BERKELEY AGAIN

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS · BERKELEY AND OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA · 1966–1968

On Typewriters, Pen Names, Coke Cans and Such

Yes, I had let career go hang, and was on the adventure-path again in quest of fortune.

JACK LONDON, JOHN BARLEYCORN

In the middle of the 1960s Berkeley, California, was a town of about 112,000 people gathered around a university, and it had lately become famous for something other than its scholarship. In May 1965 students had marched to the Berkeley draft board and burned their draft cards, the first public draft-card burning in the country, and that same month a "Vietnam Day" teach-in on the campus drew more than 35,000 people. In October 1965 a march against the war set off for Oakland and was met at the city line by the Hell's Angels, who attacked it while the Oakland police stood by; it was the Berkeley police who arrested six of the Angels. Oakland itself, next door, was a different sort of place: a working city of some 367,000, which since the 1920s had run canneries and bakeries, built cars, engines and ships, and had once been called "the Detroit of the West." It was also where the war began for a great many young men. The Oakland Army Terminal, renamed the Oakland Army Base in 1966, was a main gateway for soldiers going to Vietnam and coming back, and at 1515 Clay Street, downtown, stood the induction center, where draftees from all over Northern California came to be examined.

Daniel had been to Berkeley once before. He had gone out as an undergraduate in the early 1960s and dropped out, which is the story of an earlier chapter. This chapter is about the second time, when, as he put it, "I walked back in as a doctoral student with a nice wife, a pregnant wife." The people in it are few. There was his wife, Regina; their son Alex, born in Berkeley in 1967; and Daniel's mother, who came to live with them there. There were the handful of people with whom, in a living room in Berkeley, he started a newspaper. And at the end there was a family of Alaskans named Meter, who came to town to show a film.

The campus had not stood still while he was away. On October 1, 1964, the campus police arrested a former graduate student named Jack Weinberg at a civil rights table outside Sproul Hall, and students sat down around the police car he had been put in. The car stayed where it was for thirty-two hours, with Weinberg inside it and, at one point, perhaps 3,000 students around it, using its roof as a speaker's platform. That was the beginning of the Free Speech Movement.

On December 2 between 1,500 and 4,000 students went into Sproul Hall itself, and at 3:30 in the morning of December 4, after the county's deputy district attorney had telephoned the governor for permission, the police began arresting them. Close to 800 were taken away, most of them by bus to the county jail at Santa Rita, twenty-five miles off. By January the university had given in and written new rules for political activity on the campus. The Berkeley that Daniel walked back into had learned that a sit-in worked, and had not forgotten it.

In the winter of 1966, Daniel and Regina were living in Boston, finishing their degrees, and planning to go to Ethiopia with the Peace Corps, which had accepted them both. Daniel had a second plan as well. "I had a fallback where I was thinking of going for a doctorate in Russian language studies," he said, "because I needed a draft deferment. Otherwise I was off in Vietnam for the next two years, which I totally, it wasn't that I was chicken, but I totally disagreed with

what they were doing there. And I did not want to be engaged with napalming farmers over in Vietnam."

The war he meant was growing quickly. In 1965, 1,928 Americans died in it; in 1966 the number would be 6,350. The easy way out that some men had found was already shut. Married men had been deferred until President Johnson signed an order at about ten past three on the afternoon of August 26, 1965, making any man who married after midnight that night as liable as anyone else. The news set off a rush to the altar that the clock defeated. Daniel and Regina had married that November, at their own pace.

In February he went to take the Graduate Record Examination at Harvard, which was the way into a doctoral program, and he did not have a good morning of it. The roads were bad. He told it like this:

> *And on the way there, it was all ice. I was in a little Volkswagen, and I was in such a hurry I was running through a light so I jammed on the brakes and I rammed right into these people, these poor old people. And the cars just kind of like spun around in slow motion and we were very sorry. So we got out and apologized and then we gave our information. Then I had to rush and take the test, which I did very quite well on.*

"Very quite well" turned out to be an understatement. "I got in the upper 99, 98 percentile," he said, and he did it "even though I was very upset. I aced it in both verbal and mathematical." That was the good news. The complication came in May, when Regina found she was pregnant with Alex. Ethiopia was given up, and the fallback became the plan. "Berkeley was a hard place to get into," Daniel said.

