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University of California  
Berkeley, California

Herbert Cleaveland:  
Free Speech Movement Oral History Project

Interviews conducted by  
Lisa Rubens  
in 1998

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Herbert Cleaveland, "Free Speech Movement Oral History Project: Herbert Cleaveland" conducted by Lisa Rubens in 1998, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2013.

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Interview with Herbert [Brad] Cleaveland

[Interview 1: October 2, 1998]

[Tape 1]

Cleaveland: The leadership crystallized completely in three days. The day that it began to really crystallize was the day the police car was relinquished [October 2, 1964]. It was taken on the previous day at noon, if I'm not mistaken. I had been up all night, messing around the car after it had been stopped on Thursday. I went home early in the morning, two or three in the morning, and I got a phone call early from a woman friend in Marin. I decided I would go there immediately, which I did. I had breakfast and stayed with her most of Friday morning, and then I came back.

I was walking up Telegraph Avenue about three in the afternoon, and the place seemed electric. It turns out it was. Peter Franck was running down the street. I noticed him. He came directly toward me, and he said, "Brad, there's nobody on the police car. I came to look for you and others to help. There's nobody on top of the police car. It's been abandoned." I said, "What happened?" He said, "Well, they were self-selected and selected by a university administrator to go down to University Hall to negotiate giving up the police car." I said, "Well, I'll go up there." He said, "I'll join you in a while, but I'm going to look for some other people."

I went up, and there was nobody on top of the police car. I got on top of the police car—

Rubens: Did you take off your shoes?

Cleaveland: I took off my shoes, got on top of the police car, and got Aryay Linsky, who was sitting in the audience right below me. He was one of the main activists in the anti-HUAC [House Un-American Activities Committee] demonstrations, which happened in 1960. So he was somebody I knew. He was sitting pretty close to the car, on the ground. Surrounding the car were two thousand or so people.

Rubens: This is in the afternoon.

Cleaveland: Yes, it was three in the afternoon.

Rubens: A whole day had gone?

Cleaveland: Yes, almost the whole day had gone when I got back. So I got up on top of the police car, and I asked Aryay if he would get others to inform anybody

who was under eighteen to be aware of the fact that it would probably be better if they weren't with us on this because they were minors, and it seemed like there were going to be arrests.

Shortly after I had gotten up on the car, I heard this enormous, uncanny, very strange sound. The sound turned out to be the motorcycles coming slowly up Telegraph Avenue with their lights flashing, and there was about thirty or forty motorcycles and about ten or fifteen police cars behind them. They were loaded with Alameda County sheriffs and Oakland police.

They turned right and went up Bancroft, just a half a block, to the street coming out from behind Sproul, and went behind Sproul Hall, and were waiting for orders to arrest us. I spent from that time on—another hour, or hour and a half at the most before Jackie Goldberg came back from this meeting that they'd had at University Hall. I helped her up on the car, and as I helped her up on the car, I did notice that Mario [Savio] was just twenty or thirty yards behind her, running toward the car.

When I helped Jackie up, she said something like, "They sold us out." Or "They signed an agreement. They gave up the car."

Rubens: Did you know who she meant?

Cleveland: She meant the people who went down to University Hall.

Rubens: But she was one of the people [who had been in the negotiations], wasn't she?

Cleveland: Yes, she was one of them. The meeting broke up, and Mario and she and others—they all started running back up toward the car. She was the first arrival. Mario was right behind her. When I helped her up on the car, I said to Mario, "Why did you do this? Why did you sign anything?" Which was stupid because if I hadn't said that—it was the biggest mistake I ever made in the Free Speech Movement because the whole thing might have become a completely different thing on the basis of that mistake.

These matters, when you become active like that, any move you make can change everything. It's amazing how action works. What I mean by that is that as Mario was scrambling to get on the car, he was also trying to answer me. I was walking away from the car, and he shouted, "I had to do it. We had to do it." Something like that. I just ignored him and walked off the campus.

Meanwhile, the chance of actually having a vote, a discussion on it was partially lost by this move of mine to put Mario up tight.

- Rubens: Let me ask you a couple of questions right here. When Jackie came back to you and said, “They sold us out,” was she distinguishing herself from Mario?
- Cleveland: She was distinguishing herself from the group, evidently, yes.
- Rubens: And did she explain anything to you, or you had no time to question her?
- Cleveland: I jumped and ran. It was stupid. It was the dumbest thing I ever did. [We could’ve had a very democratic type thing – discussion and voting.]<sup>1</sup>
- Rubens: Right. I have a couple of other questions, just about that scene. When you encountered Peter Franck, does he tell you what’s been happening all day, who’s been involved? Do you know then that there’s a handful of students down talking with the chancellor?
- Cleveland: No, I didn’t know that. [Peter probably didn’t either.] I didn’t know what had happened because I had taken off too early in the morning.
- Rubens: But Peter didn’t inform you.
- Cleveland: No, he just said, “There’s nobody on the car.”
- Rubens: That’s his biggest concern.
- Cleveland: Yes. The car was empty.
- Rubens: Was Jack Weinberg there?
- Cleveland: Well, he was inside the car.
- Rubens: Did you talk to Weinberg when you came up to the car?
- Cleveland: I don’t remember.
- Rubens: But do you remember talking to him? Did you know Weinberg before?
- Cleveland: Yes, I knew him pretty well, yes.
- Rubens: So you must have had some discussion with him.

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<sup>1</sup> Additions made after the interview are indicated by brackets.

- Cleaveland: No, I didn't have any discussion with him. We had a hard time communicating, Jack and I, always. I remember having a long conversation with Jack, trying to explain to him in more intellectual terms, perhaps, so he would understand that if you appeal to students, the fact that they're students is important and that the idea that nobody was appealing to students as students in the educational sense—I had a long debate with him about this. [I remember clearly saying the phrase over and over, “immediate experience,” and him looking quizzically at me.]
- Rubens: When did you have that debate?
- Cleaveland: From then on and prior. Just a couple of brief conversations prior to this police car, about this, up at Art Goldberg's house on College Avenue; both before the police car and then later, arguing a lot.
- Rubens: I interrupted you. You were saying that you're annoyed at Mario. You don't give him a chance to talk?
- Cleaveland: Right.
- Rubens: And what happens in the next two or three days? Then we'll back up to place you in context at UC.
- Cleaveland: What happened was the crystallization of the movement leadership, the Berkeley student leadership, at a much higher level. Seven years had passed since the founding of SLATE, and the Free Speech Movement represented a lot of different things in terms of a second seven years, up to the end with the Kent State Cambodia crisis and the eruption of black power on campus.
- Rubens: We're talking about a critical moment.
- Cleaveland: Right, exactly.
- Rubens: And you just were angry at Mario and—
- Cleaveland: Yes, I just took off. It was a dumb thing I did. Instead of saying, “We can re-vote. We don't have to honor the agreement if we don't feel you're representative of those who are here.”
- Rubens: So you—
- Cleaveland: I just took off.
- Rubens: And where were you then? Were you gone the next three days?

Cleveland: No, I went down to a café called Robbie's and whined and moaned about the stupidity they had committed. It was so off the wall, my mistake. It was insane.

Rubens: Remind us what Robbie's is. Robbie's is a coffee shop?

Cleveland: Robbie's is a coffee shop, the only coffee shop aside from the Med. There was only one other place where students gathered. There was a huge restaurant on the corner of Bancroft and Telegraph called Jule's Cafe, which where all the fraternity and sorority people hung out. As we came onto the scene more strongly, especially after 1964, they just never came to the Avenue anymore, afterwards. They saw that as alien to them, and it was. We were against the fraternities and sororities.

Rubens: Where was Robbie's?

Cleveland: Robbie's is where the pizza place just a couple of doors down from Blake's is now.

Rubens: On the same side?

Cleveland: Yes, on the Blake side, Robbie's Cafe.

I was involved in everything. What happened was I went back up to the campus at the time they were finally deciding to leave the car. I heard immediately from Aryay that they were going to adjourn to somewhere on Bancroft which we had at the time. There was a meeting as to what to do next.

They regathered at an Episcopal church on Bancroft. They re-assembled, this crystallizing leadership and about six hundred other people. There was a discussion of literally how to define who was going to be part of the constituency on the matter of student versus non-student. It was argued that everybody should be represented and that there shouldn't be any strong lines between student and non-student.

Later, in the next days, as the Free Speech Movement gathered in different ways and expanded its scope into this two leveled structure, the leadership core, called the Steering Committee, and this huge, mass representation group that was called the Executive Committee, which was fifty organizations. [One of them was] a new organization formed for non-students, which was co-chaired by William Mandel and myself. It was called the Non-Student Friends of the Free Student Movement. William Mandel and I basically represented the entire non-student population in the Free Speech Movement. We were the largest group. [This was one of the



side things, this group. It was the sort of group that became much larger, and was the first “community” politico group, I think.]

- Rubens: This gathering took place after Weinberg was arrested?
- Cleveland: Yes, after I’d foolishly walked off from Mario, on the car, went to Robbie’s, and came back to Sproul. When I got back to Sproul, everybody was milling around. The police car was just being given up. Weinberg was soon to be booked, [I think down at the Berkeley Police Department]. I noticed for the first time how completely flattened the roof of the police car was because of the weight.
- Rubens: When you had gotten up on the police car, what did you talk about? What did you say? You had been gone for hours and hours, basically.
- Cleveland: Yes, I had been gone since late Friday night. It was eight or nine in the morning when I went over to Marin, and about three when got back.
- I just addressed the matter of how there would be a leadership crystallizing. I was using these terms of how there would be a leadership crystallizing and for my part, I was going to try to advocate radical democracy, direct democracy.
- Rubens: Then at the Episcopal Church meeting the discussion is how everyone, students and non-students, should be a part of the fight.
- Cleveland: Right, exactly. So what happened was the decision was made that night to have an election the next day at the Westminster Student Center, which is the Presbyterian students’ center, on Bancroft and College. That election was held. I lost by one vote being on the Steering Committee [the leadership core]. The next meeting—
- Rubens: How many people were elected then?
- Cleveland: The Steering Committee was ten or twelve people. [They] were elected as the [group which could act immediately, if necessary, representing the Executive Committee of approximately twenty-five groups].
- Rubens: Do you remember campaigning at all? Did people stand up and say why you should elect them?
- Cleveland: The election meeting on the following day, held at Westminster Student Center, was a meeting in which there was three or four hours of discussion about what structure would we have if there was going to be any structure to this democratic grass-roots thing. It was decided there would be an

Executive Committee comprised of two elected representatives from each group on the campus. There were some twenty-five organizations in this. Each group would elect a representative and an alternate. That body of people were called the Executive Committee of the Free Speech Movement.

Rubens: What was your status at that time?

Cleveland: I was a non-student.

Rubens: Right. So had the decision been made to have a non-student Steering Committee or representatives of non-students that would be part of that Executive Committee?

Cleveland: The general cast of the discussions was basically, "We will be open to non-students." It was assumed that most of the leadership in the structure would be students.

Rubens: Okay. When you lost, how did you interpret that loss? Was that because you weren't a student? Because you had been campaigned against?

Cleveland: There was no way to judge that.

Rubens: Were there any non-students on that committee, then?

Cleveland: William Mandel and I were both active in the meeting that day. I don't remember other non-students being there. But I do know that William Mandel and I formed the Non-Student Friends of the Free Speech Movement Committee.

Rubens: Was that later or just there?

Cleveland: That was the day that we had the [first] election.

Cleveland: So, I became a member of the Executive Committee by virtue of forming this group with Mandel. Everyone decided to have a meeting the next day, and that was to be held at Hillel, which was the first meeting of the Executive Committee itself. There was a huge circle of about a hundred people. I think each chair in the circle had another chair behind it with the alternate from the organization. It was a very orderly kind of Executive Committee meeting that was held. At that meeting, we began to discuss what the next action would be. [Also, I think that may have been the meeting where Mario was agreed upon as the main spokesman for the press, et cetera.]

- Rubens: Which one of you was sitting in the chair, you or Mandel?
- Cleveland: I was sitting in the chair, and Mandel was the alternate.
- Rubens: Let me ask you a couple of other questions. When that voting took place the day before, the day before the meeting in Hillel—
- Cleveland: Everybody spoke a little bit.
- Rubens: And then how did the voting literally take place? Did it take place with paper?
- Cleveland: Secret ballot.
- Rubens: Someone got paper and distributed it?
- Cleveland: Right.
- Rubens: And you voted for three candidates, four candidates?
- Cleveland: We voted for the Steering Committee. There were ten or twelve people elected to the Steering Committee out of forty or fifty possible.
- Rubens: You were running?
- Cleveland: Yes.
- Rubens: So they must have had a figure that they said, “We can only have so many”?
- Cleveland: Something like that, yes.
- Rubens: You knew you were the next one in, that was all. When they read it, they read the ten or twelve top vote-getters. “These are the people who will be on it,” and then [pause] Brad Cleveland is next. Too bad. There must have been a handful of others.
- Cleveland: Yes.
- Rubens: Okay. We’re now at Hillel. This is the third day.
- Cleveland: Right. This was Saturday or Sunday. I don’t know which. It was the second or third day. It was probably Sunday or Monday. It was the third or fourth day that the big meeting at Hillel took place, the first structured meeting for the Free Speech Movement leadership. The Executive Committee met. I think, actually—just in retrospect—I’m amazed at how

little I remember these elections because I was so insistent on the thing being democratic and correct democracy and all that, but things were happening—it seemed like lightning, so fast.

The election at the Presbyterian Student Center might have been a temporary group of some sort, but I think it was the election for the Steering Committee, the immediate or direct action group of leaders, the top.

Rubens: Oh, we just can triangulate it against what we see written or what other people say, and look at the documents.

Cleveland: In any case, the meeting at Hillel was this huge circle of about sixty or seventy people, with a second ring behind of alternates. I think this group elected the Steering Committee of the Free Speech Movement, the group that actually took the lead. I remember in the rounds, when Mario was nominated as the kind of spokesman or chairman of the Steering Committee, there was a lot of shoulder shrugging and abashed, embarrassed feeling because nobody knew anybody. Somebody said, “He really knows what to say to the press.” I remember that. So he was chosen.

Rubens: How many people did you know pretty well?

