

# Newsweek

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## STUDENT PROTEST



*Demonstrators at Columbia*

## SPECIAL REPORT

the campus—with dean Coleman clearing the way through jeering whites. More than 100 faculty members then pledged themselves to resist attempts by whites to eject the rebels. They tied white handkerchiefs around their arms and stood in front of the closed buildings. "We feel that if we are standing here," said one, "the chances of people getting hurt are less likely." Still, plainclothes city police charged through one faculty group in the middle of the night; a French instructor suffered a 5-inch scalp wound. But Kirk tried to keep the police on a tight leash. "We wish to avoid physical confrontation," he said.

Although periodically a Negro outside Hamilton Hall would threaten to burn the place down if the police invaded, the black rebels inside, like Kirk, wanted to avoid a confrontation. "These black students are very new at this," explained a Negro who said he had shed his "slave name" and now calls himself Umoja. "For many, this is the first time they've done anything. Many are here on scholarships. They have more to lose than white students."

One immediate result of the Columbia revolt was the emergence of the faculty as a power within the university. Unfortunately, the faculty had not been particularly strong before; the school does not even have a university-wide faculty senate. "The faculty lives in Scarsdale and never meets as a whole group," says John Garraty, a professor of American history. "It usually doesn't want to get involved in disciplining the student body." Another result was the polarization of the campus. "When this is over," one professor said, "faculty won't speak to faculty, students won't speak to students, blacks won't speak to whites." Indeed, by the end of the week the Columbia University administration seemed to be talking separately with blacks and whites—about amnesty and civil rights to the 100 or so blacks in Hamilton, about amnesty and IDA to the few hundred whites in other student-occupied school buildings.

**Spiral:** The demonstrations at Columbia may well galvanize the university into a new and searching look at its chronic problems. But it also raises the issue of whether students might tip a major university into a downhill spiral in their efforts to reform it to their own idea of morality. This time next year it will be possible to count the number of talented faculty and administrators who have left Columbia; it will be impossible to count the number of talented faculty, administrators and students who never came.

The Columbia revolt last week clearly raised the ante of student protest in the United States. It moved the stage of action from seizure of property to seizure of people; it demonstrated that a few hundred organized students can shut down almost any school in the country. And each time the potential for destruction grows higher



Protesting against mega-packages: Students in West Berlin battle police

## IT'S HAPPENING ALL OVER

In a score of European cities last week middle-aged editorial writers lambasted the concept of student power no less fervently than their counterparts in the U.S. And their reasons for so doing were equally good—or bad. Sweeping into the quiet city of Esslingen like Coxe's Army, hundreds of West German students denounced an otherwise inoffensive publishing house because its presses are used to print a paper of which they disapprove. In France, a mélange of French and U.S. youngsters, outraged by what they considered antiquated regulations governing relations between male and female students, smashed more than twenty doors and windows in the American Pavilion of Paris's University City. Most remarkable of all, thousands of Czechoslovak students paraded through the ancient streets of Prague to demonstrate their solidarity with a "student strike" against the war in Vietnam organized in New York.

Student revolt, in short, is today an international phenomenon and, as last week's Prague demonstrations indicated, it is burgeoning on what the sociologists like to call "cross-cultural fertilization." From Turin (where students last week were demanding that authorities grant them a permanent hall in which to stage their protest meetings) to Tokyo (where the harried police on one occasion turned out 5,500 men to control 2,200 demonstrators), the techniques of student dissent these days are much the same everywhere. And even outside the U.S. the most effective use of those techniques is being made not, as might be expected, in impoverished and oppressive societies but, for the most part, in prosperous and relatively permissive nations.

