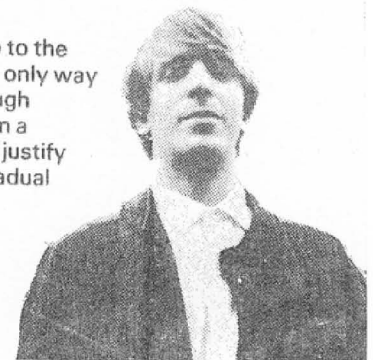




It was Jack Weinberg, now 41, an unemployed steelworker in Gary, Ind., whose arrest outside Berkeley's Sproul Hall in 1964 sparked the student uprising that became the Free Speech Movement. "I was a different person then than I am now. I took advantage of a lot of people. God, the things we did. . ."

"I agree with my dad up to the point where he says the only way to social change is through violence or upheaval. I'm a pacifist. The ends don't justify the means. We need gradual solutions. . ."

—Eric Beckman,
Weinberg's son.



MARTHA HARTNETT / Los Angeles Times

One-Time Berkeley Radicals Reflect on the 'War'

The Aging Revolutionaries

By AL MARTINEZ,
Times Staff Writer

He sat in a house surrounded by the snow-custed fields of East Gary, Ind., and held with pride to the principles for which he had marched in the streets of Berkeley in 1964.

They were the days of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at the University of California, a time of cause and chaos that ignited campuses across the nation.

Jack Weinberg, the man in Gary, was an FSM leader and he calls the uprising "a major accomplishment of my life."

His arrest 18 years ago was the spark that set the firestorm, and his slogan—"Don't trust anyone over 30"—was the battlecry of a generation.

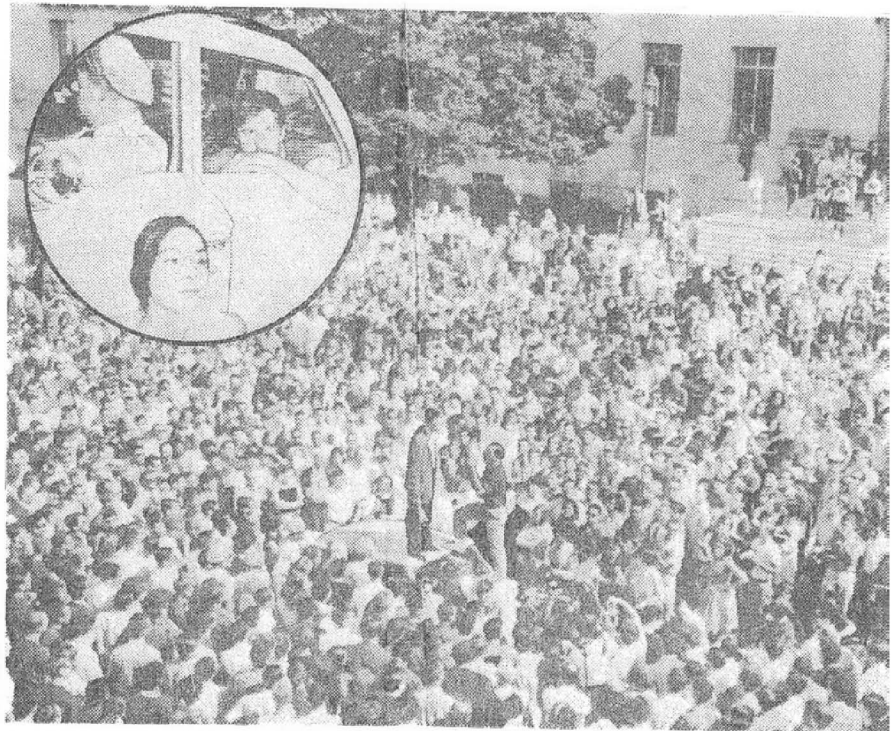
Now he is 41 and an unemployed steelworker, but there remains an ember of the old fire. . . .

Seeks Wealth

Twenty-three hundred miles away, in an apartment on the edge of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, Weinberg's 20-year-old son, Eric, considered the old causes and new priorities.

"Part of me wants to be rich," he said, "and part of me agrees with my dad that things are crazy. But parading in the street accomplishes only small goals. I'm looking for bigger impact. I'm looking for prime-time TV. . . ."

