

## BERKELEY IN THE SIXTIES

### Transcript

*House Un-American Activities Committee Demonstration, May 1960*

(Music. "Keep a Knockin")

10:29 ↓ Narrator:

In the 1960s my generation set out on a journey of change. Coming out of an atmosphere of conformity a new spirit began to appear. One of the first signs was a demonstration, organized by Berkeley students in May of 1960 against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

10:48 —

Archival/Congressman Willis, HUAC Chairman:

10:48 ↓ What we are here to do is to gather information as we are ordered to by an act of Congress with respect to the general operation of the communist conspiracy.

Chairman Willis (off camera):

Proceed to the next question.

Archival/Unidentified Witness:

I'm not in the habit of being intimidated and I don't expect to start now. Now what was your question? What was your question.

Archival/HUAC Lawyer (off camera):

Are you now in this instant a member of the communist party.

01:12 ↓ Narrator:

We came out to protest because we were against HUAC's suppression of political freedom. In the 50s HUAC created a climate of fear by putting people on trial for their political beliefs. Any views left of center were labeled subversive. We refused to go back to McCarthyism.

Archival/William Mandel:

01:30 ↓ If you think I am going to cooperate with this collection of Judases, of men who sit there in violation of the United States Constitution, if you think I will cooperate with you in any way, you are insane.

Narrator:

01:49 ↓ As witness after witness denounced the committee, the hearings grew stormy. The halls outside were filled with students seeking admission. Suddenly the police turned fire hoses full force on the demonstrators inside the rotunda and then dragged them down the steps of city hall. It turned out to be a political baptism, that transformed fear into determination. Something had changed. After this it would never be the same.

John Searle:

2:18 ↓ Now the whole thing might have died down except for the fact that the committee made a film. The film was called "Operation Abolition" and the film presented all of us, I had been in these demonstrations myself, and it presented all of us as somehow or other engaged in a vast communist plot, not only to try to overthrow the United States government, but even worse, to try and abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

02:51 ↓ Archival/Congressman Francis Walter, from "Operation Abolition:"  
"Operation Abolition" -- This is what the communists call their current drive to destroy the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to render sterile the security laws of our government. You will see revealed the long time classic communist tactic in which a relatively few well-trained, hard-core communist agents are able to insite non-communists, to perform the dirty work of the Communist Party.

Frank Bardacke:

13:24 ↓ That movie was scheduled to be shown at the Harvard ROTC class, the ROTC, the R.O.T.C. class, they had a class on campus and they were going to show "Operation Abolition" and I had heard all about "Operation Abolition" and I was clearly opposed to it and all that. So a bunch of us decided to go to the class to protest. And I remember very, very well, that the way we protested in the film, there's a place where the students stand up singing the Star Spangled Banner to show HUAC, that hey, don't pull your more American than us on us, and the group of us stood up in the ROTC class to show that we were in solidarity with the students in San Francisco. (Singing) But what I really remember clearly is thinking, hey wait a minute, what am I doing here? Why aren't I there? And I checked this story out with a whole lot of people who were at Berkeley and they told me the exact same story, that "Operation Abolition" had recruited them to Berkeley. That they had seen it round the country in pro--, gone in to see it as a protest and they thought wow, (laughs) let's go there!

(Music: "No Hole In My Head")

Archival/Dr. Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, delivering the Godkin Lecture, Harvard, 1963:

05:20 The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students, to respond to the expanding claims of national service, to merge its activities with industry as never before. Characteristic of this transformation is the growth of the knowledge industry, which is coming to permeate government and business and to draw into it more and more people raised to higher and higher levels of skill. The production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge is said to account for 29% of gross national product and knowledge production is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy. What the railroads did, for the second half of the last century, and the automobile for the first half of this century, may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry. And that is to serve as the focal point for national growth.

Narrator:

06:20 When we went to college President Kerr's vision became our reality. The University of California was a knowledge factory, the biggest public university in America. It did research for major corporations and it ran the government's nuclear weapons labs. Of the seven campuses Berkeley was the jewel in the crown with the most prestigious faculty. Within the sea of students there was little evidence of political life, but a few of us who were interested in politics found each other and started an organization called

6:53 SLATE.

06:54 ↓

Susan Griffin:

Some radical students had gotten together and, to run a slate of candidates in the student elections. And although SLATE was not really solely about student elections, the student elections were used as a kind of platform through which we could educate other students and reach them about the various issues that were alive during that time.

07:17 ↓

Michael Rossman:

Friends wrote me letters of the discussions that were happening in the coffee shops of Berkeley. You know, people were interested in politics there, something was happening. They had already organized some little, dinky, student activist group on campus that was starting to experiment with actually doing things.

Jack Weinberg:

07:35 ↓

I grew up in a small ethnic community in Buffalo New York. I just knew I couldn't live within its limitations. I had a couple years of college there, I quit school, I hitchhiked around, I ended up in San Francisco, I got married and then I went back to school, and I came to Berkeley really, I was looking for Truth, I was looking, I was looking for meaning in my life.

17:56 ↓

Archival/Dr. Clark Kerr, President of the University of California:

One of the most distressing tasks of a university president is to pretend that the protest and outrage of each new generation of undergraduates is really fresh and meaningful. In fact, it is one of the most predictable controversies that we know. The participants go through a ritual of hackneyed complaints,

almost as ancient as academe, while believing that what is said is radical and new.

08:21 J Mike Miller:

From the very beginning the administration at Cal was trying to undermine and really prevent what we were trying to do. They were very upset about the introduction of what they called off-campus issues. Anything having to do with civil rights or with the testing of nuclear weapons or apartheid in South Africa, these were off-campus issues. Well, this of course, is what we were attacking. We were opposed to sand box politics. The administration really started turning the screws. They disenfranchised the graduate students because that was a big block of the SLATE vote, and then they actually through the organization off-campus. There was a big outrage at that. We got reinstated. So there was a growing community of people who wanted to make liberal or left or radical, however they thought about it, politics legitimate in the country.

09:20 J Archival/Martin Luther King:

When we look at modern man, we have to face the fact that modern man suffers from a kind of poverty of the spirit, which stands in glaring contrast to his scientific and technological abundance. We've learned to fly the air like birds, we've learned to swim the seas like fish, and yet we haven't learned to walk the earth as brothers and sisters.

(Music: "Woke Up This Morning With My Mind On Freedom")

Narrator:

10:03 ↓ More than any other cause, the civil rights movement became the well-spring of student activism and inspired our entire generation. In 1963 Berkeley students began to band together with black activists to protest discriminatory hiring practices of Bay Area businesses. We sat in at restaurants, supermarkets, and automobile showrooms. Our biggest challenge came when we tried to secure jobs for blacks and other minorities in the hotels of San Francisco. A picket line formed around the Sheraton Palace while negotiations with the Hotel Owners Association took place inside.

Jack Weinberg:

10:43 ↓ It was getting to the point where we were saying, we are going to create a confrontation, we are going to create a situation that's intolerable and we're going to force you to respond to it in some way, and we're willing to get arrested in order to do it. And now the ball's in your court.

Archival/Demonstrators inside Sheraton Palace Hotel Chanting: "Jim Cross Must Go!"

Susan Griffin:

11:10 ↓ All of us in this elegant lobby. I can't convey to you the effect. It was like the riff-raff coming to the White House or something. And, the real democratic masses had moved in and taken over, saying, 'No, you cannot continue to run this hotel in this racist fashion. The world is being redefined, things cannot continue on that way, they just won't.'

Archival/Bill Bradley, Adhoc Committee To End Discrimination:

11:31 ↓ We just entered into discussion with the Sheraton Palace for the last 8 hours and we were given a 7 page document which is supposed to summarize the agreement, but it seemed that there was only one hitch. The Sheraton Palace wasn't willing to sign.

#### Archival/Sheraton Palace Arrests

Jackie Goldberg:

12:12 ↓ It was the first major victory of anything I had been involved in. The Sheraton Palace Hotel arrests and convictions and trials and so forth led to the first agreement that I knew of in the north of its kind, and that was an agreement between the entire hotel industry and the Adhoc Committee to End Discrimination to hire minority individuals, at all levels of employment including management. It was very historic and it was very elevating and it really pumped us all up to think that, my god, we really could have an effect on history. We could have an effect on lives of people we'd never know, we'd never meet. And it was simply by taking seriously the words of the Constitution, the preamble, and the Declaration of Independence, and all that stuff that we believed in, you know, with great vim and vigor. And here we just saw it happen and it worked.

13:06 Jack Weinberg:

↓ It was a very thrilling experience for us, but the flip side of it is other people saw it in very different light. That is the business community saw it as a, as a threat, as something that's going to cause them some real problems. And the fact that a hundred Berkeley students were arrested, probably 5,6, 800 Berkeley students were involved in the thing, it just portended things to come. And



very quickly there was pressure put down on the university. You've got to stop this. And the terms that were being used were, the university cannot be used as a base for attacks on the community.

*Free Speech Movement, Fall, 1964*

Jackie Goldberg:

13:42

↓ In the fall of the school year 64-65, we return to campus and find out that the tables on Bancroft and Telegraph which has historically been the campus political activity lifeline, were banned.