Cleveland: Everybody, pretty much. In fact, one of the strange things about all of this was how the right wing participated. Mona Hutchin was this young Republican woman who was kind of hip. She wanted to keep the right wing in it and was elected to the Steering Committee, but she wasn’t treated too well and was passive at Steering Committee meetings. She was a Republican and she became inconsequential pretty quickly. There wasn’t any real participation by the right wing in this. When Jackie Goldberg, on the Kitchell film, a lot of people—in fact, there was a correlation in my memory between C.P. people and those who were saying that the right wing was fully a member of the leadership. I mean, all the C.P. people were saying, “The right wing was in this. It was American as apple pie.” But that wasn’t true. There was only one person, Mona Hutchin, in the top leadership.

In fact, the “hazing incident” that happened later with the formation of the Free Student Union, there was a loathing for the idea [of right wing participation]. The reason I got in trouble was because I was trying to recruit fraternity and dorm people. That’s why I got in trouble. [Some people saw the fraternity people as automatically right wing.]

Rubens: That’s the following April, March or April and we’ll get to that.

- Cleaveland: I think the Free Student Union started in January. It came right out of the end of the Free Speech Movement, I thought.
- Rubens: Let's finish up this part.
- So there you are in the Hillel meeting, and you're looking around and, in fact, you knew almost everyone. But everyone else didn't know each other.
- Cleaveland: A lot of people didn't know a lot of people. I knew most people. I think there were maybe a dozen or so out of the group, that big group of fifty to a hundred people who knew everybody, people who had been around for a long time, active since SLATE's beginning in 1958.
- Rubens: How is it that you know Mona Hutchin? Because you had been around?
- Cleaveland: Because she had been out at Bancroft and Telegraph during the time when the car was being held, and had a table out there or something, Young Republicans?
- Rubens: Sure.
- Cleaveland: She was a real center of activity, one of the centers of activity. But she was a Young Republican, and she was trying to get what she saw as happening to include the Young Republicans because she thought of the idea of free speech as a unifying issue first in politics and that everybody could be a part of that—a coalition, you know?
- Rubens: One of the claims about the Free Speech Movement is that, in fact, a new leadership and a new style of politics emerged, and it was very *sui generis*. It was somewhat shaped by experience in the Civil Rights movement. It was criticized and attempted to be shaped by many of you, who had been involved with HUAC and SLATE. But in fact it came to be a very sort of effervescent, unprogrammable, spontaneous, and very, very useful kind of operation that may have already kept people like you at a distance probably from the very beginning.
- When you simply walked away from the car was it because there was something that already made you think of these people as young pups and difficult to deal with?
- Cleaveland: That's the reason I made the mistake. I was four years older, a Korean vet, and they weren't meeting my seven-year long experiential criterion. That's what happened, I think. Yes, I think that's part of it.

- Rubens: Also, this story begins in September and ends in December. Now, the arrest, the original citation and arrest of students had occurred at the end of September.
- Cleveland: Yes, and October 2<sup>nd</sup>, I walked away from the car, then came back.
- Rubens: That's right. October 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> is the car.
- Cleveland: It was all a culmination of a couple of weeks before that—registration and really trying to hype everything up. [SLATE was selling the and distributing my manifesto calling for “open, fierce, and thoroughgoing rebellion.”]
- Rubens: And then the negotiations, fighting, and demonstrations go on until December?
- Cleveland: Yes, the fighting went on between the leadership that crystallized and the university administration until December, when the faculty finally—
- Rubens: And December 8<sup>th</sup>, toward the end, was the faculty resolution, yes. Okay. Yes, that's important. The reason I stopped at this point is because, gee, originally one of the claims is that it was the presence of these Young Republicans and especially the Goldwater Republicans who were recruiting students to protest for and against Goldwater at the convention at the Cow Palace.
- Cleveland: Right, that's right.
- Rubens: That got people in Berkeley, and perhaps William F. Knowland [owner of the *Oakland Tribune*] and his ilk so upset. His paper was also picketed by CORE in the summer of '64 and that's what led him to demand the contesting or closing down that area of free speech on Bancroft. That's one of the things that set in motion the movement.
- Cleveland: [Actually, another main incendiary act that set it in motion was Chancellor Alex Sherriffs taking away the use of the brick sidewalk called the Bancroft strip that fall, in direct opposition to Clark Kerr, who was out of town.] This is what provoked CORE and Jack Weinberg to move a table onto Sproul steps.
- Rubens: How did you get to Berkeley? I think we better talk a bit about your seven-year history at Berkeley. You had been in the Navy?
- Cleveland: Four years. And I had primed myself to go to UC Berkeley with no idea what that meant, none. I mean, I was so wet behind the ears it was

ridiculous. But what made it happen was I was working to enlist navy sailors in higher educational courses during the last year when I was in the navy. And then in the process, I discovered extension services from the major university systems, like Minnesota, Ivy League schools, Wisconsin, Berkeley. They all had correspondent extension courses, and they were beginning to move into college-level courses in these correspondence things. I mean, you could do it by mail.

So I took college algebra.

Rubens: So you're both helping fellow navy guys and taking classes yourself?

Cleveland: I was trying to get navy guys interested in becoming educated.

Rubens: You knew there were these programs, and then you, yourself, take advantage of them and end up getting ready for UC, while still in the navy?

Cleveland: I just became familiar with the higher educational system in the country by doing this, because of the navy's extension programs. And I chose Berkeley because when I was in the navy I stayed pretty close to my church, and there was a physicist, University of Maryland physicist, who told me I should go to Berkeley because it's the best university in the world and had all this scientific distinction, you know? He said, "Did you know [Robert] Oppenheimer was a professor there?" And his enemy, Edward Teller, and so forth.

Rubens: So lo and behold, you're out of the navy, you come to California from Washington, D.C., after your discharge?

Cleveland: I'll never forget the day I decided to go to California, and I told my father. He was stricken because he was such a family man. He thought, "You'll never come back." Which is what happened. Of course, I thought I was allaying all his fears because my purpose of going to Berkeley was to get a B.A. and come back to the East Coast and go to Princeton Theological Seminary, become a Presbyterian minister.

Rubens: And your family still lived where you had been raised?

Cleveland: Washington, D.C. In fact, I lived in a neighborhood that was like a commune. I swear to God. I mean, it was like a commune. In my neighborhood there were all these big old Victorian style wood houses, like in Alameda. During the Second World War, the people who were residing in these houses were all people who had been recruited by the FDR, Roosevelt brain trust and they were all working for Roosevelt. They

all took their fences down [in] their backyards and had a communal garden. It was like a family. It was incredible.

Rubens: Was your father in politics at all?

Cleaveland: No. In fact, he had a chance to become a manager—kind of a top-level civil servant because he helped some top managers for Roosevelt set up the shops, the method of teaching shop in junior high school. It happened during the New Deal. And it was really a program to propagandize capitalism, you know? It was named “Industrial Arts.” What you did was in these early shop programs—they started in Washington, D.C. You know, the shops they have in junior high school? You know, wood shop, metal shop—

Rubens: Yes, yes. The girls didn’t take them when I—

Cleaveland: That started under FDR in Washington, D.C., and my father was one of the people who helped set it up. He was offered a good job and he decided that he would prefer to teach; so he just completely forewent a career in some high-level, bureaucracy in Washington, and taught for twenty-eight years, taught junior high school boys. Industrial so-called “arts.”

These courses were amazing because when they first were instituted, they were very, very corporate. For example, you’d make a letter opener for your mom out of copper, and then you’d study Anaconda Copper Corporation, for Christ’s sake. The real fanatic capitalists screamed bloody murder in their hatred for Roosevelt, and yet he was propagandizing the use of this country to make them love corporations. I mean, it was incredible!

Rubens: All right. So you have a New Deal, Roosevelt sensibility. You’re in the navy. You have a religious calling.

Cleaveland: And I was predisposed to politics, too, even at that young age. My grandfather took a special interest in me. He had nine children, and my father was the next to the youngest one. My father had this big family of five children. For some reason, my grandfather took a great interest in my father’s family—in turn, in me as the first son, and took me under his tutelage in a way. He was a pretty well known church man, as they called it, in northwest Washington. He was active in the National Council of Churches and that kind of thing. That’s one of the reasons I wanted to go into the ministry. Well, he had a very contrary opinion about the world, also. He said to me over and over again, “The Communists will win, thank God” or “The Communists should win” in the world, after the war. He thought the Communists should take over the world. [This was a special



sort of secret opinion of his, which we shared, and he didn't say such things to others in the family.]

My mother was a Catholic orphan. All she knew was that she had been turned on to politics by Catholic anarchists, the Ammon Hennessey people. Her thing to me was—I'll never forget—she used to wink at me and say, "Eat the rich." And my father was a very pious character, but a very sweet man. He just always said, "You have to understand the meaning of good citizenship and good Christian, and that's all I care, is that you understand those two things."

Rubens: So your father is upset you're going to leave, but you assure him that you're going to come back to Princeton. And you arrive in Berkeley; this must be the spring of '55?

Cleveland: I arrive in Oakland on a Greyhound bus. I get off at the Greyhound station in Oakland, thinking it's San Francisco, and went to the YMCA before it was gay. I stayed there about four or five days and went to the Presbyterian church, where I was immediately picked up by a rich family and brought into their scene, and then the Presbyterian church.

I was a youth leader at the Presbyterian church. Immediately joined the choir, took voice lessons. I almost went into opera, which I wish I had done because I had a super voice. But instead, the political thing was perking because I started studying with this troika of teachers here at UC. Three political theorists whose names were always hyphenated: Professors Wolin, Jacobson, and Schaar.

Rubens: So you do enroll in school.

Cleveland: Oh, that's right. Yes, I came to Berkeley immediately after I arrived here in March. I came to Berkeley on a bus, on a weekday, with my high school transcripts in my pocket. I went to the registrar's office, and the woman said, "Go to a junior college." And I did it. So I went to Oakland Junior College for a year.

Rubens: The Grove Street campus.

Cleveland: Yes. And became active there immediately in NAACP. There was a big fight about—the college cafeteria was segregated, but it was self-segregated, and so the NAACP was trying to reach out and say, "Hey, why are you avoiding us?" I got in trouble with some white students over this—big arguments about how we should be much more social with black people in the situation because they felt awkward. I remember one guy,

“What do you mean they—why do they feel awkward?” I said, “Well, have you heard of racism?” [chuckles]

Rubens: Are you still living with the Oakland family?

Cleaveland: I lived in Oakland my first year here, with this family. It was actually right next to Piedmont, Trestle Glen, which was—now it’s all middle and upper middle class. I mean, pretty wealthy.

Rubens: No thought of living on campus or in a dorm?

Cleaveland: The first year I was here, I was simply going to school at Oakland Junior College, preparing to transfer to Berkeley. My life was centered around this Presbyterian church on Broadway and 26th, a huge—.

[tape interruption]

Rubens: Now you had gotten involved in the Presbyterian Church activities, so it made sense to stay with them. And then you enroll as a sophomore at Berkeley?

Cleaveland: Sophomore. I transferred as a sophomore at Berkeley. Immediately, I took a battery of tests.

Rubens: The fall of ‘56.

Cleaveland: I took a battery of tests. After I enrolled in lower division undergraduate work—and it was a general program then—there was a thing called general curriculum. I remember choosing to take political science and whatever was interesting in this general curriculum thing. And then I immediately took a battery of tests, and the tests said two things: either become a minister or public administrator.

So that turned me on to something that was very helpful to me. There was a cluster of scholars at Berkeley in public administration who had worked in the New Deal. In fact, the man who became very important in my life—one of them became an important teacher in my life—was also hired around that time by the CIA because he was a public administrator under Roosevelt. He was a part of the brain trust. [I had no idea, until years later, when he actually tried to recruit me. He was the only professor who seemed welcoming.]

Rubens: What was his name?

- Cleaveland: Albert Lepawsky, Hungarian-Jewish guy. He had somehow made contacts and had friends in the Middle East and became the Shah of Iran's best American friend. I didn't know any of this, but he kept trying to recruit me into the CIA after that. In fact, he got me to fill out a lot of applications for an internship in city government under a foundation called the Coro Foundation, which was a front for the CIA to recruit youth from colleges who were oriented toward—
- Rubens: But he's teaching in the political science department?
- Cleaveland: He taught political science.
- Rubens: So you become a student of his at the same time as—?
- Cleaveland: One of them. As you know, the University of California is so big that the teachers, like these three guys, there was no real relationship between students and faculty. Do you know what I'm saying? There was a whole pecking order around these teachers, but it was an illusion.
- Rubens: Make sure you say who these teachers are. I don't think we've said it here. You mentioned Lepawsky.
- Cleaveland: Yes, but the men that were most important for most of us in the political science department and, in fact, around the budding south campus student culture, was this troika: Sheldon Wolin, Norman Jacobson, and Jack Schaar.
- Rubens: Had any of them been involved in the New Deal?
- Cleaveland: No, no. They were younger than Lepawsky. They were very young guys.
- Rubens: Was there anyone else? You said there had been a bunch of people involved in the New Deal. I don't know if there was anyone else you were pointing to.
- Cleaveland: The other teachers involved in the New Deal?
- Rubens: That you remember influenced you.
- Cleaveland: Peter Odegard. He was very much involved in that. Hans Morgenthau, he was a visiting teacher here at the time. Dwight Waldo.
- Rubens: And your point was that you said there was no real relationship between the students and faculty?

Cleaveland: Yes. I would notice the TAs spending more time with these—. See, these guys were extremely popular because of what they did. They foresaw what was coming in the sense of scientism. And they saw behaviorists, intellectual categories and behaviorist professorships and that kind of—all phony—they hated behaviorism; they hated sociology; they hated psychology; they gave some quarter to anthropology. You know what I mean? You know about that whole thing. [But they had almost no contact with students; none. Only the teaching assistants, and their contact was minimal.]

Their popularity [the big name professors] became an attraction for the clusters of students who became a constituency, the politics. They were mostly Jewish students from L.A. and New York. These three men, in their seminars and classes and lectures, were attacking sociology and social sciences vehemently. It was done at a high level, academic and so intellectual that you wouldn't have noticed it except for the intensity of their attacks.

In fact, Wolin attacked Lipset constantly, indirectly, by attacking his kind of sociology. It was strange that this publisher's rep from New York, the editor from Doubleday, Luther Nichols, who created this book, *The Berkeley Student Revolt*—do you know what book that is? Have you ever seen it?