Eighteen years ago, there were raised fists across the nation. Fiery, articulate Mario Savio could pull 10,000 students into the street by



calling for a crusade to "shut down the factory."

Today, a generation removed from the heady pursuits of Sproul Hall and Sather Gate, Berkeley drones with the contentment of flies on a summer day.

To explore some of the differences, The Times sought out the old campus revolutionaries to find out what had become of them, and whether their children were following in their footsteps.

Many, including Bettina Aptheker, look back on the uprising as a war. "We're old soldiers," she said from her office among the Santa Cruz redwoods where she leads feminist studies. "We regard the battles with nostalgia."

Women's Work

"But sometimes I wonder when I think about it why the men got all the attention and the women did all the dishes."

Her 14-year-old son looks at it as distant history. Aptheker was pregnant with Joshua when she served six weeks in the Alameda County jail for trespassing as a result of the upheaval.

"I suppose she did something she really believed in and that's good," he said. "But you know"—he smiled and shook his head—"I just can't picture mom jumping up and down on top of a police car . . ."

They were an unlikely assortment of determined individualists, flung together *ad hoc* on an autumn day to protest new regulations at UC Berkeley that would have eliminated on-campus politicking by off-campus groups.

Eight students tested the rule and were suspended. The next day, Oct. 1, 1964, Jack Weinberg tested it again, refused to identify himself and was arrested.

Ten thousand students surrounded the police car in which Weinberg sat and held it captive for 32 hours. Savio stood on its roof and called for a revolution.

And so it began.

The leaders of the Free Speech Movement have settled in cities from London to Los Angeles.

Michael Tigar runs a law firm in Washington, D.C., with a staff of nine attorneys and handles a third of his cases without fee—those that he considers involve violations of social justice.

Art Goldberg, who considers himself "a Maoist without Maoism," is a working people's lawyer in Los Angeles and practices law with anti-Establishment overtones.

Bettina Aptheker is coordinator of women's studies at UC-Santa Cruz. She has written three books and is working on her doctorate.

Michael Lerner—once called "one of the most dangerous criminals in America"—is a psychotherapist and founder of a left-leaning family center in Oakland.

Michael Rossman, a member of FSM's steering committee, teaches at Berkeley's Montessori School. He has written three books and many magazine articles.

Steve Weissman, another steering committee member, has written a new book, "The Islamic Bomb," and is producing a film on guns in America. He lives in London.

Kate Coleman co-owns a restaurant in Berkeley and writes extensively.

Jack Weinberg, in East Gary, left California to join International Socialists, did some union organizing in Detroit and considers himself a community activist.

David Goines, who drew pamphlet covers, is a graphic artist in Berkeley.



Maggie Shandera actually went to Berkeley after the Free Speech Movement but a photograph of her placing a flower in a National Guardsman's rifle barrel during another demonstration became a symbol of a generation. Today, she is Northern California field representative for Sen. Alan Cranston.

Savio Unseen

Mario Savio, the most visible spokesman for the movement, remains—as he has for years—incommunicado.

Goldberg says that Savio "is not himself." Weinberg calls him a victim of the student revolution.

Most of the revolutionaries remain committed to the attitudes forged on the streets of Berkeley. Only some have passed those attitudes on to their children.

All but Rossman and Weissman have been divorced. Some blame the pressures of social activism, others only themselves. Their children range in ages from 9 months to 20 years. Two are in college, some in high school, many in grade school.