Archival/Jackie Goldberg:

13:56

↓ Tables have been permitted out in front of Bancroft and Telegraph to distribute literature and these literatures including the ideas of policy and advocating stands. At this particular point we have been denied this, and we think, whether or not this is true or not, as far as why they are doing it, the effect of cutting this off is to stop political activity on this campus.

Jackie Goldberg:

7:22

↓ We knew at the time that it was aimed at the civil rights movement and at progressive organizations and at those of us interested in the peace movement and civil rights, mainly civil rights. But by banning all of us they created an enormous reaction, because they united a group of people around the need to have those tables that couldn't have united themselves under any other circumstances.

Dr. Clark Kerr, President of the University of California:

14:48 ↓

We told them they had to go back on the streets where they had been traditionally for this kind of activity. And they then took the position that we want to undertake these activities on campus property itself. And we said this is not possible.

Jack Weinberg:

15:01 ↓

When the university banned political action at Bancroft and Telegraph, they said it was the same as the rest of the campus and therefore it was illegal. We said if it is the same as the rest of the campus, then we can do this anywhere, because we have a right there, we have right anywhere. We decided to move our tables to Sather Gate. There were five students sitting at tables and Deans came by and said, "If you don't leave we are going to have to cite you." And the students, I remember one of them said, "I'm sorry sir, my organization has not authorized me to leave this table," and so he was cited. As soon as a student was cited, the Dean would go to the next table to cite the next student, somebody would get up, somebody else would sit in their place. Well, after they cited the five people, they just didn't want to be there writing all day. So the Deans started leaving, and people said, "No, me too, me too." Well at 3 o'clock, 500 people marched into Sproul Hall saying, "Whatever you do to those people, you've got to do to us."

Archival/Mario Savio:

15:50 ↓

If you don't stand up for your freedom now, you're dead guys.

Jack Weinberg

15:56  
The Deans wanted the students who were cited to go into the Dean's office. "We said, "We all did it, you have to treat us all the same." So we were out in the halls and nobody would go into the office, and at about 8 or 9 o'clock at night they announced that those five people, plus three of the demonstration leaders were suspended. Well, the next morning, we really knew it was gonna happen. We set our tables up right in front of Sproul Hall steps, I guess I was one of the more noisy people, so a Dean came up to me and he asked me to identify myself and I refused to identify myself and he said if I didn't identify myself I would be arrested. Well, it wasn't the first time that I had been threatened with arrest. Two policemen took me under the arms, I went limp, they dragged me into the police car and before I got into the police car it was surrounded with people. It was two minutes to twelve, there was this commotion going on, some people are joining in, some people are stopping to watch. This police car is going no where.

Archival/Jack Weinberg, inside police car:

16:54 ↓ I just did what any of my fellow students or my fellows in all these organizations would have done. So I was just singled out, chance selected me, I'm no martyr.

John Gage:

17:04 ↓ I found I couldn't understand why people were prohibited from speaking in the plaza. And if this demonstration around this police car was some way to indicate it was wrong, well it seemed like a good idea to me. I didn't like the idea of seizing a police car very much, but it was certainly a peaceful seizing. People began to speak.

17:24  
↓ Archival/Mario Savio:

The only reason that I took part in this is because I like Cal very much, I'd like to see it better.

17:32  
↓ John Gage:

And they stand on the car. People were very careful about the car. People would take their shoes off and gently climb up on the car. They moved from the hood of the car onto the roof of the car. Then the argument raged. Are you with us or are you against us? I wasn't either. I was watching and listening to speeches.

17:52  
↓ Jack Weinberg:

There was an open microphone on top of the police car and anybody who wanted to speak could sign up on a list and they had three minutes to say anything they wanted to say. And hour after hour, people were getting up and orating. It was like an explosion of ideas.

8:07  
↓ Archival/Brad Cleaveland, student:

Aristotle said if you are not a citizen you are either a beast or a god. Now I ask you a very simple question (laughter).

8:17  
↓ Michael Rossman:

People start talking, bringing in the Greek Philosophers, bringing in the French Revolution, talking about all the ideas, Constitutional liberties, as if they had meaning!

Jack Weinberg

18:27

Late at night there were some fraternity people who came down, there was some confrontation, they were talking of breaking it up, but I remember they were heckling from the back. So one of the people on the mic says, come on up. They got one of the fraternity boys to come up and say his thing on the mic, and by the time he got there he forgot why he was against it, and his friends started booing him.

John Gage:

18:46



It really was a political awakening because there was a political issue here and we were all part of this. We weren't observing it on television, we were actually part of deciding what would happen -- as was the university administration. No one from university administration came to speak. No one came to present any reasoned point of view about why the arrest had occurred, or why the rules restricting political speech were justifiable. Nothing.

Jack Weinberg:

19:16



I ended up sitting in that police car for 32 hours. And at the maximum time there were as many as 6000 people sitting down around the police car. And at various points when the police were arrests were threatened, people didn't run away, more people came and sat down. People who were trying to avoid it felt they had to sit down. People were saying, "Join us, join us."

(Archival/ Demonstrators Singing "We Shall Not Be Moved.")

Jack Weinberg

19:49 J Mario and a delegation was off negotiating with the administration and right at the final minute they arrive and a settlement has been reached.

19:58 J Archival/Mario Savio:  
May I please have a decision? (Cheers)

20:05 J Archival/Reporter:  
What's the word now, Doctor?

20:06 J Archival/Dr. Clark Kerr, President of the University of California:  
Well, there has been an agreement signed by the student groups and by me as president of the university which has several points to it. The first point is that the student demonstrators shall desist from their illegal actions protesting university regulations. We've also agreed to set up a committee to examine the rules."

20:34 J Archival/Art Goldberg:  
The remarkable thing about this entire situation is that there's been a coalition that I think is completely unusual in politics. There's been a coalition from Youth for Goldwater all the way over from the Young Socialist Alliance, and usually these two groups don't even speak together, let alone sit at the same table and work out general policies and platforms. And I think that, I'm proud to say that American students are united on one issue, and that's the first amendment privileges of freedom of speech, the right to advocate and discuss at any time and any place, as long as it doesn't disturb classes and interfere with traffic."

21:08 Jackie Goldberg:

Our meetings lasted 10, 12, 15, 18 hours. People slept at different times during some of them and came back. Because we had two goals: to figure out what to do; and to try to keep this enormous coalition together, understanding the power of all of these groups moving in the same direction around this issue. And that takes a long time. Because you can't do it by a majority vote. The minority just says, "Oh, okay, I'm gone." It had to be by consensus. People had to agree. And it took forever. We called it boring, disgusting, time consuming democracy.

21:48 John Searle:

I remember one administrator described the whole of the Free Speech Movement to me as a civil rights panty raid. Now, in a way that's not such a dumb description, cause he did see ah these kids are having a good time and it's all very exciting, it's just instead of being about panties, it's about civil rights. But what he failed to see is that there was a real underlying seriousness to this. There was a tremendous sense of community. It's as if all these students had been waiting to get together and work together and suddenly they did it.

22:20 Archival/Nina Spitzer

Six weeks ago they promised us that they would negotiate on their regulations of free speech. Yes, they have negotiated. They have blocked every attempt that we have made. If they refuse to come to a stand we will also consider negotiations as being broken by them. However, we will continue to try and get them to come to a vote, or take a stand, or make a decision.

22:40  
John Gage:

As Mario Savio would talk about a meeting and tell what happened in the meeting and explain the positions taken by the administration and from what I could tell, would tell exactly what had gone on, I would then contrast that with the administration's explanation-- muffled, guarded. The administration would not explain what had happened. They wouldn't tell the truth. I think a lot of people became very upset about what administration spokesmen would say is going on, when they knew it wasn't true.

23:17  
Archival/Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Instruction and U.C. Regent:

What you have there are a few of these rather bearded, unwashed characters with sandals and long hair, who normally would be regarded sort of tolerantly as a lunatic fringe which you put up with but you do not necessarily encourage. And in effect, the campus has been turned over to these characters.

23:39  
Michael Rossman:

Somewhere in the process of the FSM for the very first time, the young privileged, affluent children of the culture began to see themselves as an oppressed class. It was an astounding perception. You know, because here we were, we were at the height of the privileged, the best students at the best multiversity, destined to be the managers of the society; and in the middle of this we turned around and looked at our education and said, "Wait a minute, somehow the best is the worst." It put us out of touch with the society, it severed technology from values, it severed the intellect from the heart. For many people this was the only educational activity that we were involved in that was deeply meaningful.



(Archival/Music "All My Trials.")

Jackie Goldberg:

25:31

There was a point in late November when it became clear that the administration had finally figured out how to break us apart as a coalition, and that was they said we could have our tables back, we could do all the things we wanted to do, but we couldn't advocate unlawful activity lest we'd still be liable for discipline as students on the campus. It was very clear to us that the only groups that last part of the rule were aimed at were those who used civil disobedience in their strategies for change. That meant the left and the civil rights movement. Well, we felt quite defeated.

Archival/Mario Savio:

26:05

This position on the question of advocacy, which the president has recommended, which the regents have now approved, is far severer than any which has been recommended by any faculty committee and of course is totally unacceptable to the students. It constitutes, in fact, prior restraint on speech, on political expression on campus.