This, for the postwar world at least, is a relatively new development. And it raises a question of far-reaching impor-

tance: are today's technologically based societies fatally flawed regardless of their form of government? The students seem to be saying that they are. And they have said so with deeds as well as words in country after country. Some of the more notable cases in point:

**WEST GERMANY:** Like most of the student turmoil in Europe, the academic unrest in West Germany had its roots in that country's musty, almost medieval university system. But the students soon raised their sights. "To reform West German universities," said Thomas Schmitz-Bender, 25, a radical student leader who studiously cultivates the look of Che Guevara, "you must attack the power structure behind the universities."

Led by West Berlin's "Red" Rudi Dutschke, a self-proclaimed "professional revolutionary," German students have followed Schmitz-Bender's prescription religiously. So far, the principal target of their violence has been publishing tycoon Axel Springer, whose newspapers and magazines the students accuse of fostering "reaction." The attacks on Springer reached a peak two weeks ago after a 21-year-old house painter, an avowed disciple of Hitler, pumped three bullets into Dutschke. The assassination attempt provided Dutschke's small (2,500 members) but highly disciplined League of Socialist German Students with the emotional fuel it needed to fire mass demonstrations in a score of cities. Today, for better or for worse, student power is recognized as the most explosive new political force on the German scene.

**ITALY:** The disturbances that have swept through a dozen of Italy's largest universities since last November were also originally motivated by the desire to reform an archaic system of higher education. Among other things, Italian students demanded better physical facili-

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ties, a voice in university administration and subsidies for needy students. Early in March, the mood engendered by these protests produced Italy's worst riot of the decade when several thousand students, armed with clubs, chains, broken bottles and rocks, clashed with police in downtown Rome. This time the students wanted more than university reform. "This is a protest against Italian society," said one youngster flatly.

**FRANCE:** French students have periodically paraded down the Boulevard Saint Michel chanting "Peace in Vietnam" and "Johnson assassin," but until recently their major protests have been directed at overcrowding at French uni-

**SPAIN:** Student discontent in Spain has been mounting for some time, but until three years ago it had little central focus. Then, however, the periodic student skirmishes with police, especially in Madrid, began to take on clear political overtones. At issue were student demands for campus organizations free of government control, something the Franco regime was loath to accept for fear that it would give the students more effective weapons with which to press further demands. One month ago, rather than give in on this issue, the authorities simply closed down Madrid University. But the more liberal members of the regime are aware that this is not a perma-

their unpopularity and fearful of even the slightest challenge, promptly ordered police onto the Warsaw University campus in an effort to nip demonstrations in the bud. With that, thousands of students spilled out onto the broad boulevards of the Polish capital and launched a week-long free-for-all with truncheon-swinging police and militiamen.

Ultimately, however, Polish authorities came up with weapons more effective than police truncheons; they closed several faculties at Warsaw University, fired scores of professors and ordered students to reapply for admission. Hundreds of youngsters who had taken part in the demonstrations were then rejected and drafted into the army. As a result, Polish students, for the moment at least, are cowed. But as one Western diplomat in Warsaw notes: "Poland is one of the youngest countries in the world; half its population is under 25. And no political arrangement that doesn't take the desires of the kids into account can hope for much longevity."

**M**uch the same can be said of several other European nations. But what puzzles older Europeans is that it is not always easy to find out just what it is the students desire. The avowed causes of student protest vary considerably from country to country. And within a given country, they often vary from week to week and from city to city.

There are, nonetheless, certain common denominators. "No matter what the specific issue," says Richard Sandbrook, a 21-year-old British biology student, "it is really just a scapegoat for a growing general dissatisfaction. There's a universal feeling that the whole system needs a good shake-up."

What, exactly, is wrong with "the system"? First and foremost, the students of Europe, like U.S. students, are overwhelmed by the sheer size and impersonality of the universities they attend, and this feeling carries over into a disaffection with the size and impersonality of the world outside the campus. Everything seems to come in mega-packages: megaversities, megalopolies, megatons and, most chilling of all, megadeaths. In reaction, European students want to break society down into recognizable units, even if this results in a loss of efficiency. This is the sentiment behind the seemingly perverse rallying cry at a recent Italian demonstration: "We must preserve confusion!"