One regards the Free Speech Movement as "too physical"; another—
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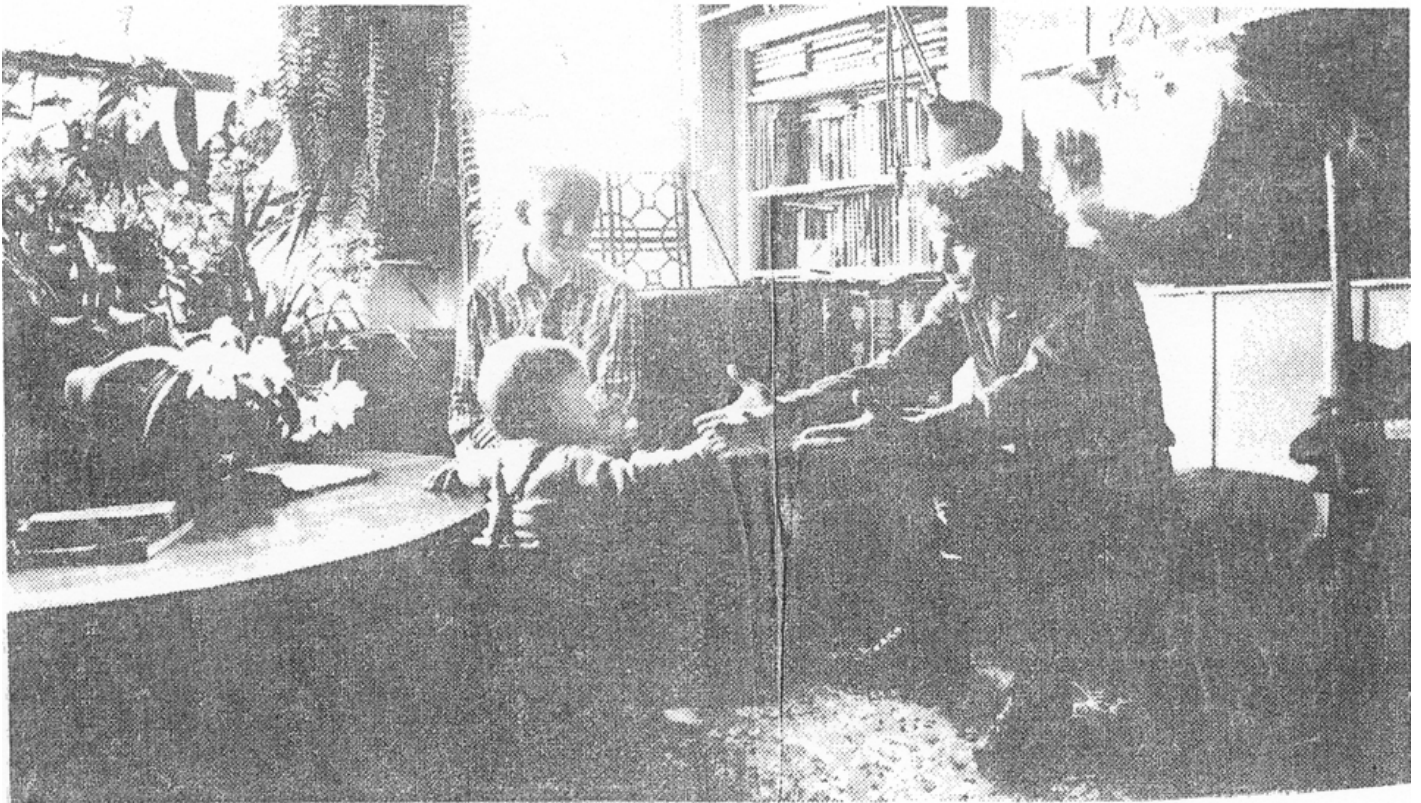


Art Goldberg, then and now. At 40, a lawyer, he still works for causes. His children help. "They give out leaflets and raise money. No one will refuse to take a leaflet from a 5-year-old girl."



BOB CHAMBERLIN / Los Angeles Times

Maggie Shandera, 33, an aide to Sen. Alan Cranston, and daughter Mja, 14, share some concerns, but not the activism. Psychotherapist Michael Lerner, above, says his 10-year-old son wonders why students of the '60s carried no guns. Michael Rossman, a teacher and author says his children need limits to learn.



er peneves the students should have had guns.

A 20-year-old has refused to register for the draft, a 5-year-old hands out pamphlets extolling the cause of revolution in El Salvador, a 10-year-old won't talk to the press "because you get everything wrong."

Michael Rossman and his son Lorca, 11, are in front of their old two-story house on Berkeley's Virginia Street. It is a bright and blustery day.

Rossman is repairing a fan. Lorca is testing a rod and reel by casting his line at a tree branch.

As they work, they sing to the tune of "Jingle Bells":
"Oskie dolls, pom-pom girls, UC all the way/Oh what fun it is to have your mind reduced to clay-ay . . ."

