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University of California
Berkeley, California

Charlie Powell
Free Speech Movement Oral History Project

Interview conducted by
Lisa Rubens
in 2001

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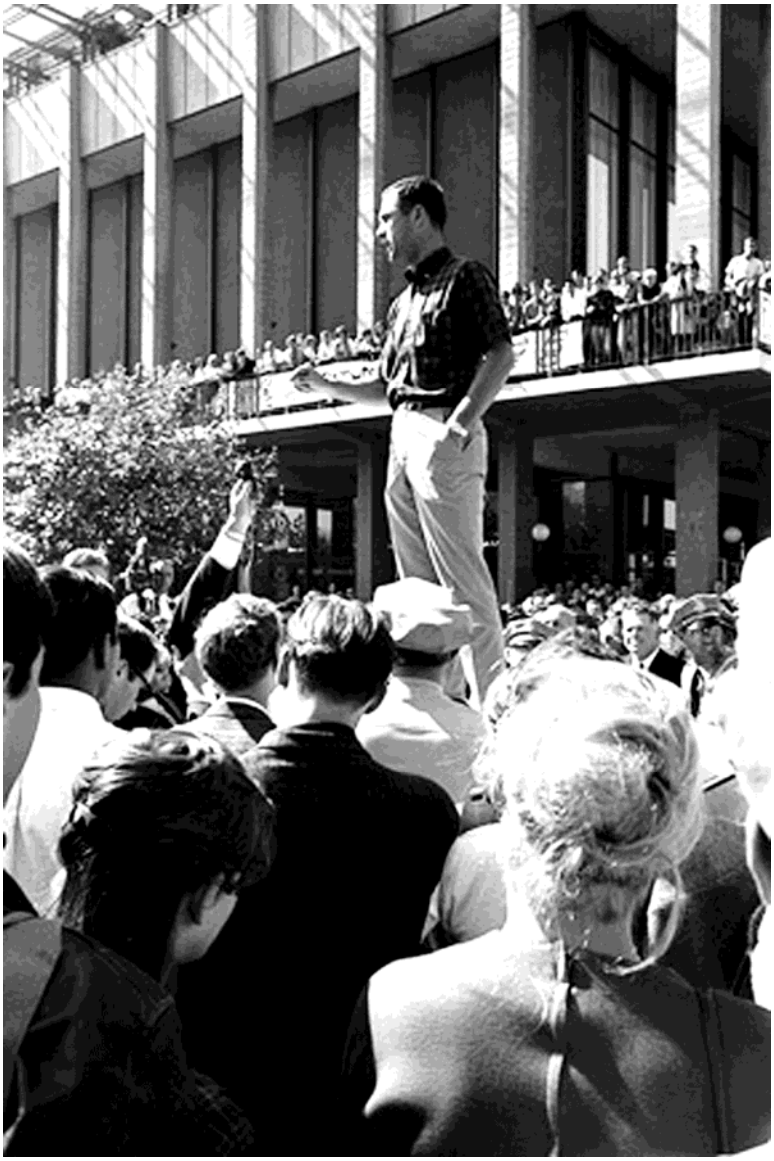

ASUC President, Charlie Powell, speaks to crowd from top of police car. Sproul Plaza, October 1, 1964.
Photo by Robert L. Enfield

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Interview 1: January 8, 2001

Powell: My name is Charlie Powell, and I'm meeting with Lisa Rubens at the Fresno Yosemite International Airport to talk for a while about the Free Speech Movement.

Rubens: Charlie, could I ask you two things? Shall I take cues from you about when to take a break and to stop? I'll know I have to change the tape. I get awfully into the story or what we're talking about, but I will be glad to also, if you tell me—

Powell: You change the tape, when, half an hour or so?

Rubens: Yes. Okay, and I want to clear up one other thing. Are you known as Charlie? Does everyone call your Charlie, in your church?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: So I may call you Charlie?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: And I'm Lisa.

Powell: Pleased.

Rubens: Good. I was saying to you, as we walked in, that I have two specific interests. They are about you as a person, and then to sort of fan out the second category: your role, your memories of, your observations about, what came to constitute the Free Speech Movement. That means the ASUC, and the administration, the Steering Committee as it came to be constructed.

I thought maybe that the best way to start is just simply to ask you when you came to Berkeley. I think you read the background material I sent you, and I forgot to ask you if you have any more questions for me at all about the process.

Powell: I don't think so, no.

Rubens: You'll read the interview when we're done, and anytime you tell me to stop I will, you can erase anything.

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Since we don't have a lot of time—and we do need to get to the subject at hand—how did you get to UC Berkeley, and when?

Powell: I was raised in Fowler, California, which is just about ten miles south from Fresno. My parents were educators in the public school system. My father was the music educator in high school, and my mother was the principal of the local elementary school.

I was very interested in higher education and applied to a couple of different universities, but was accepted at Berkeley. So, I enrolled at the University of California. I had some alumni in my hometown who were interested in seeing me go there. They in fact took me on a trip in the spring of my senior year to Berkeley, to acquaint me with some of the students and families that they knew there. I was very excited, and anticipated going to Berkeley. I was granted an alumni scholarship and that helped give me added incentive to want to enroll.

Rubens: Alumni meaning, the organization, not your parents—?

Powell: The UC alumni, the actual association, the Alumni Association at the University of California.

Rubens: Had they identified you, encouraged you?

Powell: There were a number of freshman students, I guess, that gave promise of being good students.

Rubens: What high school had you gone to?

Powell: Fowler High School.

Rubens: Had you been particularly active in any kind of politics or youth groups in high school?

Powell: Oh yes. I was very active, not so much in politics, but I was involved in sports. I was very interested in youth ministry in my church.

Rubens: And your church was, at the time?

Powell: Fowler Presbyterian Church.

Rubens: And you are now a reverend?

Powell: Yes. I am an ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church of America. And at that time, I was student body president at my high school, so yes, I was always sort of interested in those things.

Rubens: You came to Berkeley—that was the fall of what? When did you start?

Powell: The fall of 1961.

Rubens: Having seen it the spring of '61?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Did you have an idea then of what you wanted to major in?

Powell: No, I don't think I did. I knew I was interested in international affairs and languages. So, I think I probably had an idea that that would be the direction I would eventually go. Later on I decided I wanted to prepare for diplomatic service, so my degree was in Spanish and Latin American Affairs.

Rubens: Later on means literally at Berkeley, maybe your junior year—?

Powell: Yes, probably.

Rubens: So when you have to declare. Let me just tick off a few things. I've got your major. Where did you live when you were a student?

Powell: I lived in one of the dormitories on the southside—Deutch Hall, that's what it was—for the first, maybe three years.

Rubens: Then, your last year, that was the fateful year, is that right?

Powell: My last year there were a couple of friends who wanted to move into a house off campus. So we had a wonderful house up at the top of Panoramic Way. A couple there had gone abroad with USAID, and we rented their house for—well, I think it was almost two years, a year and a half. So, all the year that I was—my senior year, and the year after, because I took five years to graduate—I lived in this house on Panoramic Way.

Rubens: I think that just sort of knocks off a couple of things I was going to ask you about. Oh, this is so amorphous, but could you tell me something about the quality of student life for you? For instance, at what point did you get involved in the ASUC activities or—?

Powell: I was sophomore class president, so I was definitely interested in politics from the beginning—student government I should say, not so much politics. So I was sophomore class president, and then I was an ASUC senator on the legislative body, in my junior year.

Rubens: That must have been then representing—?

Powell: As a junior, I was an at-large senator, and then elected student body president the following year.

Rubens: So, that answers just a couple of things. You were not involved in a fraternity, I assume?

Powell: I wasn't, no. There were some fraternities that rushed me, but I wasn't really very interested. I was very interested in music, though, and I was a member of the California marching band for four years. I just went to one of the band reunions, about, when was that? October I guess, this last fall. That's, I guess, the thirty-fifth reunion year.

Rubens: What was your instrument?

Powell: Clarinet.

Rubens: The whole time?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: So you marched at games, and went on away games, and were able to do that even while you were student body president?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: So, the quality of student life, recreational activities—anything particular to say?

Oh, I'm sorry, ROTC also—were you in ROTC?

Powell: I was in Air Force ROTC, but I dropped out my junior year.

Rubens: Which must have been the academic year '63-'64?

Powell: I think probably so. I think it was after my junior year.

Rubens: I don't know if at this point we could come back—?

Powell: But, when you ask me about the quality of student life, I understand you to be asking me, did I enjoy it, was I participating in university student life?

Rubens: Apart from your studies—studies I'll get to in a minute—but yes, just—

Powell: Yes. I was very interested in student life. I participated in an awful lot of different things. I considered life-learning sort of lessons to be as valuable outside the

classroom as they were in the classroom. Sometimes now, I wish I had been a little more diligent in my studies than I was, but I was a person who was very much interested in extracurricular activities. And I had a wonderful student career at the university. I loved it. I had lots of good friends, and I enjoyed my studies. I enjoyed what I did in terms of extracurricular activities.

Rubens: That's just what I was getting at. I just wanted to sort of survey a gamut. One thing I've learned in this process is how much the ASUC itself literally presented—I mean, you've been talking about this prior to when you became a senator and president, but the ASUC is providing many social opportunities. There were films in the area, there were dances, there were bars, there were games, so do you mean kind of all of the above, in a way?

Powell: Of course, I didn't do everything, you know, that all those activities offered. But, I mean for me personally, the university life was a great time. I loved it, and very much enjoyed it.

Rubens: And university life meant to you the games, your studies, student government?

Powell: All of it. The friendships, student government, the studies, the sports activities that I was involved in, yes.

Rubens: In terms of just what you observed, let alone whether you participated, did you have a strong feeling about the fraternities or sororities? You said you were rushed, you chose not to join? Did you have any particular reason, positive or negative?

Powell: No, I don't. One or two that I was rushed in weren't particularly attractive to me. I didn't quite see what the advantage was.

For the first year I was in a dormitory and I was pretty well set there. I liked my roommate, I liked the guys up and down the hallway. We made friendships quickly. We had a really good sort of sense of camaraderie at Deutch Hall. We used to do things fraternities did anyway, go up into the sorority row and serenade, and you know, had friendships with some of the key sororities, Delta Gamma, and some others. So, I think I just didn't see any reason why I would want to change.

Rubens: Also, '61—that was the second year after a couple of big things that happened. There had been the HUAC hearings in San Francisco where the students were washed down the steps. Many who became very pro-FSMers said that is what attracted them to Berkeley.

In '59, there had been a lot of demonstrations against the death penalty. A couple of other things, I'm just rattling these off. J.F.K. came here in '62, and there was

protesting because he had resumed nuclear testing. And then even ’62, there was that missile crisis. Just on those four things, I’m making this sort of difficult, but is there any particular memory you have, or thing you want to say about that? Or, it didn’t capture you, or—?

Powell: No, none of those things were really motivating factors or interests.

Rubens: Do you remember seeing J.F.K.?