Rubens: Yes.

Cleaveland: In other words, that book was an anthology of a lot of stuff that was still hot in January [1965]. He got these two academic enemies to gather materials, and it was from every quarter on the campus—the Academic Senate types and the AAUP types and departmental leaders. And all [the materials of] these people were basically solicited by Wolin and Lipset because of this Luther Nichols. He'd gotten these two men to put together this incredible anthology of material that came directly out of the Free Speech Movement, within a month after it was over.

Rubens: Let me pull you back. This is important because in the anthology are pieces by Wolin and Lipset.

Cleaveland: Yes, they were editors of this book. Luther Nichols recruited Lipset and Wolin, who were deadly enemies. [What these two put together] was a really first-rate accomplishment. [An anthology of stuff from the heart of the Free Speech Movement. Both were very eminent scholars; Wolin was for the movement and Lipset was opposed. Prior to all of this, Wolin attacked Lipset's sort of work.]

Rubens: And this battle had been going on for many years, which you were witnessing when you were first attracted to them.

Now, I wanted to pull you back a minute. Are you claiming also that these guys weren't so accessible to undergraduate students? You said you're noticing there's no real relationship between students and faculty.

Cleveland: Yes. They substituted for a relationship between themselves and their students this wider, electrified feeling that [here were these three political theory professors attacking sociologists like Lipset. Political science and sociology were fighting and they had this big constituency of Jewish kids from L.A. and New York. It was hot.] The reason why nonsectarian radicalism took root in Berkeley was because of these three teachers and because of [Hannah] Arendt's attempt to move way beyond Marxism and capitalism as the systems to deal with in terms of politics.

Rubens: Now, that's the intellectual story, but I just want to be precise about what the relationship is between faculty and TA and undergraduate, because ultimately this is another thread of your life that we'll talk about later—the whole notion of student reform. Not just the subject, the anti-behavioral categories that these guys were illuminating, but also the method that you could sit and talk and have influence and have relationships. Those are the two kinds of things that would then characterize the sixties.

Cleveland: [added after interview: It was like a huge intellectual sort of pyramid. A few professors and their TAs at the top. That pyramid, that hierarchy, produced intensive and very volatile competition. A terrific contradiction. Everybody competing, very real intellectual questions, and no access to professors. It is Pavlovian – like stimulus and response.]

Rubens: What was the constituency?

Cleveland: [added after interview: The thousand students below the tip of the pyramid. Stomachs churning, because they cannot have an exchange with the real teachers, the professors. Stimulated by very real, exciting questions, and responding passionately to get clear understanding, but no cigar. No access. Read, read, read; take exams, write papers. But no contact with the real teachers, only fellow students, called teaching assistants.]

Everybody was mixed up in it. I mean, Saul Stern—I don't know if you ever heard of him or not, but he was a best friend of Bob Scheer during that Scheer campaign. He was a graduate student in political theory. Bob Scheer was a graduate student in sociology. I remember he came to a political theory seminar given by Bertrand de Jouvenel, this famous

French intellectual, who talked de Gaulle out of getting out of Algeria. [Once in a high powered seminar, Bob Scheer created a very comic situation with the famous French professor Bertrand de Jouvenel, a one-year visiting professor. He was in the dark. So he took a behaviorist tack. Put some formulae on the blackboard, from the behaviorists. This behaviorist math and the thick accent provoked Scheer, who yelled at the prof, and got up and left the seminar, and soon after, the university. De Jouvenel, who himself was not actually a behaviorist, was shocked, but later laughed. He was only trying to adapt to what he saw as scientific, behaviorist, UC Berkeley.]

Rubens: Yes. We can come back to this. This is fabulous history.

But you were noticing that there's no real relationship between students and faculty—?

Cleveland: Right.

Rubens: Did the faculty have relationships with their undergraduates, or did you feel that relationship through the TAs in the seminars?

Cleveland: See, what they did was they displaced the personal relationship that should have existed, or they substituted for the personal relationship that should have existed between faculty and students, a much more exciting, basically political or citizen-like relationship. These guys were like charismatic political leaders to this constituency that was forming on the South Campus. It was blowing the minds of all the people in classics and literature and history. They were pissed off. They [professors in the Classics, in history, et cetera] were very jealous that all these bright students were all of a sudden becoming red-hot politicians under these three teachers. I mean, you were part of that. That's why you were drawn into it.

Rubens: No, no. I'm interested in that notion of substituting personal relationships.

Cleveland: With citizen-like relationships, exactly. That's what they did. It's all organic. They say that a good idea isn't good unless it has beauty included. The inter-relationship of all these things that were going on was so beautiful. I mean, Wolin was an international-class political theorist, Schaar was a national political theorist, and Jacobson was a citizen political theorist. See how that relates? [I mean it was like real citizenship, in ancient Greece. Even if you were on the bottom of the pyramid, you could be a witness to this hot intellectual stuff.]

Rubens: Yes.

- Cleaveland: And it's incredible. It was a very beautiful trio of people there.
- Rubens: Were they all about the same age?
- Cleaveland: Yes.
- Rubens: Did any of them actually become involved in HUAC, or were they advisors to SLATE? Did they serve that role or were they above the fray, in a certain sense?
- Cleaveland: Yes, they were, as far as action. Mike Miller [one of the five or six principal founders of SLATE] got Charles Gulick, who was one of his teachers in sociology, to become the first SLATE advisor.
- Rubens: All right. We'll get to that in a minute. So there you are in this politically fervent and fermenting environment.
- Cleaveland: It was incredible.
- Rubens: This was '57 and '58.
- Cleaveland: It was so beautiful.
- Rubens: Did you actually know and meet with your professors at that point?
- Cleaveland: See, as citizens, these teachers almost became citizens who were open to any person around them, as citizens, on a very equal basis. [But not in a personal, or especially social way. You see, for many students, it was like an opportunity to even witness the top of the pyramid, the questioning; to witness real dialogue – it was like a taste of the Greek market, a place of ideas, the agora, the real thing.]
- Rubens: Where would you literally see them?
- Cleaveland: It was very radical. After seminars. During seminars we'd talk. The way the speech went on in the seminars, for example, was very hot, was very intensive. I mean, people were just really turned on!
- Rubens: Were the seminars for undergraduates?
- Cleaveland: These were mainly graduate seminars I'm thinking about now, '60 to '62, before the Free Speech Movement.
- Rubens: To get the overview: you are a student in '56, and you graduate with a degree in political science?

- Cleaveland: In '59 I got a B.A., and then I re-enrolled in the M.A. program immediately and started my M.A. in political science. I started in the fall of '59 into the M.A. program.
- Rubens: Okay. And did you complete that program?
- Cleaveland: Yes, I got an M.A. in '62. My thesis was a joke. I'm going to get it out of the library and burn it.
- Rubens: So maybe we should skip ahead just a little so that we can get back to the FSM. Were you involved in HUAC, and were you involved in SLATE?
- Cleaveland: [There was a tiny core of five or six, so I was at a second level, although I was treasurer of SLATE for at least the first two semesters. I was one of the first dozen picketers of HUAC, and after the arrests was one of the organizers of the response.] I was one of the ten or twelve founders of SLATE in 1957, '58. In fact, the way [I first got involved] was this: I saw a headline in , "Mike Miller Resigns from Student Government." And the next day I saw him. He was standing next to Stevens Union the moment that I approached him, seeing him there, talking to Clark Kerr.
- Rubens: Of course, Pauley Union is not there.
- Cleaveland: Stevens, yes. Pauley wasn't there yet.
- Rubens: That's right.
- Cleaveland: Yes, and Mike was talking to Clark Kerr, who was campus manager or something. I don't know what the hell he was. I think he was chancellor at that time, chancellor of the Berkeley campus.
- Rubens: I think of the campus, yes. And then he becomes the statewide, UC president, yes.
- Cleaveland: Right.
- Rubens: So you see Mike talking to Kerr?
- Cleaveland: Yes. I approached him after Kerr left, and I said, "Wasn't that Clark Kerr?" He said, "Yeah." I said, "What's he like?" He said, "He's a very sweet man. He's a Quaker, you know." Like that. I said, "I didn't know that. That's interesting." And then I said, "Well, what are you going to do next?" He said, "Are you interested?" I said, "Yeah." He said, "What do you think we should do?"



Rubens: Did you know each other already?

Cleveland: No, I didn't. It was just cold. He said, "How would you like to be treasurer?" [laughs] I said, "Where are we going to meet?" He said, "We're going to meet first at the I-House." There was a big meeting at the I-House and it was packed. And we moved from there to Cory Hall on Northside. And there was a Friday and Saturday—that week—meeting, for constitutional convention for SLATE. You won't believe this. There was a six-page constitution for SLATE. I've got a copy of it.

Rubens: And did you become treasurer?

Cleveland: I became treasurer. I was elected as the SLATE treasurer, in the constitutional convention. What was fascinating about this meeting was that it was the first time I ever heard the expression SLATE used, and it will teach you a lot about the impact of Berkeley, this kind of thing, because there are many things like this that happened. [The later picked that up and made it our name, SLATE, because we ran slates of candidates. It had not been done before.]

There was a discussion of what SLATE should be. A student group for what? For Marxism? For educational reform? Then we compromised with "issue-oriented politics." [The actual phrase] "issue-oriented politics" was born at the SLATE convention. That's what's American politics now, "issue-oriented politics." [The phrase was first adapted from SLATE in California in the statewide California Democratic Clubs – the CDC.]

Rubens: And by the way, you're drawn to Schaar, Wolin and Jacobson. None of these were Marxists per se.

Cleveland: No. In fact, they were all—Wolin and Schaar—well, all three [were] very, very highly educated, politically speaking. They made a major thrust as a result of Arendt's call for a rebirth of politics.

Rubens: Did she do that in a specific year?

Cleveland: She lectured here in [spring] 1955. That same thing happened with her. There was this tiny cluster of forty or fifty students from all fields who worshiped her and to whose apartments she went at night. That's what started the whole thing.

Rubens: Okay. I didn't know.

Cleveland: Wolin, Jacobson and Schaar coalesced in her wake as she went elsewhere. She was the founder of the whole thing, here in Berkeley, at UC. [Without

her, this troika of professors wouldn't have happened. And without this troika, it is unlikely that SLATE would have come about.]

- Rubens: All right. So in fact, some of that trickled down even into SLATE—if you will—because of what wins out as interest-oriented politics.
- Cleveland: Issue-oriented.
- Rubens: Issue-oriented politics.
- Cleveland: Yes, that's the phase. You know, the CDC took it over, as I mentioned.
- Rubens: So you're very active in SLATE.
- Cleveland: Right.
- Rubens: But the cast of characters that you're going to know are Mike Miller—
- Cleveland: Peter Franck, Herb Mills, David Rynin.
- Rubens: Mike Tigar?
- Cleveland: No, Tigar didn't come till two years later.
- Rubens: Okay. And Myerson?
- Cleveland: Mike Myerson was not active. See, the Du Bois Club formed about the same time. It's just after SLATE formed, just during the time. I didn't know it. In fact, Mike Myerson duped me [chuckles]. It was a Communist who duped me. [chuckles] I liked Mike and his friend from L.A.. Michael came a working-class family, and he had a very close friend named Danny Greenson, whose father was a shrink in L.A. He was a very hip L.A. boy. He didn't feel as much a part of the student or university scene at all until he hooked up with Danny Greenson, whose father was a physician and a shrink.
- Rubens: And so the duping story? Can you tell that now?
- Cleveland: Mike Myerson was one of the reasons I hung around student politics because I enjoyed his company so much. [He was a real comic, and that's rare in any political scene.]
- Rubens: And the issue-oriented—
- Cleveland: I was treasurer. I threw parties to raise money, and issue-oriented politics was the politics of SLATE in order to take over student government. [In

fact, we took it over.] It was completely nonsectarian, YMCA, Stiles Hall-style politics [straight, but progressive and more hip than the dominant social group at the time: the “Greeks” or frats and sororities]. Basically, Mike Miller and Peter Franck were Stiles people, so to speak. Peter came from an assimilated Jewish family, but the point I’m making is that Peter became very, very into Stiles Hall with a guy named Pierre Delattre, who was a very famous West Coast organizer of some sort in the forties or fifties. I don’t know if he’s a nonsectarian type, who was in Stiles. David Rynin was involved, and then there were two or three other characters. This was very important because the personalities in this group—they were so beautifully interwoven.

There was a man, a young student, who was a super—genius, Henry [Hank] di Suvero. He had a girlfriend named Gloria Martocchia. Henry di Suvero came from a very upper middle-class Italian-American family. Hank hooked up with another Italian girl who became his girlfriend, who was from an anarchist family from Petaluma. I became very familiar with the whole Petaluma chicken farming group. Gloria’s family was in that scene from the Hollywood exiles [the Blacklist, the Hollywood Ten].

Rubens: Then are you involved with HUAC?

Cleveland: I was involved in that very directly. I went to the first demonstrations on Thursday. I almost got into a fist fight with a couple of fraternity types who were sitting and heckling the pickets. There were only about ten or fifteen pickets the first couple of hours. This is where the wisdom of the C.P., in a way, played a role because Aryay Linsky, who was a C.P. youth and one of the founders of the Du Bois Club with Mike Myerson and others, ‘59 and ‘60, came over to me and said, “Don’t ever respond to somebody heckling you if you’re in a picket line.” I didn’t know what the hell he was talking about. But I had to hold the line because they had more clout in organizing this than I did.

However, what happened was on the second day of the HUAC demonstrations, I took two French students from the I-House, where I lived, to the anti-HUAC demonstrations. When it started getting hairy—it looked like there might be arrests—they wanted to get the hell out of there because they would be deported if they got caught, so I said, “Well, okay, we’ll go away. We’ll take a ride and come back later.”

We went to Mt. Tamalpais and came back. By that time, the last people were being arrested. So I wasn’t arrested. But immediately, I talked to Aryay, and who else was in that? Oh, a guy named Richard Chesney, Rick Chesney, who was Aryay’s partner in this organizing impetus, very anti-HUAC. I talked to both of them. I said, “Listen, I can get people to a

meeting if we're going to have one tonight." They said, "How are you going to do that?" I said, "I'll do it on Telegraph and I'll do it in the I-House." I'm sure I got fifty people to come to the meeting, and they were the most people that could fit.

