

# *Speak Up!*

## Analyzing the Voice of Dutch Students in Countercultural Movements of the 1960s

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## **Abstract**

This project aims to nuance the history of Dutch countercultural (student) movements of the 1960s. Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) will be used to set the context of countercultural movements that were active in the 1960s, with a focus on developments in the academic realm. Next to the Dutch student movements, anarchist movement Provo is taken under consideration. Over the course of this project, student press-periodicals of the 1960s are used as a primary source to examine how students positioned themselves in relation to developments that were at play within these domains. I demonstrate that qualitatively analyzing these periodicals nuances historiographical narratives of revolting youths in the context of the Netherlands. As a result, the voice of students is amplified in this history.

## Introduction

On 16 May 1969, 700 students occupied the administrative center of the University of Amsterdam (UvA). They demanded active participation in the university's council, on all levels, and full disclosure of university policies. In short, they demanded that their voices be heard and taken into account in the development of the university's administrative structure. The students locked themselves into the building and were able to maintain their isolation for five days. Contact with the outside world was brought about rather creatively, i.e. by building a shaky bridge to the adjacent Lutheran Church. Via this bridge (which was merely a ladder), necessary supplies – food, drinks, supporters – were able to enter. The occupation lasted until 21 May 1969. By then, authorities were able to infiltrate the Maagdenhuis and end the occupation. A month earlier, students of the Catholic University Tilburg [*Katholieke Hogeschool Tilburg*] (KHT), also occupied a university building, for similar reasons as the ones named above.<sup>1</sup> It became painfully clear that students wanted their voices to be heard, their ideas to be taken seriously. Some seemingly rock-solid (hierarchical) structures were questioned, debated, and rooted against.

These occupations did not appear out of thin air. They were the result of youthful energies that questioned and critiqued the status quo over the course of the 1960s. Within the university realm, that is, an increasingly large group of students united in novel movements (unions). They expressed themselves critically about topics such as the prevailing power structures that were at play within the university, and the institute's proper place in society at large. Established outside the university realm, the anarchist movement Provo also intended to critique the status quo in their own unique way.

These countercultural movements have complex histories, and this thesis operates within that realm. Importantly, I found that overall, little scholarly attention has gone out to the student's *own* voice in the making of these histories. In this thesis, I use Dutch student press periodicals as a means to compensate for this lack of attention. Over the course of this project, I investigate what role expressions of counterculture played among students in the Netherlands between 1960–1970. Specifically, I aim to nuance (and criticize) common chronology of the *stirring* 1960s within the Dutch university realm. In doing so, I set out to answer the following questions: When did students begin to take on a critical stance? Does a qualitative analysis of a set of student press periodicals (that covers the whole course of the 1960s) allow me to criticize current historiographical narratives? To what extent were the ideas of countercultures most

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<sup>1</sup> In comparison to the Maagdenhuis occupation, however, the Tilburg occupation did not get a lot of media attention and has never been able to enter the collective memory of Dutch people. See: Godfroy, Kuypers, and Vermijs, 1969. *Opstand in het zuiden*.

(in)famous theorist, Herbert Marcuse, reflected in the student press? Moreover, with regard to Provo, I investigate and develop a notion of the role students, and the student press, played in and for this movement. In short, I aim to create an image of Provo through the eyes of students.

### **A Brief Account of Historiography**

This thesis engages with (at least) three different historiographical strands. Firstly, it operates within the realm of intellectual history. That is, I will analyze Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) and connect it to discussions that appear in the student press periodicals.<sup>2</sup> This is often considered one of his major philosophical outputs, at least in terms of the audience it reached and the level of prestige Marcuse acquired by it. Although there is no scholarly consensus, some scholars argue that it was this work that caused the most upheaval among radical youths over the course of the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> Above all, I study Marcuse to get a feeling for the topics that were of importance for countercultural movements (specifically student movements) in the 1960s. Reading parts of *One-Dimensional Man* will help me create an image of the specific themes that I should look out for in the archival material. Although Marcuse's ideas instruct me in this process, this does not mean that I do not evaluate the voice of the students in its own right. That is, in my analysis of the student press periodicals, I take what the students wrote as a starting point, and relate it to Marcusean thought only if I see a clear relation between the two. In that sense, this thesis (also) engages with intellectual history by means of the students themselves. I look at Marcuse's influence from the receiving end, and thereby attribute agency to the students and what they wrote.

In a nutshell, Marcuse (1898–1979) was a German philosopher who made significant contributions to the philosophical field of critical theory. Indeed, he was one of the key contributors of the Frankfurter Schule. Over the course of the 1960s, he rose up to prominence and became – for a while, at least – one of the most (in)famous philosophers and social theorists in the world. Some even appealed to him as the guru of the student movements, albeit the case that he rejected the title himself.<sup>4</sup> In any case, as Douglas Kellner mentions in the introduction of the second edition of *One-Dimensional Man*, the book “helped to show a generation of political and cultural radicals what was wrong with the system they were struggling against, and thus played an important role in the student movement.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Roszak, there are two studies which gained Marcuse his largest following: *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) and his *Soviet Marxism* (1958) See: Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 110; Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism*; Kellner, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” xxxiv–xxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Farr, “Herbert Marcuse.”

<sup>5</sup> Kellner, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” xxxv–xxxvi. Kellner's introduction is from 2002, whereas *One-Dimensional Man* was originally published in 1964.

*One-Dimensional Man* essentially offered a critique of advanced industrial societies. Published in 1964, a time when capitalist and communist societies clashed on a global level, the book critiqued both societal ideologies. Marcuse blended Marxist and Freudian analyses in order to make his own. One of the main ideas is that people (civilians) have lost their sense of individuality through the inner-workings of advanced industrial societies. Through the workings of the productive apparatus, there emerged a sense of one-dimensional thinking. The idea is that, as an increasing number of people are satisfied in their (material) needs, the overall need for qualitative change and/or critique has gotten lost in the process. Moreover, Marcuse argued that the system not only satisfies the needs of people, but also *projects* ideas as to what one *should* need in order to live a so-called good life. People have been, according to Marcuse, *fooled into oppression* as they were promised a comfortable life, but this ultimately came at the price of an autonomous, critical attitude. It will become clear that Marcuse found the locus of the domination over individuals in the realm of management and direction. That is, in advanced industrial societies, the tangible source of domination was considered to be obscured by a myriad of bureaucracy, including the administrative processes. For Marcuse, the answer to break this oppressive chain lay in the possibility for individuals to effectively self-determine. In other words: for masses become individuals again, and gain the ability to evaluate and effectuate alternatives of and in the system that they feel oppresses them.

Naturally, Marcuse's analyses require more in-depth explication. This is offered in the following chapter (1). At this point, it is important to note that his ideas offer a framework by means of which I can select and analyze the relevant primary archival sources. For the revolting students also aimed to self-determine in the administrative and organizational structure that existed in the university realm. Importantly, there has been no previous research (in the Dutch context) into the knock-on effects of ideas underlying counterculture, by looking primarily at developments within student journals. To what extent can what has been written in these periodicals be related to Marcusean ideology? What can the student periodicals offer in terms of the concretization of Marcuse's influence? I answer these questions after having analyzed the student press-periodicals, i.e. in the conclusion of chapter two.

Moreover, by analyzing one of counterculture's main theorists, and putting *One-Dimensional Man* in the context of its time, I first distill main themes and topics. In contrast to the historiographical strand mentioned below, this part will involve (secondary) literature with a more international character. Although *One-Dimensional Man* is a fun and interesting read, that is, it remains difficult to pinpoint the exact nature and reach of his ideas.

Secondly, and perhaps most obvious, this thesis adds to the historical corpus of the Dutch student movement. Historians have showed sincere interest in exploring the historical

roots and implications of this movement, and the role it played in Dutch universities over the course of the 1960s. Some smaller contributions include the following. First, there is L.J. Dorsman and P.J. Knechtman's (eds.) publication that aims to counter the traditional image of students as not being interested in the world surrounding them, a group whose sense of engagement with society was essentially missing.<sup>6</sup> Of the essays they collected, Rimko van der Maar's work on Ton Regtien, who was the Dutch student leader over the course of the 1960s, is most relevant for my project.<sup>7</sup> In this work, Maar offers a delicate and personal history of Regtien, who was the main initiator of the Dutch student movement [*Studentenvakbeweging*] (SVB), a movement that was established in 1963.<sup>8</sup>

There is Jan Schopman's work on the history of the *Kritikal University* [Kritiese Universiteit] (KrU), a movement that developed out of the SVB in 1967.<sup>9</sup> Schopman aims to clarify the establishment of the KrU in Nijmegen, and, in doing so, offers a timeline. According to Schopman, it was due to the establishment of the KrU that students started to critically (politically) assess university structures from a political stance – i.e. from a stance of societal purposes.<sup>10</sup> Before that point in time, the SVB (allegedly) concerned itself primarily with the advocacy of *traditional student interests*. This chronology appears common in the current history of the Dutch university realm of the 1960s. That is, Schopman's chronology is consistent with the one given by H. Floris Cohen in his recent study of the development of the administrative structure of Leiden University between 1967 and 1971.<sup>11</sup>

Jacques Janssen and Paul Voesterman's *Studenten in beweging* [*Students on the move*] is one of the major contributions to the history of the Dutch student movement. In their work, the 1960s has a central place. According to the authors this marks the period where “the doors of the student realm opened for good; where the students' traditional aloofness, especially with regard to politics, was abandoned.”<sup>12</sup> Apart from the useful insights their work offers, they, again confirm the idea of common chronology: that the student movement began to take on a *Kritikal* attitude only from 1967 onwards - that is, after the establishment of the KrU.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Klaas van Berkel's *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit* proves useful in the thoroughness of the analyses it offers. Although it was primarily written to historicize

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<sup>6</sup> Dorsman and Knechtmans, *Keurige wereldbestormers*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Maar, “De deeltjesversneller.”

<sup>8</sup> Maar, “De deeltjesversneller,” 112.

<sup>9</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*.

<sup>10</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 11

<sup>11</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, 33.

<sup>12</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 20: “Het [de jaren zestig] is de periode waarin de deuren van de studentenwereld voorgoed geopend werden; waarin de traditionele afzijdigheid van studenten, met name in politiek opzicht, verlaten werd.”

<sup>13</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 122–125.

Groningen University, Berkel does not shy away from relating national politics to the development within the university realm at large.<sup>14</sup>

Moving away from studies that primarily revolved around the history of the student movement in the Netherlands, James C. Kennedy's *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw* proved useful in establishing my understanding of the sociopolitical climate of the Netherlands in the 1960s.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, some of the ideas that Kennedy poses suite themselves well for refutation. Importantly, this includes his thesis that the Netherlands owes its "tolerant and progressive climate", that was so characteristic for the 1960s, "to a heterogeneous group of cautious authority figures who were so concerned about keeping developments under control that they enabled, and even stimulated, behavior that would not be tolerated in other countries."<sup>16</sup> Kennedy thus defends a top-down approach when it comes to accounting for the structural changes that have taken place in both the societal and the university realm. Among other things, my thesis refutes this idea.

Importantly, what these sources have in common is that the voice of students *themselves* is lacking in the making of their histories of the student movement(s) in the 1960s. This is not meaning to say that they do not offer interesting and valuable insights into the development of student movements in the Netherlands per se. However, in doing so, they withhold from taking the students' own voice into account. With this project, I aim to fill that gap. By looking into student periodicals and creating an image of what discourse was already underway in this media, I aim to criticize the idea of common chronology.<sup>17</sup> Did students really begin to take on a Kritikal stance, only from 1967 (establishment of KrU) onwards? And what do the periodicals have to offer in terms of our general understanding of the SVB? The underlying idea in these historical accounts is that Kritikal discourse came *from* the student movements. As will become clear from my research, however, some students (who wrote articles for the student press, at least) show that this Kritikal attitude was already well-underway from the beginning of the 1960s.

Lastly, this project contributes to the history of (anarchist) activism in the Netherlands. I specifically look into the well-known Dutch activist group Provo and aim to find out how this

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<sup>14</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*.

<sup>15</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*.

<sup>16</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 10: "Nederland dankt zijn tolerante en progressieve klimaat aan een heterogene groep behoedzame gezagsdragers die zich zoveel zorgen maakte over het in de hand houden van ontwikkelingen, dat zij gedrag mogelijk maakte, en zelfs stimuleerde, dat in andere landen niet zou worden geduld."

<sup>17</sup> I want to stress that, from what I found in these sources, references to student periodicals were made only sporadically (if at all), and not as a means to carry the line of argumentation and/or the interpretation of chronology.



movement related to the student movement(s). Provo existed from 1965–1967 and has (naturally) already been subject of historical scrutinization. Niek Pas' *Imaazje* attempts to clarify why Provo emerged as an action group in numerous Dutch and foreign cities and simultaneously grew to become an international symbol of the 1960s.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Provo is fundamentally understood through the concept of “being young together” [*samen jong zijn*], that was created by sociologist J.S. van Hessen.<sup>19</sup> Through this concept, “the youth” can be understood as a separate category, i.e. without having to put political and/or cultural labels on them. Youths, in other words, can be understood on their own terms.

Provo had a pronounced preference for action over the spreading of theory, or the development of sociopolitical analyses. This stood in stark contrast with the student movement, specifically since the establishment of the KrU in 1967. Regtien and Boehmer, two leading figures of KrU, wrote and published books that aimed to undermine Provo as being a sincere political movement.<sup>20</sup> Whereas Pas does not go into the relationship between Provo and the student movements, Hugo Kijne has spend some time and space to this in his history of the Dutch student movement (1963–1967).<sup>21</sup> Kijne shares some insightful information as to the most telling protests that Provo organized, and in what ways the movement offered valuable insights for the student movement. These include the following: calling attention to anti-authoritarian ideology, the sensitivity among youths to concrete utopias and maintaining liaison with the authorities.<sup>22</sup>

In the making of this history, the voices of students have not received appropriate scholarly attention – yet. Again, I will use student periodicals to find out what was written about Provo, and how the periodicals positioned themselves with regard to this movement. Consequently, I aim to create an image of Provo through the eyes of students. Additionally, I use student periodicals to shed light on the tension that was at play with regard to the relationship between Provo and the student movement. As will become clear, looking at student periodicals can complement (current) historiographical accounts that go into this matter.

### **Sources & Methodology**

The primary source material consist of periodicals written, edited and published by the student press between 1960–1970. The archival sources I will be using consist of student press-periodicals. To limit myself and maintain feasible goals, I look primarily into student press

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<sup>18</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 18.

<sup>19</sup> Hessen, *Samen jong zijn*; Hessen also recurred as an author of a student press article that was published by *Trans-Informator* in 1960.

<sup>20</sup> In this project, I choose to focus on; Boehmer and Regtien, *Van Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*.

<sup>21</sup> Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging 1963-1973*, 52–62.

<sup>22</sup> Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging 1963-1973*, 57.

releases between 1960 and 1970. The International Institute for Social History (IISG), located in Amsterdam, holds a wide variety of such periodicals. Many of these, however, are outside the time scope I am interested in. The IISG does not hold a complete collection in the sense that, of some student publicists, all publications within the relevant time scope are available – some collections are simply more complete than others. I do not necessarily see this as a heavy limitation on the argument of my thesis. Since it is my aim to get a general sense of how critical [*kritiese*] thought developed among students between 1960–1970, it is not necessary for me to fully uncover developments within student press publications of a specific student press. Not saying that this would not be interesting or insightful; it is simply not the aim of my research. Even though the collections are not complete, they are substantial enough to enable my analysis.

I will use the IISG archive as my main source of primary material. I narrowed down to the relevant periodicals as follows. Initially, I selected for serials (periodicals) on the IISG website. Then I filtered on Dutch periodicals only, which gave me 36.070 hits. In the search bar, I could add an extra query, and used “student\*”, such that the website would give me back every Dutch periodical with the term “student” embedded in whatever way (e.g. “Studentenkrant”, “Studentenverbond”, “Studentenpers”) in the title and/or description of the document. This gave back 323 results. Since it was not possible to filter through the accompanying holdings with a specific time-scope, I went through all 323 results and selected relevant holdings by hand (and eyes). First, I did a quick selection round, focusing not so much on the precise source of publication but merely on results that held periodicals between 1960 up to and including 1970. This amounted to 94 results, which I would treat with more attention. Of these 94 items, I eliminated those which only held a single publication, were written and published across the Dutch border (Belgium and Germany), and those of which it was unclear when periodicals were published. Now I was left with 76 items, each holding a variety of publications (ranging from two to more than a hundred). I estimate that all publications would add up to upwards of a thousand periodicals.

So next, I had to make yet another round of selection. I tried to make a ‘fair’ division between different student magazines. In any case, my preference was for magazines that contain issues spread over as much of the 1960s as possible. There were relatively few magazines with issues from the early 1960s, so I included those in the selection as well. I also paid attention to the cities in which the magazines were made (or published), and tried to distribute that – although periodicals related to Amsterdam remain overrepresented in that regard. Since the IISG is located in Amsterdam, and Amsterdam was a dominant center of (student) culture, this came as no surprise.

Besides student magazines, there are also a number of university magazines among them. In my selection, there is a division between nationally oriented journals, discipline-specific journals, regional journals, journals related to a specific university. The selection also includes periodicals that are related to student associations. In the end, I went through many publications from a total of 15 collections. This collection made up out of 13 periodicals. This means that two of the periodicals appear in two collections. These include the following:

- *Binding* : orgaan van de Stichting Het Nederlands Studenten Sanatorium, NIBG (Perscollectie) PM 13451
- *Politeia* : officieel orgaan van de Democratisch Socialistische Studentenvereniging "Politeia". Democratisch-socialistische studentenvereniging Politeia (Amsterdam), ZK 32393
- *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging*, ZO 31999 & ZK 33079
- *Demokrater* : Nederlands studentenblad, ZF 30276
- *Loquax / Amsterdamse Vrouwelijke Studenten Vereniging*, NIBG (Perscollectie) PM 15645
- *Mamjo / Surinaamse Studenten Vereniging (Leiden)*, ZO 55287
- *Propria cures* : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad, PM 1717
- *Vox Carolina. Nijmeegsch studentenweekblad*, ZF 67178
- *NUB : Nijmeegs Universiteitsblad : forum van de Academische Gemeenschap*, ZF 31205
- *Pharetra* : Studentenblad aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam, ZK 40652 & PM 14355
- *Groniek* : onafhankelijk Gronings historisch studentenblad, ZK 40292
- *SVB Amsterdam* : maandelijks uitgave van de Afd. Amsterdam van de Nederlandse Studentenvakbeweging, ZK 32992
- *Troof* : Utrechts studentenblad; ZF 31174.<sup>23</sup>

Filtering through the periodicals was no easy task. I spent many hours at the IISG, looking at – I estimate – hundreds of publications. In doing so, initially, I mainly looked for headlines that have a connection with the following subjects: democratization, internal university affairs (mainly politics), the relationship between the university and the ‘outer world’, the development of and up to the Kritikal University and articles that (explicitly) refer to Herbert Marcuse. Archival research, perhaps like any empirical approach to study a research

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<sup>23</sup> These collections are all held by and to be found in the IISG. In the enumeration above, the relevant catalogue no. follows the name of the collection. Note that periodicals of both *Trans-Informator* and *Pharetra* are held in two different collections.

matter, is something you grow into. In other words, I learned that there is a *tacit dimension* to take into account. I ended up with a selection of 119 publications that included articles that I found deserving of closer scrutiny. I arranged these chronologically first, and then categorized them under the different subjects named above. Naturally, there was overlap at points, but this is no surprise – the subjects themselves also overlap. The result was a chronological overview of student periodicals, including what and how they wrote on themes that were important in terms of the student movements and accompanying protests of the 1960s in the Netherlands. These data (and the way they are organized) serve as the main empirical body of my thesis, and offer an interesting view of history that can criticize current historiography at points. Ultimately, I used 42 articles to support my arguments. I added biographical information on the authors whenever I was able to find this. For each author, this information is added in the first footnote that refers to the article.

Of course, there were multiple challenges I encountered in working with these sources. In the process of selecting relevant publications and scanning them for (possible) later use, it was hard to find a balance between going over as many publications as possible, by means of scanning, and getting a feeling for the day and age, by means of reading. The nagging feeling of overseeing *that one* article was hard to shrug off when I was in the archive. But I managed. In the end, luckily, I feel that my selection serves as a solid base for this project.

Before moving on to an overview of this project's structure, I want to make some notes in terms of terminology. In my analyses of student press-periodicals, I understand *countercultural themes* as relating to publications that critically assess the internal structures of the university, the relationship between the university and the world and various forms of organization that aim to strengthen the voice of the (silently) oppressed. When I use the term *kritikal (discourse, stance)*, this applies to student press discourse on subjects such as the relationship between student-professor, student-society, science (academia)-society, et cetera. As will become clear from the first chapter, my use of these terms this is informed by, but not limited to, Marcuse's thought.

## **Structure**

This thesis aims to shed a novel light on the history of Dutch countercultural (student) movements in the 1960s. In doing so, common historiographical notions are criticized, and where possible complemented. By taking student press periodicals as a primary source to analyze developments of these countercultural movements, I contribute to the current state of historiography.

In the first chapter, I discuss global and local perspectives on 1960s counterculture. I create an image of the historiography on the ideas surrounding this movement and one its main theorists, Herbert Marcuse. After distilling the most important elements of *One-Dimensional Man*, I shift focus to the Dutch academic realm. It will become clear that, according to common historical accounts, the idea is that students started to express themselves critically from the second half of the 1960s onwards. Specifically since the establishment of the KrU, students started reading Marcuse and other critical theorists and this allegedly guided their critical attitude towards the university's organization and proper place in society.

This common historiographical notion will be challenged (and nuanced) in chapter two. The objective of this chapter is to find out when such countercultural themes came into play among students in the Netherlands between 1960–1970. I understand countercultural themes at relating to publications that critically assess the relationship between the university and society at large, and its proper place within the world. As will become clear, the archive material showcases that *Kritikal* discourse was already well-underway from the beginning of the 1960s onwards. On top of that, there was awareness of and concern for developments of fellow student movements worldwide. Over the course of the 1960s, there was a strong international character of the student movements. Interestingly, this goes beyond the standard cases of interest in developments that were at play in Germany, France and Northern-America.

