

# LOOK

25 CENTS • FEBRUARY 23, 1965

THE FBI & ITS FUTURE

BEHIND CALIFORNIA'S  
CAMPUS REVOLT

PROBLEMS IN PARADISE: 10 PAGES ON

# HONOLULU



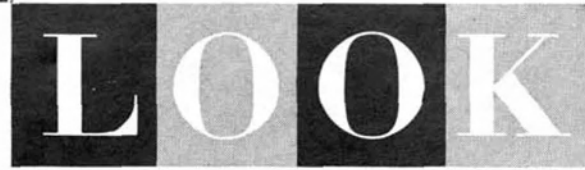
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He came out of the zinc mines of Commerce, Okla., 14 years ago, wearing a straw hat, lugging a four-dollar cardboard suitcase. With pounding, piston legs, violent bat and the hunger to excel, he was that unique phenomenon, an instant star. His knee ligaments are like old elastic now, his torso is weakened, his hamstrings are slack, but his bat and spirit blaze on. For a LOOK exclusive on a great Yankee, turn to Mickey Mantle: Oklahoma to Olympus, pages 70-75.

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INCORPORATING COLLIER'S

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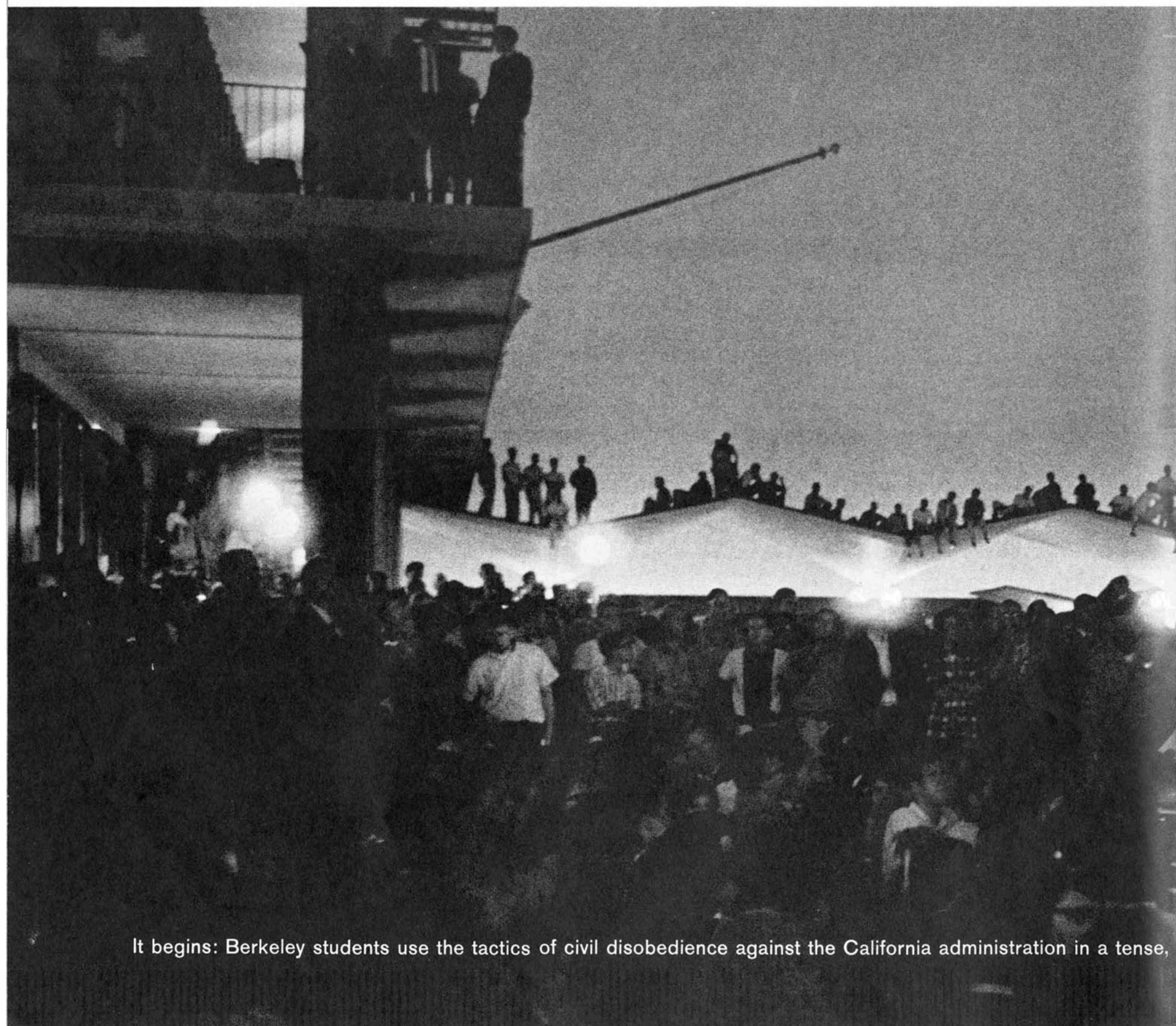
# *The California uprising*

The University of California dominates the most ambitious system of schools and colleges any state government has yet offered its people. California's five-year-old Master Plan for Higher Education guarantees college, tuition-free, to every high-school graduate in the state who wants it. Only the elite—the top eighth of the class—can apply to the nine campuses of the university. Others in the top third can attend one of 18 state colleges. For the rest, there are 73 two-year junior colleges. Nobody is left out, unless he wants to be.

One result: The state is rich. (California has created one of

every six new American jobs in the last five years.) Money follows brains, and in an age shaped by science and technology, the California coast is the brains center of the world. "Education now serves the economy and the broad society which supports it to an extent unprecedented in history," University of California President Clark Kerr has said. Kerr has even given a name to this giant new servant of society. He calls it the multiversity.

With more than 71,000 full-time students and 120,000 more in extension courses, California's multiversity affects the life of every-



It begins: Berkeley students use the tactics of civil disobedience against the California administration in a tense,