Interviewer: So you've lost a lot of ground?

Savio: Well, it's very hard to say.

Jackie Goldberg:

26:30

Fortunately, the university committed another atrocity.

Jack Weinberg:

26:33

↓ They could not end this whole incident without punishing somebody and teaching a lesson that something like this should never again happen. And so, when students got back after Thanksgiving break they found out that the eight people who had originally been cited had received letters saying that disciplinary proceedings leading to expulsion had begun against them.

26:55

Archival/Michael Rossman:

So here we are. Four students are getting the ax, six organizations are getting the ax, for standing up this semester and for fighting for these things. They are getting the ax not for what they did, but for what we have done. They spoke for us, they were part of us, they have been singled out and they are going to be chopped off.

Archival/Mario Savio:

27:16

↓ We were told the following, and President Kerr actually tried to get something more liberal out of the regents in his telephone conversation, why didn't he make some public statement to that effect. And the answer we received, from a well-meaning liberal, was the following, he said, "Would you ever imagine the manager of a firm making a statement publically in opposition to his board of directors?" That's the answer. Well, I ask you to consider. If this is a firm, and if the board of regents are the board of directors, and if President Kerr in fact is the manager, then I tell you something: the faculty are a bunch of employees and we're the raw materials. But we are a bunch of raw materials that don't mean to have any process upon us, don't mean to be made into any product, don't mean, don't mean to end up being bought by some clients of the university be they the government, be they industry, be they organized labor, be they anyone. We are human beings.

(Applause) There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part. You can't even passively 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, to the people who own it, that unless you're free the machine will be prevented from working at all!

(Archival/Music: "We Shall Overcome.")

29:23 ↓ John Gage:

How could you not go into Sproul Hall. Everybody was going into Sproul Hall. It was a, it was a, what other alternative did you have to say that you weren't happy with the way things were going?

Jentri Anders:

29:40 ↓ I hesitated for about 2 seconds and I thought, you know, I got a picture of my husband's face and I thought, what is this going to do, you know? What is it going to do to my career? What is it going to do to my life? And then I just said, to hell with it, I don't care what it does. This is my chance to do something and I'm going to do it.

30:01 ↓ Archival/Demonstration leaders inside Sproul Hall:

The 4th, 3rd, and 2nd floors are filled, stay downstairs.

Those of us in the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement in the stairwell over there.

(Singing and dancing to Chanukah song.)

30:24

John Gage:

People were dancing in the hallways, people were studying. People were just sitting on the cold floors, wandering around, talking with each other. It was chaos and confusion and it was sort of like a party. And it went on and on and on. And finally the police decided that if you wanted to go out you could go out but you couldn't get back in. I debated about this for some, I don't think I was in a position of deciding to make witness or not make witness, a great moral decision. It was getting to be dinner time, it was getting in or not getting in. I had no idea this was going to go on for a long time. When I came back people were climbing with ropes up the front of Sproul Hall. It was clear that something was happening but it wasn't really clear what.

31:19

↓ Archival/Chancellor Strong:

May I have your attention, please. I am Dr. Edward Strong, Chancellor of the Berkeley campus. I have an announcement. This assemblage has developed to such a point that the purpose and work of the university have been materially impaired. (Student applause) Please go!

32:00

↓ Jentri Anders:

I wanted to run. My impulse was to run. I was sort of hanging onto the people next to me to keep myself from jumping up. And right at that time

something really neat happened. And that was, Art Goldberg was the leader of our, or our floor. He was in charge of us. And he was standing there, he heard they were coming up on the elevators and so he was giving us a speech on what you do, how you go limp. And he was saying, "Now, when the cops come at you, you don't want to fight them, you just want to go limp." And as he's saying this, the cops are coming at him. He talked all the way down to the floor -- and I know this because I was looking between their legs. It was really an inspiration. And I said to myself, if he can do that, that's what I am going to try to do. So when they got to me, they said "Do you want to walk out like a lady, or are you going to get dragged out?" And I said, "I want to get dragged out like a lady."

(Music: "Free Speech Carols")

33:23 ↓ John Searle:

With the arrests came a massive collapse of the authority of the campus administration. Now they made a desperate attempt to regain that authority in a big meeting at the Greek Theater.

↓ Archival/Professor Robert Scalapino, Chairman of the Political Science Department:

33:38 The departmental chairmen believe that the acts of civil disobedience on December 2nd and 3rd were unwarranted and that they obstruct rational and fair consideration of the grievances brought forward by the students. There are a small number of individuals, I regret to say who are interested in fomenting a crisis merely for the sake of crisis. They hope that continuing

chaos will bring about a total revolution, and their own particular concept of utopia.

Archival/Dr. Clark Kerr, President of the University of California:

34:14 ↓

The university supports the powers of persuasion against the use of force, the constructive act as against the destructive blow, respect for the rights of others, opposition to passion and hate, the reasoned argument as against the simplistic slogan, the academic world and the people of this state expect of us conduct commensurate with our past achievements and our high capacities. We should expect no less of ourselves. Thank you.

(Mario Savio approaches the podium and is dragged away by police)

Archival/Art Goldberg:

35:23 ↓

He tried to exercise free speech when he stood up there, the police took him away. That shows the entire process that's going on on campus.

35:33 ↓

Archival/Professor Robert Scalapino:

We of course had no notion that Mr. Savio was going to try and speak at the end of this meeting.

Student: That's a lie.

Scalapino: He asked, just a moment.

Student: Lie!

Another student: That's a lie! He requested it.

Scalapino: He asked, just a moment.

Art Goldberg: Just let him speak. You're killing yourself more!

Scalapino: at the beginning of the meeting, not an open forum, Mario Savio:

He asked, he asked me at the beginning of the meeting whether he would be allowed to speak at this meeting. I said that he would not because this was a structured meeting, not an open forum, and we had a program which had been approved.

36:07 ↴ Mario Savio: They are a bunch of hypocrites and bastards.

John Searle:

36:09 ↴ Even if the Greek Theater had gone exactly according to plan, it still would have been a flop. But it was worse than a flop, it was a fiasco and there was a kind of pandemonium on the campus. Speaking politically, there was a power vacuum. Who the hell was in charge? Nobody knew. And a bunch of us drafted a resolution. We took that resolution into the academic senate and it passed by over 7 to 1. The overwhelming majority of the faculty had come down firmly on the side of free speech. So when the faculty marched out into this cheering mob of students we knew that was it, that was victory. We had achieved everything we had set out to achieve in the FSM.

Archival/Art Brown, KRON reporter:

36:58 ↴ Student rallies at the University of California at Berkeley over the past two months have become commonplace. But today's rally in front of Sproul Hall has taken on a different tone. Several thousand students have gathered for what has been billed as a victory celebration, a victory the students feel is assured as a result of yesterday's action by the academic senate.

Mario Savio:

37:22  
↓  
"We're asking that there be no, no restrictions on the content of speech save those provided by the courts and that's an enormous amount of freedom. And people can say things within within that area of freedom which are not responsible. And now that's, we've finally gotten into a position where we have to consider being responsible, because you know now we have the freedom within which to be responsible. And I'd like to say, at this time, I'm confident, I'm confident that the students and the faculty of the University of California will exercise their freedom with the same responsibility they have shown in winning their freedom."

John Searle:

38:16  
↓  
People thought, this is it. I mean this is day one of a new era. We're gonna have a completely different kind of a university. We can sit down and replan the whole structure of the university. If we want, we can have the administrators just busy sweeping sidewalks, that was a popular slogan in those days. We can have a completely different conception of education. Worse yet, we attracted to Berkeley the worst collection of kooks and nuts you've ever seen in your life. Everybody saw this on television and they had a completely distorted conception of it. They thought, what you do is you go to Berkeley and you riot and you just have a great time. It's one big political sexual drug feast. Didn't Ronald Reagan himself say that it was all drugs and sex and radical politics? So they had this absurd conception of what was going on. The media exaggerated in a certain sort of way. And we had created a set of expectations that were really not satisfiable.

Jackie Goldberg:



39:13 ↓

The thing that irritated me the most in the stuff that came out about that period was the description of us as alienated and cynical. We were the absolute antithesis of that. We were so committed and so involved, we risked our careers, we risked our jobs, our education, and we did it because we were so tied into this system, to this country, to this culture. We believed in it so much that we were willing to take those risks at a time when it wasn't very popular to do so.

John Gage:

39:42 ↓

I'd never realized that there were those who would lie to maintain their positions of power. Then I saw it. I'm not sure. I don't think people were evil to lie, but they did it. They altered the way things were to maintain their positions of power and authority and they did it in a way that was wrong. And when I saw that, then I saw that everywhere. I saw that in the structures of political power in Oakland, I saw that in the structures of political power in the South, and I began to see that the mechanisms that the Free Speech Movement was attempting to change were mechanisms that operated everywhere.

Jentri Anders:

40:21 ↓

I was at a rally where Mario was speaking, I remember that he was the speaker and it was, it was some kind of wrap-up rally, like maybe it was right after the trial, or something like that. And it was sort of like well, the FSM is over, we've got it all, that's all settled, and my feeling was, ok, that's settled now I can go on with my life. And I was even walking away from the rally before Mario was quite finished. And I remember, I have this very clear memory of his voice, you know, ringing out as I'm leaving Sproul Plaza, and he's saying

"Now don't everybody go walking away because we've still got a war to stop."  
And I just looked around real startled and I thought war, what war? And  
then it turned out that it was the Vietnam War.