But after that—because Aryay was just entering student politics—I was excluded because I wasn't in the C.P. I could never figure that out. It broke my heart. I even got Aryay to start playing tennis. He was a good tennis player. Actually, he was just unusual because most of the Jewish kids were not into athletics that much. But we played tennis a lot, and I let Aryay teach me tennis, and got his friendship a little bit closer and so forth.

But then in 1960, I ran for SLATE chairman and was beat by Mike Tigar. [He was hanging out with Aryay and was in the De Bois Club, too, I think.]

Rubens: Is that what you meant by "duped?"

Cleaveland: Yes. I mean, there was a lot of stuff going on that I didn't know about, and I was being led by people who were having these secret meetings, for Christ's sake. I mean, I never would do what these idiots did when that happened to them—go out and say, "The Communists are assholes because they—" I mean, I'm grateful that I was duped by the Communists. [laughter] It's a hell of a lot better than being duped by capitalists. But I wasn't in that head space. I could have gone into business administration or something. That would have been the natural thing for me to do because of my background. And I was saved by student politics.

Rubens: So 1960 you run for SLATE chair, having helped found it, having been involved with it for two years.

Cleaveland: And lost to Mike Tigar. It was a funny thing because what happened was all the women voted for me. [chuckles] He was an extraordinary character, very charismatic. I didn't mind. [I probably could have won, because the year before, in '59, I had gotten a Dean of Students fired in an event called the "little Free Speech Movement."]

Rubens: And the next big political activity must have been—

Cleaveland: The next thing for me was the rebirth of the student [SLATE] newspaper, for two issues in 1963. I decided that I would—the first issues of these were tiny, published by Hank di Suvero. I enlarged it to the same size as the paper, and there was a press in Berkeley that printed the . I was in the union, the carpenter's union and I knew about the, and I saw the union bug

on it. So I found out where the press was, and I went to them and they printed it.

That was really a leaflet, you know? It wasn't a newspaper. It was either brilliantly clever move or a completely confused move because it looked like a newspaper and it was really a six-authored leaflet. [A huge, broadside attack, a sort of leaflet that looked like a newspaper.]

Rubens: Let me just place this in your history. '63?

Cleveland: '63

Rubens: You've now finished your graduate work?

Cleveland: M.A. I'm a non-student, off-campus agitator.

Rubens: And SLATE didn't care about that?

Cleveland: No. In fact, when I got up on the car once, I said, "I'm your friendly non-student, off-campus agitator," and I got a good response because I knew so many people, you know?

I published the Cal Reporter. We put about two or three hundred copies of the Cal Reporter with handouts into faculty mailboxes, right into faculty mailboxes.

Rubens: Why don't you say for the purpose of the recording what was the thrust of the publication?

Cleveland: Well, the thrust of the was to continue my own struggle inside the movement leadership, to make the movement more grounded on university as such, as an institution, especially educational reform and undergraduates. So the was this extraordinary broadside against the educational system, about the experience of other students and about UC as being anti-intellectual. And it was an attack on the faculty for being the most important factor in American higher education that prevents education reform.

Rubens: All right. What is the response to that?

Cleveland: That paper?

Rubens: Yes.

Cleveland: Well, it seemed like, on the one hand, it fell flat [because I wanted it to take off and it didn't. A year earlier, I had done a smaller paper like it.

This second one did have quite an impact – 8,000 were distributed with an insert.] But it had a lot to do with my own ability to have standing in the radical scene in Berkeley. I was able to do stuff like that. Susan Griffin wrote for it, you know, the feminist theorist. Jo Freeman who became a feminist theorist, Ken Cloke, Joe Swartz—[and two Boalt Hall students, one of whom quit the at the same time.]

- Rubens: And, by the way, did you maintain a relationship Schaar and Wolin and Jacobson during this?
- Cleveland: All during this time, I mean, I was with them in classes and seminars. I mean, before that. Up to '62. '63, I still talked to them on the phone. Not Schaar, but I'd call them spontaneously and talk to Wolin and Jacobson.
- Rubens: Was there a coterie of their students who went on? The one student I knew was Joe Paff. He had been a TA of mine. Were there others you stayed friends with?
- Cleveland: Lots, lots, yes.
- Rubens: Why did you choose to finish with an M.A. and not go on to a Ph. D.?
- Cleveland: Well, I didn't know what I was going to do. My head was so totally into the movement by that time. There was nothing else in my life. I was like this monk. I had hardly any social life.
- My first girlfriend and lover at Berkeley was the daughter of the founder of the American Psychoanalytic Training Institute in this country. I remember taking her to a big SLATE meeting at Wheeler Hall. The place was packed. It was about '58; it was very early on. But Wheeler was packed with, you know, like, 2,500 students for some kind of meeting. I remember taking this woman friend of mine, my lover. She was just knocked out because her parents were very active in the Democratic Party in L.A.
- Rubens: Was she a Berkeley student?
- Cleveland: Yes. She had come from this very elite L.A. family. Her father was James Dean's shrink—and other celebrities like that. He was this top shrink type. His name was Vanderheid, Karel. He was an assimilated Jewish intellectual from Holland, who became active in the psycho-analytic movement in the service, in the American army. After the war was over, he went to Lackland Air Force Base in Texas to deal with shell shock cases and had such an impact on this program that he was able to start up this institute for psychoanalytic training.

Rubens: But what's your point about taking her?

Cleaveland: [I wanted her to see how big our movement was, and wanted to impress her, to recruit her.] With Anna, she was very sophisticated. She was a very sophisticated rich girl. Very, very heavy-duty Jewish family from L.A. That top level. Do you know what I'm saying?

Rubens: Yes.

Cleaveland: In days when the relationship between the Jewish community and Hollywood was completely unknown. So she came out of this really high-powered scene, and she was very, very impressed that I took her to this meeting. She was jumping up and down. She said, "Wait till I tell Daddy. Wait till I tell Daddy what you're doing, what all of your are doing. It's so wonderful." She said, "They're all Jews! They're all Jews!" [laughs] I said, "Aren't they wonderful?" [laughs] It was incredible.

Rubens: Did she end up being involved with the FSM?

Cleaveland: No. What happened was I took off after my first year at Berkeley, my sophomore year. That was '57, '58. That summer I went home. She couldn't stand it. [chuckles]

[Tape 2]

Rubens: Was she gone by this time, '64?

Cleaveland: She was gone that summer. We were lovers for four or five months. It was the spring of '59. But, I mean, she was knocked out. She was completely overpowered by the fact that this was happening. It sounded like the kind of things that she had heard as a child from this very tiny, besieged group of liberals in Hollywood, of which her father was a part.

Rubens: All right, so '63. This is the year before, and then we come to the spring of '64, Tell me, if you can, if there's any specific relationship to any of the civil rights recruiting because that's another one of the claims.

Cleaveland: I went on all the big marches and a lot of the—

Rubens: But in '64 you didn't go to Mississippi that summer?

Cleaveland: No, in fact, the reason I hadn't is very interesting. I approached James Baldwin when he was here for a big meeting at Harmon Gym, afterwards, and he ended up talking to me for about an hour and working through a lot

of stuff in his own head, of issues. He said, “No,” he says, “it’s time for you guys to start doing it.”

Rubens: Do what?

Cleveland: With white people.

Rubens: Baldwin said that?

Cleveland: Yes. He said, “Don’t go to Mississippi. Organize here at Berkeley. Racism is a white problem.” That’s why I didn’t become more active in the Civil Rights movement.

Rubens: That’s really interesting.

Cleveland: Yes. I mean, he actually turned me off from that and said, “Don’t worry about going to the South. We’re going to do okay now,” he said. “A lot of your brothers and sisters have sacrificed a lot, and we appreciate it.” I remember he leaned forward in his earnestness.

Rubens: Where is this discussion taking place?

Cleveland: It was in a coffee shop. I think it was Robbie’s. It might have been the Med.

Rubens: You have to be more intimate. It’s not at Harmon Gym.

Cleveland: He was walking away from Harmon. He kept walking. He said, “Is this where the students hang out?” I said, “Yes, it is.” And there were a couple of people with him, really young people.

Rubens: Do you know who brought him?

Cleveland: Who brought him to Harmon? Isn’t that interesting? I don’t remember.

Rubens: Well, we can find that out. It doesn’t matter. He’s a speaker. There were always speakers.

Cleveland: Yes. He decided to hang out with me and took me as a person who could tell him about the hang-out places on Telegraph, and I did, and we went there, and he spent all this time trying to tell me his own opinions about why there had to be two fronts. I was surprised when I think back on it that he had this language, “two fronts,” because he wasn’t that much of a politico, in the leftist sense. But he was very hip. That guy’s super hip, James Baldwin.



- Rubens: So that gives you encouragement and reinforcement or assurance that what you're doing here is good. You don't need to be going to the South.
- Cleveland: Yes. In fact, he put my head into this.
- Rubens: I thought that way. I was working for the Rumford Act. I mean, I thought there was plenty to do here.
- Cleveland: Absolutely. On the whole issue of the Civil Rights movement and racism, his thing was the "two front" thing he had in his head, but what he said to me was that it's fine for there to be—what I suppose he would have said now—cross-over for whites to help blacks, but ultimately it's a white problem and you've got to organize whites against it.
- Rubens: I cut you off. He made a pass at you?
- Cleveland: Yes, he was on the scene. I'm trying to think which kind of table it was. I think it actually had to be the Med because it had tables; Robbie's had booths. He made at least one very subtle pass at me. He said, "C'mon, dearie. Are you getting the picture now?" [I'm not gay, but I was still flattered.]
- Rubens: So when these students return in '64 and they're handing out leaflets, you have Republicans, there is SLATE, there is CORE, there were other groups. But you're near it. You're passing all the time. Where was the *Cal Reporter* put out, literally?
- Cleveland: Oh, isn't that interesting? Where the hell was that? Damn! [Oh, yes. I got all those who wrote in it to pass it out at the various entrances to the campus. We got out 5,000. About 1,000 went into each faculty mailbox, with inserts. I'd done that in '62 with the first re-published. Also, we actually mailed copies of this paper to about fifty other university's student newspapers. May 13, 1963 was the second, the 8,000 copy edition.]
- Rubens: Okay, we'll get back to that. I've got that there.
- And so I assume you're coming to campus because there were political speakers? September is when it happens, very soon after.
- Cleveland: For me, my head was so passionate at the time that the karma on Sproul Plaza down to Dwight Way was all the same thing. To me, it was this one big wonderful scene.

- Rubens: Did you go to the Republican Convention [in San Francisco]? Do you remember anything about that?
- Cleveland: I picketed, yes.
- Rubens: And so in that September, when it's starting to happen, the five students are being suspended, there's negotiation—
- Cleveland: I don't know where I was living then. Oh, yes. I was living on Dwight Way where People's Park is now. [Before I lived on Dwight] I was living with Jessica. That's what happened. That was another—my biggest mistake in my personal life. Jessica Abramson was the sister of Mark Abramson, the guy who started Electra Records? [I lived in a house in the flatlands with her when I wrote the Free Speech Movement manifesto. Jessica was so supportive of me, and really supported my writing the manifesto.]
- [tape interruption]
- Rubens: So the *Cal Reporter*, is it still reporting?
- Cleveland: There were two issues in '63, and the only one I have left is that one.
- Rubens: Only two in '63. So what else are you doing in the fall of '64?
- Cleveland: Let's see. I'm living in the hills. That's right, I moved from the hills to the flatlands with Jessica, where I wrote the manifesto during the spring and summer. It took the whole spring and summer [of 1964] to do that.
- Rubens: What leads you to do that?
- Cleveland: Okay. What led me to do that?
- Rubens: Yes, because this is before the movement.
- Cleveland: Right, before the Free Speech Movement. I had been trying for about a year to—I had gotten to know Alexander Meiklejohn, and he said, "You've got to know those who you identify as your enemies." You've heard it said, "Know your enemies." That's exactly what he said to me. And I said, "Well, I guess it's the faculty." He smiled. He said, "You're beginning to understand higher education." [chuckles]
- Rubens: Where had you met Meiklejohn? He retired here.
- Cleveland: Right. Well, I read everything in higher education reform. He wrote a book about the change of authority from the church to the state and what it

meant for the state to educate. I quoted him in a leaflet. I felt that Hutchins and Meiklejohn represented two major aspects of education reform. One was education for all. That was Meiklejohn. And Hutchins represented the hope for high-quality education for everybody because of the experiments at [University of] Chicago, and then St. John's came out. But Meiklejohn was the one who said, "You've got to know your enemies."

So I started—you know what I did? I went back and interviewed almost every faculty member I had had, every teacher I'd had. [I did it from '63, when I had re-published the two issues of the Cal Reporter, through spring 1964.]

Rubens: Really?

Cleveland: Yes. I asked them, I said, "I don't feel much more than confusion." I said, "I've got some brilliant articulations of ideas, but I don't feel as if I've gotten an education." I just went and broadsided these teachers. I was very careful. I made appointments. Very friendly. And I go and sit down in their office.

Rubens: Who were you talking to?

Cleveland: I had a whole list of them. I just did it. I did, like, seven out of ten of the teachers I had for undergraduate studies.

Rubens: Including Schaar and Wolin?

Cleveland: Well, I knew them well enough, so I knew what—in fact, the only person that surprised me in terms of my relationship was Schaar, because he felt that—in fact, I tried to start a school—I didn't put that down. I tried to start a political school in 1978 at Berkeley. I had millions of dollars committed to that. And Schaar sabotaged it. Sad thing.

But I interviewed these teachers, and none of them could give me sound answers. They all chortled and joked and said, "Well, you know, you really didn't need an education. You're a smart boy anyhow." Blah, blah, blah. "And you can do anything you want. You come from the right background." Blah, blah, blah. They just shined me on, you know?  
[chuckles]

So then I started interviewing—. I tried to get Alex Sherriffs to do an interview with me, and he wouldn't.

Rubens: Why?