Beyond this, the rebels in European universities are profoundly skeptical that the democratic process can solve their problems. Young Germans are convinced, with some justice, that their country lost its only formal channel for dissent when the Social Democratic Party joined the Christian Democrats in a "Grand Coalition." And their counterparts across the English Channel argue that Britain's Labor Party has sold out, too. "English students take to the streets," says Tariq Ali.

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BRUCE D'AR

**Facedown:** White-helmeted students confront black-helmeted police in Tokyo

versities (the Sorbonne has at least 30,000 more students than it is physically equipped to handle) and sexual segregation on the campus. Early last month, however, 1,000 student radicals seized a number of classrooms at the ultramodern University of Nanterre in suburban Paris and staged 24 hours of seminars on "the students' role in the struggle against imperialism." And many Frenchmen think Nanterre was merely the testing ground for things to come.

**GREAT BRITAIN:** Violence has increased considerably on once-staid British campuses in the last few months with student demonstrators hurling debris at policemen or threatening the physical safety of visiting government ministers. The central irritant has been unmet student demands for increased government grants and a greater voice in university decision-making. But the war in Vietnam, the right of gypsies in Britain to settle into semi-permanent camps, the size of the portions served in university cafeterias and the dictatorship in Greece have all, at various times, served to spark student protest. So far, however, these demonstrations have been milder than on the Continent, partly because of the more tolerant attitude of the British police.

nent solution. Indeed, Education Minister José Luis Villar Palasí has warned his colleagues: "Do not confuse the absence of tumult with legitimate peace."

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Prague hadn't seen anything like it since before World War II. On Oct. 31, 2,000 students from Prague Polytechnical University marched on Czechoslovakia's Presidential palace to protest the lack of light and heat in their dormitories. Savage police assaults, carried out with clubs and tear gas, soon dispersed the demonstrators, but the naked brutality gave the students a cause célèbre, and in the months that followed they tirelessly harassed the Stalinist regime of President Antonin Novotny. The student unrest, in turn, strengthened the hand of the liberals within the Communist Party hierarchy who harbored their own grievances against Novotny and, eventually, helped them to oust him. Currently, the students are seeking to find ways to institutionalize their gains—and thus insure that Czechoslovakia becomes a genuine "Socialist democracy."