In chapter three, I shift focus to Provo. Here, I analyze how student periodicals expressed themselves with regard to the protests Provo organized and the movement itself. It will become clear that the Dutch student press took on a positive stance with regard to this movement. These periodicals not only helped to promote protests, but also defended Provo against critique from society at large. Students themselves played a dual role in this movement. That is, Provo needed students to strengthen their protests, but – according to Provo's establishers – ultimately became the movement's bottleneck. Moreover, in the second half of the 1960s, there was tension between Provo and the student movement, specifically the KrU. There was a sense of overlap in terms of their respective missions, as well as in their (main) targeted audience: students. Ideologically speaking, however, these movements embodied conflicting stances. In this chapter, I show in what sense students played a role in the feud between Provo and the student movement, and that analyzing student press periodicals is a crucial factor in understanding this conflict.

## Chapter 1: Global and Local Perspectives on 1960s Counterculture

There is no concrete beginning of counterculture. Countercultural movements exist everywhere and anywhere, as long as the prevailing dominant culture is questioned, critiqued, or undermined in whatever way, shape or form. Cultures are, however, hard to pinpoint, taking in consideration the fact that subtle (or significant) differences exist even between different villages within a range of a couple square kilometers. In that sense, the more one zooms in, the more cultural differences are uncovered – it is also a matter of *scale*. So, although it may be implausible (and irrelevant) to come to a all-encompassing definition of counterculture, I can provide some generic attributes to the term. The term implies that it mainly revolves around *culture* or *cultural* movements. I think we can divide culture up into at least three categories: the dominant culture, subculture(s) and counterculture(s). The dominant culture is that which has defined the (unwritten) rules of a given society, the norms and values, its vision on the past and for the future. Then there are subcultures, that differentiate from the parent culture, but often maintain some of its fundamentals. Lastly, there is *counterculture*, whose ideas on preferred values, norms, (unwritten) rules of a society vary fundamentally from, and explicitly reject, those of the dominant culture.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the fact that it is impossible to pinpoint the locus of counterculture, one can pinpoint the origin of the term itself. Although counterculture is not a phenomenon that originated in the 1960s, the term ‘counterculture’ (originally spelled ‘counter culture’), was popularized by historian Theodor Roszak in his book *The Making of a Counter Culture* in this decade.<sup>25</sup> In this work, he called into attention the importance of the young, or youths, as a historical category that ought to be taken seriously: “[I]f one believes, as I do, that the alienated young are giving shape to something that looks like the saving vision our endangered civilization requires, then there is no avoiding the need to understand and to educate them in what they are about.”<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Roszak argued that it is specifically the young who form the radical opposition within their societies. Although he limited his study to American borders, he did recognize that, next to multiple Western European countries, countercultural movements were also at play in Japan and Latin-America.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, to understand what defines 1960s counterculture means firstly to understand the dominant culture that was at play.

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<sup>24</sup> Roberts, “Toward a Generic Concept of Counter-Culture,” 111–114. For an in depth discussion on the locus of counterculture, I want to refer readers to the remainder of Roberts’ article.

<sup>25</sup> Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*.

<sup>26</sup> Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 2; Interestingly, McCray and Kaiser criticize Roszak’s definition of counterculture in the sense that it echoes an antirationalist stance towards the scientific enterprise as a whole. Instead, McCray and Kaiser argue for the idea that those (young) people who identified with counterculture sought alternative ways of doing science. Allegedly, members of counterculture did not undermine science wholly; they rather embraced novel and different techniques of doing science. This is captured under the term *groovy science*. See McCray and Kaiser, “Introduction.”

Globally speaking, the 1960s were a stirring decade. Wars, both hot and cold, were waged between military (super)powers, whilst large parts of the world were still (partly) recovering from the devastations of the previous world wars. Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were peaking and involved, among other things, the Cuba crisis and races to the moon and beyond. The Civil Rights Movement (finally) made legislative gains, after protests had occurred frequently on a significant scale in Northern-America. Feminists started a larger (second) wave, raising attention and protesting for an increasing range of issues. Environmentalism, in its multiplicity of theoretical strands, made a rise in the political domain as 'green' political movements started to blossom. The developments of the Vietnam War, including protests against U.S. government policies, held the world at large under a spell. China witnessed a Cultural Revolution, launched by Mao Zedong in 1966. Decolonization processes in Asia and Africa were in effect on a large scale, with all due consequences.<sup>28</sup> Mass-consumption, mass-production, mass-media and including mass-advertising became part of ordinary life in large parts of the world. In a nutshell, the 1960s marked a decade of transformation across many societal aspects. Perhaps this is the reason why, for many scholars, the exact referent of counterculture varies greatly.<sup>29</sup> Although there is consensus that it is a sociological phenomenon, the exact interpretation remains a point of disputation. Generally, what sets the counterculture of the 1960s apart is that it was, to a large extent, a *global* happening.

Now, why did the university and/or student realm(s) make up the context where counterculture developed so significantly? Before answering this question, it is important to point out that these developments did not occur in (cultural) isolation. Take, for example, the Beat Generation – a literal and cultural movement that emerged in the 1950s in the U.S.A., including notable authors such as Jack Kerouac (*One the Road*, 1957), William S. Burroughs (*Naked Lunch*, 1959) and Allen Ginsberg (*Howl*, 1956). Their influence exceeded the realms of literature proper, as their rejection of traditional values and embrace of unconventional lifestyles echoed well into the 1960s. Another prime countercultural expression, the hippie movement, incorporated elements of *Beatnik* subculture. Musically, The Beatles caused significant uproar and *mania* over the course of the 1960s. Bob Dylan found himself able to redefine what it meant to write and perform *protest songs* – leaving his mark on counterculture as a whole.

Many of these (counter)cultural strands shared a common denominator: the New Left. In the broadest sense, this political movement consisted of multiple movements, all focusing on

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<sup>28</sup> Naturally, this is not an exhaustive list of all the significant events that happened in (or led up to) the 1960s globally. I mention these phenomena to provide the reader with a gist of why one would call the 1960s 'stirring'.

<sup>29</sup> Roberts, "Toward a Generic Concept of Counter-Culture," 111.

a particular aspect of society. The following cultural groups were connected to the New Left from the 1950s up to the 1970s: Anti-war protestors, feminists, civil rights activists, gay rights activists, environmentalists, and student activists. As Gosse explains, the term was originally used by “former British Communists in the late 1950s, who were seeking an alternative to the model of a hierarchical political party.”<sup>30</sup> Gosse understands the term as having been highly ambiguous, and defines the New Left as *a movement of movements*, while finding its locus in Northern-America.<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, he points his readers to the idea that although youths played a roll in all parts of activism, it is highly problematic to make age, (student) status and skin color (viz. whiteness) the decisive characteristics of this movement of movements. This would make for an overly white narrative and, apart from that, it is simply not true that the New Left was primarily a *youth revolt*, as a lot of key activists were well over the age of 30 (or 50!).<sup>32</sup>

The following question arises: why did counterculture develop so strongly among students or in universities? I will go into answering this question more thoroughly later in this chapter, focusing on the Dutch university context in and leading up to the 1960s. There are, however, a number of more general – and *plausible* – hypotheses I can offer right away. One possible factor is that, over the course of the 1960s, more and more people got the chance to study at university. There was, simply put, a large increase in the number of students. These students were often quite young of age and in search of an identity. They were so in a time of great change and (geo)political upheaval. Perhaps it is not surprising many of these students were receptive to narratives that countered the dominant one. Apart from being able to strengthen their arguments and ideas on the development of society, the University’s proper place within that development, and so on, universities also served as a place where students could meet and exchange or debate ideas.

In the remainder of this chapter, I zoom in on the student movement more specifically than other movements. Despite doing so, I do not wish to convey that what happened in the university or student realm was in any way ‘more significant’ to the development of counterculture, than what happened in, for example, Black Power, Women’s Liberation, Environmentalist or Hippie movements. I understand these movements to be intersectional in terms of its members, convictions and practiced activisms. Hopefully, developing a better understanding of the student context will amount to a better understanding of the whole.

One author that is often mentioned alongside discussions of counterculture is Herbert Marcuse. According to many, he was a significant source of inspiration for the manifold

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<sup>30</sup> Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 2, 4–6.

<sup>32</sup> Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 5ff.



expressions of counterculture, among which one may count the different student movements.<sup>33</sup> Before going into a discussion of his most (in)famous work, *One-Dimensional Man* on its own terms, I consider it useful to take a look at (scholarly) commentators and their views on Marcuse's work. The aim is not to add something *new* to the secondary literature on Marcuse per se, but rather to see what is the scholarly consensus on the ideas Marcuse developed – or dissensus, for that matter. Marcuse's bibliography is too large and varied to encompass, let alone the commentary on his works. For the sake of the current project, therefore, I maintain a focus around *One-Dimensional Man*, and other works that can be (and often are) understood in related to the uprising of the New Left – the student movements included.

### **Marcuse and Counterculture**

To some extent, scholarly commentators emphasize the same aspects of Marcuse ideas in (and leading up to) *One-Dimensional Man*. The surprising element for many contemporary readers probably was his specific attack on capitalist societies, as (democratic) *freedom* was one of the elements of society that was deemed to exist in capitalist societies, especially in comparison to communist ones. As Abromeit and Cobb note, however: "Marcuse argued that these [Western capitalist] societies produced false needs while dramatically reducing the capacity for critical thought and resistance."<sup>34</sup> Complimentary to this idea, Arnold notes that *One-Dimensional Man* essentially revolves around an analysis of how negative or critical thinking is whittled down in such advanced industrial societies.<sup>35</sup> Marcuse caught the cunning core of this phenomenon in the opening sentence of the first chapter of *One-Dimensional Man*, where he writes that: "A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress."<sup>36</sup>

One recurring aspect about the reception of Marcuse's work is the idea that his political commitment in the 1960s overshadowed to some extent the complex theoretical nature of his contributions to social theory and philosophy. Marcuse's popularity, using the words of leading

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<sup>33</sup> See, for example: Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 84, 110. Here Roszak argues why Marcuse and Norman Brown can be seen as the "major social theorists among the disaffiliated young of Western Europe and [Northern] America" and why they ought to be taken as defining features of the counter culture. Roszak finds this in the confrontation, or blending, of Marx and Freud that took place in their work; Gordon, Hammer, and Honneth, *The Routledge Companion to the Frankfurt School*, xvi–xvii; Abromeit and Cobb, "Introduction," 2, 11; Averyt, "The Philosophy of the Counterculture"; Kundnani, "The Frankfurt School and the West German Student Movement," 221; Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 63–65; Also in the Dutch scholarly context, Marcuse is often related to the rise of the student-movement in the 1960s, which is, in my reading, an expression of counterculture. See for example: Becker, "De culturele revolutie en haar effecten," 390–393. Although Becker does not mention Marcuse explicitly, he does understand the Frankfurt School to be a significant intellectual encouragement for the student movement and their protests; Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 15, 123, 133ff.; Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*. 30–33.

<sup>34</sup> Abromeit and Cobb, "Introduction," 12.

<sup>35</sup> Arnold, "Herbert Marcuse," §5.

<sup>36</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 3.

Marcuse scholar Douglas Kellner, can be seen to have caused a reduction of his thought “to his political positions of the day.”<sup>37</sup> John Abromeit and Mark W. Cobb make it even more explicit when they argue that because of the popularity Marcuse gained after publishing *One-Dimensional Man*, his critical theory was often treated too simplistically. According to them, the so-called radicals who felt attracted by Marcuse’s ideas and arguments, and reassured in their dissatisfaction with the state of the world, were too quick to read their own concerns, political and cultural, in Marcuse’s ideas.<sup>38</sup> This, in turn, implies (once again) the idea that the importance of Marcuse for the uprising of the New Left and the student protests of the 1960s must not be overstated.

Over recent years, however, a resurgence of interest in Marcuse’s work has taken place, covering more in-depth theoretical aspects of his work and ideas, and related to different scholarly debates. Take, for example, Abromeit and Cobb’s *Herbert Marcuse: A Critical Reader*, a collection of papers by 16 Marcuse scholars, who show the present-day relevance of his work on politics, technology, aesthetics, psychoanalysis and ecology by relating it to a wide variety of scholarly fields.<sup>39</sup> Another example is the six volumes of Marcuse’s collected papers, published by Routledge, all related to a specific subject matter, edited and fitted with a lengthy introduction by Douglas Kellner (and Clayton Pierce for volumes five and six). The different volumes treat the following subjects in relation to Marcuse’s thought and work: (1) *Technology, War and Fascism*; (2) *Towards a Critical Theory of Society*; (3) *The New Left and the 1960s*; (4) *Art and Liberation*; (5) *Philosophy, Psychoanalysis and Emancipation*; (6) *Marxism, Revolution and Utopia*. Yet others focus their attention to Marcuse’s commentary on the structures of science, and his ideas as to how the sciences developed over the course of the 1960s (more on this later).<sup>40</sup>

Despite all the different disciplines Marcuse’s work has had an impact on, the different ways in which his works have been interpreted, and the different emotions his work has hauled, there is consensus on the idea that what determines the flow of advanced industrial societies has to do fundamentally with the inner workings of that very system. Whether it related to (democratic un)freedom of seemingly free societies, the structures of the scientific enterprise, the downfall to one-dimensional thinking or the possibility of the “Great Refusal”, terms such as domination and oppression, and their rational character predominated. Importantly, Marcuse’s arguments were not directed at either capitalist or communist societies. His arguments were directed at both, for he was convinced that both systems create a sense of one-dimensionality.

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<sup>37</sup> Kellner, “Introduction: Radical Politics, Marcuse, and the New Left,” 7.

<sup>38</sup> Abromeit and Cobb, “Introduction,” 2–3.

<sup>39</sup> Abromeit and Cobb, *Herbert Marcuse*.

<sup>40</sup> Mendelsohn, “The Politics of Pessimism,” 161ff.

He considered these systems to be interdependent, and their ongoing conflict as overshadowing the consequences of increased technological rationality. That is why he, throughout his work, called capitalist societies *totalitarian*, a term which was usually reserved for fascist and/or communist societies that were set apart from democratic ones. Higher dimensions of critical thinking and the ability to imagine alternative cultures were suppressed by such homogenous societies, both capitalist and communist.<sup>41</sup> Up next, I will go into a more detailed description of *One-Dimensional Man*, by its own means.

*One-Dimensional Man* (1964) can be read as an all-encompassing critique of advanced industrial societies, both capitalist and communist. The whole work is based on two value-judgments: (1) the judgment that the human life is (or can be) a life worth living, a judgment that Marcuse called the “*a priori* of social theory” [original emphasis, SK], and (2) the judgment that, in any given society, there existed possibilities to improve the life-standard for humans, as well as ways to realize these possibilities.<sup>42</sup> Since Marcuse was a prominent member of the Frankfurter Schule, it comes as no surprise that *One-Dimensional Man* blended Marxist and Freudian analyses for the development of its arguments.<sup>43</sup> A significant part of Marcuse’s analysis was based on the idea that, in advanced industrial societies, “[t]he political needs of society become individual needs and aspirations, their satisfaction promotes business and the commonweal, and the whole appears to be the very embodiment of Reason.”<sup>44</sup> In other words, individuality *proper* had gotten lost due to the workings of (industrial) societies. Apart from this, Marcuse’s work drew from analyses of sociologist C. Wright Mills, and journalistic studies from Vance Packard, William H. Whyte and Fred J. Cooks. He admitted that the latter may be critiqued for a lack of theoretical analyses. However, according to Marcuse, this did not negatively affect their insights as the roots of the described conditions speak loudly enough: “Perhaps the most telling evidence can be obtained by simply looking at television or listening to the AM radio for one consecutive hour for a couple of days, not shutting of the commercials, and now and then switching the station.”<sup>45</sup> As will become clear indeed, the workings of mass-production, mass-consumption and accompanying mass-advertising (in advanced industrial societies, at least) played a major role in Marcuse’s analysis.

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<sup>41</sup> Kellner, “Introduction: Marcuse, Art and Liberation,” 37.

<sup>42</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, xl–xli (see the latter page for the quote). Interestingly, Marcuse argued that these value-judgments were at the base of *any* critical theory of society; The Frankfurter Schule designates several generations of social theorists and philosophers that work from the Western European Marxist tradition. The school (of thought) was established in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in – you guessed it – Frankfurt. Among its most noted figures are Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) and Marcuse. In more recent years, Jürgen Habermas became a key representative of the Schule. See: Bohman, “Critical Theory.”

<sup>43</sup> Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 84. For Roszak, this “confrontation” between Marx and Freud can be seen as the defining feature of counterculture.

<sup>44</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, xl.

<sup>45</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, xlvii.

The first chapter of *One-Dimensional Man* points out the new forms of social control. Essentially, Marcuse argued that through the workings of the productive apparatus, there emerged a sense of one-dimensional thinking. This entails the idea that critical thinking, or the ability to *imagine* a true (potential) alternative was prevented by the workings of the productive apparatus. According to Marcuse, this held true for both authoritarian (communist) and non-authoritarian (capitalist) societies. In both types of society people were deprived of their autonomy, independence of thought and political right to opposition, through the workings of a society which kept getting better at satisfying the needs of individuals.<sup>46</sup> Consequently, (too) many individuals did not feel the need for qualitative change or critique anymore. The fact that these inabilities were strengthened by the workings of the system itself was an important point for Marcuse. For 'the system' did not merely satisfy the material needs of its people, it also imposed ideas as to what one *should* need or want in order to live a good life.

Essentially, Marcuse rendered upholding a critical or questioning attitude towards the existing social order unnecessary and undesirable. This was due to the idea that the system, and the seemingly endless production of products, indoctrinated and manipulated individuals into adopting a new *way of life*. As more products became available to more people in more social classes, their (the products') control and influence increased. According to Marcuse, this new way of life could be considered 'good' in the sense that it was better than before (people's needs were now met), but this came at a price: (the lack of) quantitative change.<sup>47</sup> Marcuse recognized this process as a process of repression, as he wrote that: "No matter how much such needs may have become the individual's own, reproduced and fortified by the conditions of his existence; no matter how much he identifies himself with them and finds himself in their satisfaction, *they continue to be what they were from the beginning – products of a society whose dominant interest demands repression* [my emphasis, SK]."<sup>48</sup> For Marcuse, it was not the case that people in advanced industrial societies had gained more freedom since the end of the world war – although many will feel differently about this. Rather, he understood contemporary society to shift towards a form of totalitarianism, which had its base in its technological organization.<sup>49</sup> This entailed a form of control – one that was based on the manipulation of people's desires and needs through mass media and consumer culture. Next to the rise of these phenomena, other important factors of this process included the emergence of new technologies (for example, to further increase production), and the expansion of bureaucracy and corporate power.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 4.

<sup>47</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 5.

<sup>50</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 9: "The more rational, productive, technical, and total the repressive administration of society becomes, the more unimaginable the means and ways by which the

Ultimately, at the heart of Marcuse's argument was what he considers to be the "internal contradiction of this civilization."<sup>51</sup> This involved the phenomenon that "[t]he most advanced areas of industrial society exhibit throughout these two features: a trend toward consummation of technological rationality, and intensive efforts to contain this trend within the established institutions."<sup>52</sup> Now, how could have one still tried to counter the repressive workings of the system? What did it mean to *qualitatively* change the mode of existence for someone who lived in an advanced industrial society? For Marcuse, such a change could not simply be the by-product of political or economic changes, as these forces constituted the repressive forms of existence in the first place. Rather, Marcuse suggested that the only way to break out of this state of affairs was to imagine and articulate new forms of social and political organization, including "the *technical* basis on which this society rests—one which sustains the economic and political institutions through which the 'second nature' of man as an aggressive object of administration is stabilized."<sup>53</sup> Together, these two factors could provide a basis for genuine liberation and transformation. In other words, if the individual did not have to compete on the market as a *free* economic subject, this would have constituted its actual freedom. If they were free from the needs and possibilities that society imposed on them, they would be free to exert autonomy over their *own* life.<sup>54</sup>

As I mentioned earlier, Marcuse's work can be read as a critique of *both* leading (and competing) geopolitical systems that were at play in the 1960s. It was (and still is) a critique of both capitalist and communist societies. For Marcuse, the very reason why capitalist system seemed to form such a cohesive whole in the first place could be found in its mobilization against communist world forces. Consequently (naturally?), this mobilization was understood as a great stimulus for increasing production and employment. In doing so, the high standard of living, brought about by the projection and satisfaction of (alien) needs, could be sustained.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, Marcuse argued that the main body of *control* over the situation was due to the arising *universe of administration*, "in which depressions are controlled and conflicts stabilized

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administered individuals might break their servitude and seize their own liberation. To be sure, to impose Reason upon an entire society is a paradoxical and scandalous idea—although one might dispute the righteousness of a society which ridicules this idea while making its own population into objects of total administration. The more rational, productive, technical, and total the repressive administration of society becomes, the more unimaginable the means and ways by which the administered individuals might break their servitude and seize their own liberation. To be sure, to impose Reason upon an entire society is a paradoxical and scandalous idea—although one might dispute the righteousness of a society which ridicules this idea while making its own population into objects of total administration."

<sup>51</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 19.

<sup>52</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 19.

<sup>53</sup> Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, 20.

<sup>54</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 4–5.

<sup>55</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 23–24.

by the beneficial effects of growing productivity and threatening nuclear war.”<sup>56</sup>

Again, there is this idea that the people in both capitalist and communist societies were fooled into oppression. People were promised a comfortable life, but this came at the price of a autonomous, critical attitude. Material gratification came at the cost of a critical society.<sup>57</sup> One can begin to wonder to what extent a capitalist *democratic* society was indeed democratic. Was there enough space for people to participate in the democratic process, or were its people more inclined to work like cogs in a machine under the bureaucratic gaze of the whole? Was technological rationality in the service of realizing (proper) freedom for the people, or the ever-increasing productivity of industry? Another quote of the opening paragraph of the first chapter of *One-Dimensional Man* comes to mind, where Marcuse ironically asks: “[W]hat could be more rational than the suppression of individuality in the mechanization of socially necessary but painful performances; the concentration of individual enterprises in more effective, more productive corporations; the regulation of free competition among unequally equipped economic subjects; the curtailment of prerogatives and national sovereignties which impede the international organization of resources[?]”<sup>58</sup>

By the same token, management and direction became the main forces for the act of dominating over individuals.<sup>59</sup> Marcuse recognized this trend to extent beyond the domain of the individual establishments, also including research institutes, national governments, and the like. The result was that the tangible source of exploitation had gotten obscured by a myriad of administrative and bureaucratic processes; it disappeared behind a “façade of objective rationality.”<sup>60</sup> Moreover, research institutes, such as the ones in academia, were also subjected to the infectious power of technological rationality.<sup>61</sup> Here, as well as in society at large, there (has) existed vast hierarchy of managerial boards. In Marcuse’s analysis individual rationality was undermined by the development of modern industry and technological rationality, through means of the increasing power and scope of administration.<sup>62</sup>

So what would it mean to escape from the administrative yoke of advanced industrial society? In the conclusion of *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse asked himself the question as to

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<sup>56</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 26.