- Cleaveland: He wouldn't talk to me. He was crazy, that guy. He was wacko.
- Rubens: Had you known him very well?
- Cleaveland: Well, he took over the attempt to wreck the student movement, in his mind, from Kerr.
- Rubens: So let's just say Meiklejohn is who's most influencing you, though you've of course read Hutchins.
- Cleaveland: Right. And Harold Taylor—people like that. Harold Taylor, the guy who ran Sarah Lawrence. He was a top education reformer at the time.
- Rubens: Let me just ask this question: Is it then that you're interviewing some of these teachers? It must have gone on for a while.
- Cleaveland: No, I did that from '63 through the spring of '64, the interviewing. That's what I was doing as a non-student, and working. What happened—in the spring of '64 I tried to see Kerr. I finally decided somehow I'm going to see Kerr.
- Rubens: Had you known Kerr?
- Cleaveland: Well, I knew a lot about him. And I had begun to turn onto the fact that what he had in mind for higher education—and I realized its importance and all the rest. And I said, "Well, he really should want to talk to me because I was active for these seven years," and he did a lot of things that showed his being out of touch.
- So the only appointment I was able to get was with somebody in his office, the president's office at University Hall. His name was Tschirghi. He was an eastern European emigre—physician, a neurologist. He was head of the academic affairs side of the Academic Senate for some reason, for some strange reason because the guy was the worst nut I ever met. He would even make Dr. Strangelove look like child's play. He was crazy.
- I went into his office, it was just down the hall from Kerr's office. As soon as I sat down, he put his hand on this big plastic brain and leaned forward and said, "Mr. Cleaveland, we need good plumbers, people who know how to obey traffic laws. Do you understand that?"
- Rubens: Oh, my God!
- Cleaveland: That was the first thing he said to me.

[tape interruption]

Rubens: Say something more about what mistakes you thought Kerr had made already. The reason I'm making this point is because, of course, one of the big issues in looking back at the Free Speech Movement is what's the role of Kerr? Kerr now is trying to write his memoirs and saying, "Look, I was done in by the Regents and other people."

Cleveland: No, no. I just got through reading those chapters.

Rubens: Okay. Let me hear what you thought Kerr had done wrong. What showed that he was out of touch?

Cleveland: First of all, there was a struggle over a thing called Rule 17, having to do with military training on the campus.

Rubens: Right.

Cleveland: I don't even remember which side he was on. I just know that he had something to do with what Peter Franck represented to him as being too conservative on the issues.

Rubens: Okay, okay.

Cleveland: And then, let's see. '63 I had become very interested in his work because of the Goddard lectures at Harvard, which became—

Rubens: Yes, I wanted to ask you that earlier.

Cleveland: I read that. I had no idea the scope of this man's mind and his own efforts at the time. I mean, in fact, one of the biggest mistakes of all—I attacked Clark Kerr for being against educational reform when he had actually affected moves toward reform greater than all reform in history. He created San Diego, Irvine, and Santa Cruz campuses and was completely done in by the faculty in all three places.

Rubens: Why did you attack him? Youthful naivete?

Cleveland: That's what it was. It was stupidity of the worst sort! Because, you know, he was in the classical situation of a liberal between the two sides, the radical Left and the conservative Right.

Rubens: How did you attack him, and what form, literally, did it take?

Cleveland: It was horrible, horrible. I wrote a leaflet entitled—let me see this list.

Rubens: Yes, sure. [hands Cleaveland his CV]

Cleaveland: Oh, that's my best leaflet. I didn't include it here. There was a leaflet I published only about a thousand copies [of], but only three or four hundred got distributed to the faculty. It really had a great impact. In this leaflet I attacked Kerr for his writing and the Goddard lectures. He said, "I am a mediator. I am not a leader." That's where I coined this expression, the Eichmann syndrome. He kept disavowing leadership. He's a Quaker. I didn't know that at the time. I didn't know that the reason he was taking this position with respect to his own leadership and to press exposure and fame and all the rest was because of his Quakerism, see?

He was an incredible character in the sense that he had all this impact in the world on higher education. First of all, he saved capitalist higher education, for what it's worth. [chuckles] But he saved it because he created the structure called the Master Plan. But then I attacked him because I felt that he had paid strict attention to structure and none to content. Meanwhile, he was out creating these vast—you know, it was 225,000 students who were moving into an experimental program that was very, very radical. It would have recovered the whole Oxbridge factor in higher education. The faculty destroyed the thing. I didn't know that.

Rubens: You write that manifesto when?

Cleaveland: Fall of '64 it was published [as an insert]. The accompanying pamphlet or essay, in which I talk about Meiklejohn and Hutchins, and then I'd say that Kerr was a victim of the Eichmann syndrome, in his eschewing of leadership, that he just wanted to be "doing his job," and his job was to run a fine machine.

Rubens: Yes.

Cleaveland: And that was all bullshit.

Rubens: Did he use that word, "fine machine"?

Cleaveland: No, I was the one who coined the expression, "knowledge factory," because Kerr had used the expression by Fritz Machlup, who wrote a book about higher education. I quoted that by making the mistake of calling it the "knowledge factory." In my manifesto, I kept repeating that.

Rubens: Let me restate this. There's a manifesto, and the lengthier explanation and critique of Kerr is called—

Cleaveland: Yes. [was the pamphlet].

- Rubens: And when you say you put this into faculty boxes, did you put both the pamphlet and the manifesto?
- Cleveland: Just the pamphlet.
- Rubens: Just the pamphlet, *Education, Revolutions, and Citadels*. And the manifesto is the—
- Cleveland: It's called .
- Rubens: I want to pull you back to this, though. Just a couple of other questions. You had been a leader in SLATE, but you had not particularly known Kerr; Kerr didn't particularly engage you. You had not had face-to-face meetings?
- Cleveland: No. There was no contact between Kerr and the budding student movement at all.
- Rubens: He just didn't have that style, right?
- Cleveland: He was very remote. He had his head so high. That's the trouble; it was too high. It wasn't an ivory tower because he was really in the world. He was in the middle of the capitalist mainstream world, you know, and a favorite of many liberals.
- Rubens: Okay. And one more background question about this: Meiklejohn—how often did you meet with him?
- Cleveland: I met with him only two or three times, but then I corresponded with him. He had an apartment in the Adams Hotel in New York.
- Rubens: Didn't he retire out here, or was he sick by the time he retired here?
- Cleveland: Yes, but he still had this place in New York. He used to go there. It was something with his relatives. In other words, I think his family had places in New York, and he had this very plush hotel apartment for a while.
- Rubens: And did you know Hutchins?
- Cleveland: Yes, I met him.
- Rubens: At this time, though? '63, '64?
- Cleveland: Yes.
- Rubens: Now, Hutchins, had he come to the Center in Santa Barbara?

- Cleaveland: [Yes, with another educational reformer, W.B. Ferry.] They even did a big thing like this for me at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara. That's where he was. See, what happened was I was working in the I-House, and his daughter was in school here. She knew I was—
- Rubens: When are you working at I-House?
- Cleaveland: From '58 to '62.
- Rubens: Okay. While you were a student?
- Cleaveland: Yes. Well, it was another incredible job, [of] the kinds I had. I would go to the I-House at midnight Friday. Between that time and midnight Sunday, I'd spend most of my time there, thirty-two hours in eight-hour blocks, you know? Or one eight-hour, one sixteen-hour, and one eight-hour block. I was the weekend supervisor of the operation and also the white knight watchman, to make sure there was no rape in the Great Hall. It was a great job.
- Rubens: And you meet Hutchins' daughter?!
- Cleaveland: Yes, right.
- Rubens: Good God!
- Cleaveland: She knew I was an educational reformer-agitator.
- Rubens: By the way, what's she doing here?
- Cleaveland: She's a student, a graduate student in English.
- Rubens: Was she a student during the FSM?
- Cleaveland: She was gone by that time.
- Rubens: All right. So you meet her, and she knows who you are. And, of course, you know who he is. So he had already set up the Center for Democratic Studies?
- Cleaveland: Yes.
- Rubens: And when was that?
- Cleaveland: It had to be in the late fifties.



- Rubens: Is it late fifties? Okay.
- Cleveland: Yes. She called him and asked him if he would like to talk to me, and he said, "Indeed." I went and made a trip there and made a couple more trips, and the fourth time I was due to an invitation I had when I was at San Diego. This was in the sixties. That was later, '67. I was married and went up to be recorded there in their glorious huge studio for these meetings that they had. Hutchins always believed if you get bright people together, he could save the world.
- Rubens: Right.
- Cleveland: This is a very plush thing he had. It was incredible.
- Rubens: Oh, yes. That's what I heard. I never saw it. So there was a recorded session of you holding forth with a bunch of people.
- Cleveland: Like this, yes.
- Rubens: Do you have it?
- Cleveland: No.
- Rubens: Why?
- Cleveland: I'm not sure they do.
- Rubens: Sure, they do. Let's get it.
- Cleveland: Have you ever heard of John Sealy?
- Rubens: Who is John Sealy?
- Cleveland: John Sealy is one of the Brandeis teachers who came west with Marcuse. Four or five of them came out here because of the student movement.
- Rubens: Yes. Where did Sealy go?
- Cleveland: He went to UC Santa Barbara. That's where he got involved with Hutchins and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. I really wanted to turn Scheer onto the place, and that's where he published this pamphlet about how we got involved in Vietnam. Remember Scheer's pamphlet? Bob Scheer published a pamphlet in the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions called . It was the major foundational gesture, the publication of this pamphlet, for the [anti-]Vietnam War movement.

- Rubens: I don't remember that. We'll get back to all these other things.
- We have to finish the manifesto. So you had met Hutchins. You're quite steeped in the issues of educational reform. You write *Education, Revolutions, and Citadels*. You write the *Free Speech Manifesto*, *A Letter to Undergraduates*. Did you get a direct response ever from Kerr? Did Kerr call you in, comment?
- Cleveland: No. I told him this. I said, "The one thing that you could have done that would have prevented at least my being a symbolic *bête noire* in your career—I wouldn't have been—it would have been different if I'd had any idea what you were doing."
- Rubens: And why did you choose the term "free speech"? I know there had been the mini-Free Speech Movement in '59. But why "free speech"?
- Cleveland: Why that name?
- Rubens: Yes.
- Cleveland: I'm trying to remember. Remember the little blue buttons with FSM on them?
- Rubens: Right.
- Cleveland: That connects with how the movement name got named. I think it was the same thing—
- Rubens: It's a larger issue. There's a general issue going on about who's allowed to speak on campus. Communists are not allowed to speak.
- Cleveland: I keep thinking of Art Goldberg. I think he's the one who knows most about how it got named because I think he had the biggest role in this. You know, Art and Jackie Goldberg, brother and sister?
- Rubens: Yes.
- Cleveland: Art knows how the movement was named.
- Rubens: Did you know at this point—when you're writing this *Free Speech Manifesto*, when you're writing your essay—are you the lone Tom Paine figure?
- Cleveland: No. That's the interesting thing. The *Free Speech Movement Manifesto* had nothing to do with free speech.

- Rubens: I understand that. Why do you call it that?
- Cleveland: I didn't call it the Free Speech Movement Manifesto. I call in the Free Speech Movement Manifesto in retrospect because it was read as if it was the manifesto. The way it was distributed was very interesting in itself. It calls for an open, fierce, thorough-going rebellion, and an education revolution. There's something about the use of that term, that expression, "education revolution," which was very appropriate at the time, and I think even more appropriate now. It was a call for educational revolution.
- Rubens: I just want to be clear. So the use of the term "free speech" is not being used then.
- Cleveland: No. In fact, the tactics that I listed at the end of that manifesto as to what might have to be done for an educational revolution was like a handbook. Mario, when he went to the Greek Theater that day, was planning to interrupt a public ceremony a la what I had said.[chuckles] I mean, everything that I said would have to be done for an educational revolution was followed by the Free Speech Movement. It just happened [that] it fell out that way, right?
- Rubens: I understand that. I think that you were a seminal influence. I just wanted to make clear that that word hadn't shown up because the word was around—like the way you talk about the mini-Free Speech Movement in '59.
- Cleveland: I'll tell you what: for example, the mini-Free Speech Movement in '59 was when I put out a leaflet. What happened was, I applied for permission to speak at Sather Gate on discrimination in housing. Dean [H.E.] Stone refused the permit. So I called an emergency SLATE meeting of about ten or twelve of us—Marvin Sternberg, David Rynin, Joanne Fowler—and we got together, people who had run for student government and won offices. We got together, and I said, "They won't let us talk on the campus about discrimination in housing." The whole thing was starting up again.
- They've been saying we can't do this, and they're trying to keep the Civil Rights movement off the campus and so forth. And I said, "Let's have a rally on freedom of speech." The meeting went on for about three hours. It got over at eleven. By seven thirty in the morning, we had ten thousand leaflets printed, with the expression on the handout: "FREE SPEECH," in big block letters, like this [displaying paper]. It said "FREE SPEECH," and down here "AT CAL?" question mark. And then in smaller letters, "Where is it? Meet at Sather Gate. Noon." And that's what it said. And we got ten thousand copies of this out.

Rubens: Who paid for this?

Cleveland: I was the SLATE treasurer. It was only about twenty, thirty dollars. But the point I'm making is that I was able to organize overnight. This is one of the first really highly calculated, planned leaflet handouts. We had a person or two standing at every little—you know, when you walk down the sidewalk there's a path on the grass? There were people standing at those, so that anyplace a student would walk on the campus, they would get one of these leaflets.

So at noon, what happened was Sherriffs had heard about this, and he told them to work overtime, at noon, excavating for the Student Union, for the Terrace Cafe, you know, the big excavation there. And there was a big fence there and they were working during this rally. I went from Sproul Plaza, where we were going to have this, at Sather Gate—you know the entry to Sather Gate has this big white balustrade on both sides?

Rubens: Yes, yes.

Cleveland: Well, we stood up on that. It was on the outside of the Sather Gate. There's two inside, and then there's two outside that go like this [demonstrating]—you know, the entry. And the one on the left, which is toward the west, was overlooking this excavation with a big eight-foot fence. And they kept the tractors going during this. What I did was about eleven forty-five, there were four or five people ready to speak, and I went to Stevens Union and got Carey McWilliams. Did you know he was active now?

The characters in SLATE—I'd just love to talk about them sometime.

Rubens: We will.

Cleveland: The quality of these people was phenomenal. Carey [Jr.] was a super genius politically, Carey McWilliams' son.

Rubens: He did get his degree.