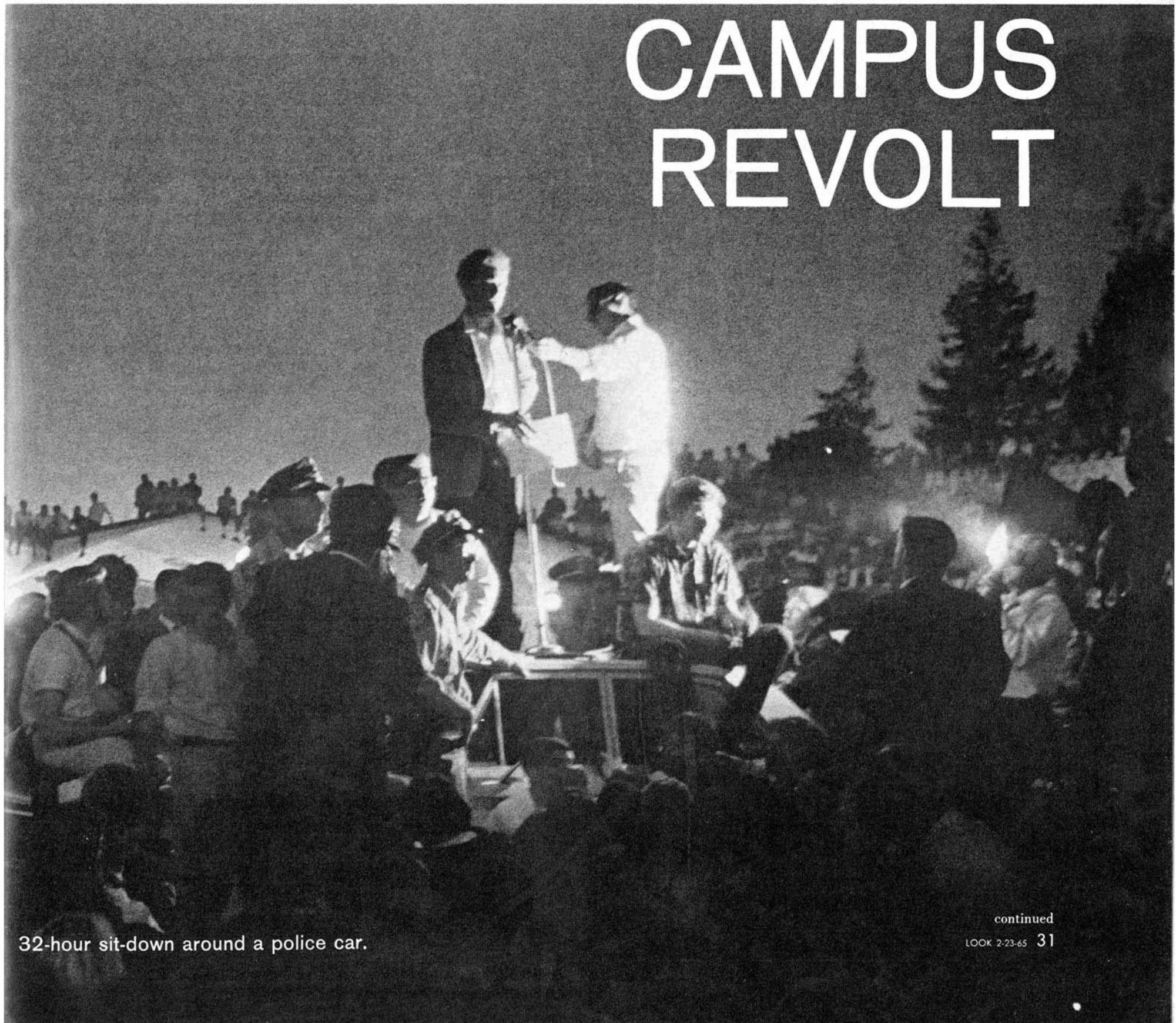


one in the state—and many outside. Its researchers have invented a better tomato; its physicists run two of the nation's nuclear-weapons labs, Los Alamos and Livermore; its planners are shaping an entire new city around a future campus south of Los Angeles. The multiversity plans to spend some \$657,000,000 in the coming school year, over half of it in Federal contracts and grants.

Yet at its heart, any educational enterprise must be measured by a moment of communion between teacher and student. Recent events have exposed a serious flaw in the

heart of the multiversity. In September, thousands of students at its flagship campus, Berkeley, began to defy university officials with sit-ins, classroom strikes and almost daily demonstrations. They said they were fighting for "free speech," that the administration should let them use the campus for social and political action. But behind their assault on authority, as the following stories reveal, lie deeper implications that no parent, student or educator can ignore.

# BEHIND THE CAMPUS REVOLT



32-hour sit-down around a police car.

continued

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# CAMPUS REVOLT

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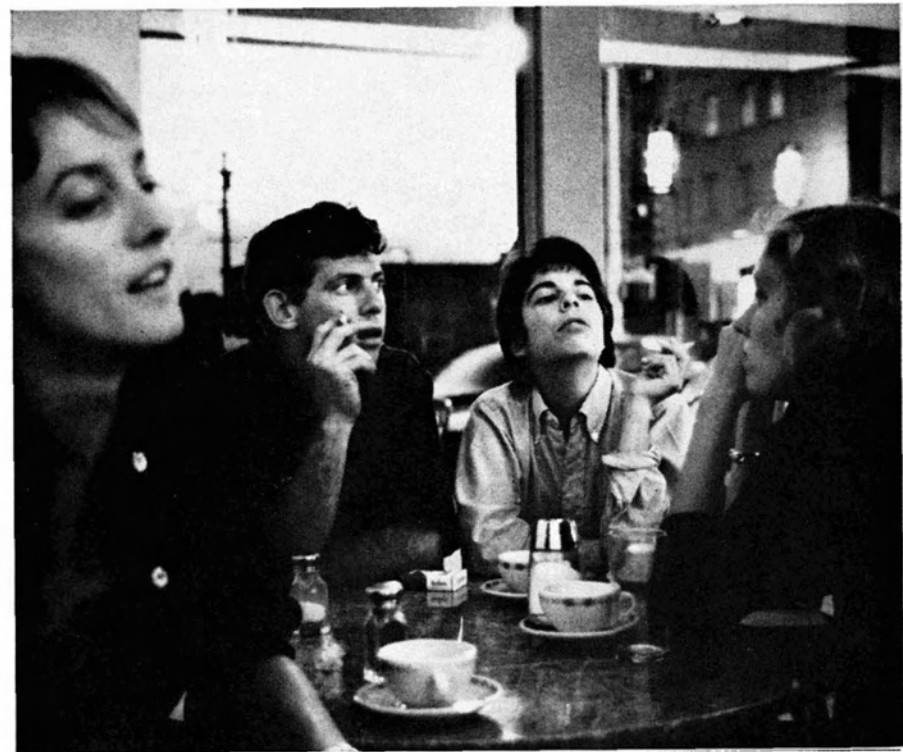
*Impatient for change, they demand action*

Last December 4, some 9,000 of Berkeley's 27,500 students skipped classes to protest the arrest of 779 "Free Speech Movement" sit-ins on campus the night before. San Francisco newspapers had been implying for two months that the uprising was the work of a "small minority" of "hard-core" demonstrators influenced by off-campus radicals. But by the new year, the aims—if not all the disruptive tactics—of the FSM had support from most students and a majority of Berkeley's expensive faculty.

"We are trying to bring the human element back into our education," says Michael Rossman, a first-year mathematics graduate student who started as an observer, but quickly became a leader in the revolt. He articulates a suspicion now flourishing among students at Berkeley and elsewhere: that the multiversity is so obedient to the economy and the society that it cannot truly *educate* undergraduates. "It is producing neatly turned components for the big machine outside, not individual, thinking people."

Like many of today's student leaders, Rossman has spent time trying to clog the machine, on picket lines for civil rights, against capital punishment and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. But this year, he had hoped to withdraw from the front lines to work quietly into the night with his math, to translate the Spanish poetry he loves, to practice on his baroque recorder. For a few weeks at the beginning of the term, he managed it all, plus instructing a Peace Corps unit and helping teach a statistics course. "So few people do *anything*," Rossman shrugs, "that they're amazed by someone who does a little bit."