41:06 ↓ Archival/President Johnson delivering campaign speech in 1964:  
And if I can have your help, if I can have your hand, if I can have your heart,  
if I can have your prayers, if the good Lord is willing, I will continue to try to  
lead this nation and this world to peace.

(Music: "I Ain't Marchin' Anymore")

41:54 ↓ Narrator:  
Victory in our struggle for civil rights and free speech made us confident that  
we could change the course of history. Then we learned about Vietnam and  
12:07 — stopping the war became our consuming cause.

Jack Weinberg:

12:12 ↓ The first really large activity in opposition to the Vietnam War was Vietnam  
Day in May 1965. There was a parade of speakers that one after another started  
telling us something that we didn't really know which was what our country  
was doing in Vietnam.

Archival/Paul Potter, president of SDS, speaking at Vietnam Day:

2:29 ↓ Most of us grew up thinking that the United States was a great and humble  
nation, that only involved itself in the affairs of other countries reluctantly  
and as a last and final resort. But now the war in Vietnam has provided the  
incredibly sharp razor that has finally separated thousands and thousands of

people from their illusions about the morality and integrity of this country's purposes internationally. Never again will the self-righteous saccharine moralism of promising a billion dollars of economic aid while we spend billions and billions of dollars to destroy them, never again will that moralism have the power to persuade people of the essential decency of this country's aims. What kind of a system is it that allows decent men, good men, to make the decisions that have led to the thousands and thousands of deaths that have happened in Vietnam? What kind of a system is it that justifies the United States in seizing the destinies of other people and using them callously for our own ends? We must name that system and we must change it and control it, else it will destroy us.

Narrator:

43:59 ↓ The war started to escalate rapidly. Every month another 20,000 soldiers shipped out to Vietnam. Many of them came through Berkeley. Some of us  
4:10 — decided to stop the trains.

Jentri Anders:

44:12 ↓ I was walking next to a woman and she told me that she was a Buddhist and that she had been pulled into stopping the war by the immolations of the priests. And she said she was going to sit on the tracks and so I said, ok I will too. As the train came around the bend I thought it's gonna have to slow down, but it sped up and then as it got closer to us it began shooting out steam. As the steam hit me, I jumped out of the steam. Then I looked at the woman I had been talking to and she was sitting in a full lotus position in the middle of the tracks, and as the train went rushing by, I thought she was under it. When the train got past I looked at the tracks and I expected to see a

big pile of blood and there was nothing, she had just disappeared. Well, a few days after that, this same woman came walking into the Lowie Museum where I was working, leading a big group of children on a tour through the museum. And I said, "What happened? What did you do and what happened?" And she said, "Oh, well, the plain clothes policemen snatched me off the track just before the train got there." And I said, "Were you going to stay there, were you going to sit right on the track and let the train kill you?" And she said, "Well, yes I was going to do that then, but that isn't what happened. So now I'm here taking these children through the museum." And it really struck me. It really hit my heart, that here was a person who was ready to give her life to try and stop the war. And that's when I think it really came through to me just how important it was.

45:49 J Archival/Steve Weissman, at a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee:  
What we have to do, is let's get rid of this tactical point...

Narrator:

45:52 J In the Fall of '65 the Vietnam Day Committee organized its first anti-war march. The destination was the Oakland Army terminal. The City of Oakland refused a permit. The VDC voted to march anyway.

Archival/Vietnam Day Committee meeting:

46:05 J All in favor of the motion, march regardless of permit...(lots of hands are raised). All opposed (no hands go up). The motion carries.

Archival/Frank Bardacke:

46:13

The Vietnam Day Committee intends to have a peaceful march through Oakland this evening. We intend no civil disobedience. We do not intend to break any laws. We've made this point quite clear. We think its incredible that the Oakland authorities have denied us a permit for this march.

46:30

Archival/Jack Weinberg:

The policy is going to be the following. We're going to march down Telegraph Avenue. We hear that a cordon is likely to be formed right past the Oakland city line. This is a very dangerous situation that can create a great peace movement or destroy it. We urge your cooperation.

(Singing.)

46:52

Jack Weinberg:

We had a problem. The Oakland police had put up a barricade at the Oakland line and we had to deal with what we were going to do when the march got to that point. Some of us ran ahead to try to see if we could bluff our way through, and it was absolutely clear that it was going to be a bloody situation. And I just decided that we were turning. I basically was the person who made that decision, but for years afterwards, got great degrees of shit for it, never knew if I did right or wrong, I still don't know if it was right or wrong decision.

(Singing.)

Narrator:

47:38 ↓ The next day an even larger march made a second attempt to cross into Oakland. Once again a police cordon was waiting. And this time the marchers

47:49 — faced another obstacle: Hells Angels.

47:50 ↓ Archival/Sonny Barger, head of the Oakland Chapter of the Hell's Angels:  
Why don't you people go home? Go on home you pacifists, get out of here.  
Berkeley Police Chief Beall: Back off. Back off.  
March leaders: Sit down! Sit down!

(Music: "I Ain't Marchin' Anymore")

Narrator:

48:17 ↓ Each attempt to stop the anti-war movement seemed to make our numbers grow. A month later a third march, far greater than the first two, finally made

48:27 it into Oakland.

48:58 Jack Weinberg:

↓ The whole national mythology was that Vietnam was a consensus war, was bipartisan foreign policy. All significant sectors of the American public accepted the war and the people who opposed it were marginalized freaks, kooks, you know, unimportant people. It was a real statement for a person to say, yes I am willing to march out against the war. And when thousands of people did that, it broke that consensus. That was a function, that's what the anti-Vietnam War movement, it broke that consensus.

Archival:

49:31 ↓ "Bring our boys home."... "You've got to march when the spirits ..."

Newsman: Go ahead, just react?

Allen Ginsberg: Well, what do you want, react to what?

Newsman: React to the greatness of the march and the day and the victory, are you happy with it?

Ginsberg: Chants Om-Shiva with hand cymbals.

50:18 Narrator:

↓ Ronald Reagan walked onto the political stage as a candidate for governor in 1966. During his campaign he found that attacking what he called "the mess at Berkeley" pleased the crowds.

50:31 Archival/Ronald Reagan:

↓ It began a year ago when the so-called free speech advocates, who in truth have no appreciation for freedom, were allowed to assault and humiliate the symbol of law and order, a policeman on the campus. And that was the moment when the ringleaders should have been taken by the scruff of the neck and thrown out of the university once and for all.

50:50 Michael Rossman:

↓ He won by pandering to a citizenry that was outraged by what these terrible, insolent, ungrateful children were doing on the campuses.

50:59 Archival/Ronald Reagan

↓ As a matter of fact I have here a copy of a report of the district attorney of Alameda County. It concerns a dance that was sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee, sanctioned by the university as a student activity, and that was

held in the men's gymnasium at the University of California. The incidents are so bad, so contrary to our standards of human behavior, that I couldn't possibly recite them to you from this platform in detail. But there is clear evidence that there were things that shouldn't be permitted on a university campus. Let me just read a few excerpts. "The total crowd at the dance was in excess of 3,000, including a number of less than college age juveniles. Three rock and roll bands were in the center of the gymnasium playing simultaneously all during the dance. And all during the dance, movies were shown on two screens at the opposite ends of the gymnasium. These movies were the only lights in the gym proper. They consisted of color sequences that gave the appearance of different colored liquids spreading across the screen, followed by shots of men and women on occasion, shots where the men and women's nude torsos on occasion. And persons twisted and gyrated in provocative and sensual fashion.

(Music: "Purple Haze")

52:41 Archival/Driver of Haight-Ashbury Bus Tour:

↓ This portion of the Gray Line in the city is the first and only foreign tour within the continental limits, the fountainhead of the hippie subculture. The hippies is often a strange world in which they live in. They take many trips and the trip of the hippies is generally an unusual one.

3:14 Narrator:

↓ Across the Bay from Berkeley a counterculture emerged on the streets of San Francisco. Descended from the hipsters of the beatnik era, hippies further exposed the chasm between our parents generation and our own. By 1966



more and more of us were turning on, tuning in, and dropping out. Our  
53:36 — alienation ran much deeper than political protest.

Jentri Anders:

53:37  
I We were all beginning to see that it was much, much bigger than the war. It was much, much bigger than the civil rights movement. There were major things wrong and I think the people who got involved in the counter culture on some level perceived that they did not want to be a part of what was wrong with a culture that was destroying the world. Now I can see that much better in retrospect than I could right then, but, the point is, that it was the culture that was sick. It was the whole American way of looking at things that was sick. So I think we came to a realization that one way to change that is to just live it differently. Instead of trying to change the structure in a direct, confrontational way, you just drop out and live it the way you think it ought to be.

Archival/:

54:31  
I Newsman: You play anything beside the sweet potato.

Hippie: The drums, the conga drums and uh, trumpet. Yeah. And I go up in the mountains and yell now and then.