Powell: No, I don’t remember seeing him. So, I don’t know if I wasn’t there at the time, or if for some reason I was doing something else. But, those things were not of interest to me. I think probably what will come out in this interview as we go forward was that I wasn’t the type of politico that a lot of people who were the originators of the Free Speech Movement seemed to be.

Rubens: Including Democrat/Republican, I mean that, those kind of—?

Powell: Oh yes, I was committed to a party. In my own mind I was a Republican. I liked the principles of the Republican party over the Democratic. But, I mean, I wasn’t motivated by—even though I was involved in student government, I was involved more for myself. I was a person who I think was interested in the admiration of people. I liked the idea of being noted. I liked sort of the challenge of being a leader of people, but I wasn’t really interested in political issues of the day.

Rubens: So, tell me about it.

Powell: So, I’m really probably in a different category than a lot of folks who were involved in the Free Speech Movement, because those things just didn’t motivate me.

There was, you know—one of the guys who ran against me for student body president was defeated, and I think probably he was third or fourth down the list in terms of a vote-getter. His name slips me at the moment. I can’t remember him but should be able to look it up. Had he been elected, I think the ASUC would have been much more radically involved in the FSM than it was when I was in the post as president, because I just didn’t have those same kinds of interests.

I wasn’t driven by those motivations. There were other things that were interesting to me and that I was about. I think had he been elected, then there would have been a major sort of involvement. I don’t say that for good or for bad, just that it would have changed perhaps the face of the ASUC in terms of its involvement, or its connection with the FSM.

Rubens: Well then, why don't we just start there? I was going to ask you a few more things, but clearly you have decided to run by the spring of '63, because when you come back to school in—

Powell: Spring of '64. Because I was in office from '64 to '65.

Rubens: And you are the ASUC president in the fall of '64, but you were elected in the spring? Can you remember when you made that decision to run?

Powell: No, I can't really remember the decision. I just knew that it was something that I was interested in trying. I can't remember when I decided.

Rubens: Sure. And then did you have to mount a very big campaign?

Powell: Well, I did the same sort of things that everybody did. You go around to the sororities and fraternities at dinner time and do brief messages and speeches. You make up the signs, you recruit a good number of people to be a part of your campaign.

I had a campaign manager, and he was sort of a person who oversaw aspects of the—

Rubens: Do you remember who that was?

Powell: Yes, Sid Israels. He later was senior class president. The year that I was student body president, he was senior class president.

Rubens: That's exactly what I was asking. And had he been in ASUC government with you when you were a senator?

Powell: Well, he was always interested. No, he wasn't one of the senators, or on the senate body, but he had—I think he had developed some interest partly through my interest. We were good friends. We lived in the same dorm as I mentioned, in Deutch Hall. I think he had a latent interest, and perhaps was comfortable with the idea of running for that position when he was a junior, late junior.

Rubens: Were you endorsed by the previous president, do you remember that particularly? I should know that.

Powell: Mel Levine was the previous president. I don't know that he really endorsed me, but he didn't really speak against my campaign.

Rubens: I thought he was the one. So, one more question before we just start that year. What did you do the summer of '64? Two more questions.

Powell: The summer of ’64 I stayed in Berkeley. I had a job in the engineering building cleaning up bathrooms and toilets in the evening. I mean from like, say, 5:00 to 1:00 in the morning. I worked with an older Swedish man, as I remember. On one of the old engineering buildings we did, I think I did a couple of the floors, sweeping the floors—

Rubens: I bet it was a pretty good job at the time.

Powell: It was a great job, because you could—

Rubens: Well paid?

Powell: Well, I don’t know if it was well paid. I can’t remember much about that. But it was a great time, because it was 5:00 in the evening to about 1:00 in the morning. During the day, I was in the ASUC offices and working on stuff for the upcoming year, so I spent the whole summer in Berkeley that year.

Rubens: I lied—this is the last question before we just literally get to talking about when you hear about the brouhaha. The spring of ’64, while you are campaigning and then are elected, and also that summer, a lot is going on. There are the preparations for the Republican convention, there were the shop-ins, civil rights activities on Telegraph Avenue, and one other thing—there was Brad Cleveland, I guess, writing up this introduction to the catalogue of SLATE. It was a manifesto calling for reform in the educational system. Had you at that point encountered or had to really deal with any of those—?

Powell: I don’t remember any, no. The SLATE candidate was the person I defeated in the election.

Rubens: Okay, that’s what I was presuming.

Powell: I don’t remember his name, but he was the person who I was suggesting might have had the ASUC much more involved in the FSM. But no, I didn’t know anything about that particular initiative, and wasn’t involved.

Rubens: Or the civil rights, or the—? There was one other thing—didn’t Baldwin, yes, Baldwin, come to speak in the spring?

Powell: James Baldwin?

Rubens: I don’t know if you saw that.

Powell: No. But for part of the summer I was involved—let's see, what did they call this? This was some sort of a summer conference every year for officers of universities. I forgot what the name—?

Rubens: Was that the National Student Association?

Powell: Yes, the National Student Association conference was that year I believe, somewhere in Illinois, Chicago, something like that. Urbana maybe?

Rubens: Yes. Midwest.

Powell: Yes. Some of the activists who had been involved in the civil rights movement came up to present some of their summer experiences. I remember listening to one of them in an impromptu, spontaneously called meeting in one of the dormitories where the conferees were staying. I remember at the time that it was a brand-new kind of idea to me. I had been raised in California where it was multi-cultural, multi-ethnic. To me it was a new idea to think that there were some people who would somehow feel that there were major differences between African Americans and Caucasians, or some other ethnic group. I remember being kind of, sort of stunned by the idea.

So, I think there were a lot of people eventually involved—and if you were to talk to Mario Savio or somebody else, I think you would find that part of the activism that came on campus that fall was a direct result of their involvement in the civil rights movement that summer.

Rubens: That movie, *Berkeley in the Sixties*—the section on '64 shows an announcement at a civil rights training school that the three civil rights workers had died, and that two other people—it was just shocking. So, I think you're right, that was a very catalytic summer.

Powell: So, in some ways, some of these folks were really coming on campus loaded for bear, as it were, really already on the alert, and ready to speak out for and defend some of the rights that they considered to be politically granted by the Constitution to all people. And here it was, it seemed as though there were some of these rights being stuffed and snuffed right on the campus.

Rubens: So that's just where I'd like to start.

Powell: That's just what I'm guessing. I didn't experience it, but I saw some of the fervor at the National Student Association conference.

Rubens: You didn't have to take a stand, but you were shocked?

Powell: I'd say stunned, more. Not so much shocked.

Rubens: You did not particularly become active with other student body presidents—"We need to make a statement"?

Powell: No.

Rubens: I think this kind of thing came along later.

Powell: No.

Rubens: Yes. The Republican convention—one of the allegations is that because students on that contested strip of land were recruiting people to work at the convention, some claim it wasn't to oppose Goldwater, it was to bring students who were going to demonstrate for Scranton and that was one of the things that led to the contest. Did you have any connection with the convention, or Young Republicans, or—?

Powell: I didn't, no.

Rubens: I bet ASUC is just—

Powell: You know, at that time I wasn't really an active student in any of the political units on campus. They had Young, what was it, Young Republicans—?

Rubens: And Young Americans for Freedom.

Powell: Young Americans for Freedom and groups like that, and they were equally non-attractive to me, along with some of the more liberal ones. I just wasn't a student who was interested in those things at that time. It was probably a particular concern and an interest for some students that were really particularly fascinated by the issues of the day, and I wasn't, I wasn't there yet.

Rubens: So, Charlie, I have three of four major questions about your role. I'm not looking for facts as much as what you saw, what you knew.

How did you come to learn that there was this contest taking place? I'm wondering if you were contacted by the administration? Allegedly, at September 16th, Kerr is away, Strong, through Towle, says, "This is University property, and you are not to be advocating and soliciting members in political organizations, advocating politics, et cetera."

Powell: Was that the day that the demonstration took place?

Rubens: No. Dean Towle—and Jackie Goldberg, who had been in the sororities, was very familiar with Dean Towle, and had a very good relationship—

Powell: Well, I knew Dean Towle, but I didn't know about this particular mandate.

Rubens: Do you remember when you first heard that there is now an issue over this strip of land?

Powell: Yes. Yes, I remember very clearly when I became aware of a major problem. It was the day in which the demonstration took place around the car. I was in my office up in the ASUC building, which at that time was in what is now the student center.

Rubens: In the Pauley Ballroom?

Powell: Well, above that. I think as I remember, the floor above that.

Rubens: But that building, that was really the student—

Powell: That building, where the Pauley Ballroom is, yes. I was staying on the third or fourth floor, I've forgotten now, and my office was in the southwest corner.

Rubens: You were looking out over the empty lot where all the—

Powell: Looking out over the entrance. I mean over the entrance from Telegraph Street—

Rubens: Oh yes, pretty south, yes.

Powell: —and onto the administration building. I could see Sproul Hall from my window.

Rubens: Oh, you could—so, southeast.

Powell: So, I was looking southeast, is it?

Rubens: Yes, yes.

Powell: Okay. And someone came up and said, "Hey, there's a huge crowd gathering down in the plaza." And it was right as the bells were tolling 12:00. They said, "There's some sort of huge demonstration going on." So, I hustled down, and went out. It was all brand-new to me. I had no idea that there was such concern and fervor—and even the mandate—coming along.

At the point I arrived out there, Mario Savio was already on top of the car. He was saying something to the effect that—you know, was sort of outlining the discipline that was going to be followed until they could get some redress of the grievances.

So, I jumped up on the car after he finished—I think it was right after he finished—there might have been somebody else there. I said I wanted a moratorium on this demonstration and that I wanted to ask Mario to go with me to the chancellor's office, so we could see what sort of redress could be made at the moment—because this was creating quite a ruckus and a problem here—and that I didn't know what the issues were, but that I was willing to go with them and see if we couldn't get some administrative assistance and help. So, he agreed and we left, and went down to—what was it?

Rubens: Was it California Hall, was that there?

Powell: It's the hall that starts with a "D," right—

Rubens: Dwinelle?

Powell: Dwinelle. Because, I remember we went to Dwinelle Hall, and his offices were off in one far corner there. It's a little vague to me now. And we talked with Al Sherriffs, because, as I remember, he was assistant chancellor, was he not? And the chancellor was not there at the time.

Rubens: Yes, exactly.

Powell: So, we talked with him for some time, and I could see that there was a resistance for him to take any steps immediately to sort of relieve the stress. Mario was fairly vigorous about the things that he felt had to be listened to, and heard, and attended to. I don't know that he had any listed demands or anything, it was just sort of, "This is a very serious issue for us, and we need some relief."

Rubens: I think it was to let Weinberg out, who was in the car—

Powell: Yes, it might have been something like that—

Rubens: —and to not be charged, and then to—

Powell: Discuss the issues or something—

Rubens: Basically to remove all bans, but then to, indeed, yes, discuss things.

Powell: It was something like that. He had two, or three—they weren't really demands, but these were kind of—"Here are the issues that we feel we need help with before we know what to do."

Rubens: Right, that's October 1st.