"They did accept me there. So we had that as a fallback. And Berkeley was one of the top three programs in Slavic studies in the country." That same May, more than 400,000 college men around the country sat a different examination, the Selective Service's own test, whose scores helped decide which students kept their deferments. Daniel did not mention that one.

In the summer of 1966, with their degrees in hand, they saved for the move. Regina worked in a pizza place, "which was not too good for her," Daniel said, "because it made her throw up. She was in that stage of pregnancy where she couldn't stand the smells." Daniel went back to the paper mill. Regina's mother, Mother Perry, gave them a car, "a nice Plymouth with air conditioning," which in 1966 was a gift worth having for anyone about to cross the country with a pregnant wife.

They also acquired a passenger. That summer they found "a stray cat that somebody had tried to burn up in the litter. And his ears were all burned. And we had salvaged the cat." The family still has the photographs of Regina with the cat with the singed ears. Then they drove west, and, in Daniel's words, "we pulled into Berkeley in the late summer of 1966."

The university they arrived at was in the middle of changing its calendar. After much debate, the University of California had decided to run Berkeley all year round, and to do it had given up the old two semesters for quarters: three terms in the ordinary year, and a fourth in the summer. The new system began that very fall, 1966. The fall quarter opened in the last week of September.

Fees for a graduate student ran to about $267 a year, tuition was free to Californians of more than a year's standing, and anyone else paid another $267 a quarter on top. The university reckoned that a single student, living in a residence hall, needed $1,850 a year all told. Daniel was not a single student. He had a wife, and a baby on the way.

In the fall of 1966, Daniel began his doctorate in the university's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Its chairman was Gleb Struve, the son of a famous Russian liberal of the old regime, educated at Oxford, a friend and correspondent of Vladimir Nabokov, and the editor of poets whose work the Soviet Union preferred not to print. Down the hall, so to speak, was the Polish poet Czesław Miłosz, who had been given tenure in 1960 after two months on the faculty and would one day win the Nobel Prize. Miłosz did not care for the demonstrations that were becoming the campus's best-known product; he

called the protesters "spoiled children of the bourgeoisie." Daniel's own subjects, he said, were Russian and Czech.

The demonstrations arrived on schedule. On October 10, 1966, within days of the start of his first quarter, students marched against the Dow Chemical Company at Berkeley, the first campus protest in what became a national campaign against Dow's manufacture of napalm. That same month, at a conference on the campus, Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee told the white left to step up its resistance to the draft, and over in Oakland two young men named Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

On November 8 the voters of California elected as their governor Ronald Reagan, who had promised to "clean up the mess at Berkeley," and in December, when antiwar students set up a table beside a Navy recruiting table in the student union, "a massive sit-in and student strike ensued." It was, by any measure, a lively first term.

The local press kept score. In October the *Berkeley Barb* reported that the board of the Berkeley Co-op, the town's cooperative grocery, had been asked to label Dow's products in its stores as subject to a boycott, and had turned the motion down by a vote of five to three. It was a town in which napalm came before the grocery board. By the first days of December the *Barb* had a strike to report.

"At 1:15 a hand vote of 10,000 students at Sproul Plaza showed a scant hundred opposed to continuing the strike," it said, and at the busiest hours Dwinelle and Wheeler Halls were "half-empty." One student had come up from the basement of the student union with the news that there were "thirty-five armed, billy-clubbed police in the basement," and when they came up the stairs, a witness from the Cal Conservatives told the student senate what he had seen done to a young man: "A cop sat on him, and hit him and hit him and hit him."

In the same week about sixty pickets stood outside the university's placement center, where Dow was interviewing students for jobs. They were not let in, and passed notes back and forth with the people inside. The Dow interviewer sent out a letter to say that he was "just a chemist, and knew nothing about Dow's policies."

Daniel described those years as a whole. "You have to think of the time in Berkeley," he said, "because it was hippie time, massive smoking a pot. And massive cultural rebellion, wearing of long hair and so forth, and then massive resistance of all kinds to the draft. And at the same time, there was this civil rights movement had been going on with the Martin Luther King to get some rights for black people all tangled in."