Newsman: You do what?

Hippie: Go up in the mountains and yell. Way up high in the mountains and yell as hard as I can.

Newsman: What's the purpose of that?

Hippie: Well, to greet the dawn and to greet the noonday sun and to greet the sunset.

Newsman: You mean, you stay up there all day, yelling at morning, noon, and night?

Hippie: Yeah, and standing on my head and making gardens and painting pictures.

Newsman: You mean, you not only play the sweet potato, you also grow them?

Hippie: Right. (Laughs.)

Archival/:

55:09  
↓  
Man: Why do you indulge in smoking this, these uh, narcotic cigarettes.

Hippie: Why do people drink alcohol? It's the same reason.

Hippie 2: It's just a big ping-pong table. I mean you say, why do we do this? And we say why do you do this? You know, we don't agree, you're the mass, and we're trying to change it.

Man: Why? What are you trying to change it to? What are your principles, or do you have any?

Woman hippie: We're not trying to change anything, we're just trying to be ourselves, man, to be what we want to be. And do what we think is right.

Man: Well, why don't you go out in the desert somewhere, where it's clean and healthy, instead of dirtying up a community?

Hippies: We're not dirtying up anything.

(Music: "Section 43")

55:49  
↓  
Barry Melton:

My parents sent away to the Bay Area a serious young folk singer. I came back with long hair down to there. I was wearing an enormous amount of beads

around my neck. They figured I had abandoned everything I was taught. And I realized, you know, we had big arguments about this stuff and I tried to convince them to sell all their furniture and go to India. And they weren't going for it. And I realized that no matter how far out their political views were, because they were mighty unpopular -- my parents were pretty left wing -- that really they were materialists, they were concerned about how the wealth was divided up. And I was at that point in my consciousness where I didn't care about wealth. We were actually living communally rather than talking about communism.

56:48 Archival/Lou Gottlieb at Morning Star Ranch:

↓ Sell the radio. Get rid of the subscription. Tune into those other bands that do not broadcast in words, that broadcast in joy. The form of god is the joy of his discovery.

57:01 Archival/Man at Morning Star Ranch:

↓ Up, up, up. Everybody goes up. There you see.

Narrator:

57:11 ↓ The counterculture burst onto the Berkeley campus during a strike in the fall of '66. At the close of a meeting students started to sing "Solidarity Forever,"

57:22 then suddenly switched to "Yellow Submarine."

Archival/

57:25 ↓ Newsman: Something about, we all live in the Yellow Submarine. What's this mean?

Student: Again, it's difficult to explain. And I think, we take this music seriously and there's a meaning, a meaning which everyone can interpret it differently about the Yellow Submarine. It's a sort of, it's an understanding that we're banding together in a Yellow Submarine and that it represents a new way of looking at life.

(Music: "Viola Lee Blues")

Narrator:

58:01 ↓ The radicals of Berkeley and the hippies of Haight-Ashbury had a natural affinity. We were visionaries, critical of conventional society. But we disagreed about how to change the world. This running argument came to a head over the War in Vietnam.

58:15 — Jack Weinberg:

58:21 ↓ Sometime in late 1966, Bill Miller, who had been active in the Vietnam War movement was running a bar in Berkeley, called a bunch of people active in the anti-war movement to a meeting behind his bar. There were some people from the Haight-Ashbury who were going to be organizing some sort of activity and they wanted to tell us about it and ask for support. Well, it was going to be the first Be-In. There was one fellow in particular, trying to really get us excited about the plan. He said, "And we're gonna have so much music and so much love, and so much energy, that we're gonna stop the war in Vietnam!"

Barry Melton:

59:12 The politics of hip is that we were setting up a new world, as it were, that was going to run parallel to the old world but have as little to do with it as possible. We just weren't going to deal with straight people. And to us, the politicos, a lot of the leaders of the anti-war movement, were straight people, because they were still concerned with the government. They were going to go march on Washington. We didn't even want to know that Washington was there. I mean we thought that eventually the whole world was just going to stop all this nonsense and start loving each other, as soon as they all got turned on. It's amazing that these movements coexisted at the same time, were in stark contrast in certain respects, but as the 1960s progressed drew closer together and began taking on aspects of the other.

(Music: "Fix-in' to Die Rag")

Archival/Speech by member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War:

60:44 ↓ As Vern stumbled out of that bunker dazed, with blood on him, parts of his friends on him, he collapsed into the arms of Larry Craig. And he mumbled to Larry Craig, he didn't mumble "those bastard Viet Cong." He didn't mumble, "those bastard communists." He didn't mumble "those slope-eyed bastards." He mumbled only one thing, over and over, "that bastard Johnson, that bastard Johnson."

61:11 Archival/Martin Luther King:

↓ The aim is to build a powerful peace block that can really have influence in the 1968 elections. And we must make it clear that we aren't going to let our political forces and the politicians ignore Vietnam in 1968. This must be an

issue, if that tragic war is still going on. And so, as the war hawks escalate the war in Vietnam, we must escalate our protest against the war.

*Stop the Draft Week, October 1967*

Archival/Terry Cannon:

51:50

↓ We're in front of the Oakland Induction Center today because this place is going to be closed down October 16th to the 21st. We are declaring a draft holiday for that period and we are going to close this building down.

Frank Bardacke:

2:09

↓ The movement from protest to resistance, which was the official slogan of the Stop the Draft Week, and became a major slogan within the anti-war movement, had something to do with the logic of the anti-war movement itself. There had been 6, 7, 8 years of educating people about the war and of sort of protesting it. And meanwhile the war was being escalated all the time, getting worse and worse and worse. And there was a feeling of impotence in the face of the further escalation of the war.

Jack Weinberg:

62:39

↓ We were becoming much more alienated from American society and much more willing to be disruptive of that society. And basically we began moving toward the view that we wanted to make the cost of pursuing the war abroad the ungovernability of the society at home.

63:01  
↓  
Ruth Rosen:

I had been very influenced by Martin Luther King and Gandhi. I believed very deeply in nonviolent, civil disobedience. And here were these leaders on campus, now I was a graduate student, and they were saying, we have to raise the stakes, we have to stop the war in a much more militant way. And I found their rhetoric seductive.

63:21  
↓  
Suzy Nelson:

I think we were pretty convinced that we were gonna shut down the induction center when we went down there. We felt strong, there were a lot of us. We felt well organized. We had a lot of planning meetings.

63:35  
↓  
Frank Bardacke:

We didn't want to say, we don't cooperate with the war. We wanted to say, uh-uh. We aren't going to allow you to wage the war. We're gonna fight you. Tuesday morning, the police came in wielding their clubs and they took us seriously, you know. We said we were gonna fight 'em, so they fought us. And it was a disaster. We just melted. They wiped us out.

Archival footage of Tuesday, October 17th riot.

4:24  
↓  
Jentri Anders:

Now it was here come the buses and there is not a damn thing you can do about it. And I began seeing all these young faces in windows going by me. And I just wanted to reach out and just grab 'em and stop 'em and say, listen this is your life you are putting on the line here. And, but what came out was, "Don't go."

Archival footage -- Crowd chants "Don't Go."

65:04  
↓  
Suzy Nelson:

There were bus load after bus load after bus load of young men that day and they were going off to die. And I remember being sort of physically sickened, realizing that I couldn't affect even that part of the war. Here I was face to face with these young men and yet not one of them turned back. I don't think we stopped one inductee from making that critical choice of stepping across the line and going to Vietnam. I don't think we made one bit of difference that day.

65:39  
↓  
Archival/

Newsman: Does the demonstration bother you?

Inductee: No, I think its kind of funny. All those bums running around doing nothing.

65:51  
↓  
Archival/

Reese Erlich, a leader of Stop the Draft Week: Tomorrow we go down there twice as strong as we did today. We go down there with twice as many shields as we did today. And we go down there with everybody wearing one of these. If you can see the dents in there, I don't know whether you can see it from here, but that's what stands between me and a cracked skull from the highway patrol of the State of California.

Protestor: Where do we get the hats?

Reese Erlich: Where do you get the hats? Army and navy surplus (laughter).



56:27  
↓  
Frank Bardacke:

We didn't give up. We didn't say, uh-oh it didn't work. We were able to build for another demonstration on Friday. And on Friday we in fact had our riot. The riot that we had planned.

(Music: "Fortunate Son")

67:27  
↓  
Ruth Rosen:

The event that I remember the most was when the students surged and pushed against the police and pushed them back block after block. I remember thinking, this is like a metaphor. If enough Americans believed the war were wrong, we could end it.

Archival/ "Fortunate Son" continues, ends with crowd changing "Sieg Heil!"

68:20  
↓  
Frank Bardacke:

We controlled the downtown area of Oakland for most of the day. And the cops were outnumbered and confused and scared and we shut down the induction center. We did just what we said we were going to do. We shut the mother down.

68:33  
↓  
John Gage:

I went to the Stop the Draft Week protests and what I saw there made me convinced that action in the streets of that sort was not going to lead to the kind of change necessary to stop the war. I saw a lot of people from Berkeley tear people's fences down, fences that belonged to people who probably made \$5,000 a year were ripped out to block people's cars. Bobby Avakian, son of a

judge, well-known young would-be radical, let the air out of the tires of the federal district attorney. This was going to stop the war. I just thought this was a burlesque of opposition to the war.