Powell: That didn't seem to be relieved, so we walked back, he and I, and—

Rubens: Had you ever met him before?

Powell: No, I'd never met him before. And I think at that moment, we then went in to see Dean—not Towle— but Dean—the former football great—?

Rubens: Arleigh Williams.

Powell: Yes, Dean Williams. If I remember, we couldn't see Dean Towle. She was either gone, or otherwise engaged, so we talked with Arleigh Williams. He took a moment to call over, I think, to Sheriffs, and to try to get their heads together about what was going to be their sense of solidarity about a response to the students. And there wasn't any sort of relief to the concerns, or they weren't ready to commit themselves to anything.

So, we walked back out. And as I remember, Mario stood on the car, and he told the crowd, "Well, we went to see the officials, and they've heard what we have to say, but there isn't much of anything that's forthcoming in terms of any relief for our grievances. And therefore we're staying right here." And that was kind of it, as I remember.

Rubens: I think you're right.

Powell: That was my first introduction to the whole issue and concern.

Rubens: Now, let me for the record interrupt here. You had not been contacted by Strong, by Williams, by Towle, by Kerr before? "What can you do to settle this down"?

Powell: Not to my recollection, no. Maybe there had been something that had come my way that I just did not recognize was a precursor of more things to come. There might have been some letter or something like that. But nothing that really helped me to really grip the issue.

Rubens: It looks to me like that's the case, but I wanted to just ask you one more thing. I think you're really describing accurately so far what the record has said.

What did it feel like to be on top of that police car? This is what everyone talks about, one way or another. What it was like to look up, to come upon it, to—?

Powell: It was kind of scary. Actually, there was a guy who took a photo of me while I was on it and later on gave me a copy of it. It was kind of scary because I'm not aware really of what's going on here, and yet I felt the responsibility to try to do something. I'm sort of a—I think a peacemaker at heart. I'm passionate about

certain issues, but not the kind of issues that they were passionate about at that point.

Rubens: Were you already passionate about certain issues?

Powell: No, I wouldn't say so. This was kind of a fork in the road for me. It was kind of a radicalizing of my own attitude and philosophy about life. So it was very much a critical, and a crucial, and a life-changing year for me—but not over issues like this.

So, it's kind of scary because you don't quite know what this is all about. On the other hand, I just really felt the responsibility to do something to bridge the gap between what was really kind of an extreme thing here, and an administration who apparently wasn't aware of it, or didn't know what to do with it. So, there needed to be some bridge building.

[End of Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

Rubens: We're going to get it right back to the car—but Strong, on September 28th, had offered a kind of concession to the original eight that had been cited, and a modification of what the ban was. And that was to let students hand out leaflets regarding pro and con, yes and no, on issues.

I thought that was at the moment a kind of big concession. But, that certainly didn't satisfy people, and then there's a building up of a—then they were literally suspended, the eight students, on September 30th, and then October 1st is the car, and that's where you are.

I'm asking if you recall any kind of caucus? I know this was all spontaneous, but then was there—having gone to negotiate, then come back—was there any caucusing with any ASUC people that you can see around the car, or—?

Powell: No, no. You mean from elected officers, or people that I was working with?

Rubens: Yes.

Powell: No, I don't remember anything like that. You know, I think a lot of the people who were ASUC officers that year—you know how it is, you're kind of elected for involvement in student life. You're running the programs that were typical of the previous years, you're just getting acquainted with your job, you have certain fraternity and sorority and cooperative housing people you're getting acquainted

with. I don't think that this was such an intense political commitment, sort of built out of those summer activities, that it was just at a level of challenge, I think, that the ASUC officers and people just weren't ready to engage.

Rubens: And you yourself had not seen that kind of mass assemblage?

Powell: No, no. That kind of thing is more typical of European student life. Later on, when I moved to Europe, and I was involved in work there, it became more clear to me that here are places where university students don't consider it to be a very unusual thing to strike, and boycott, and things like that. But at American universities, this was—I think I would say, it was a brand-new way to do business, as it were, and to air your grievances. I don't think people were ready for it. I don't think even President Kerr and the Regents knew what to do with it.

Rubens: The reason I had come back to you about whether Kerr, Strong, Williams, or any of those people had contacted you before—because you're saying the first you know that it is the demonstration—

Powell: I have a vague recollection of a letter that might have been a part of this 28th that you're talking about, where perhaps there was some indication of the administration's posture on leafleting or something like that. There's a vague recollection of that. But either I didn't take serious note of it, or it didn't clearly outline to me the deeper problem or question that was being dealt with, so I didn't take note of it.

Rubens: Charlie, most people say but for those eight, and another three or four, maybe some of the politicos that were looking at it—I mean literally people who were in ideological groups—no one knew much, or thought much about it. And then the majority of people, because I have been interviewing people who came into it as foot soldiers, said, "I first learned—I walk through, it's noon, someone is saying sit down, and I sit down. I didn't know what it's about, I didn't know, I—"

So, it was something people had never seen and had no opinion about, and couldn't quite *get* what the issue was even. But, I do believe that you—I do see in a *Daily Cal* article you say, "Why don't we disperse," after that, "and then we'll come back and talk about it"? And that was not the way the crowd went.

Powell: Was not acceptable—

Rubens: I'm trying to get at, was there any pre-planning? Or, just one after another, there are people, who emerged to be the head of the FSM? And there wasn't an FSM—it gets crystallized the next day, the night of the 2nd, after there's an all-night vigil. They say, "No," and there's just a lot of talking, including faculty who get up there and

urge both—that the students have a legitimate concern, but that you should disperse. I mean, no faculty was really saying, "Stay there." Apparently Seymour Lipset likened it to a—he said, "I've never seen anything like this except for a Klan demonstration," and he was really booted, because that was an assault.

The one other thing was, that night, apparently there were a group of fraternity boys—I think they say drunken, not all of them—but they were booing, and throwing some beer cans or bottles, and matches into the crowd. And then they're explained to, what's happening. And later on, one of them becomes quite an FSMer. Were you aware of that, do you remember that at all?

Powell: No. No.

Rubens: I'm much more interested—and we're going to get to that soon—why is this a crucible in your life? What were your opinions of the leaders, and the administration?

But, this one more event that's kind of important—there is a Campus Committee for Political Activity that's set up by Kerr. He appoints, I forget now, twelve—? Well anyway—four faculty, four administrators, and two students. One of them is you, as the ASUC president and one of them—I don't know how she's there—Marsha Bratten. Apparently, what happens is they meet, FSM students come and boo, hiss, and then they have a public meeting, and again FSM en masse come, and boo, hiss. I think this is too timid, or no FSMers are represented—

Powell: That's not my recollection.

Rubens: Okay.

Powell: What I remember is that after about twenty-four hours of this demonstration, President Kerr invited me, Mario, several people down to his offices in the western end of the campus. We were there for a couple of hours. At that time, of course, he was trying to get to the bottom of the issues—"What are the ideas here"? Somehow it had gotten past the dean, past the chancellor, and now it was on his desk. I don't remember exactly the timing on it, but it was like in those first two, three days. I think the talks with him kind of brought the demonstration to an end.

I don't remember that there was any agreement at that time to do anything beyond some sort of, "You know, we'll try to muddle along from here," because there was nothing established, to my recollection, as a triad between administrators, faculty, and students, until after the first of the year. It was in December, something like early December, that the faculty had this major meeting and the grievances were still unsatisfied, and the Academic Senate really, shockingly, voted in support of the

student demands and grievances. I think at that point the administration felt, "We've got to establish some place where this can all be talked out." So, in the spring, this triad was set up. It was six people from the administration, six people from the faculty, and six from the students.

On this six of the students, there were four FSMers, and there was myself and Marsha, I believe her name was. She was a very sharp, brilliant student, really very academically gifted. I think she was sort of a representative of thoughtful academic student life.

Rubens: She had been awarded the Robert Gordon/Ida W. Sproul citation, as had you—

Powell: Yes, I think that sounds right.

Rubens: And so, that was exactly right. I think the thought was that you represented both achievement and student organization, being from an elected organization. I just didn't know if you knew her before. I haven't paid attention to who she was, because I don't think she's in the picture after that.

Powell: No, I don't remember her taking much of a role at all. The only thing I remember is those series of discussions, after the first of the year, as I remember, and that there wasn't anything established of an official or ongoing nature before that.

Rubens: And you know, as I've said before, the facts, and actually how it happens in terms of the biggest things, don't matter. I have these dates—that there is this CCPA set up, but there's such a demonstration immediately, that there's no real discussion as a result of it, and that it is expanded.

Powell: I see, so that was an earlier version of what actually did happen in the spring?

Rubens: Yes, yes. But, then it all got moving too quickly. The expanded one was—they appointed Savio and Bettina—they had not been honored originally. It ultimately became the Heyman Committee, because the original faculty were against—it seemed like a stacked committee, and it wasn't smart on Kerr's point, so they added a few more. But, I don't think anything got going, because now we're talking about—middle of October, there was some negotiations, but the negotiations were really over the nature of the committee. So, now students were going away from this all, there's not much happening. The graduate students are starting to form an organization, but they're in somewhat of a contest with FSM.

So there's all this morass, nothing really seemed like it would have been a mass outbreak until after Thanksgiving. For some reason, after Thanksgiving more students are cited, and suspended, and that leads immediately to the December 2nd

occupation of Sproul Hall, which is followed by the mass arrest that night, and then the December 8th resolution, which does end it all.

And you're absolutely right. All the discussions then, with the Regents, and the real—about how to establish time, place, and manner, that goes on in the spring.

Powell: I think the discontent of the student leadership for this movement, and the potency of a number of folks who were willing to sort of lay their life down for it, just was something that the administration wasn't ready to realize, and recognize, and accept, and deal with. And it was over the heads of people like me, and others, in terms of its intensity.

Rubens: Except for one thing that is not given attention, that I thought was stunning. You proposed in the middle of one of these negotiations—earlier on, because it wasn't clear yet, did the city really own the land, or the university own the land, or—? And you said, "Why doesn't the ASUC buy the land"? It was a proposal that did not really get aired or talked about. Somehow, it just got lost. I actually thought it was quite an interesting one, and so thirty years, forty years later, now, why wasn't that talked about? Was it just beyond what the ASUC could do? Do you remember that?

Powell: I don't remember what happened with that. I do remember vaguely that idea. To be honest, I don't remember too clearly the proposal. But from my own personal point of view, this was over my head. In terms of leadership, character, and a sense of ability, intellectually, and life experience-wise to grasp this—and sort of meet head-to-head with the likes of Mario and some of the others that were on the Steering Committee, and really sort of work on some negotiations to come up with something that would satisfy, I wasn't able, personally and character-wise, to be able to meet it. It was just a little bit too potent for me.

Rubens: Did you—?

Powell: So some idea like this, which perhaps was a good one, wasn't really contended for by me. It was my idea, I should have contended for it, and edged it in, and worked it in until it really got beat out. If I liked the idea, I was committed to it. [laughter] And I don't think I was there in terms of my leadership ability.