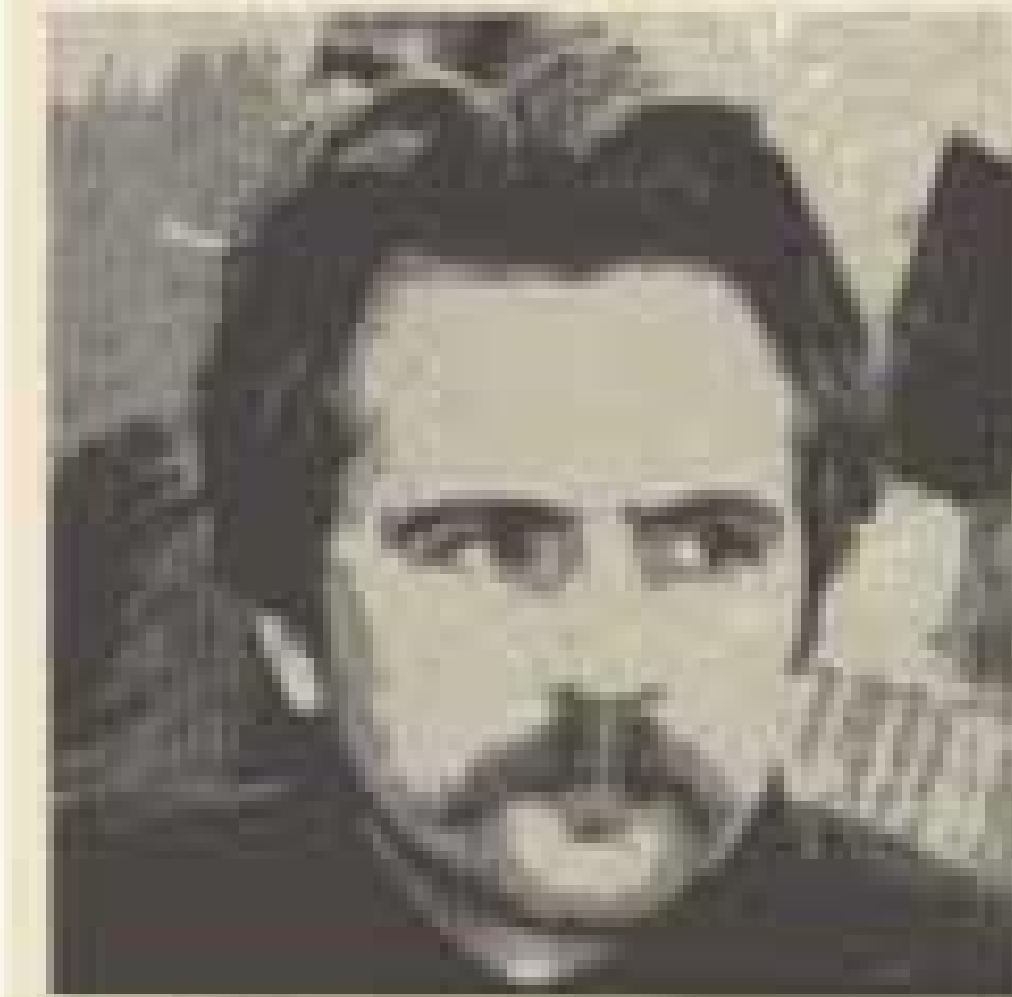
**POLAND:** The latest unrest in Poland began when students in Warsaw protested a government decision to ban a nineteenth-century anti-Russian play. The Communist authorities, keenly aware of



Che Guevara



Herbert Marcuse



Jules Régis Debray



Frantz Fanon



Mao Tse-tung

## IDEAS IN ACTION: REVOLUTIONARY GURUS

Until recently, the average American thought of serious campus upheaval as something that happened somewhere else. And even when the nation was shocked by the Berkeley sit-ins of 1964, it could take comfort that the students' methods were nonviolent and their goals reformist. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley borrowed its tactics from the nonviolent program of the civil-rights movement in the South. Today, in spite of a wave of nostalgia and sympathy for Martin Luther King Jr., U.S. student radicals don't pattern themselves on King or on his guru, Gandhi. Now, fired by the twin issues of black power and the Vietnam war, youthful radicals have made guerrilla tactics the new medium of protest. The skirmish is replacing the peaceful demonstration. And the intellectual sources of this new swing to civil disobedience in America are, not surprisingly, the same revolutionary theorists so popular with young revolutionaries abroad: Debray, Guevara, Marcuse, Mao and Frantz Fanon.

"Che Guevara lives" is painted over the door of the "Gater," the radical San Francisco State student paper. Black students at Columbia carry around copies of Frantz Fanon's "Black Skin, White Masks" like badges of militant solidarity. French students of the extreme left, like the cell in Jean-Luc Godard's film "La Chinoise," pore over Chairman Mao's little red book. Every cadre has its guru, its philosopher-activist master.

**Disruption:** Whereas ten years ago, dissenting Sorbonne students quoted Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus at each other, the most radical now have turned to Mao Tse-tung's Red Guards for inspiration. Chronic disruption at the Nanterre campus west of Paris amounts to a miniature cultural revolution. Slightly more moderate students have latched on to "Revolution in the Revolution?"—a handbook for Marxist revolt in Latin America by Jules Régis Debray. Debray, age 27 and now serving a 30-year prison term in Bolivia for his part in local guerrilla action, based his book heavily on the Cuban experience. Though Debray maintains that guerrilla strategy must be reworked to fit different terrains, students everywhere are his followers, not so much for his military theory as for his personal example of unwavering activism.