Then they sing to the tune of "Joy to the World":
"Joy to UC the word has come/Clark Kerr has called us Reds . . ."

The songs are what Lorca knows best about the FSM. He also knows that his father, now 42, was one of about 800 who went to jail after a Sproul Hall sit-in.

Would he go to jail for a cause? "Sure," Lorca says, casting his line, "if it was something I believed in. If they tried to outlaw fishing, for instance."

Book Ideology

"He's only had a few details about the old war," Rossman says half-apologetically. "It'll come out in blips. I grew up in a Red family but never got book ideology. We got attitudes, the stuff that precedes politics."

Lorca believes "it's pretty stupid" for anyone to take away free speech. "It's in the Constitution, isn't it?" he demands. "Well, then, you should get it automatically. And if you don't, you gotta get it on your own."

"We're raising him with discipline and authority," Rossman says. "In the 60s, our instincts and our minds were at war: 'All children should be free blah-blah-blah.'"

"I know a kid can't learn about hot without burning himself. But I also know he needs limits."

Rossman smiles, long auburn hair blowing loose, recognizing the irony. "Freedom has parameters. . . ."

"We talk about stuff," Lorca says, "but I'm not that interested in what everyone did a long time ago. I wanna know what's going on now."

When he grows up, he wants to be a fishing guide.

Joshua Aptheker is a tall, skinny freshman at Pacific Grove High on the Monterey Peninsula. He considers himself an atheist, but sometimes when someone asks him whether he believes in God, he just says "I don't know" to avoid an argument.

He opposes the draft but might fight for something he believed in, though he is basically non-violent.

During the height of the Free Speech Movement, his mother wrote to the San Francisco Chronicle, announcing that she, like her father, Herbert, was a communist. It was big news then.

"I kept thinking," she says with a quick laugh, "that the FBI would come pounding on my door. I waited but no one came. You make this big announcement and zero. . . ."

"I saw an old paper with the headline, 'Aptheker Announces Communism,'" Joshua says. "Wow! Bettina right out there in front!"

"I still consider myself committed to a socialistic society," Aptheker, now 37, says, "but I'm not politically affiliated now. I answer that way because it's no big deal anymore."

Neither communism nor democracy is very good," Joshua says. "I suppose I'm on the left, but both sides have faults."

"I don't think I'd go off and join the Republican Party but I wouldn't join the Communist Party either."

Marriage Ended

Aptheker was divorced four years ago. She also has daughter, Jennifer, 7.

Her son, she says, likes the idea that his background is different. He jokes about being in jail for six weeks and calls his mother by her first name to shock people.

"I was raised to be a good little girl," Aptheker says, laughing. "I suppose I'm raising my kids to be good too, just like everyone else."

"They test me all the time. Joshua comes home from school and taunts me with anti-feminist stuff, knowing I'll blow up. I'm not strict. They know how to manipulate me."

"Bettina's a regular mother," Joshua says.

Michael Lerner's son doesn't understand why the FSM people didn't have guns. Akiba, who is 10, thinks that if the police had guns, the students should have had them.

"I keep telling him," Lerner says, "it's because we weren't violent. They had all the power and we never could have won on a violence-against-violence basis."

He sits cross-legged on a swivel chair in his Institute for Labor and Mental Health. It occupies an old house on Oakland's Telegraph Avenue.

At 39, there is an unkempt look about Lerner. His hair is uncombed and his corduroys baggy. From the FSM, he went on to become one of the nation's most volatile anti-war activists and was indicted as one of the Seattle Seven.

"J. Edgar Hoover said 'Michael Lerner is one of the most dangerous criminals in America,'" he says, smiling. Then he adds: "Gosh."

Reluctant to Talk

He is hesitant about talking to reporters because "the thrust of press coverage tends to 'prove' we've sold out our ideals when we're still trying to push them into every little space."

Akiba wouldn't talk at all, so his father agreed to speak for him.

"His generation's problem is the nuclear issue," Lerner says. "He's obsessive about it, and he doesn't get that from me. I'm concerned, but I don't talk about it."

"He and his friends discuss it endlessly in school. Their revolution may be coming."

Lerner joined the FSM's executive committee as a representative of Students Against Nazi Amnesty. "I wasn't really an activist at first," he says. "I was involved in my Jewish identity. I still am."