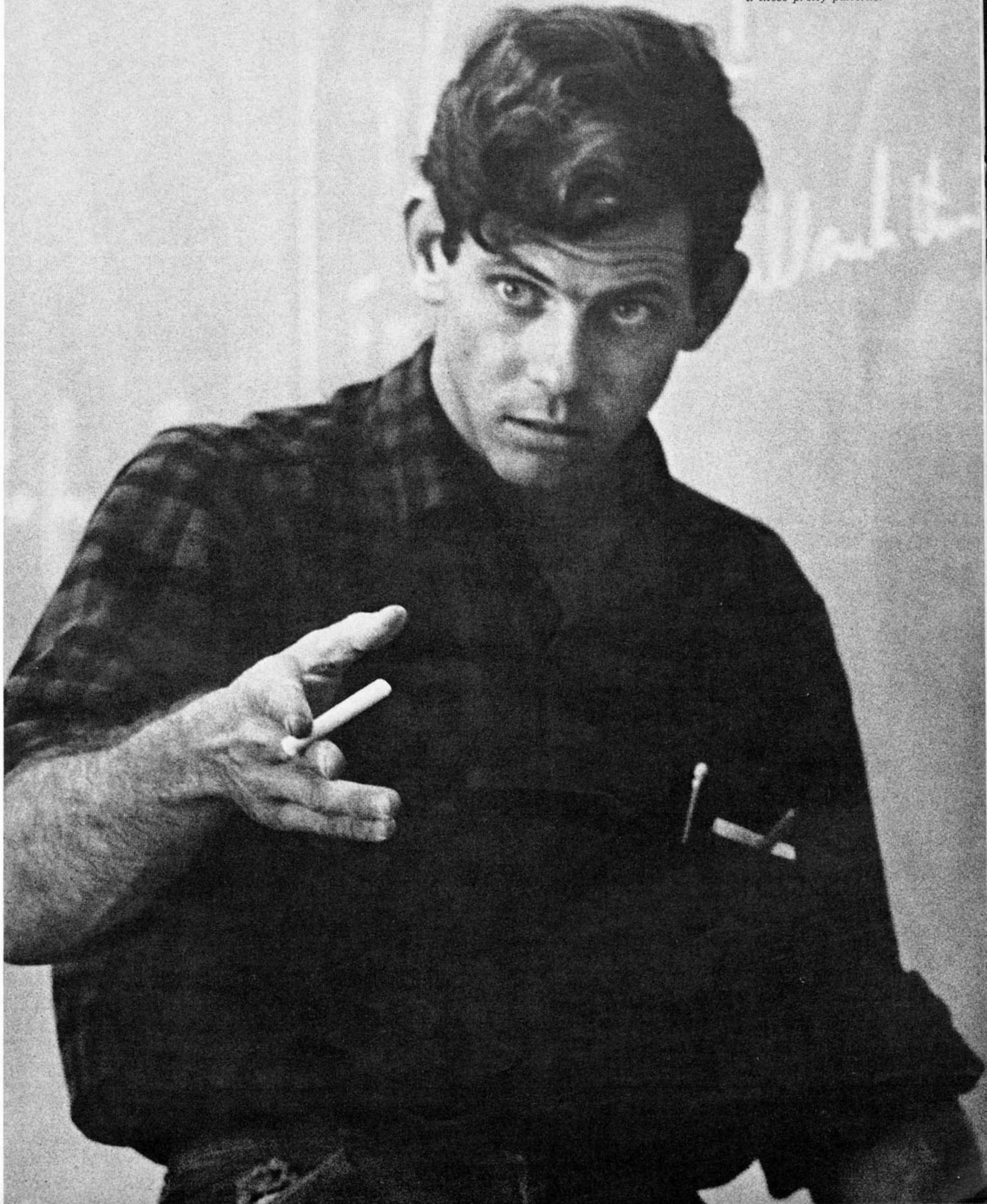
*"We're making changes in society with our own two hands," says Rossman. "That's a new feeling for my generation."*



Rossman (shirtless, upper center), who has high grades, skipped classes to join sit-ins at campus administration building (left).

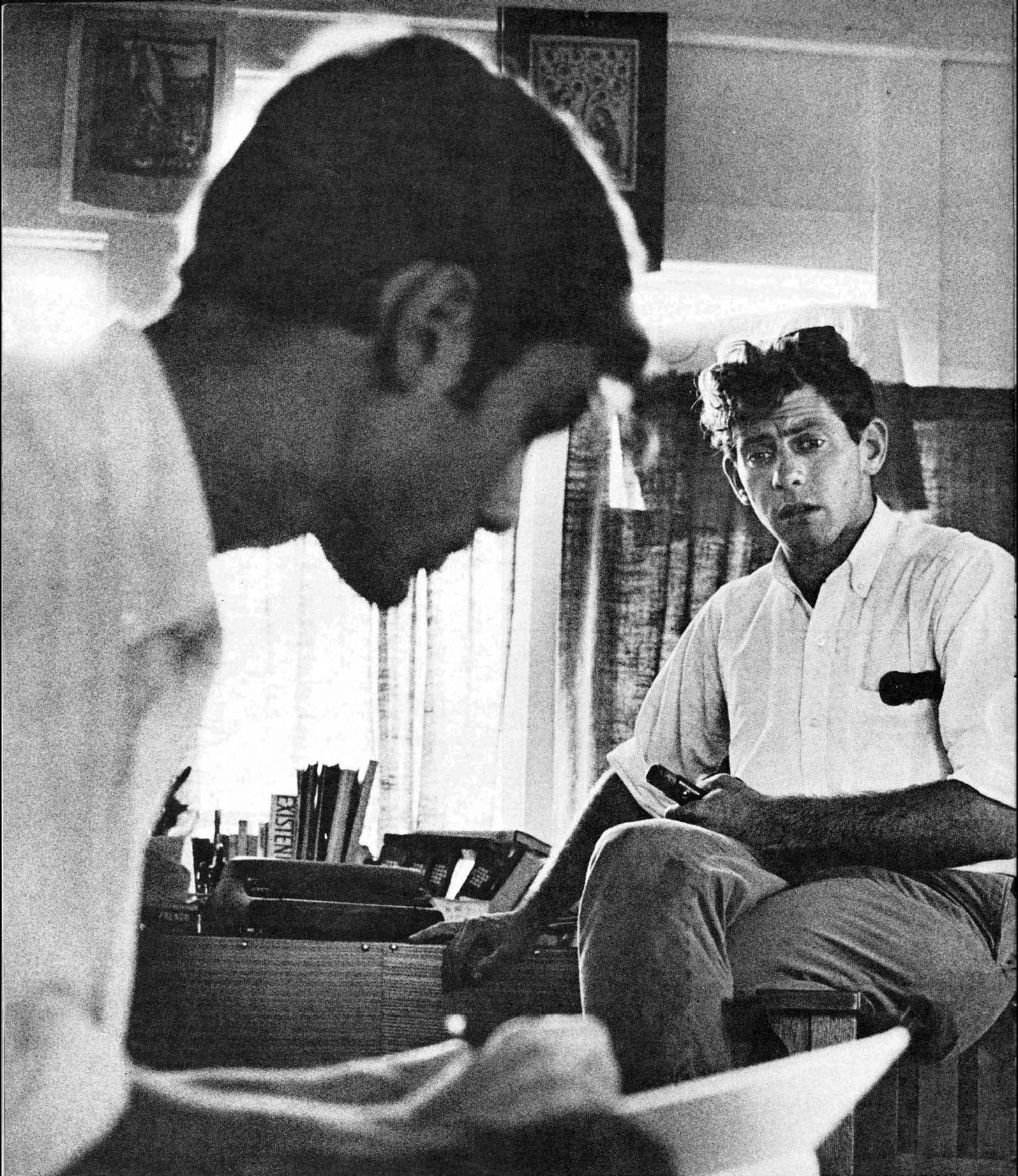


*As a teaching assistant, Rossman sweats to transmit the joy mathematics gives him. "It isn't work. The intellect demands raw meat. . . . I can feed it these pretty patterns."*



continued





*With friend Joe LaPenta: "If I'd been straight-arrow, I could have had my doctorate a year ago." Rossman dropped out of college for two years to dig ditches "and think."*



# CAMPUS REVOLT continued



*With friend Karen Spenser: "Enlightenment? For me, it's the feeling that I'm tuned in, perceiving things that have been there all along. For that, you need to jog the old perceptions. Maybe that's what we've done. . . ."*

*"Our group is a little university. . . .  
We turn each other on."*

Michael Rossman has been arrested for his part in the Berkeley revolt, expects to be jailed again, and will not stop nagging the society around him.