<sup>58</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 35: “Domination is transfigured into administration.”

<sup>60</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 35.

<sup>61</sup> The concept of technological rationality had a negative connotation for Marcuse. I did not find a direct reference or definition of the concept in *One-Dimensional Man*; rather, it is used throughout to book. The concept is clearly articulated by Parviz Piran when he writes that: “For him [Marcuse], the present stage of history can be singled out as a period in which the process of rationalization has become entirely one-sided and limited only to the rationality of methods and means. *Rationality, which in its totality aims at the emancipation of man, has turned out to be the main source of alienation and self-imprisonment for mankind* [my emphasis, SK].” See: Piran, “Marcuse and the Problem of Instrumental Rationality,” 19.

<sup>62</sup> Kellner, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” xix-xx.

how “administered individuals – who have made their mutilation into their own liberties and satisfactions, and thus reproduce it on an enlarged scale – [can] liberate themselves from themselves as well as from their masters?” In other words, how can we even imagine the vicious circle to be broken?<sup>63</sup> In order to accomplish this, effective self-determination was the ultimate goal. This entailed the idea that the masses become individuals (once again), freed of constant propaganda of the workings of the system, indoctrination of mass media and consumer culture, able to comprehend and get to know the facts and evaluating alternatives. In short, a new historical Subject must take the place of the current one.<sup>64</sup>

### ***Resonance amongst Students***

I can imagine that students, who had very little say in the development of curricula and the evolution of the academic enterprise felt strengthened in their dissatisfaction after reading Marcuse’s words. Naturally, this did not apply to all students, but to those who felt subjected to (and oppressed by) the administrative and productive forces of academia. For Marcuse argued that the decline of active, critical participation within such institutions – and society as a whole – was not to due to a moral or intellectual efforts on the individual’s side per se, but rather as an objective societal process.<sup>65</sup>

As Hans Kundnani recognizes, members of student movement in West Germany felt drawn to Marcuse’s description of the *revolutionary vanguard* that stood at the base of this evolution towards a new historical Subject.<sup>66</sup> For Marcuse, this vanguard existed “underneath the conservative popular base” and consisted of:

[T]he substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable. They exist outside the democratic process; their life is the most immediate and the most real need for ending intolerable conditions and institutions. Thus their opposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not. Their opposition hits the system from without and is therefore not deflected by the system; it is an elementary force which violates the rules of the game and, in doing so, reveals it as a rigged game.<sup>67</sup>

The idea that proper opposition ought to come from outside the system seems legitimate, since the system itself, or so Marcuse aimed to show with his book, constituted a *rigged* game. But if the game ought to be opposed from outside, this means that even *cheating* (from inside) was

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<sup>63</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 255.

<sup>64</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 256.

<sup>65</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 52.

<sup>66</sup> Kundnani, “The Frankfurt School and the West German Student Movement,” 224.

<sup>67</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 260–261.

rendered impossible.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, Marcuse's belief that new forms of protesting ought to be developed in order to make it fruitful was clearly stated. For as he remarked earlier on, the workings of one-dimensional reality of advanced industrial societies incorporate a variety of modes of protest. These modes of protest could no longer be considered contradictory to the status quo, but were incorporated as means of its digestion for a healthy diet.<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, one can read all this as a move away from the classically Marxist conviction that the revolt against the status quo would (have to) come from the proletariat. For Marcuse, this was implausible, as they no longer felt this need – i.e. this class was rendered too comfortable in the satisfaction (and projection) of their needs.<sup>70</sup> Rather, throughout *One-Dimensional Man* (and other works of his), Marcuse referred to the so-called “Great Refusal”, a term that contains multiple dimensions of breaking the dominant, oppressive chains. As Kellner clarifies, “[t]he Great Refusal’ is a highly complex and multidimensional term that signifies at once individual rebellion and opposition to the existing system of domination and oppression; avant-garde artistic revolt that creates visions of another world, a better life and alternative cultural forms and style; and oppositional thought that rejects the dominant modes of thinking and behavior.”<sup>71</sup>

The student protests of the 1960s, then, can be seen as a form of Great Refusal, which was acted out on a large scale.<sup>72</sup> In a recently published lecture on the student revolts in Berlin and France, held in San Diego in May 1968, Marcuse remarked that an essential feature of the student movements (French and American) consisted of the idea that the protests were *total*. For the students did not only protest against specific shortcomings and evils within academic institutes, but simultaneously “against the entire system of values, against the entire system of objectives, against the entire system of performances required and practiced in the established society.”<sup>73</sup> Moreover, apart from being total, Marcuse emphasized the idea that radical opposition ought to be considered in a global framework.<sup>74</sup> Marcuse aimed to set out connections between student oppositions over different countries (focusing on the [Northern-

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<sup>68</sup> This is reminiscent of Huizinga's distinction between “cheating” and “spoiling” within the realm of games. Huizinga understands the cheater as someone who still pretends to play the game, and acts within the game's realm, whereas the spoiler aims to break with the game as a whole. Huizinga writes that: “By withdrawing from the game, he [the spoiler] reveals the relativity and fragility of that game's realm, in which he had temporarily locked himself in with the others [“Door zich aan het spel te onttrekken, onthult hij de betrekkelijkheid en de broosheid van die spelwereld, waarin hij zich tijdelijk met de anderen had opgesloten”].” See: Huizinga, *Homo ludens: Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur*, 17.

<sup>69</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 16.

<sup>70</sup> For example, see also: Marcuse, “The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition,” 83–84.

<sup>71</sup> Kellner, “Introduction: Radical Politics, Marcuse, and the New Left,” 10; See also: Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 66f., 74, 261.

<sup>72</sup> Kellner, “Introduction: Radical Politics, Marcuse, and the New Left,” 11; Arnold, “Herbert Marcuse,” §6.

<sup>73</sup> Marcuse, “Herbert Marcuse and the Student Revolts of 1968.”

<sup>74</sup> Marcuse, “The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition.”



]American and German student movements) – an effort which he considered as one of the most important necessities during these years, strategically speaking.<sup>75</sup>

### **Debates on the State of Science, Politics and Society**

Marcusian ideology got recognized, used and interpreted by more and more students who began to take on a critical stance against the structures that existed in the university's realm. This, of course, had its effects on the development of academia as such. However, this was only one of the many (r)evolutions academia at large witnessed in terms of dimensions of the enterprise as a whole, and the output it produced. For example, in terms of philosophy of science, Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) caused an uproar by showcasing a novel view on how science develops.<sup>76</sup> Instead of upholding a linear view of this development, Kuhn argued for the idea that scientific progress occurs in revolutionary jumps, from paradigm to paradigm. Between these jumps, *normal* science (puzzle-solving) is understood to have evolved into an *extraordinary* phase, when a (radical) revision of existing scientific belief takes place.<sup>77</sup> On the nature of this process, Kuhn wrote the following:

[S]cientific revolutions are inaugurated by a growing sense, again often restricted to a narrow subdivision of the scientific community, that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of an aspect of nature to which that paradigm had previously led the way. In both political and scientific development the sense of malfunction that can lead to crisis is prerequisite to revolution.<sup>78</sup>

Kuhn historicized philosophy of science. Apart from that, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* showcased that a scientists' observation could change as the consequence of a scientific revolution – this was dubbed as the thesis of the theory-dependence of observation. In turn, this thesis radically undermined the standard (and reigning) positivist view that, in the battle of competing theories, observation makes for the *neutral arbiter*.<sup>79</sup>

Sociology appears to be a discipline around which many discussions (on the state of academia in the 1960s) centered. In more recent years, historian (of science) Peter Novick started speaking of an epistemological revolution that began in the 1960s. Scientific objectivity became subject to renewed scrutiny. For Novick, these controversies were “strictly academic” in nature, encapsulating what happened in the (social) sciences from the “highly charged political atmosphere of the period.”<sup>80</sup> Others disagree with this thesis. For example, as Mark Solovey

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<sup>75</sup> Marcuse, “The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition,” 83.

<sup>76</sup> Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

<sup>77</sup> Bird, “Thomas Kuhn,” §2.

<sup>78</sup> Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 92.

<sup>79</sup> Bird, “Thomas Kuhn,” §4.2.

<sup>80</sup> Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 546.

suggests in an article on the project Camelot controversy, “political developments and political concerns had a central place in the 1960s challenge to scientific objectivity, and to related ideals like value-neutrality and professional autonomy.”<sup>81</sup> Over the course of the two decades prior to the 1960s, Solovey argues, the social sciences were commonly seen as junior partners to the natural sciences. As a consequence, the former needed to follow the latter’s footsteps. This required a boundary between the political and scientific realm which sociology, according to Solovey at least, could not uphold.<sup>82</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, Marcuse offered an analysis which goes a step further. For one thing, he was not at all convinced that the exact sciences operate(d) in isolation from political developments and concerns. Rather, or so Marcuse argued, the university *was already a political institution*. For he was convinced that the sciences, exact disciplines included, were imbued with politicalization:

You need think only of the extent to which the natural sciences, for example, and even such abstract disciplines as mathematics find immediate application today in production and in military strategy. You need think only of the extent to which the natural sciences and even sociology and psychology depend today on the financial support of the government and the large foundations, the extent to which the latter two fields have enrolled in the service of human control and market regulation.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, this idea is reinforced in a chapter on the responsibility of scientists. In this work, he argued that there are not two worlds – viz. the world of science and the world of politics – that are delinked from one another. Rather, there is but one world, “in which science and politics and ethics, theory and practice are inherently linked.”<sup>84</sup>

Overall, the nature of the scientific enterprise, its integrity, organization, output, etc. was fiercely debated over the course of the 1960s. Whereas some argue that countercultural ideas led to an attitude of ‘antiscience’ among members of counterculture, others rather see it as a vessel towards alternative ways of doing science – *groovying it up*, so to say.

### **Countercultural Tendencies in Dutch Universities**

In terms of the Dutch context, the 1960s marked a period of change. By the end of the decennium, many foreigners looked at the country as being a beacon of freedom, where one

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<sup>81</sup> Solovey, “Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution,” 172.

<sup>82</sup> Solovey, “Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution,” 172ff.; Of course, the nature of the social science enterprise has been heavily debated up to this day.

<sup>83</sup> Marcuse, “The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition,” 87–88.

<sup>84</sup> Marcuse, “The Responsibility of Science,” 439. In the rest of the article, Marcuse explored the idea that science (and individual scientists) was (were) responsible for the way society made use of its science – that is, scientists were responsible for the social consequences of their research and output. Moreover, it was the inner telos of science that, according to Marcuse, dictated this proposition.

could semi-legally buy and smoke marihuana, sex-work behind red-lit windows in city centers was tolerated (instead of condemned), homosexuality was encouraged, pedo-sexuality became more widely accepted and, for some while, it seemed like catholic priests could get married. This rather progressive and tolerant attitude stands in stark contrast to the overall climate of the 1950's, a still much more conservative era.<sup>85</sup> As Kennedy claims: "Not a single country in Western Europe (with the possible exception of Italy) changed more than the Netherlands over the course of the 1960s."<sup>86</sup> Moreover, he aims to show that the Netherlands owed its tolerant and progressive attitude not to hippies, Provo's or other radical youths, but rather to a heterogeneous group of authorities. Kennedy argues that these authorities were worried about keeping track of developments, that they actually stimulated these developments and made them possible. This is Kennedy's addition to historiography: to show that those who played cultural renewal in hand, were actually those who many people expect it of the least. In his work, he aims to show that their role is largely underestimated and crucial in terms of understanding the "metamorphoses" that the Netherlands went through in the sixties.<sup>87</sup>

### ***(R)evolutions in the Dutch Academic Realm***

The academic climate in the Netherlands underwent a decisive transformation over the course of the 1960s. According to Dutch scholars, economical developments lay at the heart of this change of course. Since there was an ever-growing prosperity after WW-II in the Netherlands at that time, the government had more money to support study costs for those who could not afford to study. As a result, there was a quickly growing number of students at Dutch universities. They came from different milieus than the (up to that date) traditional students who had their roots in a higher income.<sup>88</sup> These new students brought along with them different (world)views and fundamental beliefs. Consequently, the social milieu of students evolved into a student *class*, where individuals united in different groups (or classes) which opposed each other.<sup>89</sup> That is, whereas traditionally students united in a Corps or a student association, a new class arose as many novel students did not feel the need to join these traditional associations. For Janssen and Voestermans the upcoming of a new class of students is correlated "to the growing numbers of grantees and nihilists" in the realm of (Dutch) academia.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 10–11.

<sup>86</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuwe Babylon in aanbouw*, 10: "Geen enkel land in West-Europa (mogelijk met uitzondering van Italië) veranderde gedurende de jaren zestig meer dan Nederland."

<sup>87</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 10.

<sup>88</sup> Lammers, "Student Unionism in the Netherlands," 251; Maar, "De deeltjesversneller," 112.

<sup>89</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 92–94; Lammers, "Student Unionism in the Netherlands," 253; Lammers, *Studentenvakbeweging en universitaire democratie*, 12–21.

<sup>90</sup> Do note that the term 'nihilist student' did not refer to an existential or philosophical stance these students bore per se. Rather, the term implied that they were not part of a particular student association. See Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 92: "De ontwikkelingen liepen in elkaar: het aantal

The emergence of a *new type* of Dutch student brought about a newfound division within academic student life. As Lammers had shown, the traditional student, coming from a high-class income and usually part of a *Corps*, found himself (they were mostly male at the time) at the top of the *prestige hierarchy*:

This prestige hierarchy is (was) solidly founded on the rock of a power hierarchy. The *Corpora* disposed of sufficient numbers of candidates for all key functions in student society at large. Thanks to their upper-class anticipatory socialization and to their financial resources, many more *Corps* members than other students were able and willing to play a role in organized student life. Furthermore, thanks to their family connections, social skills, and mastery of the *Regenten* style, *Corps* members were undoubtedly far more effective than other students in dealing with academic and civil authorities, usually exponents of the *Regenten* style themselves. All this was true to a lesser extent for the other *gezelligheidsverenigingen* and least of all for the *nihilists* [original emphasis, SK].<sup>91</sup>

Ultimately, these developments led to the founding of the student union (SVB) in 1963. There arose a new class of students who found themselves, to a large extent, in a similar position of dependency with regard to certain authorities. In this way, nihilists and grantees found a means to unite. Whereas the authority over traditional students was scattered (there were a lot of different parents involved), the new class of students could focus their attention and critique towards a limited number of government organizations.<sup>92</sup> In the SVB, the new type of students (grantees and nihilists) found a place to unite and defended their interest externally (*vis-à-vis* the government) and internally (*vis-à-vis* the power of the *Corpora* and its delegates). Contrary to the other student organizations, such as the various *Corpora*, the SVB was open to *all* students, and demanded nothing more than solidarity from its members.<sup>93</sup>

Interestingly, with the establishment of the SVB, the goals were rather tame – in comparison to the events near the end of the 1960s at least. Initially, Ton Regtien (one of the founders of the SVB) made a list of aims that summed up the improvement of the social and material position of the Dutch student, and clarified the means to detach this student “from the paternalistic benevolence of parents and government.”<sup>94</sup> In the year that followed, two other

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studenten nam toe, de universiteit groeide; het aantal studenten uit de middelbare en lagere milieus nam toe en daarmee het aantal bursalen en nihilisten.”

<sup>91</sup> Lammers, “Student Unionism in the Netherlands,” 253.

<sup>92</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 93.

<sup>93</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 94.

<sup>94</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 98: “En dat het ernst was, bleek wel uit de lange lijst van concrete voorstellen en actiepunten die Regtien opsomde en die tot doel hadden de sociale en materiële positie van de Nederlandse student te verbeteren en los te weken van de paternalistische welwillendheid van ouders en overheid.”

student unions arose. On the one hand, there came the Dutch Student Accord [*Nederlands Studenten Accoord*] (NSA), which represented the traditionally-minded students. This organization had a clear 'right-wing' orientation in comparison to the SVB. On the other hand, there was the Progressive Student Organization [*Progressieve Studenten Organisatie*] (PSO), which can best be seen as a centrum-party. The student-world got a more and more parliamentary character, which contributed to the democratization of the student realm as a whole. Interestingly, the student-world was still conservative in terms of its organization anno 1960. However, in a few years time, it evolved into one of the most progressive sectors of Dutch society.<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless, the period 1963–1967 can be seen as one of traditional advocacy for the SVB.<sup>96</sup> These first years were not so much marked by a critical attitude, which one may link to the work of Marcuse (among others). According to Schopman and Janssen and Voestermans, this attitude developed later, from the year 1967 onwards, with the upcoming of the so-called Critical University [*Kritiese Universiteit*] (KrU).<sup>97</sup> I will put this to the test by looking at the student press periodicals in the following chapter. The concept of the KrU was, once again, introduced by Ton Regtien in the Dutch context, in Nijmegen. Its establishment in the Netherlands was due to a shared effort between students ranging from West-Berlin, Amsterdam, Nijmegen and Leuven.<sup>98</sup> Allegedly, the fact that the student movement had in previous years accumulated political experience and explicitly challenged the legitimacy of certain authorities, contributed to the move towards a more anti-authoritarian movement with societal significance.<sup>99</sup>

### ***Kritikal Developments among Students in the Netherlands***

What scholars were important in the development of an increasingly *Kritikal* attitude among students? Admittedly, there is not an exhaustive list of authors, but there are some figures that recur in secondary literature. Janssen and Voestermans mention sociologist Alain Touraine and Herbert Marcuse, who allegedly sowed the germ of a worldwide revolutionary movement in the student movement(s).<sup>100</sup> They understand the move towards the anti-authoritarian mood of the *Kritikal University* as a continuation of the work of the sociologist C.W. Mills and, again, Marcuse. Additionally, they provide their readers with an overview of authors that were included in the literature of KrU Nijmegen, which amassed a scientific library of its own. Although Marxist literature (Lenin, Marx, Engels, Mao, Lukacs, Korsch, Mandel, Luxemburg, Che Guevara, Ho Chi

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<sup>95</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 96–97.

<sup>96</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 11.

<sup>97</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 11; Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 122–125.

<sup>98</sup> Maar, "De deeltjesversneller," 124.

<sup>99</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 122.

<sup>100</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 15.

Minh, Giap, Gorz, Trotski, Pannekoek and Gorter are listed) was common, Critical literature (Adorno, Habermas, Horkheimer, Marcuse, von Brentano, Leibfried, Sweezy, Baran, Gailbraith and Hubermann are listed) made up an even larger part of the literature – 39% as opposed to 36%.<sup>101</sup>

In terms of the KrU, Schopman agrees that Marcuse was widely read among its members. Interestingly, he notes that the KrU strongly exhibited anarchist traits, although there was little interest in anarchist scholars. Indeed, Schopman's rendition of the KrU's view on society clearly echoes Marcusian thought. It paints a picture of advanced industrial societies as being fundamentally repressive, for example through maximizing profit, consumerism and mass-advertising.<sup>102</sup>

Although Schopman evaluates the KrU as having been unable to offer an alternative in the society-wide sense, the organization was able to draw up alternatives in the context of universities and science. In this context, the critique of the subordination of the university to the interests of the capitalist economic system was central. The restructuring-models of the rapport-Maris and Posthumus in 1968 were interpreted as efforts to increase said sense of subordination.<sup>103</sup> Essentially, these models consisted of bill that promoted an ideal of academia as “a pyramidal, hierarchically structured decision model, in which ‘professional directors’ would play a central role.”<sup>104</sup> In other words, the Maris committee wanted to subject the university to the same requirements as already imposed on corporations. Unsurprisingly, cost-reduction and the maximization of efficiency turned out to be key elements.<sup>105</sup>

Furthermore, the university's autonomy was essentially being compromised according to Kritikal opponents.<sup>106</sup> In terms of content, the KrU's critique revolved around the *alleged* value-freedom of university education. For example, it was argued that in university abstraction from societal specificity took place, while at the same time a program's exams were shaped by socio-economic (i.e. societal) evolutions. Moreover, the increasing distance between academic education and research was criticized: teachers were less able to properly research the subject

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<sup>101</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 133. Table six shows that 231 books that were a part of the KrU's literary collection, and these are divided into five categories. Every category is attributed a percentage of the whole. This is the complete list of categories, including the accompanying percentages: (1) “Civil literature” [*Burgerlijke literatuur*] 7%; (2) Frankfurter Schule 21%; (3) New Left 18%; (4) Marxist literature 36%; (5) Unclear 18%. Critical literature combines literature on the Frankfurter School and the New Left, and thereby amounts to 39% of the whole.

<sup>102</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 30–33.

<sup>103</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese Universiteit*, 33–34.

<sup>104</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 139: “[C]entraal stond een piramidiaal, hiërarchisch gestructureerd beslissingsmodel, waarin ‘beroepsbestuurders’ een centrale rol zouden vervullen.”

<sup>105</sup> Maar, “De deeltjesversneller,” 125.