Later, he served 2½ months in federal prison for contempt of court (subsequently overturned) involving anti-war activities.

"I'm still trying to create a just and peaceful world," he says. "I quote the Talmud, 'Pursue peace and chase after it.' I've been involved in the chase."

Growing Awareness

If there is change in his outlook, Lerner suggests that it is an awareness that grows with the distance of time.

"The values of my parents could only be held in a low tone of voice. My generation has had the freedom to roar."

Now, he says, he is aware of the constraints that operated for them. "Perhaps," he says, "they will someday operate for me."

Lerner considers Akiba a normal boy. "He plays cops and robbers and cowboys and Indians. Given the background of the family, he tends to identify with the Indians."

"It doesn't bother me that he plays with guns. It's part of development. Kids will grow up subject to the influence of the dominant culture. A good current will expose them to alternative ways."

"About a year ago he began saying things that I think I felt when I was his age. 'I wonder if I'll live to be an adult?'"

"Campuses today are so pacified," Eric Beckman says. "No one does anything. We're in danger of being washed away."

Jack Weinberg's son sits at a kitchen table in his San Francisco apartment. He's tall and lean, 20 years old, a senior at San Francisco State University.

"I agree with my dad up to the point where he says the only way to social change is through violence or upheaval. I'm a pacifist. The ends don't justify the means. We need gradual solutions. . . ."

Eric's parents were divorced when he was 2 and he didn't get to know his father until he was 12. A newspaper carried a story when Weinberg ("Don't trust anyone over 30") turned 31.

"My mother said to me, 'See, that's your father.' I remember thinking, hey, that's not bad. . . ."

Weinberg drinks coffee in the living room of his concrete-block home across the street from Lake Michigan. He is bearded and his hair is long and thinning. He wears rimless glasses and denims.

Weinberg takes no credit for the way Eric has turned out and feels uneasy about the hard times the boy had growing up without him.

"I wish it could have been otherwise," he says, a soft-spoken man. "I was a different person than I am now. I took advantage of a lot of people." He winces. "God, the things we did. . . ."

Re-married five years ago, he and his wife went to East Gary and bought their home for \$32,000. He went to work as a steelworker and was laid off four months ago.

"I'm thinking about a new career," he says. "Writing maybe. I don't know. I'm older and less sure of things than I was. My views are mellowed out.

"I can even see the value of military service." Here, Eric differs sharply with his father. "There is no way I would consider going into the armed forces," he says flatly, drawing the line as Weinberg did 18 years ago.

"If they say to me register for the draft or go to prison, I'll register. But if they say go into the Army or go to prison, I'll go to prison. I'll never go into the Army."

What he would rather do, Eric says, is produce music. A guitar and amplifiers are on the floor of his bedroom.

"The main reason," he admits, "is to make millions. It's my shot at the sky. One big hit will do it.

"If I made the big bucks I'd use some for social good. I wouldn't blow it all on champagne. It would be so much easier, though, to help the poor if I were rich."

Eric has a "fair amount of pride" in what his father did during the Free Speech Movement.

"It was worthwhile," he says, then adds with emphasis, "No, it was great! They *did* something!

"You've got to ask yourself in the long run how effective the whole thing was, but I guess that's natural."

"There has been a consistency in my life," Weinberg says. "I'm known in Gary as a community activist. We stopped a nuclear plant from being built last year.

"I'm working for the reelection of an anti-nuke state legislator and I'm thinking about going into politics myself.

"Who knows," he says with a faint smile. "It's a whole new world and I'm still a part of it."

In San Francisco, Eric says his father shouldn't be a steelworker. "He's a bright man. He ought to be a teacher. I hate to see him give up.

Friends still call Maggie Shandera a peace-child at 33. "That's all right," she says in Cranston's San Francisco office. "I still believe that

peace and love are real. I've never changed my commitment."

Her 14-year-old daughter, Mja, shares the compassion but not the activism, she says.

"I asked her about the draft," Shandera adds, leading the way down a corridor to her cubicle in a building at Polk and Market streets.

"I said to her I didn't go through the whole peace movement to have my son or daughter be cannon fodder. She looked at me and said, 'But why go to jail for it?'"