The campus, as he remembered it, was "shut down by the protests," and he was in them. "In one of the cases, we just marched all the students right into the office building. The Dow Chemical Company was recruiting there for chemicals to make napalm, so we were massively resisting that." Across the country, women opposed to napalm took the protest into the kitchen and boycotted Dow's Saran Wrap. Napalm, a federal commission later concluded, "became almost as great an issue for anti-war activists as the total war policy to which it contributed."

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In the winter of 1967, the university lost its president. On January 20 the Regents, with the new governor voting, dismissed Clark Kerr, fourteen to eight. In February the Bay Area magazine *Ramparts* revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had been quietly paying for the National Student Association, and the *Daily Californian* reported that the people behind the story promised to name the students on the Berkeley campus who had cooperated. The Cold War then reached Daniel's own department.

Soviet critics had accused Gleb Struve of acting as a CIA "super-lackey," and on March 6 the chairman answered them in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. "I have done nothing anti-Soviet on a political level," he said, "before hurrying off to a class," and added, "I have not had any association with the CIA." It was a season in which a professor of Russian literature had to say so in the newspaper.

That year Alex was born, and just before he was, Daniel had visitors at the door. He told it plainly: "just before Alex was born, my father shows up at the door with my mother. And

apparently he's wanting to get rid of my mother because he's tired of her." His father, John, had gone back to her for a while, and now he left her with them. Daniel remembered the reasoning offered at the door: "So you could use mother here. She likes kids." She stayed.

"So from then on," Daniel said, "for the next eight years, I was supporting my mother. She went to Alaska with us." His father went his own way. "My father went off and married a 15 year old girl. It was hippie time," Daniel said, and they had a daughter, Betty, Daniel's half-sister.

In the summer and fall of 1967, Daniel was a father, and the Bay Area was having what came to be called the Summer of Love: as many as 100,000 young people from around the world made their way to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, and to Berkeley across the water, to join a popular version of the hippie life. It was, as Daniel said more than once, "hippie time." For the young men among them, the draft tightened at the same time.

On June 30 Congress passed the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, which kept student deferments only until a man finished his bachelor's degree or turned twenty-four, and allowed graduate students deferments only for study "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest." Men already in graduate school before that summer could keep their deferments until they finished. Daniel was one of them.

"There were people who were students like myself," he said, "who, because of studying what was considered a communist language, I was studying Russian and Czech, were eligible for a draft deferral. I was also married, too, but in any case, they wanted people to study communist languages, so I was okay there. But we felt guilty because our peers were over there by the hundreds of thousands being screwed up and being killed." He was right about the hundreds of thousands. There were more than 380,000 American troops in Vietnam at the start of 1967, and 11,363 Americans died there that year, more than in all the years before it put together.

In October the war came to downtown Oakland. The organizers of what they called Stop the Draft Week set out to shut down the induction center on Clay Street, and could not agree on how. The federal commission that studied it two years later explained the arrangement: "October 16 and 18 were given over to those of pacifist orientation, who sat in the doorway of the induction center in small, orderly groups, and allowed themselves to be peaceably arrested, while October 17 and 20 were given over to the mass-mobile tactics of the 'militants.' These demonstrators, along with newsmen and spectators, were severely beaten and sprayed with MACE."

Police were brought in from thirteen cities. The *Berkeley Barb* reported that the doorway had been blocked for more than three hours on the first morning, and that among those arrested was the singer Joan Baez. A crew from the television station KCRA filmed the blockade.

That fall the Free University of Berkeley, from an office on Grove Street, offered evening courses to anyone who cared to come. Its catalogue gives a fair picture of the town's interests. It offered "Psychedelic Anthropology," "Living in the Woods" and "Stalking the Savory Wild Mushroom." It also offered "The Russian Revolution: February–October," a "Workshop on Viet Nam," and "A Training Course for Draft Counselors," which between them covered most of the situations a young man in Berkeley was likely to find himself in.

In the same months, back in South Hadley, Daniel's grandfather William Krug died, of an injury to his ankle that he would not let a doctor see. Alex was seven or eight months old, Daniel said, and Regina took a trip back east and visited his grandparents.

