIO.

In these men you find substantial ownership and control of the vital raw materials and service industries in the West: Communications, the Press, Television, Air and Surface Transportation, Fuel, and Finance; virtually enough power to make or break five governors and ten university presidents. The Board members are appointed for terms of sixteen years by the Governor. There are also ex-officio members, ONE OF WHOM IS AN EDUCATOR: Clark Kerr. I would like to ask you to think for a moment about the "public" character of these men. In the first place, who even knows them?...except a few of us who are aware that they are "famous" or "very wealthy men." What do they do? AND WHY? FOR WHOSE INTEREST?

Dear undergraduate, there is perhaps no other set of questions, in the political realm, of greater importance for you. Let us return for a moment to the matter of who is responsible for your freedom to learn. As I said a moment ago, the Regents have delegated power and responsibility to the Aca-

demie Senates of the eight campuses. Let us just call the Academic Senate the "Faculty," which is the automatic membership of the Senate. At any rate, there is something terribly wrong here. If we assume that the faculty is incompetent to effect the necessary changes, then it would seem of the greatest urgency that the Regents themselves do something to correct the situation. If the Regents do not act, then we must conclude that they are (1) satisfied; or (2) incompetent; or (3) both. Two things are certain: (1) as corporate men of power, the Regents are getting precisely what they most desire -- enormous numbers of highly skilled graduates to fill the corporate structure and to keep it running smoothly; (2) IT IS DEBATABLE, from their own point of view, whether the Regents would find it practical to "educate" these skilled people as well as to train them. Why? To put the answer very crudely: the Regents, who run private corporations, just as the politicians who run public corporations, desire highly skilled, but politically and economically dumb "personnel." The politicians have, of course, even made laws to that effect...in the form of such legislation as the Hatch Act, which forbids partisan politics in government bureaucracies. Consequently, if the faculty refuses to face the problem of educating undergraduates, but instead is encouraged, and agrees, to make only piecemeal reform which only slightly lessens pressures in some areas while making them more severe in other areas, the Regents might be said to be very happy with such a course of action...in fact that is what they are doing. The course/grade/unit system will probably be "adjusted," and the bread and circus will become more intense and dazzling: note the priority in the University building program...first you build the Student Union complex, then an auditorium which will be the "largest this side of the Mississippi," and "sometime in the future" will come an undergraduate library. But why do private and public corporate men act this way?

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL, MEN OF POWER HAVE CONSIDERED IT WISE TO KEEP THEIR CONSTITUENTS AT A LEVEL OF IGNORANCE WHEREBY THE PROCESS OF RULING THEM IS MOST EASILY ACCOMPLISHED.

Or are we to entertain the possibility that the Regents have upset the applecart of history? Have they become revolutionaries? It is true that they recently removed the ban on Communist speakers on campus. Of course, they resisted for fifteen years...since the McCarthy era. And during the McCarthy era they were able to force the Academic Senate into adopting a loyalty oath. If you can forgive the faculty of a university for that, you can forgive them for anything. Many professors did not forgive the Senate, however, and resigned. The spine of this faculty, close to forty professors, left in disgust; left scars behind which will never heal. Moreover, what the hell difference does it make whether you hear a communist every year or so. Most of you would laugh at him...like laughing at a movement which involves the entire world! If any one of you wisely decided to study a communist speakers' proposals, to think about them, to read about them seriously, you not only would find it impossible from the standpoint of time, but you would also be considered a heretic by your fellow "students." It is probably accurate to say that the removal of the speaker ban on Communists was a great contribution on the symbolic level...like a Charter Day ceremony. Politically, it was very wise.

Speaking of politics, what relation exists between the University and the U.S. Government? Aside from providing trained personnel for public corporations (agencies, bureaus, etc.) as in private ones, is there as direct a relation be-

tween the University and Government as between the University and the Regents? Yes, it seems that the University, or shall we call a spade a spade -- the Regents -- it seems that the Regents are snuggled up pretty tightly to the seats of power in Washington (though it is difficult to tell who-hugs-who the hardest in Washington):

Item -- from the Cal Reporter, May 13, 1963, "According to the Financial Report of 1961-62, the U.S. Government spent about 227 millions on Special Projects. These included 150 millions for Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (U.C.), 76 millions for Los Alamos Radiation Lab (U.C.). The income for the entire University (eight campuses) excluding these special projects was 250 millions."

Let us summarize for a moment. Your learning opportunities are limited to "getting ahead," or acquiring a skill to do so. You are obstructed from the realities of the twentieth century world-in-revolution. You are left with the conclusion that the Regents are conducting a major love affair with the U.S. Government, both of whom are not particularly anxious to see you "get smart" for fear that you might become radical student politicians. In conducting this love affair with the Government, the Regents have left the matter of "educating" the infant-undergraduate to the adolescent faculty, knowing that they cannot do the job properly. The major implication in all of this is that if you wish to remain infants then you can...but if you wish to deny your infantile character then you must realize that you can't talk to your adolescent baby-sitters, the faculty, about your corrupt daddies, the Regents. The reason is simple: the baby sitters are afraid of their daddies. No.....if you really want to do something then you must stand up straight, like the young men and women you really are, and begin to SPEAK what you feel, to speak loudly, strongly, and to say your highest ideals, your deepest dreams, to pull out all of the stops, to let go and to tell the world...SPEAK TO THE WORLD AND TELL THEM THAT YOU WANT TO LIVE!!!