Was Carey here in '64?

Cleveland: No, he left in '63. Everybody else had gone before that. Peter [Franck] went to Yale Law School on scholarship, Mike Miller went to Columbia on scholarship—all these guys, every one of these people went someplace.

Rubens: All right. So you have this rally, you're standing up. I would think that the word "free speech" is being used.

- Cleaveland: What happened, three or four other people came to this meeting. I spoke, Carey spoke, and four or five other people. The next day, they sent letters to ten of us, and we were called before a disciplinary committee. As a result of the findings of the disciplinary committee, the dean was fired for not getting us a permit for that rally. That was the little Free Speech Movement. We got a hell of a list out, three hundred people who really became very strong.
- Rubens: Yes, good organizing.
- Cleaveland: About a hundred people out of three hundred became really strong in SLATE and student groups. That was a big leap in terms of participation outside of the strictly Jewish kids, you know, who were doing everything, every damn thing. What was happening up until 1960 was Jewish kids and me. [laughs]
- Rubens: In SLATE?
- Cleaveland: Yes. But the point was it was very—
- Rubens: Was Tigar Jewish?
- Cleaveland: No. That's right, he wasn't, see?
- Rubens: Okay. But you know the great joke. Lenny Bruce said, "But if you live in New York, you're Jewish."
- Cleaveland: That's right. Jewish culture.
- Rubens: I want to still say a little bit more with the response to the manifesto and the pamphlet. By the way, did you ever get a response from Hutchins or Meiklejohn specifically on that? Did they write to you and comment?
- Cleaveland: On ?
- Rubens: Right.
- Cleaveland: Yes, I'm sure. I don't remember. If I remember, that was part of the reason I got to talk with—Sealy really liked that. He got copies made and passed around.
- Rubens: Do you have any idea if Mario read it?
- Cleaveland: I have no idea who read what of my stuff. I think they all read it.

They all read the manifesto. I know that. The reason for that was really simple. There was a sit-in before the car was seized in Sproul. It was at the end, near Bancroft. There were about two hundred people in the space. I don't remember what the hell the space was—what office it was—but it was downstairs in the dean of students' office or something like that. Dean of Graduate Division, Sanford Elberg came in and addressed the group [reading a statement by Edward Strong]. Of all things he shouldn't have done was to say, "Don't read this manifesto. Don't pay too much attention to this manifesto." And he actually named [the SLATE Supplement and the phrase "...open, fierce, thoroughgoing rebellion..."] in the title of the damn thing. So, I mean, it had been distributed at registration line; it had been distributed at a table on Telegraph, in front of the Forum Cafe—

Rubens: In the fall of '64?

Cleveland: Yes, in the fall of '64. It was distributed from the very first day, from the first day of registration.

Rubens: But not at the Sather Gate, where the kids were handing out the other stuff?

Cleveland: Yes, SLATE had a table there.

Rubens: SLATE had it on the table?

Cleveland: It was with the general supplement, yes. It was the insert for—. That thing was published with a disclaimer.

Rubens: Really?

Cleveland: Yes. This guy Waller, he was an editor at SLATE.

Rubens: I've got to go back to that. So it was an insert?

Cleveland: Remember the course catalog?

Rubens: Yes.

Cleveland: Well, this was called the . The manifesto was called the to the general catalog, or something like that. It had a price on the front. [It didn't get sold separately, but had a separate price on the cover of 15¢. Later, during FSM, Phil Roos set up a table to sell it separately.]

Rubens: It's being handed out. So Sanford Elberg comes to this meeting and [reading a statement by Edward Strong] says, "Don't pay attention to—"

Cleaveland: Yes. So everybody who was anybody was in that sit-in, you know? And they all wanted to read it after that.

Rubens: Right, right.

Cleaveland: And then the same thing happened three or four times after that. A very short time—at least twice—both the and the panned it. You know, they put it down.

Rubens: So it's mentioned in the—

Cleaveland: It was wild! It was crazy!

Rubens: Why did the *Chronicle* do a story on it?

Cleaveland: You know, the Sunday education editor of the wrote a piece on it, very small, short. But he was livid, livid with anger or something.

Rubens: And were these pieces published after the brouhaha had begun with the students being arrested? This is all feeding into each other?

Cleaveland: [I can't recall. Also, during registration week, still in September, somebody in SLATE set up a table on Haste and Telegraph selling the manifesto separately. I came upon the table which had people crowded around it arguing. I took part, then going into the new Forum café, was joined by four or five people. Half an hour later, a discussion with seven or eight people was going on, with a couple of tables pulled together. Also, at the first Sproul Hall sit-in (September 30<sup>th</sup>), I was asked to convene a group to talk about the manifesto. We filled a basement stairwell—thirty-five or forty people—after which each person took ten to fifteen copies separate from the .]

So that if you were being attracted to Sproul and what was happening, and you were paying attention to the newspapers and the leaflets, you would have seen this seen and read it. Not only that, after the third week of the Free Speech Movement itself, when there were starting to be regular rallies with SLATE people—[telephone rings]—set up a table, on the campus, once again it was being sold.

Rubens: Who did that?

Cleaveland: Phil Roos. He was one of the editors of the .

[tape interruption]

- Cleaveland: He was a major organizer for SLATE. Phil Roos and Joan Haefely, his girlfriend, were the ones who created the supplement to the catalog idea, the idea of judging professors and all. I was against that.
- Rubens: You were?
- Cleaveland: Yes. Because in the SLATE meetings about that, I saw too much resentment and revenge—you know, the idea of getting back at your professors [chuckles] kind of thing happening. I thought that the most successful things that occurs in politics was when the conservative can't attacked you, and if you come out with a position which doesn't hurt your own position that includes certain conservative aspects and you can even them, it's okay. I felt that there was something to being a university teacher that had it over students. Do you know what I mean?
- Rubens: Yes. Well, it's a power relationship, and it's based on—
- Cleaveland: No, but I took a conservative position about knowledge and wisdom and age. [The university is an institution in which thoughtfulness is a goal. Even if professors didn't live up to it, we could.]
- Rubens: That's what I'm saying. Embedded in that is a power relationship.
- Cleaveland: Yes. [It's that famous saying, "knowledge is power."]
- Rubens: But the power is not brute force, it's—
- Cleaveland: Right, right. So I took that position. But it wasn't very obvious at all, but it helped to keep it in mind.
- Rubens: So a couple more things. So it's in the air. People had it in their hands. It's being discussed. What do you remember about when the students are arrested? There are several students cited for sitting at the table and then there's Jack Weinberg put in the car for sitting at the table.
- Cleaveland: Well, Jack—his table was right in front of Sproul, you know.
- Rubens: Right.
- Cleaveland: It was on that apron right between the entrance and the plaza where there's a second level, a middle level.
- Rubens: Right.
- Cleaveland: It was right there, on the edge of that. There was a CORE table.



- Rubens: After they had been moved off the strip.
- Cleveland: Yes.
- Rubens: And then go into the campus.
- Cleveland: CORE was the first one to put their table on the campus proper, and they put it closer to Sproul. Jack was sitting there.
- Rubens: Do you remember any activities when the organizing tables were—when that contested strip—?
- Cleveland: No, I don't remember much. In fact, what happened when Jack was arrested, I told you, there were some people who sat down immediately. Evidently 50,000 because everybody I know says, "I was the first one." I didn't sit in front of the car. I was watching and trying to get more people to surround the car.
- Rubens: Where are you literally when that happened? Had you been off campus and then come on campus?
- Cleveland: I don't remember. But I was there when Jack was arrested and put in the car, and then I started getting people to sit around the car instead of just in front of it. I said, "Let's get some more on the sides." And then I went down to Bancroft because there were tables there, and started talking to people who were signing and talking—"Come sit in front of the car," or whatever. And then this friend of mine, George Kehrer approached me and said, "Why don't we get a microphone?"
- Rubens: Tell that story now. It's a great story.
- Cleveland: I was standing there talking to George, and this woman, a student, who became my wife later—I didn't know her at the time—said, "Well, George said, 'We've got to get a car.'" I said, "I don't have a car. Do you know anybody who has a car?" And she said, "Here, use mine." Just put her keys right out there. I said, "Well, who are you?" And she says, "Karen." I said, "Come with us." So we went up Panoramic, to this guy—I can't think of his name. It'll come soon.
- Rubens: You told me before.
- Cleveland: He ran the carriers around here in Berkeley, and he had little other things keeping him going. One was to rent sound equipment. So we rented this battery in a box, a microphone, and a loudspeaker and put it on top of this Volkswagen. And we started to drive the perimeter of the campus,

Bancroft, Gayley Road, Hearst, and Oxford. We went around the campus six or seven times in a period of about twenty minutes or a half hour, shouting into the microphone, “Go to Sproul Plaza! A 600-year tradition of use of police force on campus has been broken. Go to Sproul Plaza! A 600-year tradition of the non-use of police force on a university campus has been broken.” George was sitting there, saying this over and over again. George Kehrler, this was a student friend of mine. He just happened to be there. He ended up becoming one of the hippy families in Canyon [on the other side of the Oakland Hills].

- Cleveland: In a period of twenty to forty minutes maximum, the plaza filled up. [WE saw it, saw people responding, laughing, giving us the “V” sign.]
- Rubens: I bet.
- Cleveland: It was a hell of a loudspeaker, I’ll tell you that. It was so funny because it drew attention not only to the sound because you hear this huge sound, and the speaker was giant, and it was just a Volkswagen bug—so it looked very funny.
- Rubens: So you come back, you drop off the box.
- Cleveland: We kept it, we kept it out on rental. That became the sound equipment for the FSM.
- Rubens: Oh, oh. That’s a great story. Let’s finish that.
- Cleveland: I’m so happy you understand things like that. There were two people doing this constantly, me and Lenny Glaser We’d come and [snaps fingers] and just come up with [snaps fingers] the right kind of thing for doing actions, spontaneous actions.
- Rubens: So now this car is surrounded, and—did you speak on the car prior to the time—?
- Cleveland: Everybody was getting up on the car on Thursday, and then—
- Rubens: And this is the actual microphone that you’re using, this one that you—? You called the guy and said, “We’re going to keep it for a few days”?
- Cleveland: We just said, “We’ll pay you on a daily basis.”
- Rubens: The car is now surrounded. Could you characterize a little what’s the buzz? My understanding is most of the students are told to sit down. “What are we sitting down for?” “I don’t know.” They sit down.

Cleveland: The car was seized around noon on Thursday. After the car was surrounded, I was there for the whole time up until late at night. And the whole time was just one dramatic revolutionary moment after another that taught me about human action and politics.

I'll give you one incident that occurred. You probably will remember something about this. At a certain point, there was a whole group of drunk fraternity boys between the car and the entry to Sproul Plaza, on that raised-up area, you know? There was about fifteen or twenty drunk fraternity boys. They were shouting at one point. They got a cheer going because people were doing that. Somebody would come up with an idea and they would start saying it and clapping and chanting it. One of them was, "Get the guy in the car." That was the fraternity guys trying to get the crowd to pull Jack Weinberg out of the car. It didn't take more than five or ten minutes for people to realize that this is bullshit and these guys were just drunk fraternity types.

Well, they came around to the car and it had just gotten dark when this happened. It was about an hour after they were yelling. They were surrounding the car. They were in for trouble. They were going to try to start some fights. What happened was very interesting. They grouped on one side of the car, the police car, and they started shouting very loud, so everybody could hear it, and it interrupted the speaking on top of the car, it interrupted anything that was happening. They started shouting, "Get him out! Get him out! Get him out!" It was dark. But all of a sudden a cameraman turned on a floodlight, and—oh, no, no, no. This is very interesting. The story is—that wasn't what happened. What really happened was these guys came down, and they were standing around the car and Lenny Glaser said to the fraternity boys, "Get him out of the car." He started commanding these fraternity boys to get Jack Weinberg out of the car.

Rubens: Because Lenny wants to protect him?

Cleveland: Yes, wants to protect Jack Weinberg or keep him from getting arrested. So he started telling the fraternity boys, and the fraternity boys turned on Lenny. It was like a pack. It was very strange. It was one of these surreal moments of ultra-surreal strangeness and power. The floodlight went to Lenny Glaser, and he was shouting his head off, "GET HIM OUT OF THE CAR! YOU—GET HIM OUT OF THE CAR!" And the light was on him, and they started saying, "It's him." And somebody said, "Kill him!"

Rubens: Really?

Cleaveland: Yes, absolutely. It was shocking because of what happened. And [snaps fingers] at the last second the light went off, and they almost grabbed Lenny and tore him limb from limb. He was a very slight man, about 160- or 170-pound guy.

Rubens: They said the word, “Kill him!”?

Cleaveland: Yes. Somebody said—the guys were chanting, “Get him! get him! It’s him, kill him!” I heard three or four times.

Rubens: So what stopped that? The light goes off.

Cleaveland: The light goes off, and it just died. Nothing happened.

Rubens: What’s your sense about just that point? Did you know Mario Savio? Did you know Jack Goldberg?

Cleaveland: Yes, there had been many meetings before the police car on October 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>], after the first citations in September. The letter from Dean Towle ordered no further tables on the strip.

Rubens: The citations, yes.

Cleaveland: At the house on College which became FSM Central, where Goldberg lived.

Rubens: Were you at some of those meetings?

Cleaveland: Yes, I was at those meetings. That’s where I started having these big arguments with Jack Weinberg about how there had to be a bridge between the Civil Rights movement and what we were trying to do in order for—the idea was that the white student movement could be much, much greater than it was. It could be immensely important. [I said the obvious: all student movements of any success were based on radical university reform demands.]

This was all something that evolved over the years in my head, and finally I went up to San Diego. Marcuse said that’s why he wanted me to come down there because I was advocating this thing about a white student movement in this country which would have ten times the impact of any student movement ever in history because of the nature of mass education and engineering and science and that kind of thing—how Berkeley was a mass institution, not an elitist institution. And so a student movement here, unlike a student movement in Europe, which came out of elite institutions and hooked up with labor—the compensating factor here was that the

university itself was much more in the world than European universities. And a student movement in a mass educational institution—

Rubens: Is a middle-class—

Cleveland: Ten million students, you know, in the country. It would have been immense.

Rubens: So we're back at the car. What I was curious about was whether you were talking to Jack in the car at all, but there was no real—?