Rubens: But it's interesting, that you're not wholly opposed to the FSM, nor wholly opposed to the administration, as you get into these negotiations—so the record seems to say. You're looking for moderation, you don't want the occupation. But I'm still trying to get out of you if you have any memory that anyone tried to play you like a string? If the administration was telling you—?

Powell: I have no recollection of that. As far as I know, I was just being myself. I felt sort of like a person that was out on the fringes and the edges, because the main bickering was going on between the protesting students, and Clark Kerr, and whoever he designated to be the appropriate people from the administration to work with this. So, I was kind of a person on the fringe.

Rubens: And did you feel—?

Powell: I don't think anybody saw me to be a person who was a, what should I say, a deal-maker, a player, and therefore, nobody was trying to pull my string.

Rubens: To the best you can recall, when you say, "I was in over my head," were there feelings associated with this?

Powell: For me? Well, yes, I would say that I became depressed because here I was, supposedly a person who should be a student leader, and these things were happening around me, and swirling around me. I remember one time calling a press conference. One of the gals who was a friend of mine happened to have the title of press coordinator or director?

Rubens: Sue Johnson, who was the editor—?

Powell: No. Sue Mussalem, who was the ASUC—kind of like the press—? What was her assignment? I can't quite remember. But anyway, she helped me call a press conference. And I delivered this statement. But, not much of anybody was very impressed with it, and I'm not so sure myself that I was very impressed with it when I gave it.

So, feeling sort of marginalized, and not very effective in the bridge-building and moderation that I was trying to apply, I kind of became depressed, I think. I was not very excited about the issues. To me they weren't things that I thought were life-threatening, or something you're going to really live and die for. Free speech—to me, I had free speech. I thought people in general had free speech. So, to me it was—I don't mean to downplay what it meant to other people, but for me, I wasn't threatened by the kind of issues that they said were threatening to their rights under the Constitution.

So, I think because it was in a field that I didn't sincerely feel, wasn't sincerely concerned about, and because it was sort of all happening around me—and because I wasn't very effective in applying some of my own leadership skills to it—I was depressed. I remember thinking, staying up fairly late, trying to do my studies, trying to do other kinds of duties that were part of the president's responsibilities, and worried about, or concerned about, "What's going to happen with this, why

can't we seem to do anything effective with it"? I remember being up in the office 8:00 and 9:00 at night, 10:00 at night, and sort of even just falling asleep at my desk, because I was so tired of driving home at 12:00 and 1:00 in the morning without feeling any relief from it.

To be honest, I think it wasn't just the issues, intellectually or rationally. It was a sense that I didn't like seeing people say such hard things and harsh things against each other. Spokespeople for the FSM cause would say such harsh and unkind things about people who I knew in the administration who I thought highly of, and vice versa. Conservative students would stand up and say harsh things about all these people who had long hair and lived hippie lifestyles. The controversy and the fracturing, and the sort of thesis and antithesis clash was to me grating, and laborious to try to carry emotionally. So, I think it worked away at me, and I was depressed by it. I didn't like seeing people angry with each other, hating each other, throwing people in jail because they were sincerely concerned about an issue, carting them off out of Sproul Hall. All of this tension in the air was to me upsetting, depressing.

Instead of people reasonably discussing things, understanding somebody else's point of view, caring about their point of view—instead, it was a tendency for people to defend their point of view, and other people aggressively going for their point of view. I suppose that makes, you know, that's probably to a certain degree important in political-social life, but to me it was harsh and uncalled for, and not necessary, and—"Okay, you've got a point of view, but reasonable people work these things out."

Rubens: It seemed also like the old channels weren't there.

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: The ASUC didn't—

Powell: Wasn't effective. It wasn't a channel to work through. For this I do not hold others responsible. It was more my deficiencies than those of others.

Rubens: And the committee system—or this first faculty committee, it seemed to just gather storm, and gather people. But as many say—the record seems to just make it true—how the administration could have, as it was simmering down, then suspend more students after Thanksgiving vacation? That was just the last—that was just what people who wanted to see it get inflamed were grateful to have, because they could not have probably, on their own, gotten it to that lit fire again.

Much more important, instead of just then, the details—what do you mean? Say something, if you don't mind, about how this was a fork in the road for you. How critical became critical and crucial. Did you continue that semester, '65? Did you remain a student?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Why did you became a fifth-year student? Because you changed your major, and—?

Powell: I don't remember exactly why, but I think I was taking lighter loads simply because I didn't want to overload myself with studies while I was—you know, I'd had three years of student body activity, plus—

Rubens: Class president, senator, president of the student body.

Powell: Plus, I was in sports my first year, and beginning my second year, and then I was in the California marching band. We had a fairly heavy schedule. So, there were a lot of things I was doing, and I just was not afraid to take a fifth year and stay a little longer. So, I think I just didn't have enough units and credits at the end of the academic year 1965.

Rubens: You put your hand out and I saw your ring—were you particularly involved, I don't mean this in a particularly personal way, as much as, were you married at that point, or—?

Powell: No.

Rubens: An involving relationship that—?

Powell: No, and I had no girlfriend or somebody I was dating.

Rubens: So, what happened then—are there many memories in the spring of '65, with all those negotiations? So quickly: April, March—then it gets crazy with the Filthy Speech—well, I don't know that it was a movement, but there were two weeks of big activity. Then, it's the march on Oakland against the war in Vietnam, and there's the Vietnam Day all-day teach-in, a second teach-in in the country at a student center. So FSM really in a way became a by-word, but for the fact that there was one meeting when Mario says, "I'm not going to be a public figure anymore, I'm stepping down." And there were some who wanted to create a Free Speech Union, it did not take hold, and it was all gone.

Can you see yourself in the spring of '65, then? That's when you remember negotiations, you must have been party to some of those, but—

Powell: Well, this is where I would say I'm not a very good source for observation and insight on what happened beyond that fall, because it was really kind of a fork in the road for me. I moved in the direction of, as I mentioned, a depression about all of this.

Whatever anybody over here was all excited about and fervent about, somehow, it didn't connect with me. It didn't make sense to me, because I didn't feel my free speech was being hindered. I couldn't seem to make any headway in terms of gaining people's attention for my point of view and a moderate stance. It was pretty much a polarized situation. So, I think I was marginalized, and I was in a little eddy here where I was sort of lost in my thoughts, and not very able to express it to somebody else.

In fact, I remember going home at Thanksgiving and Christmas as I remember, and my mom and dad would ask a little bit about the situation. I don't know that I could really express to them very much how, what I was thinking and feeling. I was quietly pondering these things, and kind of anxious about them.

Rubens: And they weren't saying, "Do this, do that," or they hadn't—?

Powell: No. About January, early January, a guy came up to my office, and he introduced himself as the leader of a Christian ministry on campus. And I had never met him before, I didn't know who he was, and I didn't know anything about this organization, but he said that I was going to be invited to what was called Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington, D.C. It was sponsored by the President of the United States, in Washington, D.C.

Rubens: What was the organization called?

Powell: Well, I don't know that there is an organization. The first Thursday of every February an event is held in Washington, D.C., called the Presidential Prayer Breakfast. Pentagon officials, congressmen, executive officers in the Executive Department—I don't know, all kinds of various segments of Washington, D.C. leadership life are invited to this breakfast, at which time the President is always there, and there are guest speakers. It's a celebration, or a reminder, or a restatement, a reaffirmation of the Judeo-Christian principles upon which the nation was founded.

I believe these remembrances or observances began with President Eisenhower, and they've been continued by every president since. There is a group of volunteers in

the Washington, D.C. area that are a part of an organization that helped make—it's a loose sort of cooperation of a lot of interested people, and they do all the legwork to make it happen. It's now a big event.

He said I was going to be invited to this, and it was the first year that student body presidents from a number of universities were going to be invited. He asked would I like to go? He said that there were some businessmen that were supporting his ministry with students on campus, and that they would be willing to pay half of my fare if I decided to go. Well, I didn't know anything about it, but I said, "Well, you know, I'll think about it." Then he said, "Tell me, I know some of your friends here at the university, and they say that you're a Christian, that you're a believer in Christ. Is that true"?

I said, "Well no, I don't think it is, because even though I grew up in a town where my parents went to the local Presbyterian church—"

Rubens: And you were active in youth organizations.

Powell: I was active in youth organizations—"that as far as I know, if you're a Christian, you are sort of intensely committed to it, it's an important thing, and it changes your life. And I don't think that's true for me."

"Well," he said, "how would you like to talk about this, because," he said, "I do this with students all the time"? I said, "Well, I really don't have time, I'm too busy." He was pretty insistent, and he said, "Well, look, these are the kinds of things you ought to think about while you're a student. I mean—who are you, where did you come from, is there a God, does it make a difference in your life, should you have a relationship with God, is there a relationship with God to be had? I mean, these are the things you ought to think about."

So, I thought, "Yeah, well, that's right. What can it hurt"? So, I said, "All right." So, about a week later we met together, and I later found out these are ministries like Navigators, and Campus Crusade for Christ, and Inter-Varsity Fellowship. And some of these various Christian ministries have these kinds of outreaches, and study programs, and ministries among students. But it was all new to me then.

So, we talked for a minute, and then he said, "Well, listen." He asked me a few questions about my religious perspective, and then he said briefly, "You know, what we're about here in working with students is to explain that God loves them and has a purpose for their lives, that they're not creatures of chance. But that because of a sinful condition of disobedience to their creator and their maker, they don't really have a relationship with Christ, or with God, and that Christ, Jesus, was God's son and emissary to bring a message of salvation and revelation of the truth

of God, and the Grace of God. And that by responding in faith to the announcement of these truths, and appropriating his personal presence in your life, you become a believer. Christian means Christ in a person. A person whose life is changed by the presence of Christ through the personal appropriation of his atoning death on the cross, and his resurrection, and his life."

Well, I sort of knew the basic teaching because of my church attendance, but somehow when he was talking about it, it was like a light went on. I thought to myself, "If it's really true that Jesus died for the sins of man,"—and I believed I was a sinner, I didn't believe I was perfect or somehow righteous—"and if it is true that he's resurrected from the grave, and he is alive, and there is hope for a life hereafter by virtue of a relationship with him, I'm interested."

Rubens: Now, this is before—forgive me for interrupting—you go back to the conference? This is him explaining what it's about?

Powell: Yes, this is in January.

Rubens: I need to ask you one other thing. Was this a student or an adult who ran—?

Powell: He was an adult, a staff member with Campus Crusade for Christ, which is a student ministry. He lived off campus, but he had contacts and relationships with students over time that had developed over the—I don't know. He had been there for a couple of years, I think.

Rubens: Yes. What I was going to ask—there is a fellow named Steve Hamilton, who on the FSM steering committee represented the United Council of Churches—?

[End of Tape 1, Side B]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

Rubens: Who came next, who was the very—?

Powell: Billy Graham.

Rubens: Oh, my God. He had been at that school. Anyway, Steve Hamilton was in the class with Billy Graham's daughter. So, then he transferred to Berkeley, to be near his parents. So he represented this United Council. I said, "Well, had you been talking to ministers"? He said, "Yes," that there was someone at Stiles Hall that he would talk to, and some others.