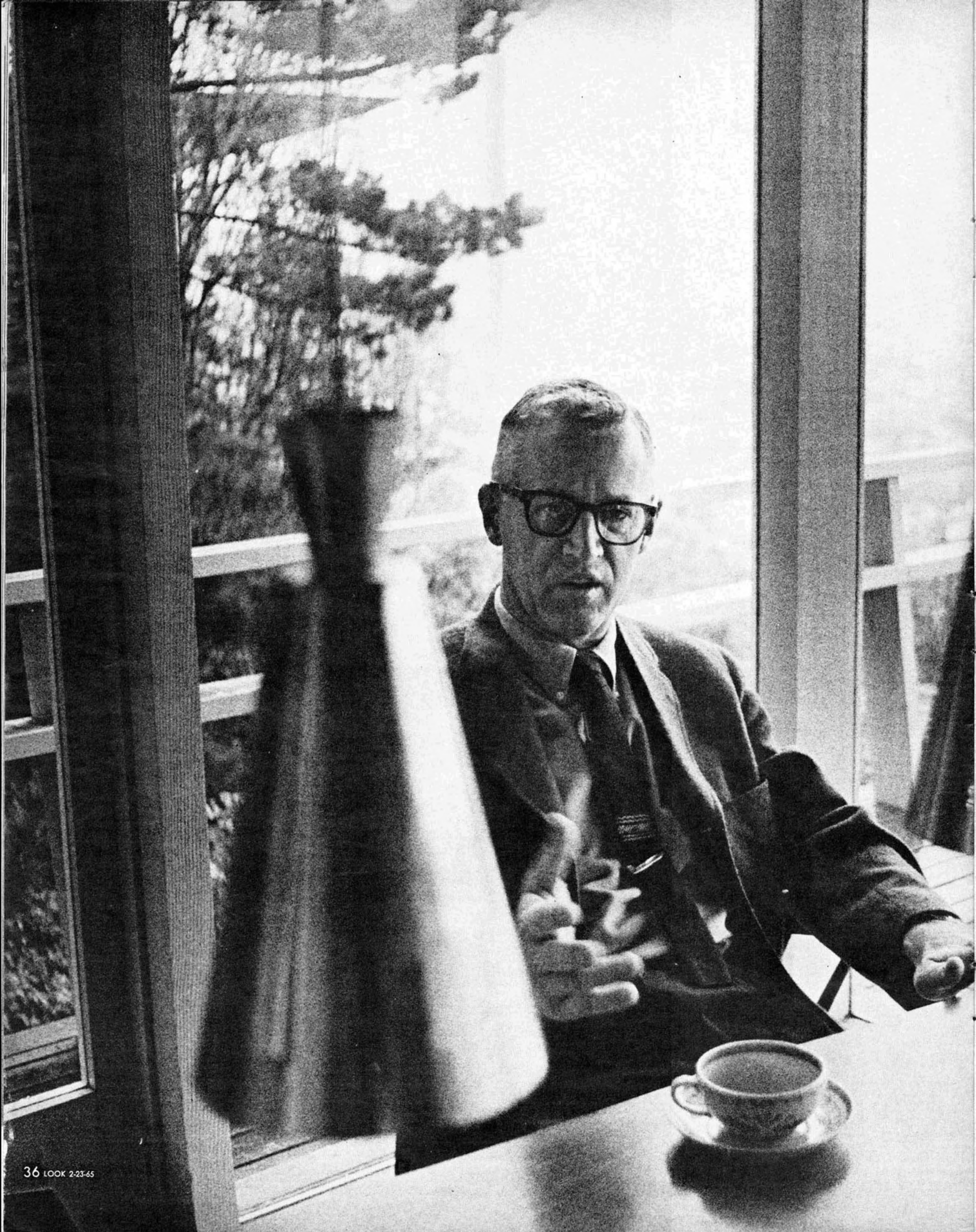
He is a troublemaker. Yet he is also a serious student who hopes the trouble has helped the university. "At the beginning of this year," he says, "I didn't care whether the university stood or fell." It seemed too big, uninterested in what he and his friends value.

They turned not to their faculty, but to each other. "Our group is a little university, in a living sense," Rossman says. "We excite each other, we turn each other on. I got interested in intuitive math with friends, not in a classroom."

After the faculty joined the uproar, Rossman said, "Now I can love the place. It has come alive. For the first time, professors and students are *in touch*."

Do professors agree? Turn the page.









*A gathering conflict  
disrupts the dream life of  
America's new elite*

## JET-AGE PROFESSORS



*Heliport is frequent meeting place for Cal faculty.*

AFTER A CENTURY of ridicule and neglect, the American university professor has come upon sweet times. Everyone wants the benefit of his brain—government, industry, foundations and, of course, universities. Their blandishments are glittery: expensive tools, extensive time, intensive travel and excellent pay. Yesterday's tower-bound professor often moonlighted to make ends meet. The jet-age professor, if he's good, can write his own ticket. One who is and does is pictured here.

George Maslach, dean of Berkeley's College of Engineering, is a professor of aeronautical engineering. A colleague calls him "the outstanding experimentalist in the world" in his field, rarefied-gas dynamics. Twice recently, Maslach has turned down "\$50,000 kind of things" from industry because life as he now lives it is too exciting. It's three minutes from his campus office, where he supervises the education of an inordinate number of the nation's better engineering students, to his contemporary home in the hills above, where, from his balcony, the entire Bay Area spreads before him. During the school year, he averages at least one trip a month East as a consultant, and turns an-

**IN BERKELEY HOME,** *Maslach explains why he turned down two glittery offers from industry. "The living's too good here."*

other down. During summers and sabbaticals, he jets with his wife and three children to Europe, where he serves on a NATO advisory board. Whatever can be gained from life among the academic elite, George Maslach is getting.

But are students getting what they should from professors like George Maslach? The question dominates academic debate today. Critical educators charge that many professors find research grants and consulting fees so seductive they have all but abandoned teaching. If it's not the professor, it's his university, which, mindful of its reputation, demands that he "publish or perish." Either way, the argument holds, the student loses out. Teaching is frequently shunted to assistants and graduate students. Many undergraduates have only passing contact with the best faculty minds. Students are all but forgotten, says a recent Carnegie Foundation report, in the "head-long search for more and better grants, fatter fees, higher salaries, higher rank." And because Cal's faculty is rated among the top four nationally, the Berkeley campus is invariably cited as the villainous prototype of a "university on the make."

Such abuses dismay Maslach and George Pimentel, the restless, committed chemistry professor pictured on the next page. At Berkeley, it is a matter of policy that even the most venerated

continued

**AT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE,** *Maslach shares a light break in heavy proceedings.*





# CAMPUS REVOLT

continued

*The choice is not between research and teaching. It is between mediocrity and excellence.*



*Pimentel, 42 and fast, joins students in research-group challenge match. Final score: Macromolecules, 16, Infrared Spectroscopy, 14.*

faculty stars teach undergraduate courses in addition to graduate seminars. It is a matter of honor that professors not let outside work interfere with their teaching, and not accept work that doesn't enhance it. Neither honor nor policy is violated nearly so often as charged, Maslach and Pimentel agree, but each would like to see such violators as do exist sent packing.

Both men make conscious efforts to work with undergraduates. Says Maslach: "If any student thinks enough of me to ask me to advise him, I, by God, am going to respond, even if it takes hours." Pimentel never locks his office door. His students revere him. Says one: "With him, you're a colleague rather than an underling." The author of a popular high-school chemistry textbook, Pimentel learned a few years ago that high-school teachers were counseling their better students to avoid

Berkeley, lest they be lost in the bigness. Pimentel organized a freshman science honors program designed to stimulate talented minds through close faculty-student contact.