59:12 ~ Archival/Demonstrator in the street:

It's come to this, there's nothing else to do. The picketing and all of that just wasn't working. It's time for confrontation.

69:18 ~ Frank Bardacke:

We did stumble upon a strategy where we said, hey, look it, if you continue that war in Vietnam there's going to be chaos here in the streets of the United States. We could say, hey, every place you try to do anything that happens to do with the war, there's going to be thousands and thousands of young people rioting, trying to stop you from doing it.

69:36 ~ Jack Weinberg:

While it was a great success and a turning point, it was also the first clear demonstration that the radical part of the Anti-Vietnam war movement was coming up against its own limitations. It didn't really have the weight in society to stop the war. I think that it was after that, that the Berkeley radical scene became more and more cut off from reality. And the question of moving American society, changing people really was getting lost.

70:08 ~ Archival/ Confrontation in the street

Woman: Move, I've got to go to work.

Protestors: Hey, lady, there's a war going on.

Woman: I don't care. I gotta go to work. (She slaps a young woman blocking her car.)

Suzy Nelson:

70:18

We began to see ourselves as, oh, you know, glue in the keyholes. We began to see ourselves as obstacles in the way of the system fulfilling its potential for wrecking destruction all over the world. I think to began to see ourselves as, well, you know, being as big a pain in the butt as we could. And I think we sort of lost the idea that we could be victorious.

John Gage:

70:53

As confrontation and sit-in and street demonstrations escalated, the rest of the United States political community was left behind. I was interested in the rest of the United States, in the middle, in the Newport Beach. Those people I'd failed with in Thanksgiving vacation Free Speech Movement were the people you had to reach if you were going to stop the war. And the way to do that was not to go down and sit in the streets in front of the Oakland Induction Center and tear up fences and block the streets. The way to do that was to act, to be active electorally.

Frank Bardacke:

71:26

After the Tet offensive, when Westmoreland came to Johnson and said in order to continue the land war in Vietnam we are going to need a million men, Johnson was told by J. Edgar Hoover that if we tried to get a million men out of this country, he could not insure the domestic security of this country. And that was one of the questions, one of the considerations that he made when he decided to end the land war, to begin to pull back from the

land war, when he decided to end the land war and resign as an expression of the failure of his policy to win the war in Vietnam. And Hoover was, Hoover's saying that he couldn't he couldn't protect, he couldn't insure domestic security was a truthful statement about the power of the anti-War movement at that time. We did put limits on America's ability to wage the war in Vietnam.

Archival/President Johnson:

72:22 ↓ I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your president.

Archival/Stokely Carmichael:

72:32 ↓ We want to talk about this thing called violence that everybody is so afraid about. Here you are talking about you afraid of violence and the Honkey drafting <sup>you</sup> out of school to go fight in Vietnam. You gonna sit in front of your television set and listen to LBJ tell you that violence never accomplishes anything my fellow Americans. You ought to tell 'em clear, if you don't want any trouble keep your filthy white hands off our beauty black skins.

Archival/Black Panthers chanting, "The revolution has come, time to pick up the gun."

Narrator:

73:23 ↓ In the streets of Oakland, a few miles from the Berkeley campus the Black Panthers came forward as the cutting edge of black power. Their militancy — had a magnetic effect on the student movement.

73:34  
Michael Rossman:

We want the Panthers to be our friends. We want to follow their lead in some fashion that's confusing, that's mysterious. All we are aware of is we want to go black and white together into some positive future against the oppressor who is feeling ever more oppressive.

73:54  
Narrator:

Bobby Seale and Huey Newton formed the Black Panther Party in the fall of '66. They drew up a 10 point platform addressing community needs from education to housing. The most pressing issue was police violence against Oakland's black community. The Panthers decided to arm themselves and patrol the police.

74:13  
Bobby Seale:

74:14  
When we patrol the police people might imagine we were right behind the police car. No, We might be 4, 5 blocks away. We just drive through the community and if we see the police arresting somebody, we were gonna get out of the car with our shotguns, tape recorders, law books. By this time we got about 6 or 7 members doing this. All of us got guns. How we got our guns was fantastic. The first guns. The Little Red Book, Chairman Mao Tse Tung's, the thoughts of Chairman Mao Tse Tung. Huey calls me up one day and says "Bobby, I know how we can raise some money to get some more shot guns." I says, "How, man?" He says "the Little Red Book. It's all over the news. I heard you can buy them at the China Book Store in Frisco." I says "Wow, good." "How much money you got?" I say, "I don't know. I got forty, fifty bucks. Boom." So we run over the China Book Store. We buy up about 100 of these books. Got our guns strapped on our side. I got a 45. Huey's holding a

shotgun. Little Bobby got a carbine. We got these little bags hanging over our shoulder, with Little Red Books. "Get your Red Books, one dollar." We would buy them for 20 cents and sell them for 1 dollar -- Berkeley Campus at Sather's Gate, right there. We sold out in a matter of an hour. We took this hundred bucks, we go and buy some more Red Books. We made about two, three hundred dollars. We went out and bought two shotguns that day. With the Little Red Book. We hadn't even read the thing. I mean, most people think that we came up with this hard core ideology related to Mao Tse --, we must sold the darn book 2 or 3 months before we even opened the thing and actually read the Little Red Book. Anyway, the next thing I know, I'm marching on the Capitol, because we up there to protest a bill they trying to put in to keep us from carrying guns. Ronald Reagan is over here on the big front lawn. I got a statement to read.

75:46 Archival/Bobby Seale on the steps of the California state capitol:

75:46  
↓  
The Black Panther Party for Self Defense calls upon the American people in general and the black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of black people.

76:09 Bobby Seale:

76:09  
↓  
Ronald Reagan is escorted off the lawn by the state capitol police. I says we can go inside somewhere. Isn't there a spectator section?

76:17

Archival/Black Panthers inside the capitol

Guard: I have these Black Panthers up here with guns on the second floor.

BP: Wait a minute, now wait a minute.

Guard: Right here in the office.

BP: Am I under arrest? Am I under arrest?

2nd BP: You must place him under arrest.

BP: Am I under arrest? Take your hands off me if I'm not under arrest.

Am I under arrest? I'm telling you to take your hands off me.

76:38

Archival/Huey Newton, leader of the Black Panthers:

They put trumped up charges of conspiracy and felonies on everyone who went in to exercise their constitutional right and said they had no right to bear arms in a public place. The California penal code section 12-0-20 through 12-0-27, and also the second amendment of the constitution, guarantees the citizen a right to bear arms on public property.

77:01

Bobby Seale:

Our organization is like a social, evolutionary accident, so to speak. I mean when you compare the NAACP from 1908 and other organizations etc., and all the years they put in to become established... In a matter of six months the Black Panther Party has international notoriety. I mean we're on the front page of the London Times and papers in Africa somewhere. We're a broke little organization with a number of shotguns, a very weak treasury, and don't know, worried about how to pay the rent. And, boom, we're shocking people. We have probably said to white America, like the people who were observing us when we came up with the guns, are saying niggers with guns. It's like a fear. I mean they don't even have to say it. Their faces said it.

There's too many niggers with guns. It's like they know they've pressed us, and now here we're organized with guns. This is the new step. I mean it's symbolic that, oh, they're not going to be nonviolent anymore.

(Chanting: "Black is beautiful", "Free Huey, set our warrior free, Free Huey.")

Narrator:

78:09 ↓ On the night of October 28, 1967 Huey Newton was stopped by police. There was gunfire. Officer Frey was killed and Huey Newton was arrested for murder. His trial drew the student movement into an alliance with the Black Panthers. Free Huey became our rallying cry.

David Hilliard:

78:29 ↓ The organization just propelled. It took off like a prairie fire, spreaded everywhere, certainly beyond my imagination. I mean after Huey's arrest, um, that's when things really started rolling.

(Various chants: "Free Huey Now or Else," "Free Huey," "Off the Pigs.")

Michael Rossman:

79:20 ↓ The Panthers exercised a heavy influence in the imagination of the white left, partly because the white left was confused about who it was and what it ought to do. They were fascinated by this tough, macho image and they followed it not so much willfully, but involuntarily, because it was the projection out there of the thing in their own actions that thrilled them most.

Bobby Seale:



79:26 We had captured the imagination of the white radical left in this country to a point that its whole identification became connected with what the Black Panther Party was doing, how it was personifying things. And it was like we influenced them in whatever direction we thought that they should go.

Hardy Frye:

79:45  
↓  
I don't like the word suck up, but I would say they were awed by the Panthers. There was something, the Panthers were somehow confronting the white power structure the way they would have liked to have done, some of them. And not all. Many of the whites who led the Stop-the-Draft-Week that I had been involved with, many of those people who had been in some parts of early SDS was as skeptical as I was, but no one would of course say any of these remarks publically. I mean, you didn't need that hassle. So what a lot of us did, I think to the detriment of the black movement perhaps, and to the left movement in general, was that a lot of us with many years of political experience and political organizational skills dropped out, if not dropped out, stepped to the side in this period.