Had you had any personal connection particularly with any of those councils, with churches, with Stiles Hall—?

Powell: No.

Rubens: You felt secure until this guy came and talked to you, then it opened—?

Powell: Well, the only thing I had done is earlier—not so much in my junior or senior year, but as a freshman and sophomore—I remember going down to Berkeley First Presbyterian Church, which was just down a couple of blocks from Deutch Hall. So, I did that, and I was—

Rubens: Attended some services?

Powell: I worshipped in the services, and I went to the college fellowship. But other than that, no, I didn't know Stiles Hall, and I didn't know Hamilton, and I didn't know any of—

Rubens: And Billy Graham came to the campus? That's what I've been trying to figure out.

Powell: No, Billy Graham came later. I know he came later, in about '67. But I don't remember if he was there earlier or not.

Rubens: It didn't get you earlier. And this was the last thing, so that you can then tell about the meeting in Washington. Do you remember this man's name, from Campus Crusade for Christ?

Powell: The person who spoke to me?

Rubens: Yes.

Powell: Yes, his name was Ted McReynolds.

Rubens: McReynolds. Well, you were invited ostensibly because you were ASUC president. Did he acknowledge that you were caught in the middle here, and this was a difficult situation? Or was FSM—?

Powell: I think so, yes. He was aware of that. And I think some of my friends had told him that, you know, "Here is a person maybe that would benefit from your counsel with him and your time with him." I don't know, he didn't ever tell me much of that, but I just assumed that's the case, because later on a couple of friends said that they had been praying for me, and that they were concerned about the kind of wear and tear of the whole issue—

Rubens: And no one else played that role for you then? You were an undergraduate, there wasn't a professor who you felt close with?

Powell: No, not that I remember.

Rubens: And it sounds to me, since you were a Spanish major and diplomatic—was that poli sci, and some history?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Were your classes in any way attending that spiritual need? Philosophical discussions, or—. Some kids were in philosophy, and really every moment debating what is—

Powell: Metaphysics.

Rubens: Yes.

Powell: No. I mean, maybe I should have been in one of those classes. That might have been interesting, but, no, I wasn't.

So, he explained that it was possible to have a personal relationship with God through Christ. I can remember thinking, "If this is possible, I'm very interested." So, that night, I went home and I prayed a prayer before I went to bed, as I remember. Just sort of basically, you know, "Heavenly Father, this man that I talked with today, and I'm just getting acquainted with, says that it's possible to know Christ personally, to have my sins forgiven because of His death on the cross, and the payment of the blood of His own sacrifice. I'm familiar with these doctrines, but I've never applied this to my own life. I don't ever remember understanding it in the way that he seemed to express it to me. If this is real, and if this is true, and possible, then please come into my life, help me to find the peace that I certainly haven't been experiencing. But more than that, I'm really interested to know if this is the truth. If this is the truth, then I want to learn it, I want to walk in it, I want to apply it, I want to pursue it."

And I went to bed that night, and not much of anything happened. But over the next few days, I began to realize something has taken place in my life. Because I was just thinking about these things in a different and a new way. Meeting a few other students through him on campus who said that they had become believers in Christ, that they were Christians, that they were not just nominally churchgoers, but that there had been a transformation taking place in their life. As they talked about their experience, I realized, "You know what? Even though their experiences are different, somehow what they're talking about is like me. There's something that's

gone on, that is a sort of a transformation within me, the person, within my person." I just knew I was different.

So, I began to meet other students, and I started attending a bible study that a graduate student was teaching, and I was on a totally different track. So, all these other political activism things going on over here were, first of all, not very interesting to me initially, and secondly, they were definitely not meeting the need that I was experiencing at the moment.

Rubens: Did anyone from the ASUC try and grab you and say, "We've got to do this, we've got to do that," or was there a sense that the ASUC was kind of in shambles?

Powell: Peripheral. Yes, I think so.

Rubens: Shambles is maybe too strong.

Powell: I don't think—no, nobody said that to me, and I don't think anybody really thought that there was a major role to be played by the ASUC—that it was, it was marginalized.

Rubens: The only person's name who then comes up, continues to come up, as some voice, is Sharon Mock. And she still is, at that point, calling for mediation, and maybe more the university's side—she's not the leader. And Sue Johnson—I think the *Daily Cal* is just then letters to the editor. I think if *you* were now going on a different track—had there been—?

Powell: Of course now, this is in January. So, by this time, we're getting pretty close to the time when this all gets into discussion stage. I don't remember when that triad started, but it was soon after that.

Rubens: Yes, exactly. Yes, you're right, the end of January, mid-January.

Powell: So by that time it's sort of in a different department, you know.

Rubens: So, no one's shaking you and saying, "Come back, you have things to do, you're managing"? Did you still have obligations?

Powell: Oh, yes, and I finished out the year. There were a couple of times when I think I was up for a recall, and some people wanted to dismiss me. I don't know if you'll see that in the *Daily Cal* somewhere? There were some people interested in recalling me, but it never got very far.

Rubens: Boy, that must have been difficult, or might it in part have said, "Okay, give me your belief"?

Powell: I don't think it got serious enough, actually.

Rubens: So, the conference. Do you remember the conference?

Powell: Yes. So, I went to the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in early February, and by that time I had been a believer in Christ in this new way. I'd always been kind of a God-fearer, I always believed in God, and I'd been raised in a Christian outlook, so I'd always been basically a thoughtful person about that, but I had never entered into a personal relationship with Christ as had taken place. And so by the time I got to the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in early February, I had probably been a believer in this new way for three weeks, four weeks. And some of the people that I met were very encouraging to me, and it was a strengthening experience, very much so. I met a lot of the participants in the Presidential Prayer Breakfast, and some of the organizers—

Rubens: You must have met some other—?

Powell: —they have become lifelong friends, I'm still close to many of those folks.

Rubens: Now that, we'll get back to.

Powell: So, while the whole college, I mean on-campus experience about the FSM was something I was definitely concerned about because I'm still in a post, I couldn't—it was like two worlds were going on. This ministry to my own life, and my own soul, my own emotional life, my own intellectual life, was very satisfying to me, very meaningful, very affirming, and transforming. I could not really see very well how to bring that together with this political activism over here, or vice-versa.

Now maybe somebody else, who was more politically inclined than I was, might have been. Maybe if Mel Levine had been in, you know, my position, he might have seen ways in which these two intersected. But I always felt like they didn't really speak to each other very well, that this was one big question going over here that consumed a lot of energy and people's interests. But what was really going on in my life, and was definitely very real, and very meaningful, and maybe would change the course of my life professionally, was over here.

Rubens: So, let me fire this at you a minute. It does sound like this was the beginning of a new person and path. And that's what I want to pursue, to hear where you went—I didn't know you were in Europe. I want to just get one more time at whether you remember, even at that meeting, that prayer meeting, meeting other student body presidents?

Powell: Oh yes.

Rubens: And if they were sympathizing, giving advice, or grilling you, on "What *is* this"?

Powell: Oh, everybody was very interested in it, and kind of wanted to know, "What were the issues, and what's happening, and what have *you* been doing"?

Rubens: "Who's this Mario Savio"? I imagine. [chuckling]

Powell: Yes, "Who's Mario Savio, and what are the issues"? and things like that, yes, definitely.

Rubens: And how did you respond?

Powell: Well, I think I basically told them the developments and circumstances as best I remembered them or saw them, or from the point of view that I took. I don't think I was very, probably very clear on—I don't know that I was very helpful on the issues.

If somebody was really interested to know some of the finer points of the issues, I probably was not very satisfying to them in that regard because I never went to Steering Committee meetings, I wasn't involved in the late-night discussions and negotiations that went on. So, a lot of the involvement that was going on—nobody invited me, and I probably wouldn't have been interested anyway, or at least not very long. So, I'm sure a lot of that—if somebody was interested in pursuing those things, I wasn't very helpful.

Rubens: Were you saying, "I'm here for this, and this is a new—this Christian faith involvement is new, and I want to be focused on that" ?

Powell: Yes. I don't know if I was saying that, but I knew that I was definitely fulfilled, and it was a meaningful experience for me to be there. A lot of lifelong friends were established there.

Rubens: So, could you just, so we make sure—

Powell: Stanford's student body president was at the same event, and he and I are still good friends. He lives in northern Virginia. And he also came to a personal encounter with Christ, and a real life-changing experience for him—a little later than myself, but the same year.

Rubens: But, he was at that—?

Powell: He was at that Presidential Prayer Breakfast.

Rubens: —one you were?

Powell: Yes. Michigan State's student body president was there, oh, just a bunch of other presidents—must have been, I don't know, sixty. Something like that.

Rubens: Would you just say then, what happened to you? You came back to Berkeley, finished your obligations that year, that academic year. Then you had another full year?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Were you involved with any kind of activities, or were you preparing your soul, and—? [chuckles]

Powell: Well, by that time I was finished with—I don't think I was on the University of California marching band any longer that fifth year, I don't think I was. I wasn't playing sports. But I took a job in the Student Union to help pay my way through college, and I was on the information desk. So I had duties there, and simply finished out probably, I don't know, twelve units each semester, something like that, to complete my studies.

But I was very interested in the ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ on campus. Lots of good friends and relationships were established with people in that year. In fact, in Los Angeles, in San Diego, just two nights ago, I was with about fifteen of them, who are involved in various jobs down there. It was the first time we'd seen each other, this particular group, for maybe—I don't know, twenty-five years. It was great. And they were all actively involved in the Christian ministry outreach and Campus Crusade on campus.

Rubens: And, you know, Mario was gone that year. It had had a devastating effect on him, all of those activities. Did you find yourself ever having any kind of—reconciliation isn't the word, but—meetings again, or chance encounters, with any of those FSM people?

Powell: No. Well, from time to time they'd be hanging around the information desk. And I can remember particularly one guy came up one day, he was a grad student, was kind of a friendly chap, an easygoing guy. He was definitely sympathetic to the Free Speech Movement. He looked me in the eye one day and he said, "Charlie, I can tell you've matured. I see it in your eyes."

And, I don't know why—it was a very affirming statement from him that day. But I think I believed, "Yes, you're right, I know I've grown. I know I've become more secure in myself, more at peace. I know much better where I want to go, and what I want to do with my life. That I'm called to somehow a ministry, and that for the moment I'm content to be finishing up my college career."

But some of the fear, and the disorientation, and the loneliness, and the depression, and sort of the disorientation, yes, of the previous year, was a thing of the past.

Rubens: The feeling of marginality, or—?

Powell: I knew, yes, I knew I was a different person.

Rubens: So there wasn't shame, or regret, or—?

Powell: No, no. Not at all.

Rubens: Do you remember who that was that said that?

Powell: I don't. I can remember his face, but I don't remember his name. He was kind of short, and a little heavy, and had a beard. I never knew him very well, but we used to talk a little bit.

Rubens: You had seen him as part of the FSM crowd?

Powell: Yes. There was another guy that was on the—well, not the first year, but the fifth year that I was there—whose name I can't think of right now, but maybe I'll think of it before we finish. He was kind of my friend in the FSM, sympathetic to the FSM, with whom I could really kind of have good conversations.