Born into a prominent Parisian family,

Debray graduated from the Ecole Normale Supérieure, where he joined the Marxist revival led by Louis Althusser. Thus primed for action, he went off to join Ernesto (Che) Guevara, the Argentine veteran of the Cuban revolution, who was stirring up more of the same in South America. Neither Debray nor Guevara had much success in Bolivia, but they represent an ideal case of the guru and his retainer. Growing out of this is an even more complicated set of relationships that involves an apostolic chain of succession running from Marx to Althusser to Guevara to Debray, and now to hundreds of new youthful disciples in fatigues spreading the gospel of defensive violence across the world.

**Sage:** In Germany, Rudi Dutschke, 28, lies in a hospital recovering from gunshot wounds inflicted by a self-proclaimed admirer of Adolf Hitler. The leader of the lumpen-opposition at West Berlin's Free University, Dutschke has mobilized enormous numbers of students in support of an eclectic, leftist philosophy that combines the usual totems with an exhilarating dose of the post-Freudian thought of Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse, 70, has been called the sage of the New Left. German-born, but now an American citizen and professor at the University of California's San Diego campus, Marcuse believes that in an advanced industrial society the "productive apparatus tends to become totalitarian to the extent to which it determines not only the socially needed occupations, skills and attitudes, but also individual needs and aspirations." In Dutschke's hands, this theory has turned into an activist politics that has kept West Germany in turmoil.

Dutschke named his son Hosea Che, wears a red sash over his sweater and, until he was shot, was whistle-stopping around Europe, spreading the message in Frankfurt, Bonn, Prague and Amsterdam. When his mentor, Marcuse, was in Germany last summer explaining flower power to the student left, he heard Dutschke orate and called him a "sweet demagogue." Thanks were in order. Dutschke had long been turning his troops on with the thoughts of Marcuse and they met the old scholar with ovations and flowers. With the putative martyrdom he now has acquired, Dutschke will probably achieve guru status if he writes a book.

Frantz Fanon was born into the Creole

culture of Martinique in 1925. He studied medicine in France and specialized in psychiatry. During the Algerian revolution against French colonial rule, he was on the spot, working in a hospital, and joined the National Liberation Front. With his unique background in guerrilla warfare and psychiatric consultation with black and white patients, Fanon understood perhaps better than anyone before him the psychology of the colonized man and his inevitable impulse to revolt. "Every time a man has contributed to the victory of the dignity of the spirit," he wrote in "Black Skin, White Masks" (1952), "every time a man has said no to an attempt to subjugate his fellows, I have felt solidarity with his act." Fanon died in 1961, but his studies of black consciousness in a white world continue to provide Negroes everywhere with a tough, reasoned basis for independent action.

**Emblem:** Fanon and Marcuse, alone among the gurus, give their students more than a life style to copy. The writings of Debray and Guevara are muddy and inchoate: they function mainly as emblems of the men, and the men are emblems of the war of national liberation. And though the whole idea of such gurus hypnotizing American late adolescents may have its humorous side, the true believer in the revolution of the new gurus is not kidding.

Recently, some U.S. student militants have been siphoned back into nonviolence by the prospect that they can influence the political process in a more normal way. But the major thrust of student radicals, the movement that is catching the headlines in public squares and universities, points away from ordinary reform toward the direct, uncompromising demand of the revolutionary at the barricades. At this point, most of the new rebels are going through the motions of revolt without really having thought through just where their gurus may be leading them. But most of them, in any event, do seem to understand and appreciate one of Mao's more obvious aphorisms: "Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary." What they do not often seem to comprehend is that playing Che Guevara and being Che Guevara are entirely different matters, not the least part of the difference being that Che is dead.