Archival/Bill Brent?, Black Panther:

80:31  
↓  
Huey P. Newton is the only leader that black people should recognize. A man who is willing to stand up and face that pig on his own terms, gun for gun if necessary. This must be done. You cannot sit there and allow that man to be railroaded anymore. You must free our leader. He must be freed and he will be freed.

Narrator:

81:00 Two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King the war of nerves between the Black Panthers and the Oakland police came to a climax. On April 6, 1968, a shoot out erupted in which Eldridge Cleaver was wounded and Bobby Hutton was killed.

Archival/Bobby Seale at the scene of the shootout:

81:16 ↓ Bobby Hutton was instructed by the cops to run from here to the police car or the area where it was, and was literally shot down. He was shot over 10 times. He had 5 pistol bullets in his head. A clear cut case of murder. As brother Huey P. Newton says, the racist pig cops must stop their wanton murder and brutality or suffer the wrath of the armed black people in their black communities defending themselves.

David Hilliard:

81:48 ↓ Historically, in retrospect, those guns were somewhat our nemesis. We were never really able to play that down. The police, the media, used that. We got hung up into a confrontational thing with the police over those guns that we were never really able to live down.

Archival/

2:11 ↓ Eldridge Cleaver: We say bring it on. If you want war, let there be war. This is what we're saying, isn't that clear?

Newsman: In other words, if he is convicted and sentenced to death, Oakland will erupt.

Eldridge Cleaver: This whole country is going to erupt is what we're telling you. We're going to do everything that we can to see that the whole world erupts. Isn't that clear?

82:28 Michael Rossman:

✓ The Panthers seemed even crazier than they were because they were playing the media and the media was loving them. The media picked up their current, fed the narrowest parts of their image back to us in the most dramatic, hyped terms, that the Panthers themselves wanted them to be projected. It drove the police crazy. The police were furious, wanted to get them all over the country. And it drove some of us, well, it incited some of us with superficial fantasies of a kind of revolution that was completely inappropriate, had nothing to do with the actual landscape of possibility. It was interesting to me more deeply and metaphorically, you know. If that was what they were doing, what was appropriate in our community?

Hardy Frye:

83:18  
↓ The Panthers in a sense let, in my opinion, white radicals off the hook, some white radicals not all, but some white radicals off the hook from what SNCC had challenged them about 3 years earlier. That was to go organize the white community. They could say that they were supporting the Panthers because the Panthers were the vanguard. They assumed that the movement could only be led by blacks. They had made that clear that the blacks would have to be the group that would start the revolution and that the Panthers were the army of the black vanguard.

(Music: "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised")

Frank Bardacke:

84:51

I was taken up with now we are not only a protest movement, we are not only a movement to end the war in Vietnam, but we are a revolutionary movement. Uh, we were wrong. It wasn't a revolutionary situation. But, you know, it was a mistake. Everybody can make a few mistakes. And at the time it looked, it had a lot of the aspects, to us, of a revolutionary situation.

85:18

Jack Weinberg:

Six, sixty-eight was a real high time. What we were doing, we identified with the student movement and the large protest movement in Paris. There was a Prague Spring and the feeling, the feeling that revolution was in the air, east and west, capitalist and communist, it was all coming apart and a new spirit, a new wave of liberation was in the air.

85:39

Ruth Rosen:

I felt that the world was unraveling, that history had speeded up. I could, that the world was swirling around me. The movement had expanded, the anti-war movement was immense. The women's liberation movement had begun. The world simply was undergoing change at a rate I could hardly comprehend and yet I was in it, I was part of it, and I was changing it.

Susan Griffin:

86:07

I always remember this particular period of time because the change was so phenomenal. I went to sleep one night and I was a woman who was dissatisfied with my position as a woman in society but I felt solitary in that dissatisfaction and suddenly I wake up and right and left everybody is speaking about it. I have women who agree with me. Everywhere we start to form a sisterhood. Everything in my life that has disturbed me is being

challenged. Things that haven't disturbed me before suddenly I look at and they do disturb me.

86:46 Suzy Nelson:

When we began to try to take a more active role in steering committees and you know decisionmaking forums in the movement, we began to see our comrades resisting our input. And we looked at them and said, what? You know, how can they do this to us? You know, these are our brothers. Why aren't they interested in what we have to say? They're only interested in, you know, the fact that we're always there for them. And we always make the coffee and we run off the leaflets and we make all the telephone calls late into the night. And yet, when we try to participate in a more active level we meet resistance.

87:35 Archival/Phyllis Mandel:

What you see here is the beginning of a movement that women are human beings and that we have equal rights. We intend to go to school, we intend to have child care so that we can go to school, we want the university to provide us with classes that teaches us about our history, the same as black people want to learn about their history, and that's what you see happening here today. This is just the beginning of it.

87:56 Ruth Rosen:

One of the ways the women's movement is the logical and maybe even inevitable conclusion of the sixties is that throughout the sixties we were

trying to imagine how to live differently, how to change the world. And the women's movement took much from the civil rights movement, from the new left, from the anti-war movement, but we brought it home. We brought it into the kitchen, we brought it into the bedroom, we brought it into the most personal and intimate aspects of people's lives. It was hard to deny there. It was hard to ignore those issues.

88:30 Michael Rossman:

↓  
When I thought of revolution then, the whole idea had assumed complex enormous dimensions. It didn't mean a simple change in the institutional order. It meant a coordinated change in all the dimensions, all the aspects of life. How we were with ourselves, how we were with each other. This was so complex a program you couldn't write it down as the thirteen point program of the Berkeley Revolutionary Front, you know. This was something that would take thousands, millions of people engaged all their lives in exploring this end of it, and this end of it, and how these ends might fit together. And it was clear by then that all this exploration was there to do. People had begun each part of the exploration. Ok, I forbear to list them. And at the same time it seemed impossible. There was no time. The war got worse faster. The political activity got worse faster. They were killing more and more people. Everytime you placed some degree of hope in a national leader: Ca-choo, ca-choo, you know. So much life, so much death, so much possibility, so much impossibility.

89:44 John Gage:

↓  
There we were attempting to change national politics and found ourselves at the Chicago convention. It changed American politics in unpredictable ways.

We had not anticipated, we now speaking as those involved in the electoral side of politics did not anticipate the arbitrary exercise of authority that Mayor Daley would bring to bear in Chicago. And it was phenomenal.

90:17 Archival/

↓ Mr. Petersen, chair of Wisconsin delegation at '68 Democratic Convention:  
Mr. Chairman most delegates to this convention do not know that thousands of young people are being beaten in the streets of Chicago. For that reason, and that reason alone, I request the suspension of the rules for the purpose of adjournment for two weeks to relocate the convention in another city of the choosing of the Democratic National Committee and the presidential candidates.

Representative Carl Albert: Wisconsin is not recognized for that purpose.

John Gage:

90:54 ↓ There was a side of American politics that was vicious and violent and that's what we saw in Chicago. Daley rolled over the anti-war forces and it was a destruction of the Democratic Party. It seemed impossible that there could be any significant electoral path toward ending the war following the convention. It seemed that what had happened in the parks of Chicago made the anti-war movement destined for direct action for quite a period of time.

91:20 - 04

91:30 Narrator:

↓ The violence in Chicago triggered confrontations on campuses across the country. Berkeley students calling for a Third World college initiated a strike

which provoked daily battles between police and protestors. After eight weeks Governor Reagan sent in the National Guard and the strike died down. Eventually an ethnic studies program was established but in the wake of the strike an atmosphere of tension remained. A month later student and community activists came together to create People's Park.

*People's Park, Spring, 1969*

(Music: "Did You Go Downtown?")

92:34 Frank Bardacke:

I was one of those people who believed that the counter culture could be revolutionary. And it's hard to talk about that without talking about People's Park. A group of people took some corporate land owned by the University of California that was a parking lot, turned it into a park, and then said we're using the land better than you used it and its ours.

Ruth Rosen:

93:04 For a brief moment in history in People's Park the counter-culture and political activists had a magical fusion. It was a way of looking at the future, it was utopian. It was a way of saying, if we had control of our lives this is what it would look like.

93:45 Frank Bardacke:

In a down to earth way we were showing in our very activity the image of a new society. Our job is to form a counter-culture, a more rural culture, a more



decentralized culture, to develop counter-values of cooperation, of production for use rather than production for profit, develop that culture, in hope that that culture would be in revolutionary contradiction to bourgeois culture. And that we should view ourselves as revolutionaries but really as founding mothers and fathers of this counter-culture. I can almost convince myself of it now.

Archival/Mario Savio:

As I see it, the great hope implicit in the People's Park is that in our leisure time, so to speak, we will make the social revolution. Property is not a thing to keep men apart and at war, but rather a medium by which men can come together to play, a People's Park.

John Searle:

People's Park managed to focus all of the frustrations as well as some of the ideals of the 60s. There was a belief in the environment. There was a belief in the participation of ordinary people in political decisionmaking. There was a belief that a whole lot of things ought to count that really traditionally don't count when they're caught up in government and university bureaucracies. There was all of that. But the fact remains that at bottom, I believe the People's Park incident was extremely cynical on the part of the demonstrators. They wanted a confrontation. What mattered was getting people out in the streets demonstrating.