I used to tell him about what had happened to me spiritually, and he was most interested in it. He never persuaded himself, but he knew that there was a definite change in my life that had taken place. And yet, his interests were much more in the political area and the follow-up concerns. I mean, the People's Park episodes, and some of those things, were the kinds of things that he continued to have contact with.

Rubens: Did you leave the university then?

Powell: I graduated in '66. See, I should have been a graduate in '65. By that time I knew that I wanted to learn something more about, "What is the Christian's position and convictions concerning biblical truth? And how can this be made"? It had been such a transforming experience for me, and a meaningful one—how can I be a part of helping other students come into this same recognition and encounter?

So, I joined the staff of Campus Crusade for Christ. I was thinking about grad school and I applied; I took the boards. I was accepted at Syracuse University in their—what did they call it?—public policy graduate program, which included a year's internship in India. But I turned it down. I almost went, but I turned it down because I wanted to—whatever I did in life, I wanted to have the training, and the

background, and the biblical knowledge, and the equipping to be an effective believer. So, I joined the staff of Campus Crusade for Christ, the same organization that had had contact and influence on me. I was a part of a group called the International Ambassador's Team, which was sent by the organization to begin student ministry on the universities and colleges of the United Kingdom.

So, by November of '67, after one year of training in the United States, I was in England, and I was there for the next six years. I was carrying out the ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ among university students—

Rubens: And that's what you had mentioned before.

Powell: —in England. And my wife was a single woman on the same team. We met, and got to know each other, and later married in 1972.

Rubens: An American?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Where was the training literally? Literally in the United States, that year?

Powell: It was at the headquarters for Campus Crusade for Christ, which was Arrowhead Springs—

Rubens: In California?

Powell: In the San Bernardino area.

Then later on, it involved some travel around the United States. In fact, in the spring, a team of us, the whole group, which was about fifty of us, returned to the Berkeley campus. And there was a special outreach to college students and university students at Berkeley, in the spring of '67.

Rubens: That is what you had said, that is what we were going to—

Powell: That is when Graham came. If you check the records, I think you will find that is when he had the meeting up in the Greek Theatre. There were major meetings with athletes, and student body officers, and sororities, and fraternities—all kinds of sort of outreach efforts around the campus. I was back in '67 for that.

Rubens: Where did they put you? You were kind of housed and supported by the local—?

Powell: Actually, we took over a former sorority house, right on—what is the name of that street?

Rubens: Piedmont?

Powell: No, it's the one that goes up to Piedmont—

Rubens: Oh yes.

Powell: Not where Deutch Hall is, but the one that is on the—

Rubens: Durant or Channing? It goes Bancroft, Durant, Channing, oh, Haste—

Powell: Durant. It must be Durant. Up Durant, I think it was, there was an abandoned, or vacant sorority house, and we all lived there. For like, what was it, about three months.

Rubens: Oh, you were there that long?

Powell: It must have been between about March and May.

Rubens: Now, in that capacity, did you—and this was my only leftover question—were there any administrators or faculty that you had known—almost in your previous life, as a student, or as an ASUC officer—that you looked up, or who contacted you?

Powell: I think I—I can't remember specifically trying to look somebody up, but I'm sure I did because I was there for three months. And all the activities that we had going on on the campus during that period of time I'm sure had me in touch with people.

Rubens: What I'm trying to get at is if there was any one professor who ever got you in the way that this ministry got you, whose—you may remember subjects, you may remember lectures, you may remember some faculty being better than others, or TA's being better than others. But in terms of igniting, really connecting to—?

Powell: You know, I don't think I ever did connect with a teacher or a professor whose subject matter I really loved. I know other students do, and have, and that was a highlight for their academic career, but for me, it wasn't. And maybe, just from the providential point of view, this was the track I was going on, because I eventually went to seminary. It's the calling, and the fulfilling of my life—fulfillment of my life—that really has become the satisfying, motivating factors in my life ever since college. And Berkeley didn't give that to me.

Rubens: So, I'm trying to get the year, so—I can't do the math—probably 1974? You're in Europe until '74, '75?

Powell: '67 to '73.

Rubens: And then—I want to come back to the ministry for one minute, later. But you then go to the seminary?

Powell: Then I went to seminary in Portland, Oregon, Western Conservative Baptist Seminary from 1974-79, where I received a Master of Divinity and a Master of Theology.

Rubens: Oh, so there's a denominational change. Does Campus Crusade for Christ come out of Baptist, or—?

Powell: No, it's interdenominational.

Rubens: But you chose—?

Powell: At this point, I'm simply going to a seminary of my own choice. It doesn't have anything to do with Campus Crusade at this point.

Rubens: And why did you choose that one?

Powell: I knew some of the professors there, I liked it, and—yes. I just felt like that would be—there wasn't a sense of a Presbyterian seminary that I really would have liked. Had I thought about it a little more, I might have gone to Princeton Seminary, because it's Presbyterian, and has a good what we call "commitment" to evangelical outlook and on Christian profession of faith. So, I think maybe if I did it again I might have enjoyed doing that, but at the time I selected Western Conservative Baptist Seminary.

Rubens: How long, at Western Conservative?

Powell: I was there five years and I did two master's degrees. What's called a Master of Divinity, and a Master of Theology.

Rubens: So that brings us to '80—

Powell: '79 I finished, yes. Then in '79, my wife and I moved to Washington, D.C., because we had friends there. I anticipated that I might want to return overseas again in a Christian ministry capacity, in a mission, in a mission capacity. But we didn't have a specific agency or group or avenue through which to serve. But we knew a lot of, had a lot of friends in the D.C. area that were working with churches or the Campus Crusade for Christ ministry.

So, we moved to Washington, D.C.—kind of wanted to experience East Coast life. And I just got a job with the American Banker's Association, in their education department. There was a friend who was there. I needed to get a job, and by that

time I had a daughter, she was one year of age. At that point I didn't really feel called to pastor a church. I was interested in missions, but there wasn't a way—I didn't see a way to return.

Rubens: Seminary, those two masters, give you the credential to be a—?

Powell: I could be, I could fulfill a calling as a pastor in a church. Or possibly teach in a bible college or a seminary, it depends upon the category or the level.

Rubens: But you get a job in the American Banker's Association, isn't that interesting, in the ed. program? What are you educating people about, as the bankers?

Powell: Well, yes, I knew nothing about banking. But I knew something about adult education. I knew the principles, and some of the methodologies that were important in helping adult learners keep learning.

So, I was a field representative for the American Banker's Association, traveling around, speaking to bankers about adult education. There's a whole process of acquainting new clerks, and new vice presidents, and new banking officials with the banking institution. And you have to learn certain kinds of dynamics. So, my approach was just to help them be good learners. I did that for two years—

Rubens: Okay, I'm doing the most bald outline here. So now we're up to '82, about—

Powell: Actually, it was a little later than that, a little longer than that, because in '83, I was asked by a Christian foundation to be their Western European project director. So, here was my opportunity to return to Western Europe.

So, we went to France, and my job was to find ministries run by European nationals who I thought were commendable, and to recommend them to the board of the foundation for funding for assistance. So, I traveled around Western Europe and met with the leaders of various kinds of ministries and missions—

Rubens: But lived in France?

Powell: And lived in France. We all learned to speak French, my daughter, and my wife, and I. And made, hopefully, when the board agreed with me, we made grants to various ministries for their works.

Rubens: So, I'm just pushing you ahead on the timescale. So from '83 to—

Powell: So, that's '86. '83 to '86. Then we moved back to Washington, and for the next four years—no, the next three years—worked with the Campus Crusade for Christ ministry again, in what they called their Christian Embassy ministry. Now, this is

an outreach to leadership people in the Washington, D.C., area, and my particular area of interest was ambassadors and diplomats.

I've always been interested in international affairs. So, I did a lot of contacting with internationals. We put on special events, luncheons, and dinners, and had speakers that we felt had great points of view and perspective on integrating Christianity, or Christian life-view, or point of view, with professional responsibilities as diplomats. I also had a group of people in the media area: TV, and radio, and print media, that I was working with.

Rubens: And then—

Powell: I was there for three years. But during this time, I began to feel that I really would like to finish, as it were, my ministry career in a local church. I began to look for ways in which I could join a church staff. So, I was director of a missions program—

[End of Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

Powell: So, at that time we were worshipping in an Episcopal church. Now this may seem a bit strange, because my training, and seminary was Baptist, my home church background as a child was Presbyterian, and—why Episcopalian? But, in the time that we lived in the United Kingdom, the Anglican church is very prominent—and some very excellent churches, and some excellent teaching in the Anglican church—and, I learned to really enjoy the liturgy, the prayer book services of the Anglican church.

So, we had two very good friends, a husband and wife, who were the clergy leadership—the rector and wife—of this Episcopal church in Falls Church, Virginia. We'd known them since college days. And they said, "Oh, we'd love for you to come and work with us." So, they asked me to be the director of the missions program. It was kind of a small church—

Rubens: Are you saying "missions"?

Powell: Missions program. So, it's the church's effort to extend the community, fellowship, and proclamation of the truth of the church to other countries, and places, and lands, and peoples.

So, for four years, I was the director of the missions program there at that church, and then I was called to the Presbyterian church that I now serve in as the Pastor of Missions there. It was the larger job, it is a more challenging job, it is a bigger missions program. It's funded more, to a greater extent. So, it was kind of, it was a denominational change, which was good for me, but it was also a more challenging job.

So really, you know, my life since college has been Christian ministries, seminary training, theological in nature, and the passion of my life. It's really a totally different track than what was happening on campus in that one year that I was student body president, and with what other people were taken up with.

Rubens: Well, other people took that track, or a slightly different—and you say the fork came, at the turn of that year. And partly, I think you said, because of the crisis you found yourself in, the position you found yourself in. Did you ever have to deal with Vietnam, with the draft, anything like that?

Powell: No. Well, no, no, I take it back. The first year that I was in the United Kingdom, on the staff of Crusade, that—

Rubens: '67.

Powell: '67, '68, I was classified 4-D, because if you—I think it's called 4-D—you have a deferment because you are involved in religious work, as a part of a religious order. But my draft board was not sure that I qualified for it, so they called me back from England.

Rubens: Draft board being in Fresno?

Powell: In Fresno. And I had to go in and see them, and—

Rubens: Fresno or Fowler?

Powell: Fresno.

Rubens: Okay. Did they pay for you? [laughter]

Powell: No, I had to pay for it. I went in on a given day, I don't remember exactly what it was—'68, sometime in '68. They asked me two questions: "What are you doing"? and sort of "Why are you doing it, what are you about"?—something like that. So I just told them that I was engaged in a ministry of crusade, and I was working with college and university students in England. I thought that I qualified for 4-D deferment; this was the passion of my life and what I wanted to do. It was my

calling, as far as I saw it, long term. And they—I walked out in about five minutes and went back.

Rubens: You were not married at the time, so didn't have to deal with a deferment in that case—?

Powell: No.