<sup>106</sup> Do note that these opponents did not merely consist of students. As Janssen and Voestermans note, students, staff and certain professors found themselves able to collaborate in their critique. See: Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 140.

they taught, which played in hand a factualization [*verfeitelijking*] of their teachings. This interfered with students' ability to develop a critical understanding of the science involved. Moreover, in terms of form, the KrU criticized the highly individualized and authoritarian tendencies that shaped education. As a result, there was too little space for a student's *own* input.<sup>107</sup>

1968 marked the year when, internationally speaking, the student movement reached its peak. Particularly in France and Germany, the revolts were met with police violence and widespread media coverage. In May 1968, students and laborers roamed the streets of France *en masse*, with fierce actions and protests. In West-Germany, students roamed the streets by the thousands, after left-wing student leader Rudi Dutschke was brutally assaulted. According to some, this strengthened Dutch students and their discontent with the rapport-Maris. Plausibly, as a consequence of the German and French situation, the Dutch authorities, both in the public and university realm, adopted a cautious attitude in their response.<sup>108</sup>

The 'proper' uproar in the Dutch student context followed a year later. Generally, the year 1969 holds true as the peak for student revolts in the Dutch context.<sup>109</sup> Interestingly, however, the KrU itself had by then already bled to death. This was allegedly due to the lack of strategic vision.<sup>110</sup> Over the course of this year, however, students started to actively strove for the democratization of the university organization.<sup>111</sup> They did so, for example, by occupying university buildings. This formally started in Tilburg, where students of the Katholieke Hogeschool Tilburg (KHT) occupied and renamed their university in April. In Nijmegen, the months April, May and June marked turbulent developments. In Amsterdam, (in)famously, the Maagdenhuis was occupied on 16 May.<sup>112</sup> Ultimately, these developments and the critical questions of students led to an answer: the *Wet op de Universitaire Bestuurshervorming* (WUB). This law granted students (somewhat) greater power in the university, more say in their institution's budget and policies, through democratically elected university councils.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, evaluated the historiographical context surrounding counterculture and one of its main theorists, Herbert Marcuse. After having explicated the most important aspects of Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*, it has become clear that, according to historiography on the Dutch student movement, the ideas put forward in that work had its effect on students' critical

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<sup>107</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 37–39.

<sup>108</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 139–142.

<sup>109</sup> In the following chapter, I will criticize this idea.

<sup>110</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 90, 97–99

<sup>111</sup> To many, these developments came as a surprise, as the student opposition dipped after 1968. See: Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 151; Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 90.

<sup>112</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 147–153.

stance towards the organization of the university and its proper place in society. I will reevaluate this idea in the following chapter (2). In any case, Marcuse argued that for any suppressed or dominated peoples to accomplish *effective self-determination*, the vicious chains must first be broken. At times, he even hopefully appealed to students as being able to do just so.

Apart from getting a grip on Marcuse's ideas, I outlined the general context of debates that were held on the nature of the scientific enterprise, and its disciplines. Having started from a general perspective, it became clear that the identity of philosophy of science was receptive to change. Now, in moving towards a the Dutch context, I explicated how academia evolved, in the first place, as a consequence of the political and economical climate of the Netherlands during the 1960s. Accordingly, several factors made for an increasing demand and need for a Critical University among newfound groups of (activist) students.

In essence, however, this chapter laid the groundwork for what is to come. In what follows, that is, I use my archival research in order to criticize current historiographical notions of counterculture in the Dutch academic climate in the 1960s, as explicated above. Next to that, I delve into the question to what extent it can be argued that students or student movements in the Netherlands appropriated and applied the intellectual thought of Marcuse. To make this step from theory to practice, I will be looking into Dutch student journals.



## Chapter 2: Analysis of Student Periodicals

In this chapter, I aim to bring back the voice of students in history of Dutch countercultural movements of the 1960s. In doing so, I simultaneously evaluate common historiographical narratives and criticize them. The following questions arise: When did students start to express themselves critically with respect to developments in the academic realm? Did countercultural themes occur in student press before 1968?<sup>113</sup> To what extent can I argue that this is the case? This is where the following topics fit in, which I paid extra attention to when going through the archival material: Democratization of the university, internal university affairs (mainly politics), the relationship between the university and the 'outer world', the development of and up to the Kritikal University and articles that (explicitly) refer to Herbert Marcuse. By looking at student periodicals between 1960–1970, I aim to uncover a sense of *change* in the themes that played a significant role and relate this to counterculture's theoretical background as explicated in chapter one.

### The Crumbling Image of the University as an Ivory Tower

The idea of the university as an ivory tower, an entity disengaged from developments that occurred within society at large, changed drastically over the course of the 1960s. I mentioned this in the previous chapter, and it is indeed reflected in the archive material. Historiography shows that scholars using the concept of the university as an ivory tower have taken it to mean different things, and uphold different attitudes to it. For example, Pieter Slaman plays with the concept by naming his book *De Glazen Toren* [*The Glass Tower*], instead of the Ivory Tower.<sup>114</sup> While his work comprises a history of Leiden University, between 1970–2020, one of the ideas he puts forward is that, from the 1970s onwards, "the 'ivory tower' developed into a tower made of glass."<sup>115</sup> By means of Slaman's explanation of what developments led to (the change towards) the metaphor of the glass tower, I can (albeit indirectly) deduce what conditions he understands to belong to the ivory tower as a concept. Slaman writes that the development towards the glass tower had to do with the following changes:

From 1970 onwards, under social pressure, the bedraggled academy once again showed its agility. The 'ivory tower' turned into a tower of glass. This resulted in an accessible building: from this moment on, governments, companies, civilians and students could, from the outside-in, see what the university had to offer them, and enter with their

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<sup>113</sup> Remember that I use the term *countercultural themes* to refer to publications that critically assess the internal structures of the university, the relationship between the university and the world and various forms of organization that aim to strengthen the voice of the (silently) oppressed.

<sup>114</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*.

<sup>115</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, 204.

wishes. The university no longer took its authority as a given, but began making efforts to convince others of its practical value. The glass tower made the everyday visible.<sup>116</sup>

Naturally, the idea of the glass tower has been criticized. I come to this shortly. For now, I want to point out that the glass tower, which allegedly characterizes the university's realm from the 1970s onwards, was still made of ivory before the start of this decade. Slaman's idea of the ivory tower indeed points to the classical metaphor of an entity that is (willingly) cut off from the rest of the world, in favor of their own pursuits. Before the 1970s the university was (according to Slaman) cut off from the rest of the world, an research-based educational entity that took its authority as a given, did not have to make efforts to convince others of its practical (societal?) value, etc. Indeed, Slaman describes the university realm, *traditionally* speaking (meaning pre-1970) as the pinnacle of freedom, for both teachers (researchers) and students.<sup>117</sup> A sense of freedom that can only exist is such comfortable isolation.

Klaas van Berkel criticizes multiple aspects of Slaman's book.<sup>118</sup> For one thing, Berkel criticizes Slaman for using the contradiction between the ivory and the glass tower, with respect to the developments from the 1970s onwards. According to Berkel, that is, the tendency of professors to make their work useful for society existed already in the 1950s, and maybe even before that day and age. Moreover, the sense of transparency of contemporary university is only *appearance* for Berkel, as "[t]he image of the ivory tower is always brought up by academic managers who want something new, but it is nothing more than a rhetorical trick to increase the attractiveness and inevitability of their ideas."<sup>119</sup> Apart from charging Slaman for not having seen through this *trick*, Berkel implicitly poses the idea that the concept of the university as an ivory tower is not historical at all, but merely rhetorical. Instead of being the result of historical scrutinization, the concept is used as a means of persuasion. As will become clear from what follows, the archival material offers no decisive insights as to whether Berkel's assessment is correct or not. If one is to take Slaman's notion of the glass tower seriously, however, the source material does indicate that this development started at least a decade earlier than Slaman deems it to start. That is, the periodicals show that the university realm was under considerable

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<sup>116</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, 204: "Vanaf 1970 toonde de bedaaide academie onder maatschappelijke druk opnieuw haar lenigheid. De 'ivoren toren' veranderde in een toren van glas. Dat leverde een toegankelijk gebouw op: overheden, bedrijven, burgers en studenten konden nu van buitenaf zien wat de universiteit hen te bieden had en konden binnenkomen met hun wensen. De universiteit nam haar autoriteit niet meer als een gegeven, maar ging zich inspannen om anderen van haar praktische waarde te overtuigen. Het glas van de toren maakte het alledaagse zichtbaar."

<sup>117</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, 203.

<sup>118</sup> Berkel, "Review Pieter Slaman."

<sup>119</sup> Berkel, "Review Pieter Slaman," 155.

scrutiny over the whole course of the 1960s. I will expand on these ideas in the conclusion of this chapter.

In many ways, there is overlap between the abovementioned topics.<sup>120</sup> This will become apparent from what follows. To fit the different themes into a comprehensive whole, I make use of an overarching critique that makes up the *grand récit*. The main reason is that there is significant overlap between articles I categorized under the aforementioned themes. In this way, I am able to allow for this overlap, without it becoming a flaw for the argument I intend to make. For the purpose of this chapter, I use the following three overarching obsessions – if you will. Naturally, these are all connected to the realm of the university and the developments that took place over the course of the 1960s: (1) breaking with structures within the university's walls (democratization, student politics, etc.), (2) the university and the world (i.e. society, culture, etc.), and (3) the international character of and cooperation between student movements. I separate the different topics practically, rather than in terms of contents. For the overlap between different themes, in terms of their content, is too significant to make a proper distinction between them. Ultimately, I mean that I look for a sense of continuity and/or change within these obsessions. This method allows for the different themes to fit together well (and recur at different points) despite their overlap in terms of contents.

### **Breaking with Structures within the University's Walls**

One of the most significant developments that occurred within the realm of (Dutch) academia revolves around the manifold discussions, actions and counteractions that were held in light of democratization. The subject of education's democratization, that is, recurred frequently over the length of the 1960s. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, it appears there was no stable meaning attached to the term. Rather, there is a sense of *fluidity* to it. For example, the first explicit reference to democratization I found in the source material is from September 1960.<sup>121</sup> The piece was published by *Politeia*, a body of the democratic-socialistic student association which bears the same name. At this point in time, *Politeia* was still formally connected to the Dutch democratic-socialistic labor party, the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA). Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the author, Igor Cornelissen, primarily delved into problems that the PvdA was experiencing, i.e. the uncomfortable climate surrounding the party.<sup>122</sup> Some examples

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<sup>120</sup> I repeat: Democratization, internal university affairs (mainly politics), the relationship between the university and the 'outer world', the development of and up to the Kritikal University and articles that (explicitly) refer to Herbert Marcuse.

<sup>121</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Igor Cornelissen, "Het rode vaandel volgen," in *Politeia. Socialistisch studentenorgaan van de D.S.S.V. 'Politeia'* (1 September 1960), w.n., p. 1. Catalogue no. ZK 32393 (consulted 20 March 2023).

<sup>122</sup> Cornelissen was a student of political and social sciences from 1958 onwards. Although he did not finish his studies, he became editor-in-chief of leftist Dutch periodical *Vrij Nederland* from 1962 until 1997. See: Kagie, "In Memoriam Igor Cornelissen (1935–2021)."

of this uncomfortableness include the ‘weak’ principle program [*beginselfprogramma*] that the PVDA produced, and the fact that it the party condemned recent labor strikes as ‘savage’. Cornelissen considered these tendencies to be determined by fragmentation of the labor movement, both politically and in the union realm. Importantly, the article ends with a *call to action* to students who identify as socialist. Apart from having a feeling for socialist thought, “[b]eing a student and a socialist also means not isolating yourself in the student world, but rather trying to influence political life in the Netherlands - for example, by working in a socialist party. These are no small tasks, especially for the student, who, whether coming from a socialist background or not, enters the university environment which is strange to him, if not hostile. Politeia calls to them: help strengthen socialism at the universities and beyond, fight with them for the democratization of education, rally behind the red banner.”<sup>123</sup>

A year later, in 1961, the PvdA decided to break formal ties with Politeia. Allegedly, this break was due to the fierce criticism that the students expressed on the revisited party principles of 1959.<sup>124</sup> Cornelissen discussed this briefly and indicated that the PVDA, unfortunately, refused to provide reasons for breaking ties with *Politeia*. On the other hand, however, *Politeia* did receive endorsement from the student community in forms of supportive letters and novel members.<sup>125</sup> Perhaps because of this development, Cornelissen emphasized the problems that persisted *within* the university realm. Most notably, he mentioned that still, the percentage of least affluent students remained tiny in comparison to all students, despite the fact that the former group was the largest in terms of size. The process of democratization was in this sense in part about representation and the possibility to enter the realm of the university. Next to that, it was about the fact that political factors appeared to play a role in the selection of professors, and the anxious attitude of the Dutch government towards students’ forming of political opinions. For Cornelissen, “democratization of higher education cannot possibly be seen as apart from democratization of education proper.”<sup>126</sup>

Other aspects or interpretations of democratization were at play in the early 1960s. One of the most important topics in this respect involved the increasing number of *nihilist students*,

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<sup>123</sup> Cornelissen, “Het rode vaandel volgen”, 1: “Student en socialist zijn betekent ook je niet isoleren in het studentenwereldje, maar juist proberen het politieke leven in Nederland – bij voorbeeld door te werken in een socialistische partij – te beïnvloeden. Dit zijn geen geringe taken, zeker niet voor de studenten, die, al of niet afkomstig uit een socialistisch milieu, het hem vreemde, zo al niet vijandige universiteitsmilieu binnentreedt. Politeia roept hen toe: helpt het socialisme aan de universiteiten en daarbuiten versterken, strijdt mee voor de democratisering van het onderwijs, schaar je achter het rode vaandel.”

<sup>124</sup> Hietland, “Van rebellen groep tot partijelite?” 113.

<sup>125</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Igor Cornelissen, “Daadwerkelijke steun,” in *Politeia. Socialistisch studentenorgaan van de D.S.S.V. ‘Politeia’* (9 October 1961), vol. 16 no. 1, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZK 32393 (consulted 29 March 2023).

<sup>126</sup> Cornelissen, “Daadwerkelijke steun,” 1: “[Hierbij dient te worden opgemerkt dat] democratisering van het hoger onderwijs onmogelijk los gezien kan worden van de democratisering van het gehele onderwijs.”

and the overwhelming power of corpora they were confronted with within the university realm.<sup>127</sup> This was highlighted in an article published by the Nijmegen university periodical *Nijmeegs Universiteitsblad* (NUB).<sup>128</sup> The author argued that traditionally, in the context of Nijmegen at least, members of the various corpora pretended to fulfill the various tasks that were to be completed – i.e. maintaining contacts within the student realm, and anticipating (ensuring) future societal positions and comfort. Here, democratization was understood mainly as a possible means to secure the status (and comforts) of more types of students, among which nihilists – an ever-growing group at this point in time. These nihilists were characterized by the fact that they often chose an alternative path (during, as well as after their studies). This needed to be recognized and acted upon within academia. The ‘normal’ path, up to this point, was characterized by becoming a member of a any type corpora, which – to some extent – pushed their members in specific directions.<sup>129</sup> Importantly, or so Hermans argued, the academic institution needed to be made future-proof, i.e. “the formation of more appropriate institutions and the provision of suitable accommodation, in order to accommodate the functional differentiation within the student body.”<sup>130</sup>

In reaction to these tensions, Ton Regtien, who had started studying psychology in Nijmegen in 1959, wrote and published an article in *NUB* that dealt with these kind of questions.<sup>131</sup> In fact, apart from recognizing patterns, he made a concrete proposal to unite the voices of the largest group of students into a coherent body: a student-union (SVB).<sup>132</sup> In the article, he defined students as “young intellectual employees.”<sup>133</sup> If unions had been so helpful to broadcast the demands and needs of laborers, why not organize as students? Moreover, Regtien admitted that the government had enabled more people to enter the academic realm, as interest-free advances and scholarships had become more widely available since WWII. In that specific sense, democratization had already boosted. Nevertheless, the general (i.e. political,

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<sup>127</sup> Nihilists include those students who did not join traditional student associations.

<sup>128</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Jules Hermans, “O sacrum convivium,” in *NUB* (24 March 1962), vol. 11 no. 23, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZF 31205 (consulted 19 April 2023). Although it is unclear what Hermans studied, I do know that he was the president of the Nijmegen Cultural Student Association [*Nijmeegse Culturele Studenten Vereniging*] Diogenes that established in 1957. See: Unknown, “N.C.S.V. Diogenes.”

<sup>129</sup> Hermans remained rather vague as to what one ought to understand as an ‘alternative path,’ as he wrote that: “De nihilist voelt zich niet ‘en merge’ van het eigenlijke studentenleven: het merendeel kiest bewust een andere weg, een meer passende invulling vanuit de studentenwereld zelf.” Hermans, “O sacrum convivium,” 1.

<sup>130</sup> Hermans, “O sacrum convivium,” 1: “[Daarom] zal er in de toekomst gestreefd moeten worden naar de vorming van meer aangepaste instituties en het verlenen van geschikte accommodatie, om de functionele differentiatie binnen de studentenwereld op te vangen.”

<sup>131</sup> For more biographical information on Regtien, see: Maar, “De deeltjesversneller. Ton Regtien en de studentenbeweging in de jaren zestig,” 107–112.

<sup>132</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Ton Regtien, “De studenten-vakbeweging,” in *NUB* (15 February 1963), vol. 12 no. 7, pp. 1–2. Catalogue no. ZF 31205 (consulted 19 April 2023).

<sup>133</sup> Regtien, “De studenten-vakbeweging,” 1.

cultural: societal) idea of student life, according to Regtien, was still too much akin to “that of the traditional German student-corpora.”<sup>134</sup> In order to escape from the paternalistic tendencies of the Dutch government towards student life, a list of requirements was summed up, i.e. that students would be given the right of speech, that their voices may carry significant weight, and that they – similarly to peers outside academia – articulate and defend their group’s interests. In short, that they may be seen and treated as full-fledged members of society.<sup>135</sup> Again, this message was meant for that (increasing) group of students whose (parents’) wallets did not silently promise a safe ending in any case, and/or did not *want* to be reliant on this.<sup>136</sup>

Regarding internal relationships, e.g. between student-professor and university politics, a sense of chafing started to sprout. A group of students who did not feel connected to the *lifestyle* (including the ideals that come with it) that various corpora and other student-associations embodied started to emerge. This is represented in a rather cynical article published by *Demokrater*. The author (unknown) spoke of the changing image of the student, critiquing the “childlike” behavior and “prestige-bullying” that is akin to the typical student. Interestingly, the article critiqued any idea of what a student *ought* to look like, or how a student *ought* to behave. Instead of such normative ideas, the author argued for upholding a descriptive point of view: a student was simply someone who studies who studies – period.<sup>137</sup>

In a 1960 article published by *Trans-Informator*, it struck the author that “the youths” (defined as people between the ages 25–35, and thereby not exclusively students) showed so little interest in politics.<sup>138</sup> Two main reasons were given to explain this phenomenon, i.e. the lack of interest in politics. On the one hand, the political realm was considered to have dwelled out of the youth’s reach: “Especially the feeling of having no influence on politics, is an important reason.”<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, or so the author stated, politics would simply not be interesting enough for youths – it would bore them. This, in turn, was considered due to the fact

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<sup>134</sup> Regtien, “De studenten-vakbeweging,” 1: “[Het] Nederlands studentenleven hobbelt, tot groot vermaak van de dagbladpers, nog steeds voort op een verwaterd patroon van de oude Duitse studentencorpora.” In Regtien’s view Dutch corpora imitated Germanic corporal traditions. He writes that: “One may not duel anymore, but you should read Musil to see what remarkable imitation is brought to societal and related boards every year.” [“Men duelleert dan wel niet meer maar U moet Musil maar eens lezen om te zien wat voor merkwaardige imitatie jaarlijks op sociëtaire en aanverwante planken gebracht wordt.”]

<sup>135</sup> Regtien, “De studenten-vakbeweging,” 1.

<sup>136</sup> Regtien, “De studenten-vakbeweging,” 2.

<sup>137</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, “Emancipatie,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (16 October 1963), vol. 1 no. 1, p. 3. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023).

<sup>138</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): J.d.V., “Politiek en de Jongeren,” in *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging* (April 1960), vol. 9 no. 1, pp. 14–17. Catalogue no. ZO 31999 (consulted 30 March 2023). Seeing that the article is published by an Utrecht-based sociological student periodical, I assume that the author was a student of sociology at the time.

<sup>139</sup> J.v.D., “Politiek en de Jongeren,” 16: “Speciaal het gevoel geen invloed te hebben op de politiek, is een belangrijke reden.”

that entering the political realm required an expertise and specialization that youths simply could not offer – or did not want to do so.<sup>140</sup> The author concluded by stating that, in essence, politics were no longer an existential issue for youngsters. The author problematized this, as “politics are formally supposed to be interesting for youths.”<sup>141</sup>

Admittedly, the *Trans-Informator* article was on juvenile attitudes towards national politics, rather than university politics. Nevertheless, it serves as a fine example to highlight how the youths’ political interest changed severely over the course of the 1960s, albeit in a different political domain – initially. At least the youths that were active in the university realm, i.e. students. For the uprising of the SVB caused significant commotion within the university’s walls. In any case, the students’ interest in politics increased from 1963 onwards. This is showcased by the source material. For example, in another article published by *Trans-Informator* in early 1965 sociology student Peter G.W. Mulders noted that the student councils [*studieraden*] were beginning to get going properly.<sup>142</sup> Student involvement in this process was considered likely to be increasing, in comparison to the previous election where 33% of all students casted their votes. Moreover, Mulders expressed himself critically about VVD politician Molly Geertsema’s comments that students should not interfere with politics. Mulders, however, claimed that thinking about politics equals thinking about reality, and was therefore of no small value.<sup>143</sup>

From the second half of the 1960s onwards, things got heated within the political climate of academia. The Dutch Student Council [*Nederlandse Studentenraad*] (NSR) hosted a congress in 1965, which marked the end of the SVB’s affiliation with other student organizations, the Progressive Student Organization [*Progressieve Studentenorganisatie*] (PSO) and the Dutch Student Accord [*Nederlands Studenten Akkoord*] (NSA).<sup>144</sup> According to H.J. Bakker, who was one of editors-in-chief at *Demokrater* at the time of publication, the crux of the conflict lay in the different views as to how the NSR ought to function. I can imagine that debates

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<sup>140</sup> J.v.D., “Politiek en de Jongeren,” 16.

<sup>141</sup> J.v.D., “Politiek en de Jongeren,” 17: “Politiek behoort de jongeren formeel te interesseren.” The author nuances their views in the final sentence of the piece, stating that it is not a typical “juvenile” issue, but rather an issue of the times.

<sup>142</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Peter G.W. Smulders, “Studie en studentenpolitiek,” in *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging* (February 1965), vol. 14 no. 2, pp. 12–14. Catalogue no. ZK 33079 (consulted 17 April 2023). In the 1960s, Smulders was a student of sociology in Utrecht and Leiden. After having worked at the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs, he received his doctorate for a research on medical sociology and spent a large portion of his career to doing research. See: Pot, “Peter G.W. Smulders (1939-2020).”