In one vital respect, however, both professors find the current criticism specious. To them, there is no choice between research and teaching. The only choice is between mediocrity and excellence. There are few good teachers who don't do research, they contend; most research translates into good teaching. Maslach: "Research and teaching are synonymous words. If you don't do research, you're going to be a trade school." Pimentel: "Research and teaching are like sin and confession. If you don't do any of the former, you don't have anything to talk about in the latter."

Beneath the heat are questions that American universities, already splitting at the seams, must

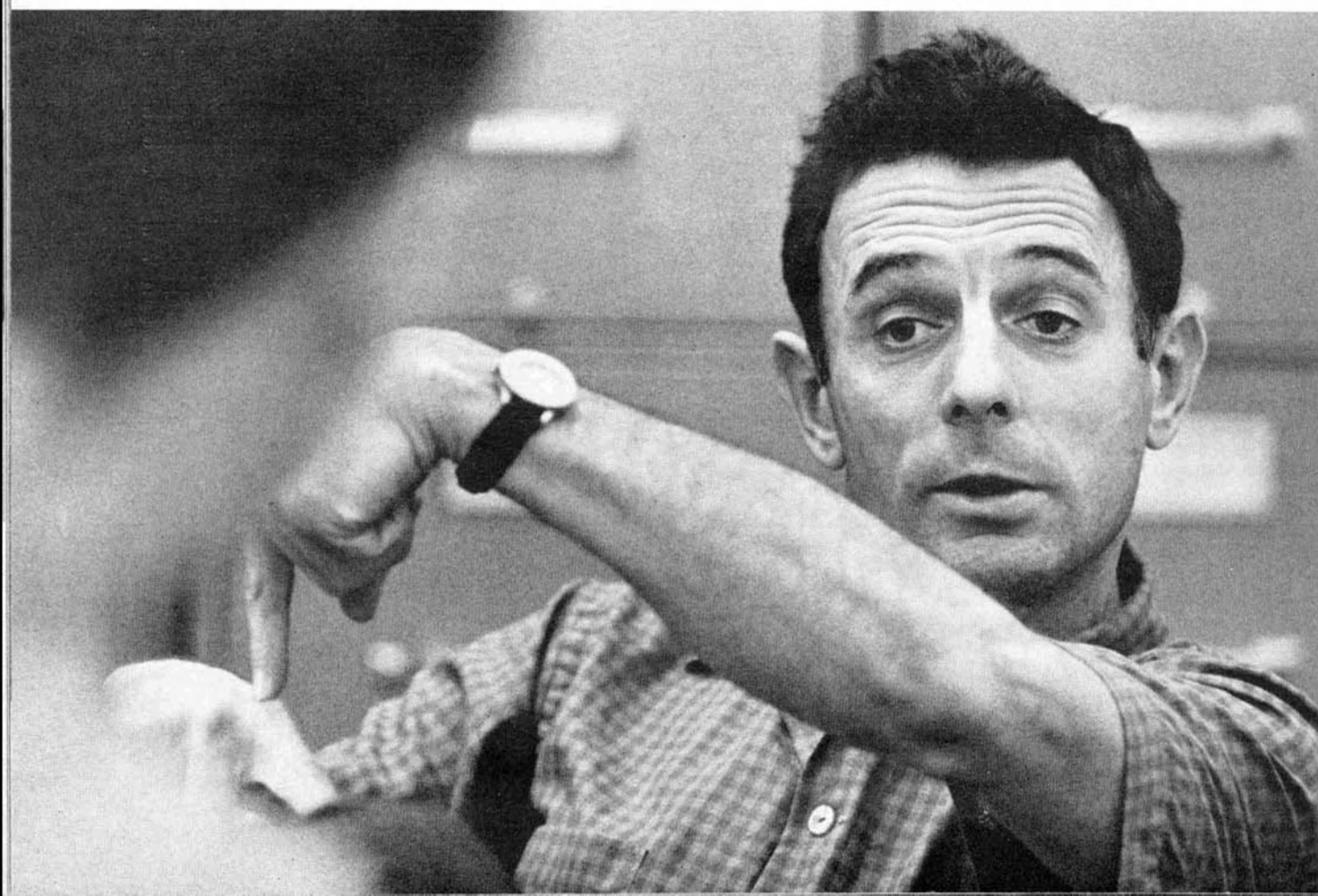
confront at once: What is a university for? Who should study there? The vision of men like Maslach and Pimentel is as new as the future, as old as medieval Oxford. A university is, above all, for scholarship, and for students with the potential to be scholars. Says Pimentel: "The primary obligation of the university is to make sure there is a place for the very best student. If we don't do it, nobody else will."

The average student? This year, Maslach predicts, Berkeley will suggest to its 20,000 applicants that many of them might learn more and be happier at one of California's many good four-year colleges. Given the demands of the jet age, such a solution may be unavoidable. "We want a growing percentage of our population to be going to the university," says George Pimentel, "but we don't want the caliber of their education to decline."

**PROF. GEORGE PIMENTEL,**  
*a member of Berkeley's superb chemistry faculty, is investigating the atmosphere of Mars. "Research is the reason I'm at the university," he says. "I love to teach, but I wouldn't be here if I couldn't do research."*

PRODUCED BY  
LEONARD GROSS

PHOTOGRAPHED BY  
JAMES HANSEN









*A  
human cry  
behind the speeches:  
"I'M  
HERE."*

BY JOHN POPPY LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

WHEN CLASSES started at Berkeley last September, LOOK photographer Paul Fusco and I were on the campus interviewing dozens of professors and administrators. We wanted them to help us illustrate an article about the benefits of California's huge investment in higher education. We asked their help in finding a student who would carry the riches of the university out into the world with him—perhaps a top young scientist who stretched himself in many directions, including the arts, off-campus politics, the coffeehouse scene.

The professors and deans were very cordial. Most gave us lists of honor students. "Now, what is this person like?" we would ask, pointing to a name. Time after time, we heard: "Um . . . you know, I thought I could help you, but I really don't see these people much."

We decided that many teachers had been fooling themselves. Surrounded by 27,500 young people, they thought they knew students.

They knew a name, a face, a grade. But—to their own surprise—few knew the human being. Our search went on.

After lunch on September 30, Fusco and I interrupted a stroll toward Sproul Hall (the campus administration building) to watch a bushy-haired young man mount a chair to harangue a cluster of students. He was Mario Savio, chairman of campus Friends of SNCC, a civil-rights group. He and four others had been summoned to the dean's office for breaking university rules against overt political action—soliciting funds, recruiting members, organizing off-campus demonstrations—on the campus. Would *all* of you, he asked, follow us into Sproul Hall in a show of solidarity against these unjust rules?

"Huh!" I said to Fusco. "He'll be lucky if he gets a dozen." In my college days, he would probably have got none; but today, students are more action-prone, and Berkeley is the most "politicized" campus in America, so I gave him a few. At 3 p.m., Savio led 300 students into Sproul Hall, where they staged a 12-hour sit-in and dared the deans to punish them all.

My amazement was soon the amazement of everyone, including professors, administrators, university regents and the nation.

Savio and seven others were suspended from the university. The next day, resentful students set about deliberately breaking the rules. At 11:45 a.m., a dean and a campus policeman told an ex-student who refused to leave an illegal CORE recruiting table in front of Sproul Hall that he was under arrest for trespassing, and led him to a nearby police car. Immediately, several hundred students surrounded the car and sat down. Events of the next 32 hours crystallized a pattern of student action that has lasted into 1965. About 3,000 students converged on Sproul Hall Plaza; several hundred others sat-in in Sproul Hall itself; the roof of the trapped police car became a platform for a stream of orators, with Savio emerging as chief talker. The gist of the speeches was simple: The students did not intend to disperse until the administration removed all restrictions on "free speech"—i.e.,

*continued*

*Non-student Brad Cleaveland (left), author of a pamphlet urging "open, fierce rebellion" at Cal, listens as Mario Savio orates.*



*In the first days of the Berkeley uprising, UC President Clark Kerr asked, "What's so intellectual about . . . grabbing people by the lapel to form a picket line?"*







# CAMPUS REVOLT continued

political activity—on campus and pardoned the eight leaders.