"If I believed strongly enough I'd go to jail," Mja says. "War was wrong then and it's wrong now. Mom and I don't always agree on everything but if I felt strongly enough, I'd do what she did."

Mja is a high school sophomore with a 3.8 grade point average. She plans to attend UC-Berkeley. "Once," she says, "I wanted to be a lawyer, but there are so many of them.

"Now I want to be a nurse. It's a stable profession and will let me help people."

Snubbed by Father

Shandera believes that Mja is more conservative than she—more like her own mother. Shandera's father is a retired 27-year Navy veteran.

"He never understood my anti-war stance," she says. "He wouldn't come to my graduation."

Shandera continues to describe herself as a knee-jerk liberal. "Someone once said to me, 'You're one of those liberals who never learned.' I said, 'No, you're one of those liberals who just forgot.'"

Mja believes that the major issue of today is the poor. "America is a great country," she says, "but I don't believe old people ought to be eating out of garbage cans.

"Reagan spends too much for defense. Why protect the people if there's nothing to protect but the starving?"

"Maybe it was naive to believe back then that all we need is love," Shandera says. "But so what?"

Art Goldberg at 40 is tall, lean and bushy-haired, a man with a quick laugh and firm opinions.

A member of the FSM steering committee, he was suspended after the first demonstration and went to jail after the Sproul Hall sit-in.

When Mario Savio was taken into custody by campus police as he tried to speak at a rally, it was Goldberg who shook his finger in the face of UC President Clark Kerr and shouted, "You let Mario go!" Kerr did.

"I haven't changed a bit," Goldberg says, eating Cuban food in an Echo Park restaurant. Son David, 10, and daughter Suzie, 8, are with him. A third child, Maxie, 5, is in a day-care center.

"I just that I don't have as much wine as I'd like. I coach Suzie's

basketball team and David's football team. They keep me busy."

Goldberg's Working People's Law Center has four lawyers and three legal workers. He represents the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and for four years fought efforts to end school busing in Los Angeles.

Chicken Soup

Suzie has a cold, and at the taurant Goldberg is trying to get her to eat chicken soup. "I hate it," Suzie says. "It's good for you," Goldberg insists.

He never married the woman who bore their children. They are separated now and share custody.

Suzie wants to do the same thing—have children without getting married. Why no marriage? "It's such a hassle," she says.

Goldberg belongs to the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

"All the kids help," he says. "They give out leaflets and raise money. I wouldn't make them do it unless they wanted to. Maxie is the best. No one will refuse to take a leaflet from a little 5-year-old girl."

"I don't know much about the FSM," David says. "I just know dad got arrested. He told me that when he was in jail he was the only one who liked butterscotch pudding. When they had butterscotch pudding for dinner, everyone gave him theirs."

"I haven't told them a lot about those days yet," Goldberg says. "I'll tell them more as they get older. It will make more sense."

He raises his children with rules, Goldberg says. He gets angry at them when he must. "I'm not here to win a popularity contest."

He worries about street safety, and the necessity for the children to get the proper rest.

"They get to bed at 8:30 every night," Goldberg adds. "I believe in those things. There's no doubt about it."

"But sometimes he falls asleep on the couch," David says.

"Yeah," Suzie adds, "and we stay up until midnight."

"Well," Goldberg says with a quick, nervous laugh, "no one's perfect."

"What no one knew, says Steve Weissman from London, "is that we didn't take the Free Speech Movement as seriously as the media did.

"We had an excellent sense of humor. Even Mario was self-deprecating."

At 41, Weissman continues to work in the fields of civil liberties, free speech and anti-racism.

"What we did back then was right," he says. "I'd do it again. But when people think of the 60s, I think of the 80s. Life goes on.

"We used to have a slogan. 'We need not suffer to be righteous.' I'm as far from martyrdom as you can get. But isn't that the way it should be?"

In the Echo Park restaurant, Art Goldberg gives up on his effort to feed Suzie the chicken soup. "To hell with it," he says. He takes the soup away from her and eats it himself.



Mario Savio in 1964: He once called for revolution from the top of a police car in Berkeley.



Associated Press

Bettina Aptheker in 1965: She served six weeks in jail for involvement in the movement