<sup>143</sup> Smulders, “Studie en studentenpolitiek,” 12.

<sup>144</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): H.B., “SVB loopt weg,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (8 May 1965), vol. 2 no. 12, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023); To be precise, the NSA represented the interests of corpora, whereas the NSO was a moderate center party.

on these issues got too lengthy and had the tendency to take overshadow topics that the SVB actually wanted to fight for.

Up to this point in time, there were still discussions as to whether the SVB was a political organization or not. This was often brought up by the SVB's opponents.<sup>145</sup> As becomes clear from an article dated in October 1965, the SVB rather saw itself as an advocacy group [*belangenbehartigingsorganisatie*], which represented the interests of the increasing group of nihilists and grantees. According to Willy van Keeken, who was one of the editors at *SVB Amsterdam* at the time of publication, the SVB's meddling in the political realm were more likely the consequence of a necessary evil, as influence was simply to be exercised where the power was present.<sup>146</sup> In other words, advocating student interests necessitated political activity.

The student union's interfering with national politics could no longer be circumvented when the rapport-Maris was published in 1968.<sup>147</sup> Leading up to this point in time, however, it became a topic of debate as to whether the different student advocacy organizations, among which the SVB, still had a sense of (r)evolutionary power.<sup>148</sup> Towards the end of 1967, *Politeia* even published an article on the (alleged) crisis of the various student organizations (SVB, NSA, PSO).<sup>149</sup> It became a topic of debate, for example, whether the SVB still had a solid connection with their constituency. The following cartoon exemplifies this phenomenon:

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<sup>145</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): wvk, "Politiek," in *SVB Amsterdam : maandelijkse uitgave van de Afd. Amsterdam van de Nederlandse Studentenvakbeweging* (October 1965), vol. 1 no. 2, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZK 32992 (consulted 26 April 2023).

<sup>146</sup> Wvk, "Politiek," p. 1: "Invloed moet men nu eenmaal daar uitoefenen, waar de macht aanwezig is om het door de beïnvloeder [*sic*] gewenste beleid te bewerkstelligen."

<sup>147</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 787 (chapter 10, note 9).

<sup>148</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Maarten van Dullemen, "Studentenvakbeweging dec. 1965 geruisloze (r)evolutie," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (December 1965), vol. 3 no. 4, pp. 1, 3. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). Dullemen studied medicine in the 1960s and, after having joined the SVB, never quit being a student activist in spirit. See: Arian, "Christiaan Maarten van Dullemen."

<sup>149</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Huib Riethof, "De crisis in de studenten\_belangenbehartiging," in *Politeia. Socialistisch studentenorgaan van de D.S.S.V. 'Politeia'* (November 1967), vol. 44 no. 252, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZK 32393 (consulted 29 March 2023). In the 1960s, Riethof was closely connected to *Politeia* and the SVB. Later in life, he became a councilor of Amsterdam. See: Unkown, "Huib Riethof."





Figure 1: Illustration by Fred van Willigen, accompanying the article "Geen SVB-Karavaan".<sup>150</sup>

Here, the idea is clear: the SVB's constituency felt like they were losing track of where the SVB was headed. The main locomotive, embodied by the SVB, is being called out to "back up a bit!" by both the constituency and the train operator. The rear wagon reads "achterban" [constituency] and appears to be cramped with people (students). This aimed to represent how large the SVB's constituency actually was. The train operator's hat reads "Demokrater" and he is in the business of connecting the wagons back up again. In this respect, what strikes me is the role *Demokrater*, as a student periodical, attributed to itself; that is, as a medium that was able to link both ends of the spectrum back together. The student periodical attributed this ability to itself and stressed its importance for both the SVB and its constituency. In the front wagon, there is another train operator whose hat reads "leiding" [lead]. This represented the people who made decisions as to the trail the SVB will follow. But why was the SVB being called back? From the accompanying article, it becomes evident that there were multiple (nonexclusive) reasons for this. The main one concerns the fact that, at the time, the SVB's ideological framework was blurred to the extent that no members could tell what it was anymore.<sup>151</sup> Importantly, the SVB's leaders were deemed too obscure in their decision making. The group of students that was represented by the organization, was out of loss as to how decisions were

<sup>150</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Tineke Nijenhuis, "Geen SVB-karavaan," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (June 1967), vol. 4 no. 9, pp. 1, 8. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). Sadly, I have not found any biographical information on Nijenhuis.

<sup>151</sup> Nijenhuis, "Geen SVB-karavaan," 1: "Het oude kader is weg en er is geen nieuw [sic] voor in de plaats gekomen'. Deze noodkreten hoor ik de laatste tijd. En voor de oplettende toeschouwer is het duidelijk dat dit werkelijk geen loze kreten zijn. Vraag elk willekeurig lid van de SVB nu precies de ideologie van de organisatie, waarop ze stemmen en waarvoor ze kontributie betalen, inhoudt. Ze kunnen het je niet vertellen."

made and felt left out the process. Nijenhuis wrote that: “[H]ow to possibly do things differently is only discussed at the top and probably decided there. What actually happens in a membership meeting [*ledenvergadering*]? What are these membership meetings for?”<sup>152</sup> The movement who had pleaded for democratization from the beginning of its establishment was itself lacking with respect to these traits. Apart from portraying this feeling that persisted at the time, viz. that the SVB’s leading forces were literally losing their constituency and, despite all efforts, the means to get them on the same page again (through *Demokrater*), the illustration offers a telling sense of the significance of student periodicals. Solving these problems ought to have happened by means of student periodicals, which (critically) broadcasted both the SVB’s as the members’ developments, concerns and wishes.<sup>153</sup>

Back to the rapport-Maris. Whereas the student movement(s), and accompanying students, may had lost their shared sense of track for a bit, the publication of this rapport put that to a halt. I follow Berkel’s metaphorical assessment of the rapport as a bomb that was dropped within the realm of academia.<sup>154</sup> This bomb had the effect of, once again, unifying students and student organizations such as the SVB. Essentially, the rapport-Maris proposed a novel way of organizing the university, akin to the way corporations operated. The rapport stated that, in order to let the university function properly, the age-old dualistic management structure was insufficient.<sup>155</sup> Instead, universities should be managed as corporations were managed, despite their inherent differences.<sup>156</sup> Berkel neatly sums up the message of the rapport-Maris, when he writes that: “[According to the rapport], [l]eadership should be provided from a central point, and from that point each component should be assigned its own task. This is efficient and allows quick adaptation to changing circumstances. In summary, this meant that three conditions had to be met: that at the head of the organization is a homogeneous body that ensures unity of policy; that responsibilities and obligations of each component are clearly defined; and that there is clear and smooth communication, both horizontally and vertically.”<sup>157</sup> Essentially, a *managerialist turn* was on the horizon. For Maris,

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<sup>152</sup> Nijenhuis, “Geen SVB-karavaan,” 1: “[H]oe het eventueel anders moet wordt alleen nog maar in de top besproken en waarschijnlijk ook daar beslist. Wat gebeurt er eigenlijk in een ledenvergadering? Waar zijn die ledenvergaderingen voor?”

<sup>153</sup> In the bottom right of the illustration, the word “bethanog” is present. It is not discussed in the main text because I could not find a significant meaning to it.

<sup>154</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 350–354

<sup>155</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 352.

<sup>156</sup> For example, the fact that university does not (aim to) make a profit, and its ‘product’ is hard to define. See: Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 352.

<sup>157</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 352: “Vanuit een centraal punt moet leiding gegeven worden en vanuit dat punt moet elk onderdeel een eigen taak toegewezen krijgen. Dat is efficiënt en maakt snelle aanpassing aan veranderende omstandigheden mogelijk. Samengevat betekende dat dat er aan drie voorwaarden voldaan moest zijn: dat aan het hoofd van de organisatie een homogeen orgaan staat dat de

the end of the “professor’s university” [*professorenuniversiteit*] was near. Managerial positions would be taken up by ‘proper’ managers, and professors and members of the academic staff would come to work *for* these managers, instead of the other way around. The rapport, in short, represented a reversal of the existing order until then.<sup>158</sup>

According to Berkel, a new dimension of student involvement in the political structure of academia unfolded since the publication of the rapport-Maris.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, students felt like their interests and demands and previous efforts were overlooked completely. For example, the word “students” only recurs three times over the whole rapport.<sup>160</sup> The proposal that the future of academia would lay in the hands of managers, allowing for very little input from students (or the academic community as a whole) and bringing about a definite top-down managerial structure, made students feel bypassed. This sentiment is clearly articulated in an article by Tom de Greef, where he stated that: “Maris comes up [...] with a tightly run organization at the head of which sits an omniscient Presidium answerable only to the minister. The military-like structure of the Maris organizational model means that accountability runs only from the bottom up and never the other way around. The university council [*universiteitsraad*] has a

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eenheid van beleid waarborgt; dat verantwoordelijkheden en verplichtingen van elk onderdeel duidelijk zijn vastgelegd; en dat er sprake is van een heldere en soepel lopende communicatie, zowel horizontaal als verticaal.”; See also HPS-graduate Floris Boudens’ recent thesis on a similar subject. Boudens’ thesis is a fine historical study which delves into the development of Utrecht University’s management from WUB to MUB (1945–1997) and, in doing so, frequently touches on national developments. See: Boudens, “The Ivory Tower Inc.”; For a summary and critique of the contents of the rapport from a student’s perspective, see IISG (Amsterdam): hv., “Wat wil het rapport Maris?” in *SVB Amsterdam : maandelijks uitgave van de Afd. Amsterdam van de Nederlandse Studentenvakbeweging* (27 May 1968), vol. 4 no. 5, pp. 3, 6. Catalogue no. ZK 32992 (consulted 26 April 2023).

<sup>158</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 253.

<sup>159</sup> Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden*, 355.

<sup>160</sup> hv., “Wat wil het rapport Maris?” 6.

completely non-committal character and is exclusively a consultative body with no power of decision.”<sup>161</sup> The illustration that accompanies the article showed this sentiment at once:



Figure 2: Illustration by unknown creator in *Demokrater*.<sup>162</sup>

Maris is represented as being seated in a wheelchair, essentially at the mercy of the business community and/or corporate mindset [*bedrijfsleven*] which had its hands at the wheel. In turn, the business community is represented as being an extension of the government. Although Maris wore glasses in reality, the glasses that he wears in the illustration have a darkness to them that indicate blindness of the person wearing them. Perhaps this was meaning to say that Maris did not (over)see how badly students suffered from ‘his’ rapport. Consequently, the illustration indicates that Maris was but a mere puppet for the government to reorganize university such that it profited corporate life at the cost of the students themselves. For students bore the brunt of this constellation – they are literally overridden by it. It leads one to think that Maris did so blindly; how else could he laugh and wave after crushing students? Moreover, the

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<sup>161</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Tom de Greef, “Maris, katalysator van de studenten,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (May 1968), vol. 5 no. 9, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023): “Maris komt [...] met een strak geleide organisatie aan het hoofd waarvan een alwetend Presidium zetelt die uitsluitend verantwoordelijkheid schuldig is aan de minister. De militair aandoende structuur [*sic*] van het Maris organisatiemodel houdt in dat verantwoordingsplicht slechts van onder naar boven loopt en nooit omgekeerd. De universiteitsraad heeft een volkomen vrijblijvend karakter en is uitsluitend een overlegskollege [*sic*] met geen enkele zeggingsmacht.” I have not found additional biographical information on Greef.

<sup>162</sup> Greef, “Maris, katalysator van de studenten,” 1.

wheels are more reminiscent of a tractor, than of an actual wheelchair. In my view, the clothing he wears (toga, beret) hint at the idea that Maris was of a 'high' social order. This could be another reason why he still smiles and waves politely after overriding the student – he was simply too disconnected from them to feel any kind of empathy. The placement of the name near the overridden student combined with the identical color (red) underscores that the illustrator was also a student. The final words of the article resonate well with Berkel's assessment that the rapport-Maris accelerated the politicization of the student movement: "It is every revolutionary's job to make revolution. Now it is every students' job to know and fight Maris. Not because Maris is a nasty man, but because his ideas are perilous."<sup>163</sup> As will become clear indeed, the student being ran over was not a matter of defeat, but rather an impulse for renewed unification.

### **The University and the World**

From 1967 onwards the student movement and accompanying discussions about democratization got a new dimension. As I already mentioned, the (novel) keyword was *politization* and it was embodied by the KrU. This movement came into existence in the fall of 1967, as a change of course was happening in the Nijmegen chapter of SVB. The movement had an anarchistic organizational structure and was theoretically indebted to the works of critical theorists, including Marcuse – and thereby also Marxist ideology. The KrU itself, as a concept, was not created by these Dutch students, but rather adopted from *comrades* of the Freie Universität in Berlin.<sup>164</sup> As Schopman notes, the change of course that was embodied by the KrU concerned, among other things, a shift towards criticism on the university as a whole, as well as the current societal system.<sup>165</sup> In other words, society at large became a topic of debate. Cohen agrees with this assessment and stresses the role that the rapport-Maris had in this shift: "For student politics, the Maris action marked a decisive turn. The SVB, in the process of conquering the majority in the representative bodies of the student realm, left behind the phase of business advocacy behind for good, and developed into a left-opposition, anti-capitalist action group."<sup>166</sup>

From 1967 onwards, articles on the KrU appear cautiously in the archival sources. A bridge between the university and the world was in construction indeed. According to Faas

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<sup>163</sup> Greef, "Maris, katalysator van studenten," 1: "Het is de taak van iedere revolutionair om revolutie te maken. Nu is het de taak van iedere student om Maris te kennen en hem te bestrijden. Niet omdat Maris een nare man is, maar omdat zijn ideeën levensgevaarlijk zijn."

<sup>164</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Ton Regtien, "Waar komt de KrU vandaan?" in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (January 1968), vol. 5 no. 5, p. 3. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023); Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, 29.

<sup>165</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 26.

<sup>166</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, 33: "Voor de studentenpolitiek betekende de Maris-actie een beslissende wending. De SVB, bezig de meerderheid in de vertegenwoordigde organen van de studentenwereld te veroveren, liet de fase van zakelijke belangenbehartiging definitief achter zich, en ontwikkelde zich tot een links-oppositionele, anti-kapitalistische [*sic*] actiegroep."

Swart, who published in *Demokrater*, the KrU meant not only to anger people with respect to the conditions in contemporary society, but also to make it such that they did not want to participate in such a society at all.<sup>167</sup> Swart's article was a call for action, a call for those who had trouble convincing themselves of their own passivity in the process of making a change. Although Marcuse was not mentioned explicitly, inherent references to his line of thought drip from the page. Marcuse's thesis that the inner-workings of advanced industrial societies led to one-dimensional thinking, out of which it had been (very) hard to break through, was represented by Swart. Moreover, the idea that *the system* constituted a rigged game, and that change ought to be brought about with a bottom-up approach, was articulated as such:

The only positive thing that the KrU can achieve is, that at some point there are a number of people who are willing to initiate a social change from below with their full personal commitment, to conduct a kind of psychological guerilla within the existing structure and using (abusing?) it. To achieve this we have to break through a wall of laxity, stuckness and fear; but before this can be started, we must first break through our own laxity etc. All this is not to say that this cannot be accompanied by regular concrete actions; in my opinion these are undeniable. But the most important action right now is thinking itself, and making others think.<sup>168</sup>

In another article, it was articulated to what extent the KrU broadcasted Marcusean thought. The author Hugues C. Boekraad, who studied classical languages and philosophy, described how the average student's position was determined by dependency, which was due to the discrepancy between their knowledge, accompanying desires and the limited possibilities of realizing these.<sup>169</sup> When the author describes what the forerunners of the KrU actually *did*, or so I argue, this has many similarities with Marcusean ideology and/or rhetoric. That is, Boekraad credited them with being the "processors of the expansion of collective consciousness," and

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<sup>167</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Faas Swart, "De KrU op retraite," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (January 1968), vol. 5 no. 5, p. 3. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). Sadly, I did not find biographical information on Swart.

<sup>168</sup> Swart, "De KrU op retraite," 3: "Het enige positieve dat de KrU kan bereiken is, dat er op een bepaald moment een aantal mensen zijn die bereid zijn om met hun volledige persoonlijke inzet van onder af een maatschappelijke verandering te entameren, om binnen de bestaande structuur en met gebruik (misbruik?) daarvan een soort psychologische guerrilla te voeren. Daarvoor moeten we door een muur van laksheid, vastgeroest-zitten en angst heen; maar voordat daarmee begonnen kan worden, moeten we eerst door onze eigen laksheid etc. heen. Dit alles wil niet zeggen dat dit niet samen kan gaan met geregelde konkrete acties; volgens mij zijn die onmiskenbaar. Maar de belangrijkste aktie op dit moment is het denken zelf, en het anderen aan het denken zetten."

<sup>169</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Hugues C. Boekraad, "De KrU in Nijmegen: Elite of massa?" in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (January 1968), vol. 5 no. 5, p. 2. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023): Boekraad first studied classical languages from 1959–1967 and later started studying philosophy. He was one of the leading figures of the SVB from 1967–1969, next to Ton Regtien. See: Droog, "Hugues. C. Boekraad."

“expanding the field of student demands methodologically, from their own specific demands up to demands that cover increasingly larger parts of society.”<sup>170</sup> General societal problems that appeared far away were related to students’ own situation and students’ own problems were related to general societal structures that were deemed responsible for these problems.

Boekraad summed up that:

From the primary awareness of the student's dependence on the university and the state, the inquiry into the character of the university and the state arises. In the process, the myth of the independence of the university soon perishes. It turns out to be affiliated to society in numerous ways. And not simply to society as a whole, but rather to certain groups in society that occupy a dominant position. The enslaving role of the university to certain social interests is seen through. With freedom of value as an ideology, and specialization as a form of education, the supposedly free research institute produces the higher servants of the welfare state.<sup>171</sup>

Here, the author emphasized the (oppressive) inner-workings of society which operated in favor of the dominant groups and at the cost of others. The university and its students were understood as enslaved by the interests of ‘certain social interests’, i.e. of those who held a dominant position in society. In that sense, the university was put along the same line as the other “outcasts and outsiders” on whom Marcuse pinned (his) hope for betterment.<sup>172</sup>

Now, as I said, the SVB and KrU interpreted the rapport-Maris as a means to silent the student’s voice in organizational (democratic) matters even more than they felt was already the case. Members of the university (students and staff), an institution that was deemed to echo the inner-structures that were at play in society at large, were declined active and critical

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<sup>170</sup> Boekraad, “De KrU in Nijmegen: Elite of massa?” 2: “Tegelijkertijd raken zij de frustraties van hun verleden kwijt, doordat zij de bewerkers van een kollektieve bewustzijnsverruiming worden. Zij breiden het veld van de studenteneisen methodisch uit, van hun eigen specifieke studenteneisen tot eisen die steeds groter gebieden van de maatschappij bestrijken.”

<sup>171</sup> Boekraad, “De KrU in Nijmegen: Elite of massa?” 2: “Vanuit het primair besef van de afhankelijkheid van de student van de universiteit en de staat, ontstaat het onderzoek naar het karakter van de universiteit en de staat. Daarbij sneuvelt al spoedig de mythe van de onafhankelijkheid van de universiteit. Zij blijkt op talloze manieren geliëerd aan de maatschappij. En niet zo maar aan de hele maatschappij, maar aan bepaalde groepen in de maatschappij die een dominerende positie bekleden. De knechtenrol van de universiteit aan bepaalde maatschappelijke belangen wordt doorzien. Met waardevrijheid als ideologie, en specialisatie als opleidingsvorm levert het zogenaamd vrije onderzoeksinstituut de hogere bedienaren van de welvaartsstaat af.”

<sup>172</sup> Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 261: “When they [the substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable. In short, those who live outside the democratic process] get together and go out into the streets, without arms, without protection, in order to ask for the most primitive civil rights, they know that they face dogs, stones, and bombs, jail, concentration camps, even death. Their force is behind every political demonstration for the victims of law and order. The fact that they start refusing to play the game may be the fact which marks the beginning of the end of a period.”

participation in its organizational structure. One could argue that, indeed, these critical students felt themselves forced into a Marcusean one-dimensionality. When Swart argued that first and foremost, students must break through a wall of laxity, stuckness and fear, and that the starting point is to *start thinking* and make others think (critically!), I take this to be akin to Marcuse's emphasis on the need for critical thinking, and the difficulty of doing so in a system that advocates a non-critical way of life by means of satisfying (and creating) the needs of individuals. Moreover, Boekraad's analysis that the student's position was one of dependency, and that their lack of resistance was due to the fact that they were compensated by the prospect of a "useful function" in the future, is akin to Marcusean ideology. That is, in my view, this closely resembles Marcuse's idea that the satisfaction (and projection) of individuals' needs made them not wanting qualitative change or the ability to express critique anymore.<sup>173</sup>

It is not the case, however, that the rapport-Maris and the development towards the KrU marked the beginning of student press discourse on subjects such as the relationship between student-professor, student-society, science (academia)-society, et cetera. As the archive material shows, these discussions were held from the beginning of the 1960s – at least.<sup>174</sup> I will provide some examples. In an article published by *Trans-informator* in November 1960, Drs. J.S. van Hessen (sociology) tried to seek clarification for the phenomenon of science (academia) moving more and more into the realm of corporate life.<sup>175</sup> Instead of interpreting this phenomenon as a "cultural downfall", Hessen argued that this was actually a "natural phenomenon", as each social greatness would eventually undergo the influence of its own *brainchild*. As science had helped business to evolve and grow, in other words, it did not surprise the author that science was evolving by means of traits that were akin to the corporate

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<sup>173</sup> Boekraad, "De KrU in Nijmegen: Elite of massa?" 2: "Deze positie [van de student] is er een van afhankelijkheid. De beperkte consumptiemogelijkheden en de totale onproductiviteit van de studenten worden gekompenseerd door het vooruitzicht op een 'nuttige functie' en een royaal leven in de toekomst. Dit neemt niet weg, dat studenten gefrustreerde consumenten en producenten blijven. Verzet tegen hun afhankelijkheid is latent aanwezig. Zij is het gevolg van de diskrepantie tussen hun kennis, en daarop gebaseerde verlangens, en aan de andere kant de zeer beperkte mogelijkheid deze te realiseren."