Evidently convinced that a small cadre of radicals was manipulating the crowd, the Berkeley administration announced that a mob could not force it to negotiate. California Gov. Edmund G. Brown declared, "This will not be tolerated." Unmoved, the demonstrators stayed through the night and the next day, talking steadily. At dusk, tension in the crowd suddenly became almost Mississippian; more than 500 armed, helmeted policemen were assembling behind Sproul Hall. Students began linking arms.

Concerned faculty members had been trying to mediate between students and administrators. Finally, University of California President Clark Kerr, a former labor arbitrator, decided to reverse the administration's stand. Just after dark, he signed an agreement that elated the rebels. Not only would the cases of the eight suspended students be reconsidered, but a faculty-student-administration committee would be created to study "all aspects of political behavior on campus." The army of police left. The demonstrators dispersed. The captured police car, its roof flattened, drove off. The next day, rebel leaders announced official formation of a "Free Speech Movement."

Since then, the struggle between students and administration has surged back and forth across the Berkeley campus, with an increasingly alarmed faculty trying to make peace. FSM leaders continued to press demands whose details shifted with every clash, but which never departed from two principles. The students want:

1. To use the campus as a base for off-campus political and social action without fear of punishment by the university.
2. To make faculty and students the sole judges of educational policy, reducing administrative officers to housekeepers "raising money, cleaning sidewalks, providing rooms for us to work in," as Savio puts it.

The board of regents—the university's supreme ruling body—agreed with President Kerr's conviction that "we must make sure the university does not become a sanctuary for mounting illegal actions off the campus." The Berkeley faculty, however, was jarred awake by the desperate ugliness of the students' repeated attacks on the administration. In December, the Academic Senate proposed a peace plan that would satisfy almost all FSM demands. Many faculty members admitted that students had voiced complaints before the uprising, but that "nobody was listening."

An apparently simple dispute between activist students and university officials—which everyone in the state would have been relieved to think of as a kind of glorified panty raid—was turning into what sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset and political scientist Paul Seabury (both first-string Berkeley professors) call "the greatest crisis which a major institution of higher learning in America has ever faced."

The crisis is great because students at Berkeley are making unprecedented demands on their elders. Politics and free speech spearhead their protest, but a powerful moral disquiet motivates it. They are asking an old, respectable question: "Just what do you think an education is *for*?" University presidents and professors have been genteelly asking that of each other for years, and have seemed satisfied with abstract answers that were no answer at all. But now, the questioners are not genteel. And they demand an answer.

Young people like Michael Rossman (and Mario Savio, who temporarily withdrew from the university) do not like the world they live in. They consider it unjust and hypocritical. They have heard too many phony promises from candidates who offer more opportunism than leadership. They have seen the Government they are told to respect caught in deliberate lies, as in the U-2 incident. They know the GNP rose \$40 billion last year; they also know that families still starve. And they see the continuation of Negro inequality as a huge moral evil.

"Where were you when the Jews were taken away?" young Germans ask their fathers. "What are you doing while the Negroes suffer?" these young Americans ask their elders. Dealing in moral terms, not procedural ones, they insist that education is inseparable from action. The civil-rights movement is a moral spur to these students. It has also taught them how to make people stop ignoring them—with the powerful tactics of civil disobedience. Nearly 1,000 students

heeded Savio's call to battle before a December sit-in at Sproul Hall:

"There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it . . . that unless you're free, the machines will be prevented from working at all."

That night, 779 were arrested, and the resulting classroom strike very nearly did stop the machine.

These methods of attack are truly frightening. Some extreme leftists do mingle with the FSM, offering a convenient oversimplification to those who see a Communist plot behind every disorder. More to the point, Professors Lipset and Seabury warn: ". . . The startling incomprehension or indifference shown by some of the best students in the country to the values of due process . . . challenges the very foundations of our democratic order. Instant justice demanded at the point of a gun is no better than instant order. . . . A whole generation may learn that ends justify any means. . . ."

One melancholy sight of the Berkeley disorders has been UC President Clark Kerr, a man trapped by history. Neither Kerr nor the people of California deliberately chose to create a state university that students would revile as an assembly line. All along, he has glimpsed flaws in a multiversity that is, in his own words, ". . . an imperative rather than a reasoned choice among elegant alternatives. . . ." In the 1963 Godkin Lectures at Harvard, Kerr said a student revolt against ". . . lack of faculty concern for teaching, endless rules and requirements and impersonality . . ." would probably force curriculum changes. Undergraduate teaching, he predicted, will have to be "renovated," with the technology already at hand—teaching machines, televised lectures—to free professors for more personal work with students.

As an afterthought: ". . . A few of the 'nonconformists' have another kind of revolt in mind. They seek, instead, to turn the university, on the Latin-American or Japanese models, into a fortress from which they can sally forth with impunity to make their attacks on society."

Kerr may not have foreseen that some of those "nonconformists" would carry forth *both* kinds of revolt with such passion. The Berkeley rebels have been unreasonable. But they feel justified because they are attacking problems that should have been solved long ago. Like most revolutionaries, they are harsh and inflexible. It should be easier—and more moral—to deal with the problems than with the rebels. END

## BUTCH



LOOK 2-23-65

"I hate to be a spoil sport, Butch, but that wasn't a police car after all."



# LOOK Magazine

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## BEHIND THE CAMPUS REVOLT

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### *The California Uprising*

The University of California dominates the most ambitious system of schools and colleges any state government has yet offered its people. California's five-year-old Master Plan for Higher Education guarantees college, tuition-free, to every high-school graduate in the state who wants it. Only the Elite—the top eighth of the class—can apply to the nine campuses of the university. Others in the top third can attend one of 18 state colleges. For the rest, there are 73 two-year junior colleges. Nobody is left out, unless he wants to be.

One result: the state is rich. (California has created one of every six new American jobs in the last five years.) Money follows brains, and in an age shaped by science and technology, the California coast is the brains center of the world. "Education now serves the economy and the broad society which supports it to an extent unprecedented in history," University of California President Clark Kerr has said. He calls it the multiversity.

With more than 71,000 full-time students and 120,000 more in extension courses, California's multiversity affects the life of everyone in the state—and many outside. Its resources have invented a better tomato; its physicists run two of the nation's nuclear-weapons labs, Los Alamos and Livermore; its planners are shaping an entire new city around a future campus south of Los Angeles. The multiversity plans to spend some \$657,000,000 in the coming school year, over half of it in Federal contracts and grants.

Yet at its heart, any educational enterprise must be measured by a moment of communion between teacher and student. Recent events have exposed a serious flaw in the heart of the multiversity. In September, thousands of students at its flagship campus, Berkeley, began to defy university officials with sit-ins, classroom strikes and almost daily demonstrations. They said they were fighting for "free speech," that the administration should let them use the campus for social and political action. But behind their assault on authority, as the following stories reveal, lie deeper implications that no parent, student or educator can ignore.

## BEHIND THE CAMPUS REVOLT

### *Impatient for change, they demand action*

Last December 4, some 9,000 of Berkeley's 27,500 students skipped classes to protest the arrest of 779 "Free Speech Movement" sit-ins on campus the night before. San Francisco newspapers had been implying for two months that the uprising was the work of a "small minority" of "hard-core" demonstrators influenced by off-campus radicals. But by the new year, the aims—if not all the disruptive tactics of the FSM—had support from most students and a majority of Berkeley's expensive faculty.