Rubens: Were you ever called upon to take a stand on the war in Vietnam?

Powell: I don't remember, no, not really. If I had been called, I think I would have requested some way of serving in the chaplain's corps.

Rubens: Oh, I don't mean—I'm so sorry—I didn't mean going into the war, but I meant on the home front. Or—you were in England, yes, you were in England—did you ever find yourself in the circumstances where you had to defend the government, or excuse the government, or take a personal stand pro or against the war?

Powell: No, I don't think so.

Rubens: And, I think you have a few notes you made, but I specifically want to ask you about the training that you had with campus ministry. I actually was on campus when they came, and in my mind, there's only one other event on campus that is as memorable as that, because of the student response.

The other thing is—because of how important, I think, historically, the civil rights training was for students who went into the South—coming out of some Quaker groups, but also coming out of Saul Alinsky, who had done labor organizing, who would then train Cesar Chavez. And there was specific training—go limp, sing a song, also, how you go into a community. And so, I was just wondering how vivid the particular training in you received in California, Arrowhead—can you see that training, or was it really thorough? Surely you learned on the job, but—?

Powell: Well, we definitely had lots of training, and equipping for the ministry among students on a campus.

Rubens: Can you say what that means?

Powell: Well, for example, you mean what kind of elements were in the training?

Rubens: Yes, because you said it trained to be equipped—

Powell: Well, first of all, it's a better and better grasp of the scripture. The whole Christian profession comes from a belief that the scripture is God's word to us. And as we are

enlightened by it, and as we place our faith in it, and receive the grace of God, and the promises of God for forgiveness of our sins, and for growth in the knowledge of God, you have more and more of a reservoir, with which to train, and equip, and teach, and share with others.

So, one of the emphases is deepening your own walk with Christ, deepening your own knowledge of the scripture. "What is this difference between the Old Testament and the New Testament? Why is it that persons of Jewish background don't see the New Testament to be the fulfillment of the Old, and vice versa? What are your answers and responses to various questions, and challenges, and the issues that arise over these kinds of things"?

Then there was the whole area that we call apologetics. "How do we know the bible is true? Why should it be, why should it receive our credence any more than some other book? How well attested is it from historical documents? How do you deal with seeming controversies, or controversial things, or contradictory things, in the scripture"? So there's all of that issue.

Then there's the more practical questions of, "How do you contact students on a campus? What kinds of events and activities can you provide for students that are interesting to them, meet genuine needs, introduce the opportunity for consideration of the Christian position and the proclamation of life in Christ? How do you arrange for follow-up opportunity for people who show an interest and want to study the scripture"? They want to be involved in some sort of ongoing relationship with people who can help them, oh, with a particular problem. Maybe they have trouble developing friendships, or maybe they—more recently it's been questions like—plagued with problems with anorexia, or you've got some sort of particular hindrance or roadblock in your life that seems to keep you from becoming fulfilled as a human being. "What are some of the avenues of ministry and opportunity to assist people like that"?

Rubens: The reason I'm asking, and I suddenly realize that maybe you have written some—or there is something you want to include in the appendix, for now—but I'm asking also because '67, boy, it's really going to get hot and heavy. '68—Martin Luther King is going to be assassinated. '68—Columbia put Berkeley to shame, if you will, in terms of the level of rebellion and revolt. And back to '64, just to round out that climate of what was going on, you had not been aware of, Campus Crusade for Christ?

Powell: No.

Rubens: And this fellow, you told me his name, McReynolds, came to you. So, my question is, in terms of your own experience of being marginalized and not hooking on to

something, and realizing that—had things changed by ‘66, ‘67, when you took this training? Because boy, drugs have now hit—I don’t believe there were drugs around at all in ‘64, ‘65, a couple people said maybe they had smoked marijuana—had you seen anything in that regard that you remember during your college career?

Powell: I don’t.

Rubens: Women still were—I was going to say locked up—but the girls had to be in at 11:00. It was not a free love era, it was not a looser era. But by ‘66, ‘67, were you trained to deal with mass culture, and with—?

Powell: Well, certainly, yes, we had some—what should I say?—messages, and issues, and book reading to do on, “What are the cultural issues of the day, and what are people thinking about, and what are the concerns that they have. And how can you speak to them? How can you relate to them meaningfully”?

But the ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ, and many other groups like them, is not social activism. It’s more a sense of personal transformation by means of an encounter with Christ, and then a personal discipleship and training program, and some means of communicating that truth and that faith to others.

Rubens: So, would it then—?

Powell: So, it sometimes then works itself out in terms of deeds of compassion, and mercy, and that sort of thing. But not so much social activism in terms of issue generation.

Rubens: I think that really explains something. So, what I was going to follow up with, to ask you, since it’s a matter of personal transformation in the beginning, is it also a matter of a personal relationship with one or two other people who are guiding you in the sense of scriptural study, and—?

Powell: Yes. I would say so, yes.

Rubens: The technique that I remember—I didn’t think of it as a technique, I just remember going, “Wow!”—was that there would be a couple of kids, maybe talking, and then—let’s say, right at Ludwig’s Fountain—I was thinking of joking with you, because you said meet at the fountain—do you remember Ludwig’s Fountain? And that’s where people met: “I’ll meet you at the fountain.” So there would be a couple of kids there, and then there would be a girl or a boy, or two of them—maybe in between Sather Gate and there—and they would say, “Oh, are you going to the meeting tonight”? This would be yelling, so that people would hear it. I don’t mean obnoxious, just that it was like, it got a word out. “What meeting? Who’s doing what”? And you saw it throughout campus, this being replayed, and you also saw

groups of people. I thought that was smart, I just thought that was a very smart thing to do. I thought I hadn't seen that kind of organizing.

Powell: Did you ever have a personal relationship or meeting with some of the Crusade staff, or Navigators, or Inter-Varsity, or some of the church groups on campus?

Rubens: No. No, I was, almost like you, I would say, really pretty young in college. This was a brand-new world to me. And also, my family was long-term Jewish, and so while it wasn't—I just wasn't open to that at all.

But, I became an historian, and the thing that was so interesting to me also, was that Billy Graham did come to the Coliseum in Oakland. I was teaching at Laney College, and I really wanted to see him. I thought he was really, and is, I would think, historically—one would look back and say he's one of the most effective and great leaders in the U.S. What did he have that could do that? I saw King. King came to campus that same year, '67, as Campus Crusade—I don't know if it was fall, or spring, or what—but oh, what a speaker. I mean, you could, you were just—

Powell: Riveted.

Rubens: Yes. It was the same with Graham. And then Graham's organization. When I say that, I don't actually know what I'm speaking of—but he made this call, people went down on the field, and then there was someone to talk to, and someone who followed up, and it was—. So, I'm telling you that honestly, my interest in it was more as a—and in no way belittling it—as a technique, as a way of trying to communicate, that was very effective.

I will also say, that then too, even in '67, I was aware that people were looking for something—they wanted something, and that's why it was easy for people to take drugs, to be hippies. I was just shocked at some of my friends who became part of ashrams—not morally shocked, but it was so foreign. But, I think people were looking for some kind of meaning, something that organized their lives. And it seems to me that you too were, that that's why you may not have been as effective as you wanted as ASUC president, and why you did walk in that path, of ministry.

I also, myself, I never quite understood the Free Speech Movement. I was more interested in civil rights. I don't know why I knew about it, but I did. So, Malcolm X was the other person, I was going to tell you, that on campus—I guess because he was also a riveting speaker—but he was a nationalist, when I heard him speak. There were just clumps of people, that whole day that he had been there, I guess trying to work over, "What did he mean, what challenge was this"? Did I ask you that, do you remember him at all being on campus, or paying attention to him?

Powell: No. Well, let's see, I remember him being there—

Rubens: You were a senator, I think?

Powell: But I didn't—as I remember, the meeting was out in front of—

Rubens: Dwinelle?

Powell: Dwinelle. Yes.

Rubens: Someone asked me this—specifically to ask you—would you know why the ASUC would sponsor, in '63, Malcolm X? Did they have that kind of discretion to fund—?

Powell: Well, I think so. We had a speaker's program, and it was a place where ideas can be considered. Now, to demonstrate, and to boycott classes—that's another level of activism, which I think everybody would kind of say, "Hey, this is going too far." But to think about ideas that are rather radical, and to hear them put forward in the forum of exchange of ideas, I think that was definitely within the purview of what we were interested in doing as an ASUC organization.

Rubens: And I was wondering if you in your own mind remember any discussions about, "Hey, why don't we bring this person"? or "Should we do this"? or—?

Powell: I don't remember that.

Rubens: Reflecting back, I would think it would be hard to not know that the reflection is based on your maturity now. But when you look back at the actions that occurred, and the university, do you have any kind of different take on it? Did you have cause to reflect on what happened then and why? I don't mean you. I mean the polarization. I thought you said that so well, I think that's very interesting.

Powell: There were people, you know, that saw this from outside, and they would say, "Hey, you know, I think the Communists have—people in the Communist Party have gotten involved in students and they're stirring up trouble." And I always thought, "No, they aren't. That's too simplistic." So, some older generation folks often would kind of say that. I don't think any of the students believed it.

But, what I do think is true is that many students in our era were basically sort of philosophically in agreement with thesis/antithesis synthesis of some new idea, that would come from a contesting, a contest between two parties. And that the way you get things done, is—you basically contend for your point of view as aggressively as you can because it's really important to you, and you sort of overcome the opposition. And I think, philosophically, I disagree with that. I think at the time I

disagreed with it. And I think now I've got a theological position which I'm very convinced of, which helps me know why I disagree with it.

Rubens: That's interesting.

Powell: Because I believe a God, a God described in the scripture, both Old and New Testament, is the founder and maker of all things, and he providentially is working through the affairs of humankind. And from time to time these kinds of things occur because they are contests between persons or groups that are looking for their position, or their interest, or their need to be met. And sometimes the push and pull somehow gets out beyond law, and it gets out beyond reason, and it gets out beyond a willingness to find a mutually helpful solution. And that is the way I want to live, that is the way I want to follow through in life. I think that is what pleases God, that is what is most helpful to people. I think that is what is most constructive in a society. I think it is what emotionally builds people, and develops them. And so, I'm basically against situations that simply pit one point of view against another and—"Let's clash them, until we come up with a synthesis."

And I do think there were students that were involved in the FSM who basically saw it that way. And maybe people in the administration who saw it that way as well, I don't know. I wouldn't say that, I wouldn't say it is one-sided only. But personally I don't agree with that.

Rubens: Even now?

Powell: I don't want to live life that way. And therefore, I think I kind of parted company with elements of what was going on, in part because I just felt like, this is just who can shove hardest. And I somehow cannot identify with what students feel is being somehow subjected to—that's not the right word—what some students felt was disregarded, their right of free speech.

Now, at the same time, I would say that—what can you say but to be thankful for people who cared about the fact that African Americans in the South were unaware of their rights to vote and their responsibility to vote, and who contended against some pretty awful situations in those states, to help citizens in the country understand their rights, and to exercise them. And I fully accept that, and think that that is commendable.