Archival/Sherry Whitehead:

Roger Heyns and the Regents and Ronald Reagan can't allow this to go on. If

there's one liberated territory, people may get the idea that there can be other liberated territories.

Archival/John De Bonis, Berkeley city councilman:

↓ The park issue is not the issue. The issue is we must have a confrontation, a confrontation throughout the summer. They were out of confrontation issues and, as soon as you give them a park, they'll dream up another confrontation. We have been invaded by people outside of, outside of the state, outside of the city. We have been invaded by militants. This is, we're in a revolution. And the only thing, don't ever say we're going into a revolution. We're in a revolution. Now the question is who's going to win it?

Archival/

↓ Reverend Dick York of the Berkeley Free Church:

When Jesus disrupted the foreign recruiters, all of his followers said...

Crowd: "Power to the people, out heathens, out."

Reverend Dick York: I declare this place decontaminated from poisons, chains, and lies, from the abomination that defiles. The demons have returned to the nothingness from which they came. Earth, water, air, and fire, witness our liberation.

Archival/Police:

↓ I want to inform you that this property is private. It is posted. You are now trespassing. Unless you leave, you will be arrested for trespassing.

↓ Archival/Protestor:

If they didn't want the park they should have stopped it a month ago when we started it, and not let us work on it everyday and then just take it away. It's their park now. What can we do?

↓ Archival/Dan Siegal speaking at a rally in Sproul Plaza:

I have a suggestion. Let us go down to the People's Park. Because we are the people.

Riot.

(Music: "Death Sound Blues")

↓ Archival/Ronald Reagan meets with members of the Berkeley faculty:

Ronald Reagan: Those people told you for days in advance that if the university sought to go ahead with that construction on that property, that they were going to physically destroy the university. Now why did you...

Dr. Owen Chamberlain: On the contrary, they offered to negotiate many times.

Reagan: Negotiate?! What is to negotiate? What is, wait a minute. On that issue don't you simply explain to these students that the university has a piece of property that it bought for future construction of the campus and it is now going ahead with the plan. What do you mean negotiate?

Chamberlain: The people of California own that land. Governor Reagan, the time has passed when the university can just ride roughshod over the desires of the majority of its student body. The university is a public institution...

Reagan: That's right. But the university...

Chamberlain: for all of its own community and for the community of Berkeley that live around it.

Reagan: All of it began the first time some of you who know better, and are old enough to know better, let young people think that they had the right to choose the laws they would obey as long as they were doing it in the name of social protest.

Ruth Rosen:

When the fence went up, the whole experience of People's Park changed. Governor Reagan brought in the National Guard, the city was occupied for a month, and what happened is the worst aspects of the movement emerged. People did things that were totally counterproductive. They tried to provoke the National Guard into fixing their bayonets. They tried to cause skirmishes on the campus. I found it possible to resist the feeling, the collective hallucination that we were involved in a revolutionary struggle. But there was one moment when I simply became immersed in that feeling. There was a peaceful demonstration on Sproul Plaza, denouncing the University's overreaction to the Park, the police brutality toward students, the National Guard on the campus, occupying the city.

Jentri Anders:

My boyfriend and I and a friend of mine went down to the plaza to hear the rally. And as we got there, we realized that the police were letting people into the plaza but they were not letting people out. My friend by that time had already gone through the police line and I motioned for her to come back and they wouldn't let her out.

Archival/

Crowd chants: "Pigs off campus! Pigs off campus!"

Police officer over bullhorn: We are requesting you all to leave the Plaza.

Chemical agents are going to be dropped in the next five minutes.

Ruth Rosen:

I started hearing the sounds of a helicopter and it came closer and closer. And the sound got louder and louder. And suddenly the helicopter swooped over the whole campus, over all the students, and I thought we're going to be shot at, we're the Viet Cong.

Archival/helicopter gases Sproul Plaza

Jentri Anders:

Everybody on the outside of the police line was running to try and get away from the gas. Everybody on the inside of the police line was trying to get out and the police were beating people as they tried to get out. We went back to Kroeber Hall and we waited for my friend to show up. And she had been through the mill. She had been throwing up. It was nausea gas. So we drove up to the rose garden, we were standing up at the rose garden looking out across the roses and out across the campus and the helicopters, there were still helicopters circling around, and she looked at me and she said, "I can't stand this, I'm going to get out of this." And I said, "I think you're right. I think its all over. I don't think that we can stay here any more." And it was a very poignant moment. And a year later we were all gone.

Ruth Rosen:

↓ We all felt very defeated. It was a horrible experience to gas students at a peaceful rally. And it was one reason why people began to feel that we had to reassert what we really stood for. That we really had to protest the park in a dignified and peaceful way, and recapture the original spirit of the park. And that led to the Memorial Day March.

(Music: "The Weight")

Archival/Frank Bardacke:

↓ We'll get People's Park back eventually. There's no doubt about that. Everybody who's ever done any hitchhiking in their life knows that basically we can't lose. When you sit out there and hitchhike, you see in the front seat there are the parents. And they kind of give you this real scared, contemptuous look as they drive by you. But then in the back seat, as they're going away you see all the kids and they're going (waves his arms, with fingers in a V-sign). -- We've got the kids on our side and we can't lose. We just can't lose."

Frank Bardacke:

↓ When you're in a mass movement to change society, when you're in this experience of sort of this democracy breaking out, you don't want it end. You want the storm to continue. You want to keep that sense of change and overwhelming power that one gets from the ocean. You might not be able to keep the rowboat straight or up but you don't want the storm to die.

John Searle:

There was no vision, no articulate philosophy, no conception of social organization and social change. What there were were a series of emotional moments, a series of passions, a series of desperately important issues. But you can't beat something with nothing. And if you're gonna fight this kind of long cultural battle you really are bound to lose if you don't have a coherent, articulate, well-worked out vision of what you're trying to do. And that they didn't have.

Jack Weinberg:

We had taken what we had as far as we could go. I think, I think that it's important not to lose sight of what that movement accomplished. That is, it was part of the struggle for civil rights, it was part of the movement in this country that broke down the Jim Crow barriers and changed, changed the caste relationships of blacks and other minorities in our society. It was part, it was part of the movement that liberalized American culture. It was part of the movement that gave way to the ideas of women's equality and women's liberation. It was part of a movement that ultimately made it impossible to carry out so blatantly the kind of imperialistic foreign policy that characterized the period after World War II. American society was profoundly changed by the movement of the sixties.

Susan Griffin:

In the sixties, we came at a certain point in the cold war to reject the ideologies of both sides. And our declaration of freedom was a political freedom but it had a larger dimension that is the freedom of imagination.

(Music: "We Shall Overcome")

Narrator: Having gained the freedom to see the world freshly and the ability to act for change, we carried what we learned into the rest of our lives. From personal issues to planetary concerns, we continue to explore the potential for change. And as we watch activists for human rights and democracy around the world challenge the powers that be, we know that each generation has its chance to make things change and that no generation can do it alone.

### *Epilogue*

FRANK BARDACKE left Berkeley in 1970, and spent the next decade working in the fields and canneries near Salinas, California. He is still a leftist, active in labor and community politics. Now he teaches at Watsonville Adult School.

JENTRI ANDERS moved north and joined a community descended from the original Haight-Ashbury hippies. She recently wrote an anthropological study of her community, *Beyond Counter-Culture*, and remains an activist.

JOHN GAGE helped organize a national moratorium against the Vietnam War in 1969, then joined the McGovern campaign, which earned him a place on President Nixon's enemies list. Now he is an executive at Sun Microsystems in Silicon Valley.



JACK WEINBERG turned to organizing in factories, eventually to become a steel worker. Due to a declining industry, he lost his job in 1984. Recently he became coordinator for Greenpeace's Great Lakes Project in Chicago.

JACKIE GOLDBERG became a teacher in Southern California. In 1983 she was elected to the Los Angeles Board of Education and is now its president.

MICHAEL ROSSMAN stayed in Berkeley, became a writer and science teacher, and continues to roam the fields of political culture.

BOBBY SEALE was put on trial for conspiracy and murder. After acquittal, he ran for Mayor of Oakland in 1973, and then left the Black Panther Party. He wrote a cookbook, *Barbecuing With Bobby*, and now teaches at Temple University in Philadelphia.

DAVID HILLIARD was also put on trial, as part of a government program to destroy the Black Panthers. He spent four years in jail. After Huey Newton's death in 1989, he started a new organization to address problems in Oakland's black community.

RUTH ROSEN became a pioneer in the field of women's history and is now a professor of history at the University of California, Davis. She continues to work for women's rights.

SUZY NELSON started a successful restaurant in Berkeley, which she uses to support the Palestinian cause and promote peace in Central America.

BARRY MELTON became a lawyer. At night, he still makes music with the Dinosaurs.

JOHN SEARLE is still a professor of philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley.

MIKE MILLER is a professional organizer. In 1972, he started the Organize Training Center, which works with labor and grassroots community organizations.

HARDY FRYE took part in the Third World Strike, then finished a Ph.D. Now he is a sociology professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

SUSAN GRIFFIN became a prominent feminist intellectual, exploring issues from abortion to ecology. Now she is writing a book on the private life of war.