"We are trying to bring the human element back into our education," says Michael Rossman, a first-year mathematics graduate student who started as an observer, but quickly became a leader in the revolt. He articulates a suspicion now flourishing among students at Berkeley and elsewhere: that the multiversity is so obedient to the economy and the society that it cannot truly *educate* undergraduates. "It is producing neatly turned components for the big machine outside, not individual, thinking people."

Like many of today's student leaders, Rossman has spent time trying to clog the machine, on picket lines for civil rights, against capital punishment and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. But this year, he had hoped to withdraw from the front lines to work quietly into the night with his math, to translate the Spanish



poetry he loves, to practice on his baroque recorder. For a few weeks at the beginning of the term, he managed it all, plus instructing a Peace Corps unit and helping teach a statistics course. “So few people do *anything*,” Rossman shrugs, “that they’re amazed by someone who does a little bit.”

[photo caption:] “We’re making changes in society with our own two hands,” says Rossman. “That’s a new feeling for my generation.”

[photo caption:] Rossman (shirtless, upper center) who has high grades, skipped classes to join sit-ins at campus administration building (left).

[photo caption:] As a teaching assistant, Rossman sweats to translate the joy mathematics gives him. “It isn’t work. The intellect demands raw meat...I can feed it these pretty patterns.”

[photo caption:] With friend Joe LaPenta, “If I’d been straight-arrow, I could have had my doctorate a year ago.” Rossman dropped out of college for two years to dig ditches, “and think.”

[photo caption:] With friend Karen Spenser: “Enlightenment? For me, it’s the feeling that I’m tuned in, perceiving things that been there all along. For that, you need to jog the old perceptions. Maybe that’s what we’ve done. . . .”

*“Our group is a little university...We turn each other on.”*

Michael Rossman has been arrested for his part in the Berkeley revolt, expects to be jailed again, and will not stop nagging the society around him.

He is a troublemaker. Yet he is also a serious student who hopes the trouble has helped the university. “At the beginning of this year,” he says, “I didn’t care whether the university stood or fell.” It seemed too big, uninterested in what he and his friends value.

They turned not to their faculty, but to each other. “Our group is a little university, in a living sense,” Rossman says. “We excite each other, we turn each other on. I got interested in intuitive math with friends, not in a classroom.”

After the faculty joined the uproar, Rossman said, “Now I can love the place. It has come alive. For the first time, professors and students are *in touch*.”

### **Do professors agree? Turn the page.**

A gathering conflict disrupts the dream life of America’s new elite  
JET-AGE PROFESSORS  
produced by Leonard Gross  
photographed by James Hansen

After a century of ridicule and neglect, the American university professor has come upon sweet times. Everyone wants the benefit of his brain—government, industry, foundations and, of course, universities. Their blandishments are glittery: expensive tools, extensive time, intensive travel and excellent pay. Yesterday’s tower-bound professor often moonlighted to make ends meet. The jet-age professor, if he’s good, can write his own ticket. One who is and does is pictured here.

George Maslach, dean of Berkeley’s College of Engineering, is a professor of aeronautical engineering. A colleague calls him “the outstanding experimentalist in the world” in his field, rarefied gas dynamics. Twice recently, Maslach has turned down “\$50,000 kind of things” from industry because life as he now lives it is too

exciting. It's three minutes from his campus office, where he supervises the education of an inordinate number of the nation's better engineering students, to his contemporary home in the hills above, where, from his balcony, the entire Bay Area spreads before him. During the school year, he averages at least one trip a month east as a consultant, and turns another down. During summers and sabbaticals, he jets with his wife and three children to Europe, where he serves on a NATO advisory board. Whatever can be gained from life among the academic elite, George Maslach is getting.

But are students getting what they should from professors like George Maslach? The question dominates academic debate today. Critical educators charge that many professors find research grants and consulting fees so seductive they have all but abandoned teaching. If it's not the professor, it's his university, which, mindful of its reputation, demands that he "publish or perish." Either way, the argument holds, the student loses out. Teaching is frequently shunted to assistants and graduate students. Many undergraduates have only passing contact with the best faculty minds. Students are all but forgotten, says a recent Carnegie Foundation report, in the "headlong search for more and better grants, fatter fees, high salaries, higher rank." And because Cal's faculty is rated among the top four nationally, the Berkeley campus is invariably cited as the villainous prototype of a "university on the make."

Such abuses dismay Maslach and George Pimentel, the restless, committed Chemistry professor pictured on the next page. At Berkeley, it is a matter of policy that even the most venerated

*continued*

[photo caption:] IN BERKELEY HOME, *Maslach explains why he turned down two glittery offers from industry. "The living's too good here."*

[photo caption:] AT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, *Maslach shares a light break in heavy proceedings.*

*The choice is not between research and teaching. It is between mediocrity and excellence.*

faculty stars teach undergraduate courses in addition to graduate seminars. It is a matter of honor that professors not let outside work interfere with their teaching, and not accept work that doesn't enhance it. Neither honor nor policy is violated nearly so often as charged, Maslach and Pimentel agree, but each would like to see violators as do exist sent packing.

Both men make conscious efforts to work with undergraduates. Say Maslach: "If any student thinks enough of me to ask me to advise him, I, by God, am going to respond, even if it takes hours." Pimentel never locks his office door. His students revere him. Says one: "With him, you're a colleague rather than an underling." The author of a popular high-school chemistry textbook, Pimentel learned a few years ago that high-school teachers were counseling their better students to avoid Berkeley, lest they be lost in the bigness. Pimentel organized a freshman science honors program designed to stimulate talented minds through close faculty-student contact.

In one vital respect, however, both professors find the current criticism specious. Tho them, there is no choice between research and teaching. The only choice is between mediocrity and excellence. There are few good teachers who don't do research, they contend; most research translates into good teaching. Maslach: "Research and teaching are synonymous words. If you don't do research, you're going to be a trade school." Pimentel: "Research and teaching are like sin and confession. If you don't do any of the former, you don't have anything to talk about in the latter."

Beneath the heat are questions that American universities, already splitting at the seams, must confront at once: What is a university for? Who should study there? The vision of men like Maslach and Pimentel is as new as the future, as old as medieval Oxford. A university is, above all, for scholarship, and for students with the potential to be scholars. Says Pimentel: "The primary obligation of the university is to make sure there is a place for the very best student. If we don't do it, nobody else will."



The average student? This year, Maslach predicts, Berkeley will suggest to its 20,000 applicants that many of them might learn more and be happier at one of California's many good four-year colleges. Given the demands of the jet age, such a solution "We want a growing percentage of our population to be going to the university," says George Pimentel, "but we don't want the caliber of their education to decline."

[photo caption:] Pimentel, 42, and fast, joins students in research-group challenge match. Final score: Macromolecules, 16, Infrared Spectroscopy, 14.

[photo caption:] PROF. GEORGE PIMENTEL, a member of Berkeley's superb chemistry faculty, is investigating the atmosphere of Mars. "Research is the reason I'm at the university," he says. "I love to teach, but I wouldn't be here if I couldn't do reasearch."

*A human cry behind the speeches: "I'M HERE."*

BYJOHN POPPY, LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

WHEN CLASSES started at Berkeley last September, LOOK photographer Paul Fusco and I were on the campus interviewing dozens of professors and administrators. We wanted them to help us illustrate an article about the benefits of California's huge investment in higher education. We asked their help in finding a student who would carry the riches of the university out into the world with him—perhaps a top young scientist who stretched himself in many directions, including the arts, off-campus politics, the coffeehouse scene.