<sup>174</sup> Not saying, however, that the same sentiments or intellectual principles are present in the articles. I think that with the KrU, there was definitely a shift in terms of *how* these topics were treated. In that sense, I agree with Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging 1963-1973*, 83: "De KrU-Nijmegen heeft in belangrijke mate bijgedragen tot de verspreiding van de geschriften van Marcuse en de Frankfurters."

<sup>175</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): J.S. van Hessen, "Instituut en symboliek," in *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging* (November 1960), vol. 9 no. 4/5, pp. 10–12. Catalogue no. ZO 31999 (consulted 30 March 2023). Hessen received his doctorate in sociology in 1964, so at the time of publication he probably working on that project. In 1969, he became professor in sociology in Utrecht. See: <https://profs.library.uu.nl/index.php/profrec/getprofdata/872/12/33/0>



realm.<sup>176</sup> For Hessen, this was particularly evident when looking at the way the new Institute of Sociology was structured, both internally and externally (architecturally). The new scientific institute symbolized the way towards a scientific corporation. In his view, the corporate symbolism that encompassed the new building marked a positive turn.<sup>177</sup>

V.M.'s article, on the other hand, zoomed in on the sense of anxiety that "today's" students know all too well.<sup>178</sup> In the article, V.M. sought an explanation for the fear of life [*levensangst*] that many students were familiar with. In this case, the main problem was "that if one does not take the matter [studying] seriously, one will be stuck in an uncomfortable position, from which there is no turning back, and if one does take it seriously they will always feel inadequate in comparison to science as a whole."<sup>179</sup> Over the remainder of the article, a solution to this problem was not sought.

Addressing the relationship between science and society, F. Wels posed the idea that the academic society was essentially a shadow-society [*schaduwmaatschappij*] of society at large.<sup>180</sup> As a result, the academic (shadow) society was considered to be in a constant interaction of influences and influencing. This was deemed to apply – beyond explanatory or explainable sociocultural phenomena – to the structure of the (power) relationship as reflected in the academic realm. The author discussed the issue of how difficult it had been for a scientist to also influence the formation of society at large. As supposed by the author, the difficulty lay in the fact that (social) scientists ought to be engaged with society whilst maintaining a critical distance. G. Th. van Beusekom, on the other hand, pleaded for the idea that the university had an important role to play in ensuring that the transmission of culture to younger generations went smoothly.<sup>181</sup> In other words, young people had to be instilled with an awareness of society's values. In this process, the university played an important role. Importantly, "culture" is

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<sup>176</sup> Hessen, "Instituut en symboliek," 10: "Iedere sociale grootheid, zoals hier de wetenschap, die andere heeft helpen voortbrengen en grootmaken, - in dit geval het bedrijfsleven -, ondergaat op de [*sic*] duur de invloed van het eigen 'geesteskind'."

<sup>177</sup> Hessen, "Instituut en symboliek," 11-12.

<sup>178</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): V.M., "Vage onrust," in *Binding : orgaan van de Stichting Het Nederlands Studenten Sanatorium* (January-February 1961), vol. 6 no. 5, pp. 2-3. Catalogue no. PM 13451 (consulted 20 March 2023). There is no biographical information on V.M.

<sup>179</sup> V.M., "Vage onrust," 3: "[A]s men de zaak [het studeren] niet serieus neemt, men op een onaangename positie, waar geen weg terug meer is, blijft hangen, en als men het wel serieus aanpakt steeds zal voelen te kort te schieten ten opzichte van de wetenschap."

<sup>180</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): F. Wels, "Volg het spoor vooruit," in *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging* (February 1963), vol. 12 no. 15, pp. 4-7. Catalogue no. ZK 33079 (consulted 30 March 2023), 4. At the time of publication, Wels was president of the Utrecht Sociological Student Association [*Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging*], which means s/he was a student.

<sup>181</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): G. Th. van Beusekom, "Universiteit en cultuur," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (21 March 1964), vol. 1 no. 10, p. 3. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). I did not find any additional biographical information on Beusekom.

(broadly) defined as "the complete set of values that a society has built up throughout its history."<sup>182</sup> Essentially, the author understood culture as society's property. Therefore, according to the author, it was regrettable that this (culture) was not owned by the masses, but rather carried by an elite of "intellectuals" and "artists". In the case of established institutions, too many students failed to develop into culture-bearers in our society. Beusekom argued that something was faltering in the transmission of culture, and that it was the business of university education, and of those who moved within this realm, to identify and overcome this faltering. Essentially, universities were not sufficiently fulfilling their culture-bearing function. Therefore, Beusekom considered a revision of university education as being necessary. For the culture-bearing function had to become of the utmost importance again, and not simply disregarded by hammering at side issues. Lastly, Swart's article (also) discussed the function of university in today's society and the problems that came along with it.<sup>183</sup> Although it was rather a congressional announcement than an argument, the questions (themes) that are posed give an idea of the issues that were at play during the time. These include the following: To what extent did one have to adapt to the longstanding principles of the university? Or should scientific education have adapted to the then current desire for specialists? Was universalist forming [*universalistische vorming*] still worth pursuing? If so, was the university the most appropriate institution for this? And how could students from lower social backgrounds have progressed well [*goed doorstromen*] and be properly guided in the process?<sup>184</sup> In my view, the examples above showcase that kritikal discourse was already well-underway before the publication of the rapport-Maris, Marcuse's rise to (intellectual) fame and/or the SVB's development towards the KrU. I will elaborate on this assessment in the conclusion of this chapter.

### **The International Character of the Student Movement(s)**

The way students organized themselves in the Netherlands, e.g. through means of the SVB, was a reflection of a world-wide phenomenon. Globally, that is, students were trying to make their voices heard and count. (Labor) unions were a great influence in doing so. Although their message, members and wishes were different, they did both try to defend their best interest against the power of those in control (governments and big capital). For many students thought that these parties essentially controlled the way the university was organized, in the case of the Netherlands at least. Historiographical accounts tend to delve only a little into the international

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<sup>182</sup> Beusekom, "Universiteit en cultuur," 3: "Voor ons doel kunnen we met een voorzichtige omschrijving volstaan: cultuur is het geheel van waarden dat een samenleving in de loop van haar geschiedenis opgebouwd heeft."

<sup>183</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): IISG (Amsterdam): J.M.M. de Swart, "Krisis in de universiteit???" in *Trans-informator. Sociologisch studentenblad. Orgaan van de Utrechtse Sociologische Studenten Vereniging* (April 1965), vol. 14 no. 3, p. 12. Catalogue no. ZK 33079 (consulted 17 March 2023). Sadly, I did not find any biographical information on Swart.

<sup>184</sup> Swart, "Krisis in de universiteit???" 12.

character of the student movement. And if they do, they primarily focus on main events that happened in Europe, such as the student revolts in Germany and France. Interestingly, from what I found in the student periodicals, there was significant coverage of the development of student organizations on a global scale. The first instance I found is of *Demokrater* and reported developments of student organizations in Lebanon, South-Africa, Morocco, Sweden, Portugal, France, Hungary and Peru.<sup>185</sup> Most notably, Lebanon was reported to have been accepted into the International Union of Students (IUS), a union whose “starting point was the idea of unifying the international student movement.”<sup>186</sup> In Morocco, two members of the national union of Moroccan students were sentenced to death, for having contributed to a complot against King Hassan – allegedly. As reported, this caused protests initiated by student organizations globally. In Hungary, the board of the IUS is reported to had come together for a meeting, comprising of representatives of 37 (!) countries.<sup>187</sup> The following topics were discussed: maintaining world peace, the disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the battle against colonialism.<sup>188</sup> These topics were shared across all different programs, and options to collaborate were explored during the meeting.

There were other international student organizations. Notably, there was the International Student Conference (ISC). This organization was originally to create the opportunity for student organizations in different countries to cooperate in terms of student-wellbeing, traveling, sports, etc. At the time of the ISC’s founding, in the 1950s, the seventeen unions that were a part of it were explicitly ordered to refrain from any type of political activity.<sup>189</sup> “However”, as the author explained, “the times changed, and more and more unions from Africa, Latin-America and Asia joined the ISC. They did not and could not limit themselves to sporting-events and study trips: some of them came from a country where the most basic freedoms had been denied them, some were fighting colonial rule. All of them wanted to participate actively in the future of their country. They came with ideals of independence, freedom and relief from the cold war.”<sup>190</sup> Accordingly, a political dimension was added to the

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<sup>185</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, “Buitenland,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (29 April 1964), vol. 1 no. 11, p. 2. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023).

<sup>186</sup> Author(s) unknown, “Buitenland,” 2: “Uitgangspunt daarbij was de gedachte aan een unificatie van de internationale studentenbeweging.”

<sup>187</sup> Ten from Latin-America, 9 from Africa, 7 from Asia, 3 from the Middle-East, and 8 from Europe.

<sup>188</sup> Author(s) unknown, “Buitenland,” 2: “Voorstellen tot samenwerking worden gedaan op gemeenschappelijke programmapunten als behoud van de wereldvrede, de ontwapening, de vreedzame co-existentie [*sic*] en de strijd tegen het Kolonialisme.”

<sup>189</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): C.J., “De 11<sup>e</sup> International Student Conference,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (17 October 1964), vol. 2 no. 1, p. 8. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). At the time of publication, C. Jonker was one of the editors of *Demokrater*.

<sup>190</sup> C.J., “De 11<sup>e</sup> International Student Conference,” 8: Maar de tijden veranderden, en steeds meer Unies uit Afrika, Latijns Amerika en Azië werden lid van de ISC. Zij wilden en konden zich niet beperken tot

ISC from the beginning of the 1960s onwards. This specific article reported on the charter that the ISC developed and broadcasted in 1964, condemning multiple issues in the form of resolutions. Among other things, condemnations were expressed with relation to South-Africa's persisting apartheid-politics, Portugal's colonial politics that oppressed basic rights of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guyana, San Tomé and the Príncipe Islands. On top of that, East-Germany was condemned for the totalitarian elements of its politics and solidarity with South-Korean students was expressed with respect to their battle for freedom and democracy.<sup>191</sup> The fundamental starting point for the ISC entailed the conviction that the university's freedom and the freedom of society could be separated. Accordingly, the conditions for a free society comprised of political democracy and socioeconomic justice.<sup>192</sup> If anything, these examples show that students all across the world sought ways to unite themselves and expressed their loyalty towards each other's (political) misery.

Apart from expressing solidarity, international students and/or student organizations influenced each other in terms of what kind of events were organized. The Amsterdam Student Union [*Amsterdamse studentenvakbond*] (ASVA) started organizing so-called *teach-ins* in the fall of 1965, following the lead of American and English students.<sup>193</sup> A teach-in was a discussion format where experts, students and laymen came together to discuss topics within the realms of politics, science and journalism.<sup>194</sup> Moreover, extensive pieces were published on the situations of other student organizations around the world. The more in-depth articles I found concerned the Spanish, German and French student revolts.<sup>195</sup> In Spain, student revolts came to an

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sportevenementen en studiereizen: sommige van hen kwamen uit een land waar de meest elementaire vrijheden hen ontzegd waren, sommige vochten tegen koloniale overheersing. Allen wilden zij actief meewerken aan de toekomst van hun land. Zij kwamen met idealen van onafhankelijkheid, vrijheid en ontspanning in de koude oorlog."

<sup>191</sup> C.J., "De 11e International Student Conference," 8.

<sup>192</sup> C.J., "De 11e International Student Conference," 8: "Uitgaande van de overtuiging dat de vrijheid van de Universiteit en de vrijheid van de maatschappij niet van elkaar te scheiden zijn, noemt het charter vervolgens als voorwaarden voor een vrije maatschappij: politieke democratie en economische en sociale rechtvaardigheid."

<sup>193</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): p.v.d., "ASVA organiseert teach-in over Viet-nam," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (23 October 1965), vol. 3 no. 2, p. 4. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). I was not able to find out who p.v.d. was.

<sup>194</sup> p.v.d., "ASVA organiseert teach-in over Viet-nam."

<sup>195</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Max Perthus, "Het spaanse studentenverzet," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (26 March 1966), vol. 3 no. 7, p. 7. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). Max Perthus was Pieter van 't Hart's pseudonym. Van 't Hart (1910–1975) fought in the Spanish Civil War and was (probably) not a student at the time of publication. He was a devoted Marxist. See: Unknown, "Max Perthus."; Henk Vlaar, "Studenten tussen democratie en notstand," in *SVB Amsterdam : maandelijke uitgave van de Afd. Amsterdam van de Nederlandse Studentenvakbeweging* (8 September 1967), vol. 3 no. 8, pp. 1, 3. Catalogue no. ZK 32992 (consulted 26 April 2023). I did not find any biographical information on Vlaar; Paul Brill, Rob Sijmons, and Arnold Walravens, "De laatste struiptrekkingen van een tijdperk," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (May 1968), vol. 5 no 9, pp. 3–4. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). I cannot offer additional biographical information on the authors.

aggressive encounter between students and police 1965. As Perthus reported, Spain had an active student movement since the second half of the 1950s. Many demonstrations were held since that time were shut down aggressively by the authorities. In the beginning of 1965, students demanded a new set of resolutions, viz. a independent student union [*studentenvakorganisatie*], general amnesty for punished students, freedom of speech for the university and the possibility of admission to universities for all classes of the population. The demonstration was – again – brutally shut down by the authorities. Water cannons and billets were used to teach the students a *proper* lesson. Ultimately, 100 students were wounded, 20 of which severely and one very severely.<sup>196</sup> As Vlaar reported in another article, similar aggressive tendencies against student uprisings were occurrent in Berlin over the course of the 1960s. The lowest point in the history of the German (Berlin) student revolts was arguably the death of Benno Ohnesorg on 2 July 1967, during an anti-Sjah demonstration. He was shot by a West-German policeman.<sup>197</sup> In France, Paris student revolts peaked in May 1968, leading to nation-wide strikes and revolts. As the authors noted, in Paris the authorities and students also clashed aggressively at a certain point. The article was a report on how these protests evolved, starting out peacefully and ultimately leading to teargas bombs, water cannons and hurt protesters.<sup>198</sup>

The most direct form of activism that was spurred by chapters of the KrU and SVB, viz. the occupations of university buildings in Nijmegen in 1968 and in Tilburg and Amsterdam in 1969, reflected a way of activism that had started in Germany.<sup>199</sup> As Heer noted, German students started the praxis of occupying university buildings and, in doing so, said farewell to making collective *requests* on the base of what was discussed during teach-ins. They were making demands at this point, whether successfully or not.<sup>200</sup> In any case, the revolutionary students wanted to introduce the ideas of the KrU in the sciences, in order to make it (science) a practice of freedom instead of oppression. Within this context, “the occupation of institutions were, at times, no more than symbolic attempts to this ideal forward, and in some cases even to institutionalize it.”<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Perthus, “Het Spaanse studentenverzet,” 7.

<sup>197</sup> Vlaar, “Studenten tussen democratie en notstand,” 1, 3.

<sup>198</sup> Brill, Sijmons, and Walravens, “De laatste stuiprekkingen van een tijdperk,” 3–4.

<sup>199</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Hannes Heer, “Hervorming tegen links,” in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (1 May 1969), vol. 6 no. 7, p. 4. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023). I cannot offer additional biographical information on Heer.

<sup>200</sup> Heer, “Hervorming tegen links,” 4.

<sup>201</sup> Heer, “Hervorming tegen links,” 4: In deze kontekst waren de insituutsbezettingen, soms niet meer dan symbolische pogingen dit ideaal duidelijk naar voren te brengen, en in bepaalde gevallen zelfs te institutionaliseren.”

## Conclusion

My main objective for chapter was to find out whether countercultural themes were at play among students in the Netherlands between 1960–1970, and to what extent this is showcased by student press-periodicals. What was discussed in student press-periodicals, and what does this tell us about the common chronology? When did students start to uphold a *kritikal* stance, and what characterized such a stance in the first place?

I want to come back to a couple of historiographical theses that occurred throughout the chapter. In the section *The Crumbling Image of the University as an Ivory Tower*, I made clear that Pieter Slaman's uses a notion of the glass tower to characterize the realm of the university from the 1970s onwards. This notion was introduced to replace the idea of the 'traditional' university as an ivory tower, an entity displaced from societal concerns and essentially operating in an isolated manner. The archive material does not lead to me to assess whether or not Berkel's notion that the idea of the university as an ivory tower is no result of historical scrutinization whatsoever, but rather a concept that is used as a means to persuade – that is, a *trick* of sorts – is correct or not. What the sources do show, however, is that Slaman's idea of the university as a glass tower is applicable to the beginning of the 1960s – at least. Discussions about the democratization of the university appeared from 1960 onwards. At first democratization was mostly about the (political) structures that were at play within the university realm. Later, as a result of the rapport-Maris, these discussions got a new dimension as *politization* was introduced. In any case, the student-periodicals show that the university realm was under considerable scrutiny over the course of the 1960s. The glass tower was slowly but steadily built over the course of this decade.

In the introduction of this project, I set out to answer the questions to what extent Dutch student discourse of the 1960s can be related to Marcusean ideology, and what the student periodicals have to offer in terms of the concretization of Marcuse's influence. These questions have proven difficult to answer. In a sense, yes, the Dutch student discourse can be related to Marcusean ideology. But the extent of which it did is hard to precisely determinate. Since Marcuse's narrative(s) incorporated analyses of the inner-working of systems and focus on the oppressive workings that such systems have in terms of people's effective self-determination, one could read many critiques on the workings of systems as such (viz. within, academia, society) through a pair of Marcusean glasses. In any case, the archive material showcases that *Kritikal* discourse was already well-underway before Marcuse's rise to (intellectual) fame in the late 1960s and/or the SVB's development towards the KrU. Indeed, it remains plausible that Marcuse and the rise of the KrU provided a (new) sense of theoretical depth to discussions about the place of the university in the world. The foundation of these critical developments,

however, was already present in the student press-periodicals from the beginning of the 1960s. In terms of the concretization of Marcuse's influence, I found two articles that (in my reading) were clearly indebted to Marcusean ideology.<sup>202</sup> Not surprisingly, both articles were published in 1968, the year when globally, the student protests peaked – as did Marcuse's (public) allure.

In terms of the international character of the student movements, the sources showcase awareness, and to some extent sincere concern, of the developments of fellow students worldwide. The student organizations merged in international committees, sometimes collaboratively speaking out to the oppressing governments or systems that oppressed students of a specific country. This indicates a significant international character of the different student organizations. Over the course of the 1960s students felt the need to unite with peers across borders and oceans. At times, this went beyond the standard cases of interest in developments in Germany, France and Northern-America. It would be interesting to look into foreign student periodicals, and see what and how they wrote on developments in the Netherlands. Were they as concerned to what happened here as some authors show concern towards the happenings there?

All in all, the archival sources provide interesting insights into the university climate of the 1960s in the Netherlands. Students expressed themselves critically on a wide array of subjects that were at play at the time. Importantly, not all students who wrote pieces for the student press were necessarily affiliated with a student organization or movement. That is, it were not only advocates of the various student organizations that expressed themselves critically about developments within and relating to the university realm. Individuals (students) did so from the beginning of the 1960s onwards. Apart from broadening the view of what topics were important for this group, and how these topics were treated, using these sources leads one to consider students as legitimate (and active) historical actors. In terms of developments within the university realm, they were among the groups that were directly affected by it – next to university staff, that is.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Viz. Swart, "De KrU op retraite."; Boekraad, "De KrU in Nijmegen: Elite of massa?"

<sup>203</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 19. In terms of analyzing Provo, Pas argues stresses the importance of treating youths as a stand-alone category, i.e. without using cultural and/or political labels per se. I come back to this point in the following chapter; Moreover, on this point, I agree with Boudens, "The Ivory Tower Inc.: A Critical History of Utrecht University's Management from WUB to MUB," 57

### Chapter 3: Provo and the Student Movement

In this chapter, I shift focus to another (youth) movement that gained significant momentum in the 1960s in the Netherlands: Provo. What will be interesting to discuss in this chapter is how the Provo movement differed from, and interacted with, the Dutch student union movement (SVB), which Ton Regtien (among others) founded in 1963.<sup>204</sup> Specifically, it will be interesting to compare Provo to the KrU, as both movements had an anarchic structure and practically succeeded one another.<sup>205</sup> Despite the similarities, however, there was a lot of difference with regard to *how* the groups spurred activism, and what they thought should be at the base of activism (theory or practice). Provo had an explicit and pronounced preference for action and/or experience (happenings) over the spreading of knowledge or theory. Disseminating knowledge or theory was therefore done with a clear purpose: to incite action. The KrU, on the other hand, stressed the importance of making critical analyses of society and the place of the university within that realm. I will use the student periodicals as a means to investigate what and how students wrote about Provo, and about the tension between Provo and the student movement. With regard to this relationship, what image do the student periodicals portray? What was the role of students within this tension between the two movements? Can I enhance (current) historiographical accounts that elaborate on this?

The first full-fledged historical study that took Provo as its main subject comes from the hands of Niek Pas.<sup>206</sup> In his study, Pas attempts to clarify why Provo emerged as an activist movement in numerous Dutch and foreign cities, and simultaneously managed to become an international symbol of the 1960s.<sup>207</sup> The *imaging*, that was such an important probe for Provo, is the main focus of Pas' study. Pas focusses on the imaging of Provo by means of their own actions and activities. Ultimately, Pas claims that the mixed forms of action, or activism, contributed to movement's diffuse character.<sup>208</sup> Creating an image of Provo through the eyes of students, however, has not been tried yet. In this chapter, I aim to fill in this gap.

#### Provo in a Nutshell

Provo, a movement whose name was a wordplay on the verb 'provoceren' [*to provoke*] came into being in Amsterdam in May 1965. The first sign of life was due to the announcement of a youth magazine that intended to renew anarchism. Before the first volume was properly marketed, however, authorities put a (preliminary) stop to it by confiscating a large part of the edition and arresting some of the initiators. Although the authorities' exact grounds remain

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<sup>204</sup> Janssen and Voestermans, *Studenten in beweging*, 92.

<sup>205</sup> Provo was an active movement from 1965–1967, whereas the KrU existed from 1967–1969.