Cleveland: I went up to Jack a few times. "How are you doing? What's happening?" I remember asking, "Do you want us to get you out?" He said, "No."  
[laughs]

Rubens: And so there's just a lot of milling about, different people are going up. Do you recall yourself that night speaking on the—?

Cleveland: No. In fact, there wasn't too much speaking after dark. There was no light.

Rubens: And that's where we began. They stayed all night. Is that right? And you stayed until—?

Cleveland: Yes, I stayed until two or three in the morning. I went to sleep and I had the alarm set. Before the alarm went off, my friend Wilma called from Marin. I told her I was going to come and pick her up. She waylaid me, so to speak. [chuckles] She didn't come back with me.

Rubens: That was exactly how we started about the crystallization of the leadership. Let's just, while we're here, let's see if we want to do that, just another minute.

It takes place in those next few days. That's where you talked about the structure of you and Mandel. Had you known Mandel before, by the way?

Cleveland: Oh, sure.

Rubens: How did you know him?

Cleveland: I was active at KPFA from time to time. In fact, I was with the first group of fifteen or twenty people who sold Granco radios in order to literally create the KPFA audience at Berkeley and Palo Alto. [Mandel had been in the beginnings of KPFA.]

Rubens: Really?

- Cleaveland: Yes.
- Rubens: When is this?
- Cleaveland: Well, Lew Hill, the guy who started KPFA, he tried everything. It took him four or five years to realize that there was actually no FM audience. [FM was like short-wave radio at the time.] It was just something amorphous he had in his head. So he decided that the only way to have FM radio become what he wanted it to become was to sell FM radios.
- Rubens: So what was the radio that was sold?
- Cleaveland: It was a little seven-dollar Granco radio, made in Japan.
- Rubens: No! Where would you get it?
- Cleaveland: I don't know where. The woman who got that organized was an artist, art student. [She knew Lew Hill personally.] She found out about this radio and ordered fifty or something like that. And then they ordered another fifty and another until finally it started spreading. We got somebody going to Palo Alto to do the same thing.
- Rubens: When is this, about, that you're doing this?
- Cleaveland: This is '57, '58.
- Rubens: So was Mandel involved with that?
- Cleaveland: No, but he got on [the air]. And, you know, before the Free Speech Movement there were so many different [radio-listening] market groups, four or five market groups, always, coming and going and changing groups, changing their numbers. Berkeley students were the most stable student listener group—more than Stanford. [By that time, after the FSM, '65, this student market had increased five times in number.]
- But in fact, remember the pamphlet The Regents that came out?
- Rubens: Yes.
- Cleaveland: That was Marvin Garson's pamphlet. That was taken directly from my manifesto.
- Rubens: Oh, this is important.
- Cleaveland: Yes. In other words, I had a list of the Regents, and Marvin came to me and said, "How did you get this?" I said, "Come with me." We went to the

Business Administration Department library, and I showed him Standard and Poor's, where you can look up the board of directors of any corporation. Each Regent had several directorships. It was completely, totally, from C. Wright Mills, you know? I was a C. Wright Mills fan, like everybody in Berkeley at the time. You know?

Rubens: Sure.

Cleveland: And so when I published the manifesto, within a week or two after it was published, Marvin approached me at a meeting, with Barbara, and they said, "Where did you get this information?" And we went to the business administration library immediately when they asked me, and I said, "Here's where I got it. Standard and Poor's. Look up a corporation's board of directors, and you can see which Regents were on which board of a corporation." They did it with more elaboration, more expanded and published it as a separate pamphlet.

Rubens: When did that come out?

Cleveland: During the Free Speech Movement.

Rubens: Had you known the Garsons?

Cleveland: Oh, yes.

Rubens: And how did you know them?

Cleveland: Barbara and I were great—we were like this [apparently putting his fingers together, indicating closeness]. Marvin was the most hot-cold person who ever lived. [His way with me was attack, then lavish praise—back and forth.]

Rubens: I don't know them.

Cleveland: Well, Marvin Garson was a very, very important character. He was so brilliant. But he was extremely nervous, and he'd go hysterical, easily. Like, the reason I remember the Free Student Union so well is because there was a meeting in the FSM storefront on Bancroft one night, toward the end of December, and it was agreed at that meeting that we didn't have the troops anymore, that we had to do something, we had to retrench. That was agreed.

Well, there was a rally the next day, and I had a feeling it was going to be forgotten, that we had this agreement that we had to do something because there were very few people coming to the rallies, and there were people

standing around with fifteen feet between them, looking and gaping at the speakers. Nobody was coming to the rallies. So I said, “We’ve got to retrench and rethink everything we’ve done, and quickly enough so we don’t lose it over the Christmas holidays, and keep it going.” [Everyone sadly agreed. The next day I asked Suzanne Goldberg to put me on the speaker’s list. She wouldn’t. So when Mario spoke, and when he was finishing up, I walked down in front, in the audience and turned around and raised my hand. He responded, so I went up and spoke because they had all forgotten completely about “retrenching,” et cetera.]

After the rally, I was talking to some kid in Bermuda shorts—that’s why I keep using that term—it was a fraternity type, who was talking to me because he came to me because I looked like a fraternity type.

Rubens: Yes, you did. You looked clean-cut.

Cleveland: I was talking to him, and Marvin came up and started shouting bloody hell at me, for something—I forget. I said, “Marvin, if you can learn to talk to this guy, we’ll have a real movement. He’s the other side. He’s the other extreme.” And he stomped [chuckles] on my foot. He almost broke my foot! I don’t remember exactly what happened between that little thing and the foot stomping, but I said, “We’ve got to get together.”

We went to the Unitarian church on Bancroft, where the first core group of people who were going to form the Free Student Union took shape. I volunteered to do the organizing, the dorms. I didn’t say fraternities. That was my mistake because when I put the leaflet out—that I put out—for my segment of organizing the student population, it made an apology. There was actually an apology that it seemed to a lot of students that they weren’t welcomed into the movement in any way, much less leadership. And I said this is something that happens in movements. We want to make sure that everybody feels included, everybody is a citizen—which I felt very deeply. [Any real mass movement cannot gain adherents if it has limited membership.]

Rubens: That’s in your leaflet?

Cleveland: That’s in my leaflet. And what happened was I got a call from Mike Lerner—this is the hazing incident—I get a call from Mike Lerner, and he said [to me in a whiny voice], “Brad, we heard you put out a leaflet.” I said, “Yeah, I put out a leaflet.” “Where did you distribute?” I said, “I distributed to the dorms but also the fraternities and sororities.” I don’t think there was a speaker phone, but I heard somebody say something, and then Marvin Garson grabbed the phone from Lerner and started berating me. I said, “Where are you?” He says, “What do you mean, where am I?”



“I want to come down there.” I went down there, and when I got down there, they were all waiting [chuckles]. It was horrible; I’ll never forget it. It was like I was not a radical because I had done this betrayal. I was a betrayer by appealing to fraternities. I tried to explain. I said, “Don’t you understand that you appeal to the most right-wing enemies?”

Rubens: You took the dorms, and in your leaflets said you were sorry that you hadn’t gone to the fraternities as well?

Cleveland: No, no, no. The leaflet was written for the dorms and the fraternities in some sort of way. But the flavor of the leaflet was, Look, hey, you guys, we want everybody to feel included in this. That was mistaken as me wanting to recruit the fraternities in order to undermine what was happening somehow. When we organized the Free Student Union, it was an incredible thing that happened because it died within a week or two after it was started. There were 3,000 membership cards sold to this damn thing, and then the entire leadership [chuckles] that had started just withdrew, stopped organizing. Nothing happened. I was beating doors, trying to get people—. Christ, we got a list of 3000 members in an undergrad—. It led to the few people who stuck out just started the UA, Undergraduate Assembly. It was David Kemitzer and Stephanie Massey, his lover. That was where I reformed my connection with that couple, David and his wife and hung out with them ever since. [Both were bright and saw the obvious connection between student movements and university reform.]

Rubens: What a story! Garson and Lerner are the ones who are making this attack on you. And why do you call it hazing?

Cleveland: When I came to Berkeley, I wanted nothing to do with fraternities. There was something about my background, my past that made me feel very alien from that group, this group of upper Connecticut WASP types, that whole Ivy League thing. I was very alienated from them and felt there’s something very wrong about those people, what they represented [chuckles]. I was the one who was always mistaken for being from that scene, see?

The point is, I had betrayed that [what they saw as my obvious WASP role]. I turned against that. In fact, the article—the first pamphlet I published was Radical Education Reform—something like this is needed—and the first statement was “It’s time to go beyond the Saturday virtues of football, beer cans, and Bermudas. What this represents is anti-intellectual.” I said, “If the fraternities had libraries and had scholars living in them, maybe it would be different, but they don’t seem to like that. In fact, they seem to hate it. They seem to be here for having parties.”

Rubens: And the hazing?

Cleveland: The hazing thing. What happened: I went down to this place, and every hard-core Jewish person from New York that I had ever known in the movement were there [chuckles]. I just got shredded. I couldn't stand up. I tried to explain myself as to why I did this. What I said was essentially centered around this one idea that if you're in a political movement and you have enough political imagination, you appeal emphatically to everyone, emphatically to citizens, all citizens.

Rubens: And what was their charge? What's their charge against you?

Cleveland: They ridiculously accused me of trying to get the fraternities in. [They said] I "undermined" the movement. [A lot of ridicule, vicious. They were scapegoating me for more than an hour.]

[tape interruption]

Rubens: Let's get some of the chronology down. So Myerson is appointed in January of '65. Do you remember meeting with him?

Cleveland: Yes. He selected a group of leaders, people he thought were leaders, to go in there. There was about fifteen of us to go in there.

Rubens: He picks them. He doesn't ask—?

Cleveland: Well, no, he asked Sherriffs to compile a list of student leaders that were active in this.

Rubens: And even though you were a non-student, you were in this selected group, and so you meet with Myerson.

Cleveland: [To] raise money for the legal defense, right.

Rubens: So, I mean, it's dying in that period?

Cleveland: Yes.

Rubens: So that's not your memory on how late in the year it is, the FSU being April?

Cleveland: That's right.

Rubens: I'd have to say I'm only looking at Goines, so he could be wrong, too.

Cleveland: I don't think it's three months off.

[Tape 3]

Rubens: Had you known Michael Lerner before?

Cleveland: Lerner was active, as far as I recall, in '64.

Rubens: Yes, he's representing some Jewish students' group.

Cleveland: Yes. Not only that, he tried to basically—well, his agenda was that the reality of the Jewish students being active—[telephone rings]

[tape interruption]

Rubens: Michael Lerner—had you known him before?

Cleveland: Lerner was active, as far as I recall, in '64. But I'd known him. He was also interested in my wife-to-be.

Rubens: He represented a Jewish student's group.

Cleveland: Yes. Not only that, he tried to basically—well, his agenda was that the reality of the Jewish students being active—as Jews—was no good. He had this heroic ethnic vision.

[tape interruption]

Cleveland: Michael—I have no idea where he was coming from—but he acted as if the only worthwhile thing that was happening was Jewish radicalism. I mean, really, that's what he was doing. In fact, he attempted to have an FSM Steering Committee meeting with a Seder [chuckles], and he pulled it off. There was a meeting where it was an FSM business meeting, so to speak, or a thing around the FSM, there was was a Seder. I went to it. I mean, I went to it.

Rubens: Do you remember being there?

Cleveland: My third or fourth time I'd been to a Seder was when Mike Lerner had that. But, you know—

Rubens: And Hanukah was—one of the nights in the overnight in the Sproul Hall occupation people remember there being some songs or an observation of Hanukah.

Cleveland: That's right, that's right. It was great, it was great the way it worked out was that his positions didn't hold. [Most of the Jewish kids I knew through this thing of Michael's made him a Jewish bigot against the goy.]

- Rubens: It's interesting because there were so many Jewish kids—not “so many” but, I mean, there were very specific Jewish fraternities and sororities. In fact, I was just explaining this to my kids recently, and they couldn't believe that Jews weren't allowed into any sorority or fraternity.
- Cleveland: I worked on AEPi House [a Jewish sorority] myself, as a carpenter, a near-death experience. [laughs]
- Rubens: So I just wondered was that another part of the claim of why they said you were selling them out by appealing to—?
- Cleveland: There was a dimension of Jewish tribalism in the movement leadership that was very jealous, and I got a lot of shit from that. Steve Weissman said, “Well, look at what your people did to us.” And I kept saying, “What is going on? I keep getting these vibes.” I'm not sure that language was there then. But “I keep getting this feeling. What's going on here? Why am I getting this and that and the other?” And he said, “Well, you have to remember what your people did to us.” And he actually came out and said that. There was a certain consciousness of—Michael and people who felt like Michael, or thought like Michael, or thought this thing about the Jewish people in history and in politics should have a kind of an unqualified position and standing in the situation, and if you challenge that, you are really wrong. That was one of the things that was happening, that actually happened. Martin Roysner was no mistake, in a way, for myself.
- Rubens: In what sense?
- Cleveland: Oh, he was really inside the top part of the Steering Committee, but he was a little mouse. I mean, he was just there, I thought.
- Rubens: Mario Savio was not Jewish.
- Cleveland: I know that, but he was a Mediterranean person—let's put it that way. [I think it was during this time that he put it out there that his name was Mario Savio, but he wanted Mario—the Sicilian. Maybe it was just another gossipy rumor.]
- I learned that lesson when I went to San Diego because a lot of my own focus, my relationship to Jewish people came from going to San Diego, which department was overpowered by their own Jewishness in a way that was very, very interesting. For example, Jason Saunders, who was a very famous classical scholar, who was one of the founders of philosophy department at San Diego, along with Marcuse and Richard Popkin, the famous skeptic philosopher. It was said that—one of the jokes in this

department there was that Saunders was hired to prove Aristotle was a Jew.

Rubens: [chuckles]

Cleaveland: There was this tremendous feeling about that. I'm just saying that that had some impact here.

Rubens: Oh, I can imagine. And you see, this ultimately is what I think is so important to recover about this history, to just talk about these subtle—

Cleaveland: Really?! Well, that's a really important thing to me.

Rubens: Not this one, but the subtle kinds of distinctions that allowed people to become leaders or not leaders, to be heard or not heard. You know, for women it was how cute you were or able to speak in a way that had men hear you or how comfortable you were with leadership.