The professors and deans were very cordial. Most gave us lists of honor students. "Now, what is this person like?" we would ask, pointing to a name. Time after time, we heard: "Um...you know, I thought I could help you, but I really don't see these people much.

We decided that many teachers had been fooling themselves. Surrounded by 27,500 young people, they thought they knew students. They knew a name, a face, a grade. But—to their own surprise—few knew the human being. Our search went on.

After lunch on September 30, Fusco and I interrupted a stroll toward Sproul Hall (the campus administration building) to watch a bushy-haired young man mount a chair to harangue a cluster of students. He was Mario Savio, chairman of Campus Friends of SNCC, a civil-rights group. He and four others had been summoned to the dean's office for breaking university rules against overt political action—soliciting funds, recruiting members, organizing off-campus demonstrations—on the campus. Would *all* of you, he asked, follow us into Sproul Hall in a show of solidarity against these unjust rules?

"Huh!" I said to Fusco. "He'll be lucky if he gets a dozen." In my college days, he would probably have got none; but today, students are more action-prone, and Berkeley is the most "politicized" campus in America, so I gave him a few. At 3 p.m., Savio led 300 students into Sproul Hall, where they staged a 12-hour sit-in and dared the deans to punish them all.

My amazement was soon the amazement of everyone, including professors, administrators, university regents and the nation.

Savio and seven others were suspended from the university. The next day, resentful students set about deliberately breaking the rules. At 11: 45 a.m., a dean and a campus policeman told an ex-student who refused to leave an illegal CORE recruiting table in front of Sproul Hall that he was under arrest for trespassing, and led him to a nearby police car. Immediately, several hundred students surrounded the car and sat down. Events of the next 32 hours crystallized a pattern of student action that has lasted into 1965. About 3,000 students converged on Sproul Hall Plaza; several hundred others sat-in in Sproul Hall itself; the roof of the trapped

police car became a platform for a stream of orators, with Savio emerging as chief talker. The gist of the speeches was simple: The students did not intend to disperse until the administration removed all restrictions on “free speech” i.e., political activity—on campus and pardoned the eight leaders.

[photo caption:] *Non-student Brad Cleaveland (left), author of a pamphlet urging “open, fierce rebellion” at Cal listens as Mario Savio orates.*

[photo caption:] *In the first days of the Berkeley uprising, UC President Clark Kerr asked, “What’s so intellectual about grabbing people by the lapel to form a picket line?”*

Evidently convinced that a small cadre of radicals was manipulating the crowd, the Berkeley administration announced that a mob could not force it to negotiate. California Gov. Edmund G. Brown declared, “This will not be tolerated.” Unmoved, the demonstrators stayed through the night and the next day, talking steadily. At dusk, tension in the crowd suddenly became almost Mississippian; more than 500 armed, helmeted policemen were assembling behind Sproul Hall. Students began linking arms.

Concerned faculty members had been trying to mediate between students and administrators. Finally, University of California President Clark Kerr, a former labor arbitrator, decided to reverse the administration’s stand. Just after dark, he signed an agreement that elated the rebels. Not only would the cases of the eight suspended students be reconsidered, but a faculty-student-administration committee would be created to study ‘all aspects of political behavior on campus.’ The army of police left. The demonstrators dispersed. The captured police car, its roof flattened, drove off. The next day, rebel leaders announced official formation of a “Free Speech Movement.”

Since then, the struggle between students and administration has surged back and forth across the Berkeley campus, with an increasingly alarmed faculty trying to make peace. FSM leaders continued to press demands whose details shifted with every clash, but which never departed from two principles. The students want:

1. To use the campus as a base for off-campus political and social action without fear of punishment by the university.
2. To make faculty and students the sole judges of educational policy, reducing administrative officers to housekeepers “raising money, cleaning sidewalks, providing rooms for us to work in,” as Savio puts it.

The board of regents—the university’s supreme ruling body—agreed with President Kerr’s conviction that “we must make sure the university does not become a sanctuary for mounting illegal actions off the campus.” The Berkeley faculty, however, was jarred awake by the desperate ugliness of the students’ repeated attacks on the administration. In December, the Academic Senate proposed a peace plan that would satisfy almost all FSM demands. Many faculty members admitted that students had voiced complaints before the uprising, but that “nobody was listening.”

An apparently simple dispute between activist students and university officials—which everyone in the state would have been relieved to think of as a kind of glorified panty raid—was turning into what sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset and political scientist Paul Seabury (both first-string Berkeley professors) call “the greatest crisis which a major institution of higher learning in America has ever faced.”

The crisis is great because students at Berkeley are making unprecedented demands on their elders. Politics and free speech spearhead their protest, but a powerful moral disquiet motivates it. They are asking an old, respectable question: “Just what do you think an education is *for*?” University presidents and professors have been genteelly asking that of each other for years, and have seemed satisfied with abstract answers that were no answer at all. But now, the questioners are not genteel. And they demand an answer.



Young people like Michael Rossman (and Mario Savio, who temporarily withdrew from the university) do not like the world they live in. They consider it unjust and hypocritical. They have heard too many phony promises from candidates who offer more opportunism than leadership. They have seen the Government they are told to respect caught in deliberate lies, as in the U-2 incident. They know the GNP rose \$40 billion last year; they also know that families still starve. And they see the continuation of Negro inequality as a huge moral evil.

“Where were you when the Jews were taken away?” young Germans ask their fathers. “What are you doing while the Negroes suffer?” these young Americans ask their elders. Dealing in moral terms, not procedural ones, they insist that education is inseparable from action. The civil-rights movement is a moral spur to these students. It has also taught them how to make people stop ignoring them—with the powerful tactics of civil disobedience. Nearly 1,000 students heeded Savio’s call to battle before a December sit-in at Sproul Hall:

“There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can’t even tacitly take part, and you’ve got to put your bodies upon the gears, upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you’ve got to make it stop. And you’ve got to indicate to the people who run it...that unless you’re free, the machines will be prevented from working at all.”

That night, 779 were arrested, and the resulting classroom strike very nearly did stop the machine.

These methods of attack are truly frightening. Some extreme leftists do mingle with the FSM, offering a convenient oversimplification to those who see a Communist plot behind every disorder. More to the point, Professors Lipset and Seabury warn: “...The startling incomprehension or indifference shown by some of the best students in the country to the values of due process...challenges the very foundations of our democratic order. Instant justice demanded at the point of a gun is no better than instant order....A whole generation may learn that ends justify any means....”

One melancholy sight of the Berkeley disorders has been UC. President Clark Kerr, a man trapped by history. Neither Kerr nor the people of California deliberately chose to create a state university that students would revile as an assembly line. All along, he has glimpsed flaws in a multiversity that is, in his own words, “...an imperative rather than a reasoned choice among elegant alternatives....” In the 1963 Godkin Lectures at Harvard, Kerr said a student revolt against “...lack of faculty concern for teaching, endless rules and requirements and impersonality...’ would probably force curriculum changes. Undergraduate teaching, he predicted, will have to be “renovated,” with the technology already at hand—teaching machines, televised lectures—to free professors for more personal work with students.

As an afterthought: “...A few of the ‘nonconformists’ have another kind of revolt in mind. They seek, instead, to turn the university, on the Latin-American or Japanese models, into a fortress from which they can sally forth with impunity to make their attacks on society.”

Kerr may not have foreseen that some of those “nonconformists” would carry forth *both* kinds of revolt with such passion. The Berkeley rebels have been unreasonable. But they feel justified because they are attacking problems that should have been solved long ago. Like most revolutionaries, they are harsh and inflexible. It should be easier—and more moral—to deal with, the problems than with the rebels. END