<sup>206</sup> Hietland, "Het Imaazje van Provo," 439; See: Pas, *Imaazje!*

<sup>207</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 18.

<sup>208</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 337.



unclear, I deem it probable that they felt threatened by the anti-authoritarian sentiments Provo propagated and acted accordingly. The authorities' continuing interventions did not stop Provo, however, from growing in stature, both within as outside of the Dutch border. As Hietland puts indeed, this event "was a foreshadowing of the fuss Provo would cause in the group's short two-year existence."<sup>209</sup>

Two people stood at the cradle of Provo: Roel van Duijn and Rob Stolk. Through connecting their friend groups, Provo arose as an anarchistic, countercultural movement that set out to challenge the status quo. A unifying factor for the heterogeneous group of people that formed Provo's core, was the desire to provoke the 'het klootjesvolk' [*petty people*]. The klootjesvolk represented everything the Provo's did not want to be (viz. greedy, hardworking oppressing, boring). In short, Provo provoked those who were, in their view, addicted consumers and enslaved to capitalist ideology – the bourgeoisie and proletariat were lumped together in that regard.<sup>210</sup>

Provo's notion of *het klootjesvolk* is reminiscent of Marcuse's notion of one-dimensionality which I explicated in the first chapter. When Marcuse analyzed that the people in advanced industrial societies were deprived of their independence of thought, autonomy and political right to opposition, he understood this to be a consequence of the fact that *the system* got increasingly better at satisfying the needs of individuals. Marcuse argued that the system indoctrinated and manipulated individuals into adopting a new way of life, where people would not desire qualitative change or critique anymore. Instead, people desired to make money and buy all sorts of goods; they desired to play the game of life as prescribed by the workings of the system. Marcuse understood this a form of totalitarian repression, which amounts to the same thing as Provo's view on the (increasingly large) group of people that were, in Provo's view, enslaved to capitalist ideology.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, Marcusean ideology offers clarification as to why Provo upheld their idiosyncratic way of protesting. For Marcuse suggested that the only way to break out of the repressive state of affairs was to imagine new forms of social and political organization. This is what Provo intended to do. They aimed to counter the dominant (oppressive) point of view which was embodied by the status quo. Naturally, *the Provo way* was not the only way, but it was *a way* of doing so.

Amsterdam was the birthplace of Provo. The movement was strongly opposed to stark character of the authorities. In effect, their activism was characterized by a playfulness that

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<sup>209</sup> Hietland, "Het Imaazje van Provo," 433.

<sup>210</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 133.

<sup>211</sup> In the Dutch context, capitalist ideology made sense indeed. But remember that Marcuse's analysis involved both capitalistic and communist societies.

worked as a counterweight to highlight the authorities' starkness in methods. In other words, Provo wanted to bring about change by means of irony, absurdism and non-conformism.<sup>212</sup> Take, for example, Provo's "white-bicycle plan" [*wittefietsenplan*], an action by means of which a large number of (white) bicycles were planted in Amsterdam. Using these bicycles was free, and people were encouraged to use these means of transportation instead of cars. It served as a critique on the (still) reigning capitalistic tendency to charge everyone for everything always. Additionally, it was a critique on the individual ownership of goods that could also be owned collectively. (In)famously, Provo also organized demonstrations, sit-ins and *happenings*. Pas explains that Provo was a movement that ultimately set out to *wake up* Dutch society. Provo's members had a strong sense of entrepreneurship, but they were never out to gain political or economical power. Rather, they focused their attention to making people aware of how to (possibly) lead a more conscious life. In particular, Pas explains, the emphasis was not on achieving a specific goal, but rather on the action itself.<sup>213</sup> According to Kennedy, Provo had a poor reputation among the general Dutch public, as they were most successful in building up a bad reputation. Kennedy explains that: "For their disruptive behavior and lack of respect for authorities, they were widely loathed and condemned by the Dutch public. Most Dutch people classified them somewhere between totalitarian nihilists and the scum of the state."<sup>214</sup>

### **Student Press on Provo**

On 10 March 1966, the Dutch princess Beatrix of Orange-Nassau was getting married to (the controversial) Klaus-Georg Wilhelm Otto Friedrich Gerd von Amsberg. The development of their whole relationship led to widespread commotion among Dutch people. Von Amsberg had German nationality and was, in his youth, a member of the Hitlerjugend. In later years, he joined the Wehrmacht. The idea that the Dutch heir apparent would share her life – and throne – with this specific person did not sit well for many Dutch people. It was only 20-odd years after the end of German occupation in the Netherlands, after all.

The fact that the marriage took place in Amsterdam threw extra oil on the fire. Naturally, Provo, being based in Amsterdam and in the business of challenging the status quo, set out to demonstrate against this event. From what I found in the student press periodicals, articles on this event – and Provo's preparation for counteraction – appear most often. Five days prior to the wedding, *Propria Cures* dedicated a whole publication to Provo. The editors were highly critical of the upcoming marriage. They offered a disclosure of all Provo's plans to disturb the

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<sup>212</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 19, 339.

<sup>213</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!* 335–345.

<sup>214</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 134: "Om hun verstorende gedrag en hun gebrek aan respect voor autoriteiten werden zij door het Nederlandse publiek algemeen verafschuwd en veroordeeld. De meeste Nederlanders deelden hen ergens in tussen totalitaire nihilisten en het schorum van de staat."

marriage, intended as a wedding gift. These plans were, at that point in time, already months in the making: “As proof of the triumph with which the conspirators proceed, we offer you in this issue a shameless contribution to the editor of the anarchist journal Provo. Behold our bouquet; a bunch of bombs of grenades.”<sup>215</sup> Moreover, the authors anticipated that authorities would deploy excessive manpower in order to contain the protests, with the following consequence: “In order to safeguard the princess and other royal personalities from unpleasantness, the government has thought it necessary to organize something like a combined army and police review, and that, out of all places, in Mokum [Amsterdam]. The consequences of this measure can hardly be overestimated. Whereas initially the number of republican-chalkers may have amounted to a few dozen, with this gigantic dispatch of troops every inhabitant of Amsterdam [Amsterdammer] becomes at once a potential terrorist.”<sup>216</sup> Indeed, that day was marked by escalation. Police acted very harshly and with great numbers, eventually batting anything that and anyone who only looked remotely suspicious, including observing (celebrating?) citizens and children.<sup>217</sup>

The most telling article in this edition of *Propria Cures* was written by Provo’s co-initiators Roel van Duijn and Rob Stolk themselves.<sup>218</sup> It becomes clear at once that Provo did not shy away from a ‘necessary’ dose of aggression, in order to address skewed social situations – in this case the upcoming marriage. The opening paragraph reads: “In favor of genuine free speech, Provo does not want to stay on the defensive side of things [...]; rather, Provo also wants to give a few tips so as to not have to see the whole farce idly pass by and to give a little more security and decisiveness to those who have come from all parts of the country [to protest

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<sup>215</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): J.M. Donkers, D.M. von Weerlee, K.A. Soudijn, J.P. von Heerden (eds.), “[No title],” in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (5 March 1966), vol. 76 no. 20, p. 1. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023): “Als algemeen bekend mag verondersteld worden dat de redactie van dit blad uiterst kritisch staat tegenover het aanstaande huwelijk. Ter gelegenheid van het vorstelijk festijn, maar in het belang van de Gemeenschap, bieden wij hier echter ons huwelijksgeschenk aan: de openbaarmaking van alle plannen om het huwelijk te versjteren, verzameld in een maandenlang zorgvuldig onderzoek. Als bewijs van de driestheid waarmee de samenzweerders te werk gaan bieden wij U in dit nummer een schaamteloze bijdrage aan de redactie van het anarchistische tijdschrift Provo. Ziehier ons boeket; een bos bommen granaten.”

<sup>216</sup> Donkers, Von Weerlee, Soudijn, and Von Heerden (eds.), “[No title],” 1: “Om de prinses en andere vorstelijke persoonlijkheden van onaangenaamheden te vrijwaren, heeft de regering gemeend iets als een gecombineerde leger- en politieschouw te moeten organiseren en dat ausgerechnet in Mokum. De gevolgen van deze maatregel zijn nauwelijks te overschatten. Bedroeg het aantal republiekkalkers aanvankelijk misschien enkele tientallen, met deze gigantische troepen-zending wordt in een klap elke Amsterdammer een potentiële terrorist.”

<sup>217</sup> Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging 1963-1973*, 52–54.

<sup>218</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Roel van Duyn, Rob Stolk, “De praktische anarchist,” in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (5 March 1966), vol. 76 no. 20, p. 6. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

against the marriage]. Long live anarchy.”<sup>219</sup> Several recipes to make smoke inducers and explosives followed – and invitations to use them during the day of the wedding. Take the following excerpt to get a feel for how this was presented:

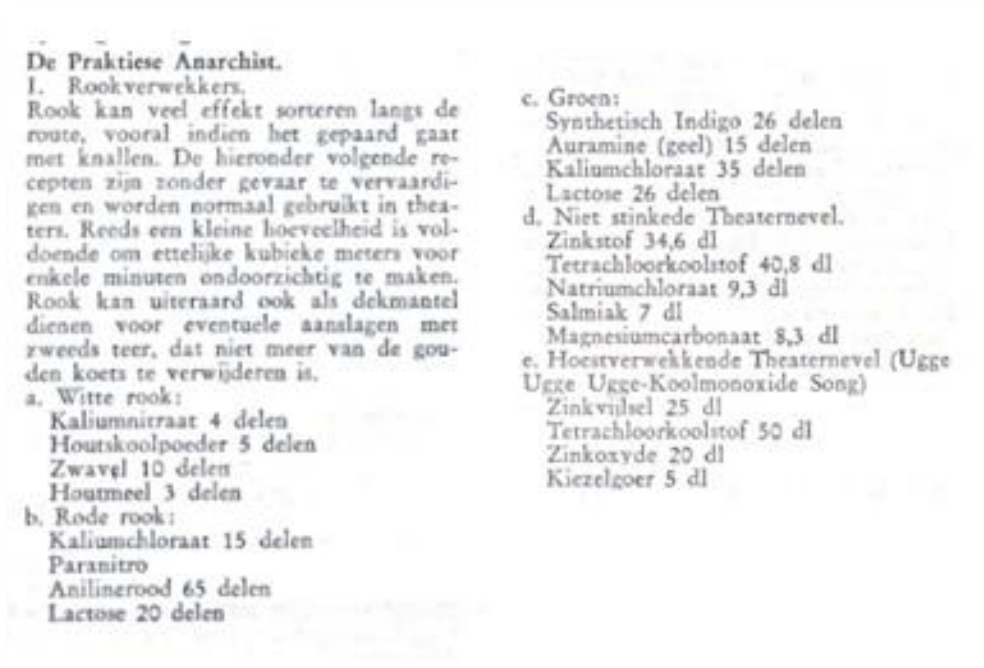


Figure 3: Manual for making several kinds of smoke bombs: (a) white, (b) red, (c) green, (d) non-stinky theater spray and (e) cough-inducing theatre spray.<sup>220</sup>

The introducing line of text reads: “Smoke can have a lot of effect along the route, especially if accompanied by bangs. The following recipes can be made without danger and are normally used in theaters. A small quantity is sufficient to make several cubic meters of space opaque for some minutes. The smoke, of course, can also serve as cover for possible attacks with Swedish tar, a substance which could no longer be removed from the golden carriage.” It is noteworthy that the recipes fall under a section titled ‘the practical anarchist’. Both this fact and the introducing text resonate well with Provo’s ideology that theory always came second after practice, and that where theory *was* used, it was done so for the sake of practice (activism). In my view, this raises relevant questions, e.g., what type knowledge may be publicly shared, and when does this become (morally) reprehensible? Is it okay to do so, if it is in the interest of a

<sup>219</sup> Duyn, Stolk, “De praktiese anarchist,” 6: “Provo wil ten gunste van een werkelijke vrije meningsuiting nu niet in het defensief blijven [...], maar ook een paar tips geven, om de hele klucht niet werkeloos voorbij te hoeven zien gaan en om de uit alle delen des lands toestromenden wat meer zekerheid en slagvaardigheid te verschaffen. Leve de anarchie.”

<sup>220</sup> The recipes appear to have come from the following source: Edel, *Mengen en roeren “1”*: 2000 populaire chemische recepten voor iedereen, 224.

'good' cause? What would make such a cause 'good'? In short, what is the relationship between knowledge and action?

The student press tended to favor Provo's side of the story, while critiquing the authority's way of handling things. In a *Demokrater* report on the course of the wedding day, the author described how different groups of youths were out to disturb the event, which led to a game of cat and mouse between police and protestors. Initially, this was all quite harmless. It was reported that there were groups of *students* (not necessarily Provo's) that were armed with smoke-bombs and mingled with the wedding's spectators.<sup>221</sup> Police initially reacted calmly, but in the end let it come to "massacres."<sup>222</sup> Moreover, the author critiqued the way a number of major newspapers sought to justify the authority's (brutal) way of dealing with the protestors. *De Telegraaf* and the *Algemeen Handelsblad* provided false representations of the events, and in doing so, undermined the protestors' intentions. They were represented as mere troublemakers whose actions had nothing to do with any kind of political manifestations. Next to undermining the intentions of the protestors, this narrative was used to justify the police's actions. Youthful protestors were not taken seriously, but were treated as rebellious children who might learn a thing or two from a good beating. Indeed, this happened through means of the authorities on the day of the wedding, but also by some wide-ranging newspaper mediums afterwards. As these newspapers significantly influenced the public opinion, it is interesting to see how the student press aimed to tell the other side of the story, and thereby counterweighed the general narrative. From what I found, it appears that the student press felt the need to devote time and energy to the Provo side of things. Perhaps this was because they felt Provo had a momentum that was worth contributing to.

This idea is confirmed by an article in *Pharetra*.<sup>223</sup> After first elaborating on the problematic relationship Provo had had with the authorities from the movement's start, the author understood the authority's way of handling Provo's protests as undermining the right of free speech. Provo's activism was characterized by a sense of ludicrousness and creativeness, resulting in rather innocent and virtually nonviolent actions. Yes, there were smoke recipes for smoke bombs, but these were never intended to actually hurt other people. Contrarily, the authorities' way of handling these protests was characterized by a sense of excessive

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<sup>221</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): r.p., "Studenten gooien rookbommen, twieners voeren demonstratie-guerilla," in *Demokrater : Nederlands studentenblad* (26 March 1966), vol. 3 no. 7, p. 4. Catalogue no. ZF 30276 (consulted 17 April 2023).

<sup>222</sup> r.p., "Studenten gooien rookbommen, twieners voeren demonstratie-guerilla: "De echte slachtpartijen zijn pas begonnen toen de plechtigheden afgelopen waren. Politie en marechaussee hebben toen kennelijk wraak willen nemen."

<sup>223</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): O., "Openbare wanorde," in *Pharetra : Studentenblad aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam* (17 June 1966), vol. 21 no. 13, pp. 1–5. Catalogue no. ZK 40652 (consulted 24 January 2023).

violence.<sup>224</sup> The author ironically stated that: "It is necessary to take measures. The first is the method now being applied, but more strictly. One will then have to come to terms with the existence of a police terror in the capital, of judicial arbitrariness when it comes to Provos and their sympathizers, and of a thorough attack on our right to free speech. The other method will also be harsh for some, but I prefer it for explicable reasons."<sup>225</sup> The proposed "other method" consisted of political parties taking responsibility by fulfilling their promises as to maintaining (proper) democracy, improved protection of the freedom of speech, withholding the public prosecutor [*Openbaar Ministerie*] from serving the police (instead of the law), firing the chief commissioner, and improving the general policeperson's moral sense. Finally, an appeal to everyone's responsibility was made, i.e. to simply tolerate provocations that were by no means violent.<sup>226</sup>

Provo significantly contributed to the international image of Amsterdam as a magical center [*magisch centrum*]. The foundation for this image of the city were laid in the beginning of the decade, by Dutch beatnik figures such as Simon Vinkenoog and (1928–2009) Robert Jasper Grootveld (1932–2009), who organized so-called *happenings* from the 1962 onwards. Provo capitalized – no pun intended – on this development. Their activism brought about recognition in the (inter)national press, and thereby (inter)national allure. Provo amplified this image of Amsterdam as being a culturally progressive city. At some point, international press promised Provo's (or others supporting a Provo-protest) large sums of money to those who would cause a riot. Allegedly, the Northern-American news outlet N.B.C, Paris Match and several other media promised \$9000,- to those who would do this.<sup>227</sup>

The image of Amsterdam around 1967 is nicely captured by an edition of *Propria Cures*. Take the following advertisement on the first page, which speaks for itself:

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<sup>224</sup> O., "Openbare wanorde," 3.

<sup>225</sup> O., "Openbare wanorde," 4–5: "Het is noodzakelijk dat er maatregelen worden genomen. De eerste is de methode die nu wordt toegepast, maar dan strenger. Men zal zich dan moeten neerleggen bij het bestaan van een politie-terreur in de hoofdstad, van gerechtelijke willekeur als het provo's en hun sympathisanten betreft en van een grondige aantasting van ons recht op vrije meningsuiting. De andere methode zal voor sommigen ook hard zijn, maar ik geef er om verklaarbare redenen de voorkeur aan."

<sup>226</sup> O., "Openbare wanorde," 5.

<sup>227</sup> In the case of the royal wedding, this would amount to 9000 dollars. See r.p., "Studenten gooien rookbommen, twieners voeren demonstratie-guerilla," 4: "De enkele mensen die op dát moment de Nieuwe Amstelstraat in begonnen te lopen, de andere beduidend mee te gaan, verdienen eigenlijk de negenduizend dollar die, naar het gerucht wil, de Amerikaanse N.B.C., Paris Match en enkele andere bladen zouden hebben uitgelooft aan degenen die voor een rel zouden zorgen."

77e Jrg. No. 29 - 27 mei 1967



**propria cures**

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P. VAN HEERDEN  
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**YOU'LL RETURN A NEW MAN IF YOU RETURN AT ALL.**

**Special issue for English-speaking visitors to the MAGIC CENTRE OF THE WORLD.**

Welcome, English-speaking visitors! You made the right choice. A visit to surprising Amsterdam, magic centre of the world is a must for every-one who wants a really exciting holiday. No doubt you'll have read and heard about the riots which Amsterdam offers the visitor each summer. Perhaps you have even seen pictures of these riots on television or in the papers, but you'll soon find out that reality is always many times more impressive. You have chosen a RISKY VACATION! Congratulations, your choice proves that you are willing to overcome hardships and misery just for the fun of it. You'll be rewarded by countless unforgettable experiences, which will make some good stories for your friends and neighbours at home. In this special issue of our weekly we intend to give you as much background-information and usefull tips as you need to get around. We advise you to read this issue several times, or better still to learn it by heart BEFORE you make your first attempt at sight-seeing. If you don't read this issue in time, you'll have only yourself to blame if you wind up in hospital or – even worse – in jail.

*WARNING: maybe you think we are joking and this issue is just a hoax. Don't be too sure of that, and what is more: don't act like it. You may get along safely for some days, just pretending that Amsterdam is a lovely quiet city, but DON'T PUSH YOUR LUCK TOO FAR. It is safer to follow our advice, even if you don't believe us at first.*

Figure 4: Eye-catching (and warning) advertisement to visit Amsterdam.<sup>228</sup>

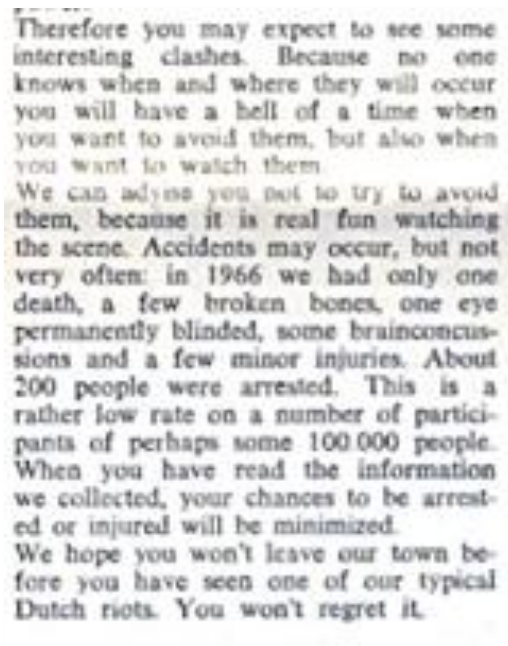
Thousands of tourists came to visit Amsterdam in the late 1960s. These tourists were often young and in for an adventure. As exemplified by figure 4, these people were promised an adventurous (sometimes even dangerous) time. The city was advertised as a place where anything could and would happen. Of course, there is a sense of irony to the advertisement. Still, the warning below nuanced this. Interestingly, a small article on the same page (written in Dutch), provides an explanation of why this edition was largely written in English. The editors explained that:

This year thousands of international tourists have come to Amsterdam, not only to see the city and eat nasi goreng, but also for a large part out of curiosity. Amsterdam has been the subject of world news frequently over the past year, as a city of the great game between authority and [the] "elements". A large portion of tourists have come here with the preconceived goal of witnessing for themselves what they have already seen all year in their newspapers and on their television newsreels. They want to play along or at

<sup>228</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, "[No title]," in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, p. 1. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

least watch the game and capture it. Many tourists are all too comfortable plunging into the Amsterdam adventure without proper preparation and knowledge. This is not without danger.<sup>229</sup>

The remainder of the edition aimed to inform tourists about the situation in Amsterdam in various ways. Contrarily, there are articles that provided an explanation as to why the situation between police and activists (Provo's) escalated, and what the role the "law abiding citizen" had in this whole.<sup>230</sup> At the time of publication, the mayor of Amsterdam (Van Hall) was recently fired and authorities were in the process of finding a new one. Anticipation for a possible riot was being aroused in the article, whilst a ludicrous character of the overall narrative was maintained. At points, however, it is difficult to pinpoint the line between ludicrousness and making readers aware of possible concerns – seriousness. Take the closing paragraphs of the article:



Therefore you may expect to see some interesting clashes. Because no one knows when and where they will occur you will have a hell of a time when you want to avoid them, but also when you want to watch them.

We can advise you not to try to avoid them, because it is real fun watching the scene. Accidents may occur, but not very often: in 1966 we had only one death, a few broken bones, one eye permanently blinded, some brainconcussions and a few minor injuries. About 200 people were arrested. This is a rather low rate on a number of participants of perhaps some 100 000 people. When you have read the information we collected, your chances to be arrested or injured will be minimized.