Cleaveland: Right.

Rubens: I wanted to ask you, for instance, about Suzanne Goldberg. Very few people talk about Suzanne Goldberg. She wasn't a leader in the same sense as others.

Cleaveland: Well, Jackie Goldberg was as much a leader as anybody. In fact, she was very much more important than many others. [I think better.]

Rubens: Say a little more about her.

Cleaveland: Well, in spite of her idealism—which gave her this thing that this movement was completely broad-based—she gave the impression it was broad-based, if not from beginning to end, but, you know, really broad-based, that everybody was part of it, and that wasn't true. Aside from that, she was great. She was very good. [Both Jackie and Suzanne were very strong, smart, and warm. Open.]

Rubens: Really?

Cleaveland: Well, she's very sensible and very warm and brilliant at meetings. She was like Mother Goose, in a way, to the leaders. I mean, she had that naturally. It was a natural thing. Nobody took notice of it especially, but she could calm the boys down when it was important. She really did.

Rubens: And Michael Rossman?

Cleaveland: She knew that I saw her doing this. [I think] that's why she was so friendly to me and who she did this thing when she came out—I wish she hadn't. Now, that's a whole other story.

Rubens: Just alert me to it, and then we'll go back to it.

Cleaveland: I mean, I hate to tell you this, but I just can't help say it. And, after all, we're friends now. I get my herbal remedies from him.

Rubens: From whom?

Cleaveland: Michael Rossman.

Rubens: Oh, yes.

Cleaveland: I visit him once every couple of months for my herbal remedies. I don't do that herbal thing a lot, but I love it. Once every two or three weeks I just really do that. So we're friends. And he's really gotten very friendly with me now.

But insofar as the movement itself didn't do what I have always felt it should have done in terms of the whole matter of education and educational reform—to wit, what Europeans had done, but we could have done it much more powerfully—it was because of Rossman. It's sad.

Rubens: We'll come back to that. I'm sorry. I interrupted you because I thought you were also saying something about Suzanne recognizing that?

Cleaveland: No, Jackie Goldberg recognized that I saw her. I mean, I appreciated her moves that made—

Rubens: I thought we were talking about Suzanne Goldberg.

Cleaveland: No, that's a whole different story. That's another big story, the movement leadership. [I think] she was the single most powerful person in the leadership.

Rubens: Suzanne?

Cleaveland: Absolutely. She was absolutely brilliant. But it was because of her toughness, but then it was damaging, too. I knew her from the summer, from before the movement. She was living in the basement of a friend of mine, in the unit that I had remodeled for Suzanne, a prospective tenant.

Suzanne's toughness was a very important part of the leadership, along with Jackie Goldberg's leadership—because they were both on the

Steering Committee. And I have a feeling that both of those women together deserved more leadership credit than all the guys because they kept it from going this way and that way and the other. Suzanne and toughness and Jackie for a combination of brilliance and warmth.

Suzanne made a pass at me before the movement started, I think.

Rubens: [chuckles]

Cleveland: It wasn't a very, you know, aggressive thing. She had a lot of class. I liked Suzanne. She was a very classy person. Something about her calm and her wisdom. She's a very wise person for her age. But she went for Mario immediately after that, and they hooked up.

Her toughness is best described by this tiny little vignette: I was standing with—you know, when you stand in front of Wheeler? Remember the faculty came out—were you around that night when they came out? The faculty voted for the movement. Or they had been in the Academic Senate for eight or nine hours, some huge long period.

And when they finally voted, the meeting was over, and they came out front, and there was this massive welcome for them [candles everywhere in the dark]. [Some professors] started weeping. They were just crying. It was just an incredible moment. The students parted—the river [chuckles]—and it went all the way from in front of Wheeler down to Sather Gate. It was, like, five thousand students outside Wheeler Hall, waiting for this vote. It was a very beautiful thing that happened. I mean, better late than never.

God help the movement if we had gone for educational reform because they would have never joined the movement. In other words, it was good that I lost in that respect. However, we were staying there, and I was standing on the second row—you know, just people right in front of me and then me and then behind me students. And right behind me was Suzanne. She was holding onto my jacket, you know? She yanked me. She said, "Those motherfuckers. They'll stab us in the back tomorrow." Just like that. I was just about ready to cry. I said, "Suzanne, for Christ's sake!" I said, "There are some good moments, you know."

Rubens: Oh, that's wonderful, wonderful.

Cleveland: She was so tough.

Rubens: It's so important to talk about the pass she made at you and then she ends up with Mario, I suppose, because he becomes the leader.

- Cleaveland: No, she went for him before that. But, of course, I was hanging around with Mario before that. We were a dynamic duo, at times, before the police car. In fact, after the police car, I got calls from Mario from meetings I didn't attend, saying, "What shall I do here? What shall I do there?" [I put him down once, for trying to say stuff against Art and Jackie Goldberg.]
- Rubens: Say something more. You haven't talked about at all yet.
- Cleaveland: I'm not even sure that if Mario were alive he'd remember these things. I really don't to clearly. Because so much happened after we stopped hanging out. But the reason she went for Mario was because I was hanging out with him, and she had hit on me sort of, you know? In other words, he was the next possible.
- Rubens: So Mario is calling you. This is after the car, you're saying.
- Cleaveland: Yes, he called me a few times after the car. When I went to situations where the cluster of leaders—
- Rubens: He's calling you, obviously, because he's recognizing you've been around, and he knows you've written this manifesto.
- Cleaveland: Yes, but he also saw my judgment before the car happened—things that I would say, things I was doing. And he did recognize me. He said, "He's the only one who's been around all this time. He's the only one who knows the whole thing, the whole story." He was saying that.
- Rubens: Why did he stop calling you?
- Cleaveland: Well, what happened was Weinberg and Rossman, specifically, acted as if—this is just my experience, just my opinion—as if I was the one person that the leadership didn't want him to hang out with anymore, at a certain point after the car. I gave up because I found that when I approached Mario, these people would pop into the situation like they were his bodyguards. [chuckles] [That's the way it seemed to me.]
- Rubens: What's your speculation about that?
- Cleaveland: I think it was Rossman. I think Rossman was just a bigot. He's the only person I'd ever call a Jewish bigot. I find that it's almost impossible to utter that in the world. Do you know what I'm saying?
- Rubens: I know exactly what you're saying.



- Cleaveland: Rossman, who claims not to be a Jew, has a super tribal mentality about Jews. I mean, he really was. I mean, he did a lot of gluing between the Jewish kids, sort of a Jewish fellowship.
- Rubens: How?
- Cleaveland: He's got his personality and strengths, and one of them is to gussy up with people and get them to feel relaxed. He can do that. He talks too much—like I do, and even more—but he did have a certain capacity with people in terms of organizing and making the thing fun. He was such a would-be founder of the hippie movement. That's what his thing was, you know? Children and hippies. He was really into that.
- Rubens: Had there already been evidence, then, in this period that there was a difference of educational reform between you and Rossman?
- Cleaveland: Well, no. What happened was that I had done all this work in educational reform. My whole coming into the Free Speech Movement was to bring the whole past, especially an emphasis on education reform, to make what we were doing here have some connection somewhere in the world, and the European student movement was what I naturally turned toward. [I studied this stuff a lot. Rossman had nothing along these lines early on.]
- Rubens: And Mario recognized that?
- Cleaveland: Yes.
- [tape interruption]
- Cleaveland: What happened was this: I can give you the event.
- Rubens: Okay.
- Cleaveland: I'm in front of Sproul Hall, and there are two men [from magazine] talking to me. [They wanted to follow me around everywhere for about eight to ten days.] One is Paul Fusco, a photographer, and the other is a writer, Bill Holly. And they say to me, "Look, please don't say no." I said, "I don't want to do this. My teachers have told me, 'Don't mess with the press.'" I said, "If you want to do me, do it from a distance. Don't try to get me to go with you or come with—I don't want to invite you to my apartment." They said that's what they wanted to do. They wanted to see my personal life, my social life, and my political life. They wanted to do a big story about me. [I was skittish about it.]
- At the very same moment—

Rubens: This is at a rally?

Cleaveland: No, no. This is when that sit-in happened there. Let me think, let me think, let me think. Mario had been sent a letter—this was just before the car—and warned that he might be thrown out of school. Mario was standing up under Sather Gate on a folded chair, a metal folding chair—alone—making a speech of some sort. He hadn't been doing this because he was a stutterer. He had never been able to be—and he was stuttering then.

I was watching him, and these guys are talking to me, and all of a sudden I said, "Look, I've got to go over here. Mario's over here." They said, "Oh, really?" They looked and I said, "Listen, if you want somebody to do this with, do it with Mike Rossman." I had remembered him. I had been trying to recruit Rossman for years—I mean, for three or four years—into the student movement.

Rubens: He was not active in SLATE?

Cleaveland: Well, not much at all. He was intermittently—he'd come and go. He's very snobby, I thought. Especially I thought he was so powerful, but he was this poet type. Wow! Poetry. I didn't know his father was this Abraham Lincoln Brigade type. A real militant and so forth. But at the time, I just told him to do this [with Rossman], and they did this. It's what gave him the standing in the Free Speech Movement leadership, this fact that these guys were following around—a full-time press corps, for Christ's sake—on Michael Rossman's case, to do a story of Michael Rossman. So whenever there were meetings, he talked them into letting these guys come in. And he had this automatic standing, much greater than anybody in the room.

Rubens: This is such a great story!

Cleaveland: Yes. And so what happened was he basically simply displaced all I had brought to the leadership by claiming his subject was education and educational reform, and that was just bullshit. I mean, he should have not done that.

For example, at the end of the movement, when we went to the Myerson meeting, I went to that meeting. Before I left the meeting I noticed, of all people, standing over with Myerson, very intensive[ly] talking, was Mike Rossman, and out of that came the Experimental College that Jacobson and Schaar participated in, and Michael Rossman, who, according to Jacobson and Schaar, busted the school because he wanted to have group discussions in the nude, smoking marijuana. [That's what they said.]

- Rubens: [chuckles]
- Cleaveland: I loved Michael for his craziness, you know? The point is that whenever the matter came up—and it came up over and over again—about this thing of the leadership of the movement, the Berkeley radical movement, and the leadership of Berkeley, the student movement, and educational reform, Michael covered it all for me, thinking he was probably [chuckles] doing me a favor—I don't know what else. But I was out once he did this. I just was no longer in the situation where I could have been in terms of trying to influence the leadership, from my [end of it].
- Rubens: Well, it sounds like there also really was a way in which your message was not being listened to.
- Cleaveland: That's right. Well, there were a lot of things that made that happen other than Michael. Michael was the physical reality of it, but Michael didn't understand the intellectual backup, which is that if you're a reformist you're not a revolutionary, and universities have to be reformed after the society is reformed. These are the two most important things I've heard repeated constantly as to why I wasn't given a more prominent leadership situation when I questioned this, you know? I said, "Why aren't you talking about—?" "We are." I said, "If you're not doing it the right way—" you know, this happened here, this happened in New York, this happened in Latin America, this happened in Turkey, this happened in Japan. I had all this knowledge of student movements everywhere, you know? I said, "We can learn from these things" and so forth.
- Rubens: So, Savio was listening to that. What about people like Goldberg? Suzanne Goldberg?
- Cleaveland: They loved it. And they basically—their attitude was Mario's covering this because he knows Brad, and Brad is—. But [I feel that] this was busted by Michael. [He refused, completely refused me access to himself. Shined me on.]
- Rubens: These things are so informal and yet insidious.
- Cleaveland: Oh, yes, I know. That's right, that's right.
- Rubens: And powerful. That's why it needs to be talked about more and more, yes.
- Cleaveland: It's amazing. And especially also the women. I was very much an ally of the women. I told you about my mom and so forth, didn't I?
- Rubens: Yes.

Cleaveland: She was a feminist, and crazy Irish radical feminist.

[tape interruption]

Rubens: Where we left off is that we want to focus a little more on the informal and insidious nature of these social relationships that exhibited extreme power, that had to do with a certain intellectual climate about would you look to the broader student movement or not? Now, we're leaving off a little bit. We want to get back to what people thought about the C.P. and Mike Myerson and Bettina. That's to be left over.

I think you're having trouble figuring out what were you doing in the spring? What were you doing January, February and March? Just because you had gotten involved in the Churchman—

Cleaveland: Yes, I was occupied with that, but I'm trying to figure out where I thought this FSU thing happened, actually, at the last rally of the FSM in January. That's what I was saying to myself.

Rubens: Well, maybe there was some last rally. You know, it would be fun for you to come to the library someday and just turn the pages of the *Daily Cal*, although their reporting is not very good. It's not very comprehensive.

Cleaveland: I know. [chuckles]

Rubens: Do you think that was one of the things that also further separated you from the leadership because of the Churchman thing?

Cleaveland: No. In fact, that put me in good standing with whatever leadership there was at the time because that was [seen as] the hottest thing on the campus. For some reason, the way it happened was I was invited to do the study. I said, "No study. We're going to have conversations and that's it, and we'll come up with essays maybe." Students decided to keep a log on how many minutes a day they had any touch with somebody they regarded as legitimate faculty. We had this every week meeting, two or three or four hours, just bullshitting about the FSM and what happened—why it happened, why they were interested, why they became involved at various levels, or didn't.

The funny thing about that group was that it was—because of the person who selected the participants, it was like a Who's Who of high society on the campus from the standpoint of high society in San Francisco. I mean, the guy who made the selection picked out these people. I don't know where—

Rubens: And who was that guy?

Cleveland: His name was Bob Sanderson. He was a very important character because he was the guy—remember there was a guy who was on a long, long fast in front of Sproul Hall, during the first week or two? It was during the car. A guy went on a fast, and that was Bob Sanderson. He contributed in the first week or two, from September 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup>, which was registration, through October 15<sup>th</sup> or so. That month he was very powerful because he was on a fast, and he meant a lot to the leaders—the fact that he was doing that. He was putting a guilt trip on all the leaders. The guy was dying, you know?

Rubens: He was going to fast until what?

Cleveland: Oh, who knows? I even forget why it stopped.

Rubens: Bob Sanderson. Where is he now?

Cleveland: Well, I don't know. I've been trying to find out for years.

[End of Interview]