Have I sufficiently taken care of your objections? If not, chances are that what remains is fear, and that is your problem. If I have taken care of your objections, then you might be asking HOW DO YOU START A REBELLION ON THE CAMPUS? That's a tough one -- and you might have to get tough in order to be heard. You also know that you will need legitimate demands behind your slogans of FREEDOM NOW! THE FREEDOM TO KNOW AND TO LEARN!!

DEMANDS?

1. IMMEDIATE COMMITMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY TO THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE COURSE/GRADE/UNIT SYSTEM OF UNDERGRADUATE LEARNING: IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES.
2. IMMEDIATE DISBANDING OF ALL UNIVERSITY DORM AND LIVING GROUP RULES WHICH PRESCRIBE HOURS AND WHICH PROVIDE FOR A SYSTEM OF STUDENT IMPOSED DISCIPLINE, THEREBY DIVIDING STUDENTS AGAINST THEMSELVES.
3. IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT STUDENT VOICE WHICH IS EFFECTIVE (THAT IS, INDEPENDENT) IN RUNNING UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS.
4. IMMEDIATE EFFORTS TO BEGIN RECRUITMENT OF AN UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING FACULTY TO HANDLE UNDERGRADUATE LEARNING IN

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES.

5. IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING TWO METHODS OF UNDERGRADUATE LEARNING WHICH PROVIDE FOR THE BASIC FREEDOM REQUIRED IN LEARNING:
 - a. A TERMINAL EXAMINATION SYSTEM WHICH WILL BE VOLUNTARY AND AN OPTION WITH "b."
 - b. IMMEDIATE CREATION OF UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS OF A WIDE VARIETY IN WHICH THE STUDENT WILL BE GIVEN CAREFUL, BUT MINIMAL GUIDANCE, WITHOUT COURSES, GRADES, AND UNITS.
6. IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THESE DEMANDS ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS.

Go to the top. Make your demands to the Regents. If they refuse to give you an audience: start a program of agitation, petitioning, rallies, etc., in which the final resort will be CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. In the long run there is the possibility that you will find it necessary to perform civil disobedience at a couple of major University public ceremonies. Depending on the resistance, you might consider adding the following two demands:

7. RESIGNATION OF CLARK KERR. RESIGNATION OF TOP ADMINISTRATORS WHO MIGHT EMPLOY SLICK DIVERTING TACTICS.
8. RECONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS, EITHER THROUGH FIRING OR EXPANSION, PERHAPS BOTH.

If you find such additional demands necessary you are likely to find it necessary to take your demands to Sacramento, where you will get to know such people such as Hale Champion, State Director of Finance, who seems to have a slight distaste for knowledge and sees education in terms of the dollar sign. Or you might get to know Don Moskovitz, an Assistant Press Secretary to Brown and educational advisor. You will find few allies there, with the exception of Thomas Braden. Max Rafferty, of course, is out of the question...would have you all in knickers made of old American flags if he could.

If it is necessary to go this far beyond formal "channels," and if you have the guts to get there, you will begin to learn how tough it is to effect radical change. If the Daily Cal decides to support you at various times along the way (very unlikely), they will be duly chastized by the so-called "Publications Board", and then the students' editors might have the guts to walk out (doubly unlikely). If such a walk out occurs again, as it did a couple of years ago, it might be wise to consider an effective picket to try to keep out the same types of fraternity scabs who took over last time in an action which was traitorous to the undergraduates.

And if you get this far you will also have witnessed nation-wide publicity which will have exposed Berkeley for the undergraduate sham that it is. Not to say that the public in general will feel that way, what with the press "red-baiting" you, but that students all over the country will read between the lines. By this time you may also be able to call for a mass student strike... something which seems unthinkable at present. If a miracle occurs, or two,

you might even get to say that you were the seeds of an educational revolution unlike anything which has ever occurred. Remember one thing:

“The task of genius, and man is nothing if not genius, is to keep the miracle alive, to live always in the miracle, to make the miracle more and more miraculous, to swear allegiance to nothing, but live only miraculously, think miraculously, to die miraculously.”

Henry Miller

PARTICLE

A Journal By and For Science Students

Particle is a medium of communication among science students. By publishing students' work in mathematics and the natural sciences, it enables student readers to discover what other students are doing and thinking, and gives the authors an opportunity to share the products of their original thinking and research. *Particle* is written, edited, and owned by undergraduates and secondary school students.

SCIENCE SYMPOSIUM

write

Particle - Berkeley
Box 937, Berkeley 1,

ADVISORY BOARD

Melvin Calvin (Dept. of Chemistry, Univ. of Calif.)
Rene J. DeVogelare (Dept. of Mathematics, Univ. of Calif.)
Michael Doudoroff (Dept. of Bacteriology, Univ. of Calif.)
A. C. Helmholtz (Dept. of Physics, Univ. of Calif.)
Robley C. Williams (Dept. of Virology, Univ. of Calif.)
Nathan Sugarman (Dept. of Chemistry, Univ. of Chicago)

Particle is owned and published quarterly by PARTICLE, INC.