We hope you won't leave our town before you have seen one of our typical Dutch riots. You won't regret it.

Figure 5: Spreading genuine warnings or is it simply irony?<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): K.A. Soudijn, et al. (eds.), "Redt een tourist," in *Propria Cures: Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, p. 1. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023): "Amsterdam is in het afgelopen jaar veelvuldig in het wereldnieuws geweest als stad van het grote spel tussen gezag en 'elementen'. Een groot deel van de toeristen is hierheen gekomen met het vooropgezette doel om met eigen ogen te aanschouwen wat ze het hele jaar reeds in hun kranten en op hun televisiejournalen zagen. Zij willen meespelen of tenminste het spel gadeslaan en fotograferen en filmen. Veel toeristen zijn zich maar al te genoegd zich zonder degelijke voorbereiding en kennis van zaken te storten in het Amsterdamse avontuur. Dat is niet zonder gevaar."

<sup>230</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, "Now what it is all about," in *Propria Cures: Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, pp. 1, 5. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

<sup>231</sup> Author(s) unknown, "Now what it is all about," 5.



This also goes for other articles in this edition. There is one that delved into the question of how to (possibly) meet a Provo and deal with them. Here, Provo's were described as those rebellious youths that made Amsterdam notorious all over the world.<sup>232</sup> Another article gave medical advice to those who wished to visit a riot.<sup>233</sup> Yet another explained when and where to expect a row, and how to act once one had become part of one – specifically when approached by a (violent) cop.<sup>234</sup> There is even an article that provided legal advice in the case one was arrested or confronted with wrongfully acting police, written by a law student.<sup>235</sup> In my impression, the overall image that emerges out of these articles is that the authorities were not (no longer?) capable of handling the protests in a humane manner, and thereby felt themselves forced to use an aspect of society that they already had a monopoly on: (physical) violence.

### **Reflections on Provo and the Student Movement**

It is clear that Provo caused a significant buzz in the Netherlands and beyond. From what I found, the student press periodicals positioned themselves positively towards this movement. In the last chapter I showed that the SVB questioned prevailing structures within the university realm from 1963 onwards, and later developed more theoretical depth as some chapters evolved into the KrU in 1967. On top of that, I showed that outside these organizations, students expressed themselves critically from the beginning of the 1960s onwards.

Be that as it may, it is safe to say that there was overlap in terms of Provo and the KrU. Both movements had an anarchic organizational structure and wanted to question the status quo in the Netherlands. They did, however, act within different realms of society. The KrU's practical focus was (ultimately) on the university realm, whereas Provo aimed to challenge and critique the status quo in society at large.<sup>236</sup> Importantly, in doing so, both movements appealed to students in order to strengthen their voice and protests. As the sources show, students were regularly a part of Provo protests. This group was explicitly called upon via student periodicals.

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<sup>232</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, "How to meet (and even photograph) Amsterdam provos?" in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, p. 1. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

<sup>233</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): K.B. Numann MD., "A word from our medical advisor," in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, p. 3. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

<sup>234</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Author(s) unknown, "When and where to expect a row," in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, pp. 3, 5. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023).

<sup>235</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Rogier Duk, "Legal advice," in *Propria Cures : Amsterdamsch studenten weekblad* (27 May 1967), vol. 77 no. 29, p. 5. Catalogue no. PM 1717 (consulted 18 January 2023); Duk studied Law at the University of Amsterdam from 1964–1969. Later in life, he became associate professor of special labor relations at Erasmus University – among other things. See: Droogleever Fortuyn, "Werken in de advocatuur is een soort tienkamp."

<sup>236</sup> Not saying that the KrU did not offer analyses that included elements of society at large, or withheld from critiquing the inner-workings of society. In fact, the overarching theory on which they build their criticism was based on a vision of society at large. See: Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 31–33.

Student leaders like Regtien, on the other hand, continuously criticized Provo for not being a sincere political movement. For example, the anarchist base of Provo was interpreted as merely an expression of the movement's lack of ideological and organizational unity.<sup>237</sup> According to Kennedy, student leaders saw Provos as "mere hindrances in the battle against the system, and their antics seemed insignificant in light of the arduous task ahead of them [the student movement]."<sup>238</sup> Regtien even co-wrote a book with Conrad Boehmer where the following thesis was defended: "[A]lthough the existence of Provo partially provided the impetus for the political activity of Dutch and foreign student groups, neither the theoretical considerations nor the organizational practice of the Provos can be a model for a political movement that aims to change society."<sup>239</sup> Again, the tension between Provo's preference for action (over theory), and the student movements' preference for theory (over action), comes to the fore. But what was the place for students in this ideological disagreement?

*Vox Carolina*, a Nijmegen-based student periodical, published an interview with one of the founders of Provo (Rob Stolk) in 1970.<sup>240</sup> It was a polemic interview where Stolk got the opportunity to clarify and defend Provo (as a movement) against Regtien and Boehmer's criticisms. For example, Regtien and Boehmer had criticized Provo for having never been a proper political and revolutionary movement. According to them, this had to include a theoretical basis. That is, Provo arguably lacked in the ability to provide theoretical reflections in and of their activism. Regtien and Boehmer saw this as one of Provo's main characteristics, and criticized the movement for it.<sup>241</sup> Stolk, however, explained that: "They [Regtien and Boehmer] only look at what has appeared on paper. [However,] Provo did not originate in the factory, but on the streets. These were people who were bored to death. In that pure resistance

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<sup>237</sup> Boehmer and Regtien, *Van Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*, 31: "De anarchistiese komponent van provo was nooit theoreties adekwaat geformuleerd, en was enkel de uitdrukking van het gebrek aan ideologische en organisatorische eenheid."

<sup>238</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 137: "Voor studentenleiders als Ton Regtien waren mensen als Van Duyn slechts hinderpalen voor het verzet tegen het systeem en diens capriolen leken onbeduidend in het licht van de zware taak die voor hen lag."

<sup>239</sup> Boehmer and Regtien, *Van Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*, 14: "[H]oewel het bestaan van provo gedeeltelijk de stoot gegeven heeft tot de politieke activiteit van nederlandse [*sic*] en buitenlandse studentengroeperingen, kunnen noch de theoretische overwegingen, noch de organisatorische praktijk van de provo's model staan voor een politieke beweging die gericht is op verandering van de maatschappij."

<sup>240</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Henk Hoeks, "Een gesprek met Rob Stolk," in *Vox Carolina. Nijmeegsch studentenweekblad* (1 May 1970), vol. 41 no. 6, pp. 1–2. Catalogue no. ZF 67178 (consulted 18 January 2023); From 1965 onwards, Henk Hoeks studied history and philosophy in Nijmegen. In 1971, he became editor at the Socialistische Uitgeverij Nijmegen [*Socialistic Publisher Nijmegen*]. See: Boekraad et al., *Moet dit een wereldbeeld verbeelden?* 529.

<sup>241</sup> Boehmer and Regtien, *Van Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*, 28–29: "Het is kenmerkend voor zonder uitzondering alle provo-plannen, dat ze een of ander afzonderlijk moment uit het gehele maatschappelijke verband willen vernieuwen en daarbij de reflectie op haar maatschappelijk geheel uitsluiten."

lay the strength of Provo.”<sup>242</sup> Moreover, according to Duyn, one of Stolk’s companions, the ideological criticism of the student movements had to do with the difference that Regtien “hangs everything on the economic constellation, on the means of production and the emerging relations, and that I also see the misery we are suffering from as a socio-psychological matter, that is, the issue of people’s authoritarianism.”<sup>243</sup> Here is a direct link to Marcusean ideology again. This applies to both Duyn’s interpretation of the ideological criticism of Regtien and the student movement, as well as the way it differs from his own viewpoint. As I explicated in the first chapter, Marcuse’s *One-Dimensional Man* was fundamentally grounded in the Marxist and Freudian ideology. The economic constellation, the means of production and relations that emerge out of that, played a large part in Marxist analyses. Consequently, these factors also played a significant part in Marcuse’s analyses. I also explained that, among members of the KrU, both Marx and Marcuse were widely read (among many others). I cannot assess whether Regtien was more indebted to Marxist ideology proper, or Marxist thought as it inspired Marcusean ideology. What I can say is that Duyn’s comment on the issue of people’s authoritarianism is directly akin to Marcuse’s concept of one-dimensionality. For Marcuse argued that instead of following the path towards more freedom, advanced industrial societies shifted towards a form of totalitarianism. People were fooled into oppression, where promises of a comfortable life and the satisfaction of (material) needs came at the price of a critical and autonomous attitude.

In terms of the role of students for Provo, the following quote highlights the dual character of this group. For, as I noted, Provo appealed to students to support their protests. In fact, I am convinced they *needed* them, as the movement was not big enough to cause the buzz they wanted to cause. Provo needed additional peoplepower for this. Now, after the protest of 10 March 1966 (the royal wedding), students began to join Provo. Stolk saw this as the beginning of the end of Provo: “[A]fter the tenth of March, a group of students like De Vries and Van Weerle joined Provo for good. These became the intellectual spokesman, who tried to manipulate the constituency. As a result, the activist fell behind and left [the movement]. These

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<sup>242</sup> Hoeks, “Een gesprek met Rob Stolk,” 1: Zij [Regtien en Boehmer] kijken alleen naar wat er op papier verschenen is. Provo is [echter] niet in de fabriek ontstaan, maar op de straat. Dat waren mensen die zich kapot verveelden. In dat pure verzet lag de kracht van provo.”

<sup>243</sup> Excerpt from an interview with Roel van Duyn, as published in: Boehmer and Regtien, *Van Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*, 65: “Als principieel verschil van mening zie ik [Duyn], dat hij [Regtien] alles aan de economische constellatie ophangt, aan de produktieverhoudingen, en dat ik de ellende waaraan wij lijden ook als een sociaal-psychologische zaak zie, de kwestie dus van het autoritairisme van de mensen.”

intellectuals wanted to make analyses all the time; for us there was no need to draw analyses to see what was going on. Everyone could simply see that. For us it was revolution.”<sup>244</sup>

A student press article shed an interesting light on this feud. The editors of *Pharetra* saw Provo’s demise in the fact that, as the movement grew in prestige, this attracted so-called “vultures”. Moreover, according to the authors, Provo was indeed the (one of the) “revolutionary predecessors” of the student movement (SVB & KrU):

The vulture's hour has come. The student movement has fared like its revolutionary predecessors. Once somewhat established, and there the snowball begins to roll, more and more sympathizers and activists sign up, more and more vultures of the last hour infiltrate the ranks. As Provo became more and more powerful, new activists popped up from everywhere. Most of them were looking for nothing more than to make a quick career in the white hierarchy, to get a step higher than their gray friends, to appear on television, to see their name in the newspaper. In short, the end of Provo.<sup>245</sup>

These vultures who were out to join a movement for the sole purpose of gaining (inter)personal regard, were considered lethal for movements. The author(s) saw this happening with Provo, and see this pattern reflected in the student movement. Perhaps this was indeed one of the reasons why KrU ceased to exist in April 1969.<sup>246</sup>

## Conclusion

In my view, it was indeed the case that Boehmer and Regtien interpreted Provo as a mere hindrance to the student movement’s project. Why else would they write and publish works like *Van provo Provo naar Oranje Vrijstaat*, which aim to undermine Provo’s intentions and way of activism? Arguably, the student movement, and/or its leading figures were intimidated by the momentum Provo was able to gain in their short existence. Another likely explanation is that members of the KrU felt like they were indirectly put in a negative light, as a consequence of

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<sup>244</sup> Hoeks, “Een gesprek met Rob Stolk,” 1: [N]a de tiende maart [kwam er] voorgoed een groep studenten bij provo als de Vries en van Weerle [*sic*]. Dat werden de intellectuele woordvoerders, die de achterban probeerden te manipuleren. Hierdoor raakten de activisten achterop en gingen weg. Die intellectuelen wilden alsmat analyses maken; voor ons hoefden er geen analyses getrokken te worden om te zien wat er aan de hand was. Dat kon iedereen zo zien. Voor ons was het revolutie.”

<sup>245</sup> IISG (Amsterdam): Eds. (unkown), “Van de redactie,” in *Pharetra : Studentenblad aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam* (23 May 1969), vol. 24 no. 12, p. 1. Catalogue no. ZK 40652 (consulted 24 January 2023): “De ure van de gier is aangebroken. Het is de studentenbeweging vergaan als haar revolutionaire voorgangers. Eenmaal een beetje gevestigd, en daar begint de sneeuwbal te rollen, steeds meer sympathiesanten en activisten melden zich aan, steeds meer gieren van het laatste uur infiltreren de gelederen. Toen Provo steeds machtiger werd, doken de nieuwe activisten van alle kanten op. De meeste van hen waren op niets anders uit dan snel carrière maken in de witte hiërarchie, een trapje hoger dan de grijze vriendjes te komen, op de t.v. te verschijnen, hun naam in de krant te zien. Kortom, het einde van Provo.”

<sup>246</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, 11. Schopman does not mention this as a possible reason for why the KrU fell apart.

Provo's activism. That is, Provo's actions were widely condemned by the national press, and students were often associated with these protests. As the KrU was a student movement, it is not surprising that its members wanted to distance themselves and their movement from Provo as much as possible. Moreover, the fact that students felt attracted to Provo's protests, and even started to join the movement in its last phases, made the student movement feel like they were losing their constituents to a movement which had – in Regtien and Boehmer's view – very little to offer in the long run. This stands in contrast to Stolk's comment that, ultimately, students were Provo's bottleneck. I argue that both the student periodicals and the students themselves played a key and dual role in Provo and the student movement as individual movements, as well as in the conflict between them. For the student periodicals broadcasted a positive stance with relation to Provo, which the movement needed to gain (physical) support in their protests. I interpret the student movement's critique, then, as a means to strengthen their stance in the battle over students.

To finalize this chapter, I want to reflect on two more points. Firstly, in terms of historiographical accounts, I did not find evidence that leads me to criticize the narratives they put forward. Rather, my research into student press-periodicals confirms and/or supplements these accounts. Secondly, in terms of Marcuse's influence on both Provo and the KrU, my research has made clear that, both movements drew from Marcusean ideology. In a sense, this is a factor that connects the two movements. The leading figures, however, used different aspects from Marcuse's thought to ideologically embed their movement's primary standpoints. This adds to my understanding of the idea that Provo and the KrU were so close, yet so far apart from each other.

## Conclusion

Over the course of this research project, I have reconstructed the voice of students in the history of Dutch countercultural movements of the 1960s. I specifically looked into developments of the Dutch academic realm. Apart from that, I focused on the following countercultural movements: SVB, KrU and Provo. I made use of student press-periodicals to examine what and how students wrote about the developments that were happening in these domains. By means of a qualitative method, I have created a narrative that amplifies the voice of students in the making of this history. In doing so, I elevated students to the status of proper historical actors. My findings nuance and at times criticize current historiographical narratives in this field of research. At the very least, they supplement these historiographical narratives, as the discourse that was created by students *themselves*, i.e. student press periodicals, had not yet been used as a primary source in historiographical accounts that revolve around this topic. On the whole, this research project has once again proven the usefulness of qualitative research for writing history.

In the first chapter, I created an image of the historiography of counterculture on a global and local scale. In terms of the former, I made use of the thought of one of counterculture's main theorists, Herbert Marcuse. I primarily looked into his work *One-Dimensional Man* in order to get a grip of the countercultural themes that became at play over the course of the 1960s. The sense of thematic relevance that I acquired by analyzing Marcusean thought, helped me to create an image of countercultural themes that were at play on a global level, as well as in the process of selecting the relevant archival material. With regards to the local scale, I explicated how Dutch academia evolved over the course of the 1960s. I did this by means of a presentation of historiographical accounts that address these topics.

In the second chapter, I reevaluated these historiographical accounts against what I found in the student press-periodicals. Generally speaking, the publication of the rapport-Maris, the SVB's development towards the KrU and/or Marcuse's rise to intellectual fame are understood as important stimuli for the development of students' stances. The resulting Kritikal discourse involves articles on subjects such as the relationship between student-professor, student-society, science-society, etc. As these developments occurred in the second half of the 1960s, the common belief is that students also started to express themselves critically from that point onwards. To some extent, what I found in the student press-periodicals reflects this common idea of chronology. However, I also found evidence that criticizes this idea of chronology. For the archive material shows that this type of critical discourse was in the making from at least the beginning of the 1960s. Moreover, my qualitative approach points to the idea that there was significant international concern among different student organizations. Some articles I found in the student press-periodicals went beyond the standard cases of interest in

developments that occurred in Germany, France and Northern-America. As a result, my findings stand in contrast to the image that is portrayed in historiography.

In the third chapter, I zoomed in on Provo. In particular, I created an image of Provo through the eyes of students. I have shown that the student press positioned itself positively towards Provo, for example by defending the movement from critique from society at large (whose stance was guided by the national press), and thereby provided counterweight to that general narrative. I also found examples where the periodicals shared information on and about upcoming protests, so that students would participate – and come prepared. The student press-periodicals led me towards novel insights with respect to the (ideological) feud that was at play between Provo and the student movement (specifically KrU), as well as the place that both students and student periodicals had for these movements separately.

All in all, my analyses of student press-periodicals are a contribution to current historiographical accounts, whether it be by means of confirmation, criticism or supplementation. This applies to the realms of intellectual history, Dutch university history and the history of Dutch countercultural movements. Utilizing student discourse to write these histories provides the historian with novel means to reflect on developments that were at play. The student discourse I analyzed contains interesting (theoretical, cultural, historical and political) ideas, which provide a source of knowledge that originates ‘on ground level’, so to say. Now, this leads to way of writing history which is not merely *about* students, but also *by* students, attributing a sense of epistemological relevance and agency to a group who that has been overlooked in that regard.

Although I am convinced of this project’s academic relevance, I am aware that my selection of primary data and way of treating it (methodology) has limited the scope and nature of my arguments. Perhaps unsurprisingly, time – or the lack of it – was a constraining factor in both parts of my research. With regards to the process of selecting relevant data, limiting myself to one specific archive (IISG) has certainly benefited the feasibility of this project. Since this research project marks my first time doing archival research, having to visit but one archive benefited the process of *getting in the flow* of selecting, scanning, administrating, interpreting and finally utilizing student press-periodicals for the development of my arguments. At the same time, however, the IISG and the material the institute holds generally have a leftist orientation, which probably affected the character of my narrative. In terms of collecting data, and the nature of my argument, I recognize that it would have been good to use include sources from other archives.

In terms of methodology, my qualitative approach turned out to be very time consuming. As I stated in the introduction, it proved hard to find a balance between covering as many publications as possible (by means of scanning) and getting a feeling of the context of the 1960s through the eyes of students (by means of reading). Moreover, taking into account periodicals dating from before and after 1960s proper would have certainly had a positive influence on the nature and scope of my arguments. The truth is that I had enough on my hands in solely incorporating periodicals that were published within the confines of that decade. Moreover, I am convinced that the data I used, and methodology I applied, have proven sufficient for the purposes of this project.

The combination of the abovementioned limitations with the things I *did* find offer valuable suggestions for future research. First of all, it would be very interesting to apply quantitative methods of digital humanities to the type of research I have performed. In doing so, a lot (!) more articles could be incorporated, by means of which the reach of student discourse would be increased. Such methodology would, for example, allow for the incorporation of a much larger time-frame. Perhaps, or hopefully, this would allow the historian in question to uncover a decisive shift in the way students positioned themselves with regard to developments that occurred within the realms of academia and countercultural movements. This would entail, however, for the student press-periodicals to be digitized, as this has not happened yet. Secondly, I would love to see a comparative analysis where countercultural movements and student discourse of the 1960s are explored on a larger geographical scale. This would open up possibilities to gain novel insights not only within the realm of the international character of the student movements, which I touched upon in this project, but it would also add to our understanding of the similarities, differences and cross-cultural influences between students in different countries. Finally, it would be very interesting to include oral methodologies in historicizing the development of Dutch countercultural movements of the 1960s. Interviewing individuals who participated in countercultural movements, or those who wrote for the student press, would offer possibilities to create more nuanced understanding of what (de)motivated these historical actors back at the time. Moreover, it allows for a more nuanced understanding in terms of the social, political and cultural context of the relevant time-frame. I am convinced that such an oral history would complement written records by offering alternative (personal!) perspectives to dominant narratives. The fact that time has already begun to take its toll is an important motivation to not wait too long with writing this history.

I would like to go back to what inspired me to write this thesis. Over recent years, that is, I have witnessed a renewed interest in countercultural movements, methods and ideologies among my peers. On a personal level, for example, some friends of mine are part of Mokum



Kraakt [*Amsterdam Squats*]. This is an anarchist movement that, among other things, aims to battle the housing (or generally, space) crisis in Amsterdam. In contrast to traditional squatting movements, Mokum Kraakt operates very publicly in the sense that they share reports of their protests on various social media. In doing so, they manage to sporadically pierce through mass media, and spread their message among as many people as possible. Recently, they even published a book that brings together the insights of various activists and activist groups across Amsterdam, each of whom is committed to the housing struggle in their own way.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, within the realms of Utrecht University, critical (and concerned) students of the End Fossil Occupy Utrecht (EFO Utrecht) occupied the Minnaert building from 8 to 10 May 2023. They did so in order to draw attention to the university's persisting (and opaque) ties to the fossil industry, and to express their demand for the university to clarify and accordingly break these ties. Over the whole, that is, I personally sense(d) that there is something in the air, an activistic sentiment among groups of peoples (oftentimes, but not exclusively, youths) that want to reclaim their sense of agency in the making of the present and the future. This inspired me to do something similar, but then in terms of activists of the past, and narrowed down to a specific type of people and discourse that they brought about.

Finally, I want to express that I am happy with what I have accomplished with this project. I am proud to have used a methodological approach that I was not yet properly familiar with before I began the research. Again, I feel that I have successfully showed the force that qualitative methods have for conducting historical research. On top of that, I am convinced and proud of the fact that my findings constitute new insights to existing historical narratives. I hope that my approach and findings will inspire other historians to continue doing research along these lines.

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<sup>247</sup> Mokum Kraakt!, *Pak Mokum terug! Woonstrijd in een krakende stad*.

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