So, I don't want to say that from time to time we don't have these social issues that clash, and that they are issues that really need to be contended for.

Rubens: I think you made that clear.

Powell: But, somehow, I didn't see it the way, and couldn't execute the same kind of approach, that the—that was being carried out in those days of controversy on campus.

Rubens: I think you've made that really clear. I think there were plenty like you, in the sense that I have interviewed people, observers, or people just sitting around the car—or ultimately people who did strike, but not because they were so passionately fired up, but because that's what the crowd was doing. And it seemed that there was some rightness. But they weren't in any way—hadn't thought these things out.

There were some I've interviewed who left the campus. "This isn't the kind of undergraduate college life I wanted to be in the middle of." But, there's no doubt that certainly your personal life says that, in a certain sense, '64 was a watershed because of this almost speeding up of history. And the rush together of all these different movements, including the farmworkers, that were—people were soliciting, that was one of the—passing out, and joining organizations, the farmworkers.

What I was going to say is that other people too have commented that in '64, the level of discussion was contested and virulent. You had said much earlier, you didn't say the word abusive, but you said unkind—you know, how harsh people were, in terms of their criticism of each side, and I think there was a lot of it—comparatively, it was pale to what came later.

And also, that there was so much minute discussion. The administration would hand out a leaflet, a position, and people would look at it. And then the FSM would respond point by point. And in a few cases, the ASUC, you did come in and point by point offer some alternatives. What some people have said to me is that TV didn't play a big role, and that afterward, the culture had shifted in certain ways—sound bites, TV, with the war—the war particularly, which escalated the violence. Things were different.

Powell: Yes, it was an amazing period. It was like a watershed for the whole country almost, from the point of view of social concern and activism.

Rubens: Oh, I was going to tell you one other thing, but then I want to see if you want to say something yourself, independently.

There is also a line of argument, some suspicion in the gathering of materials, of notes, and diaries, and oral histories, that Kerr was particularly under fire by some of the Regents, and by particularly also UCLA. They were upset about his expansion of the university, and his de-emphasizing both Berkeley and then UCLA. And so, Kerr was—not in conspiratorial terms—but being set up in a certain way—I'm reducing the argument. But, I think there wasn't any planned—

Powell: Being set up by who?

Rubens: Well, being under the gun from a lot of different interests in the University and in the state. Regents who wanted more money to be going to UCLA, and not differentiated throughout the other, the new systems that he was developing: San Diego, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara. And that also there was a right wing. There was Rafferty, who was saying, "This is a Communist conspiracy, there are these fringe elements." And Kerr having to defend from many different ways. And he got caught; he really was in a certain sense in over his head.

Powell: I don't know about that argument of the use of the funds, but I do think that's right. I think Kerr and the Regents were caught. They didn't know what to do with it. I think it was just very difficult for them to get their hands on, "What's the way to handle this"?

It was broader than Berkeley. It was the Civil Rights Movement. It was increasingly Vietnam. It was student discontent with some of the *in loco parentis* approaches to student life. Now see, a lot of people are very, very—what shall we say—liberal in their attitudes about how universities ought to conduct student dorm life. And I would be more conservative than the way many universities have moved.

Rubens: Subsequently?

Powell: So in that sense, you know, I'm in a different category than some of these students who were really aggressively involved in the FSM or sympathetic to it because just from a philosophical and a social point of view, their attitudes were more liberal, more open-minded, more permissive—.

Rubens: You had that sense—

Powell: Now, I personally, I just don't agree with that. I don't feel that those are healthy in society—

[End of Tape 2, Side B]

[Begin Tape 3, Side A]

Powell: I don't think that's because I'm a prude about them, I just feel that they're not healthy. I don't think they're constructive, I don't think they had really continued to bequeath onto us all the value and the strength that we've received from earlier generations.

Rubens: But, if you cast your mind back to then—?

Powell: Yes.

Rubens: Did you think that kind of permissiveness was going on, because you knew—we were saying just earlier while that we didn't see dope around, or girls out beyond certain curfews, because of *in loco parentis*?

Powell: You see, I remember the phrase and the issue being brought up and raised at the time, and I didn't agree with it then.

Rubens: At the time?

Powell: Yes. I didn't agree with the contention that the University is suffocating the way we want to live as students in cooperatives and dorms. I didn't agree with it.

Rubens: And your memory is that that was an issue then?

Powell: Oh, yes.

Rubens: In the context of—?

Powell: Well, I don't know how. I won't say that it is associated with the Free Speech Movement. It was a part of—the SLATE, for example, would have had that as a major plank on their political platform. It would have been, "We want more liberalized attitudes and approaches to the way dormitory life runs." For example, "The University sees itself to be parents away from parents in a way that is suffocating, and sort of offensive to us, and we would like to have more liberal environment." I didn't agree with it.

Rubens: You know SLATE, I think, became a victim of FSM as well.

Powell: Really? Got overrun? [chuckling]

Rubens: It never really continued as an organization. Yes, yes. I have to double-check who this person was who ran against you. Did you know any graduate students either? Graduate students were not in the ASUC—that's one of the reasons that SLATE had been formed. '59, I think, maybe? I forget when they were kicked out. But, did you know graduate students also?

Powell: Not really.

Rubens: Except that they were TAs—?

Powell: Yes, I think it was more just TAs, the odd one here and there. I didn't really hang out with grad students.

Rubens: And, finally, this is *my* last question. If you also can think, since we've been talking so much about it—did you then, or maybe now in reflection, ever form a fast opinion about any of the individuals? Mario versus this guy you remember who came up and said to you, "You've matured," we don't have his name yet, or Jack Weinberg in the car, or Steve Weismann?

Powell: Well, did I form any opinions? I don't think—

Rubens: "She was sneaky. He was part of the Communist Party. He was nice to work with," that kind of thing. That's not a well-phrased question.

Powell: I don't quite know what I would say about that. It wasn't like I—I can't remember pigeonholing them in some sort of descriptive way, to say, you know, "He's a Communist Party member."

Rubens: I think pigeonhole is a good word, I didn't think of that.

Powell: But, it was more the sense that here are some students who are highly exercised about some issues which I can't get as excited about.

Mario, I thought was—and everybody I think would agree—was a somehow charismatic leader at this point. He distilled the issues quickly, he had an ability to communicate them effectively. I mean, when you think about it, taking on a sort of mob or mass of people, and putting some sort of focus and target to their concerns—it was really quite a strong gift of leadership for that particular day, and time, and need. I mean, you had a clear sense of what they were in his own mind. I think probably the Steering Committee definitely, you know, helped him and others who were the spokespersons as they went along, no doubt about it. But I can remember thinking things like that.

Jack Weinberg I didn't know. Bettina Aptheker was to me kind of scary, you know, in the sense that she was so [pause] philosophically and—what should I say—?

Rubens: Harsh?

Powell: No—philosophically and politically very clear about what she thought were certain commitments that she was committed to. So in a way, she outstripped a lot of other students in terms of having a very focused, single-minded, convinced position. And in some ways you envy that, you wish you could speak as forcefully, and as specifically. But she was scary because it was like she was coming from another category of a person that was talking about things that I just felt like, "I can't identify with this, I don't agree with the concerns. She feels these things are

obnoxious about American society and university life as it's lived now, and I don't agree." But, I couldn't express myself.

And so when there was, later on, opportunities to address entire crowds in front of Sproul Hall—when there were free speech opportunities—I was never a person who really was so convinced of what I thought that I felt like I could speak. But now, later on—because I feel like I've really come to a point where I know what I think, I know what I'm committed to, I know what I'm willing to die for, I know what I'm passionate about—now I could see how others earlier in life come to some of those positions where they exercise that kind of leadership and conviction. But I didn't, at that time I didn't have it.

Rubens: Well, I agree with you, but I think there's also a kind of youthful—

Powell: Exuberance?

Rubens: Exuberance, but I mean to say more than that, a kind of blindness, that is sort of like a two-year-old, or a six-year-old—"This is the way it's going to be, I can't see anything else," and having a personality, and skills to do it. Mario, as you said, was charismatic, but he did not become a sustained leader. That was not in his character.

Powell: Well, that's a good point.

Rubens: I'm looking at my notes, is there anything—?

Powell: I think one of my basic thoughts here—I think I've already mentioned—and that was had the SLATE candidate been elected, I think ASUC would have been much more, say, actively engaged because they would have had a sort of arm of their interests duly elected.

About three years later, I came back to the campus. And at that time, Leigh Steinberg, as I remember, was the president. Do you remember him?

Rubens: The Leigh Steinberg who has become the talent agent, I can't think of it? Anyway, no, I don't—

Powell: Yes, yes, he's a sports agent.

Rubens: Yes. [laughter]

Powell: Yes. And you must have been a fourth-year student then because it was like '69? Did you graduate in '69?

Rubens: I was '68.

Powell: '68.

Rubens: I had no consciousness to—

Powell: Well, Leigh Steinberg, as I remember, was student body president then. And I remember talking with a guy in the student union then. That's when they were in the new building. They had moved out of the Pauley Pavilion place—no, not Pauley Pavilion. What do you call the main—student union building? They moved into this office—

Rubens: Eshelman became the new one, that wasn't there with you—

Powell: The new building that is on—

Rubens: Bancroft—

Powell: —down campus—

Rubens: They moved into something called Eshelman; they finished that square. But you're saying—I know that the only one that was there was the north, and the east side of the—

[tape interruption]

Powell: —three years later, and at that time there were banners hanging outside Eshelman, calling students to strike and boycott various kinds of activities. I can't remember exactly what the issues were—

Rubens: Maybe the Third World Strike, or—?

Powell: I don't know, but you know, it was the kind of radical commitment by ASUC leadership that didn't exist when I was student body president.

And I met a couple of the students who were on the ASUC senate at that time, and I remember one guy saying, "Hey, you know, I'm really interested in things you're talking about concerning Christianity. But," he said, "can you tell me what is it, to blaspheme God"? Well, at that time I wasn't sure what the answer to that question was, because I was kind of wondering about it myself. He said, "I," well, he said, "You know, I'm just interested, because I would—if I knew what it was, I would do it."

Rubens: "I would blaspheme God"?

Powell: Yes, because he was a convinced atheist, and it was his attitude that, "These are the kinds of things that imprison people, and keep them from really being totally free. And therefore, what we need to do is break down these kinds of perceived—misperceived hindrances to really sort of a free approach to life. And therefore, I'd like to help everybody along this path by blaspheming, to show that it's not as bad as everybody thinks it is."

Well, you know, attitudes like that to me were just outrageous. I would never want to think that way. I believe I know what I think about that passage now. But at the time, I wasn't sure what I thought, and I couldn't really contend with him about it. But just his verbalizing it, to me, was sort of scandalous, outrageous. Why would you want to do that? That to me is a foolish thing to say—and he was a member of the student senate at the time.

So, so what I'm saying is, basically, what wasn't a radical approach when I was student body president had changed three years later.

Rubens: Well, I think you also made clear that certainly your agenda in the ASUC was to run activities, to be a part of a campus life, not to be a part of social activism.

Powell: Yes.

[End of interview]