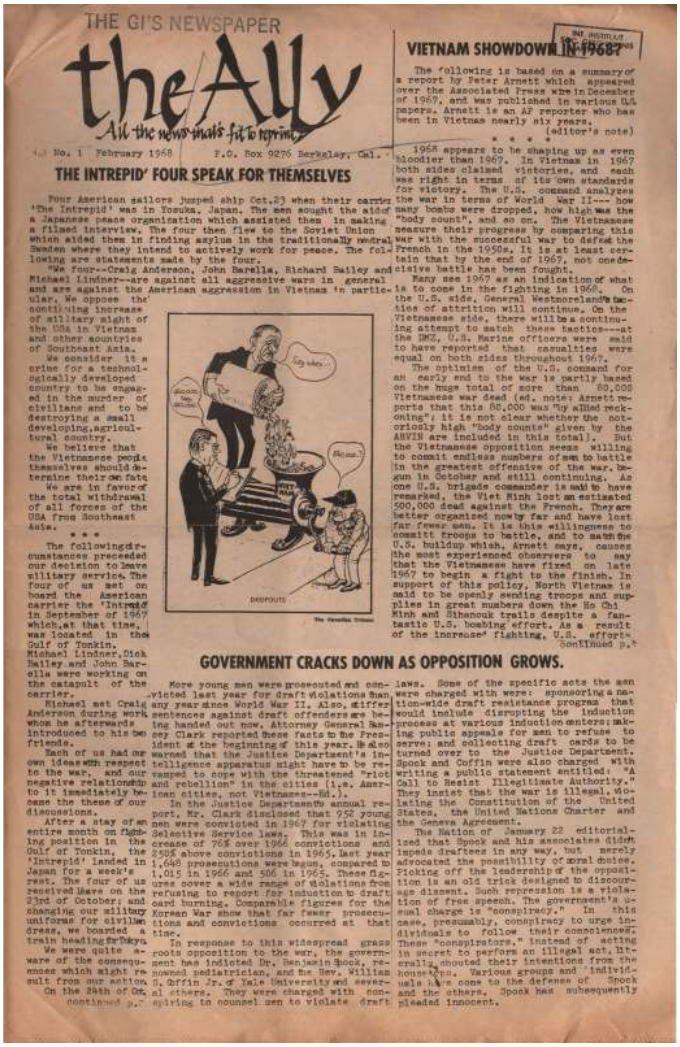
Meanwhile four young American sailors had walked off the aircraft carrier *Intrepid*. They were Craig Anderson, John Barilla, Richard Bailey and Michael Lindner, nineteen and twenty years old, and on October 23, with their ship at Yokosuka in Japan after a month in the Gulf of Tonkin, they went ashore on leave and did not come back. A Japanese peace group helped them, and the Soviet Union, which saw the uses of four American deserters, brought them to Moscow.

On November 17 the head of the KGB, Yuri Andropov, and the foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, sent the Central Committee a list of proposals for the visitors. One was to "publish

in the newspaper Pravda an article-essay by its correspondent regarding a conversation with the American sailors." In December the four reached Sweden, and on January 9, 1968, Sweden gave them asylum. In Berkeley, Daniel and a few others had decided to start a newspaper. "And so in Berkeley," as he put it, "we got together and we organized and formed a newspaper. The newspaper was called The Ally."

In the winter of 1968, Daniel was in the second year of his doctorate, and the first issue of *The Ally* came out in February. It was made at home. "We lived on Grant Avenue," Daniel said, "and we typed it on my typewriter." They started it, he said, "in our living room." The first issue shows it. Its columns are typewritten, not typeset, under a hand-lettered title that reads "THE GI'S NEWSPAPER," "the Ally," and, beneath, "All the news that's fit to reprint," which was a fair description of the method: much of what it printed came from other papers. It gave its address as a post office box, number 9276, in Berkeley. It was free to anyone in the armed forces; everyone else could have six months for three dollars.

Who started it is a little harder to say. "We started. We started," Daniel said. "Me and three other people. One was Charles Smith. He was a professor at the University of California in



THE GI'S NEWSPAPER

the Ally

All the news that's fit to reprint

No. 1 February 1968 P.O. Box 9276 Berkeley, Cal.

THE INTREPID' FOUR SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Four American sailors jumped ship Oct.23 when their carrier 'The Intrepid' was in Yokuka, Japan. The men sought the aid of a Japanese peace organization which assisted them in making a filmed interview. The four then flew to the Soviet Union which aided them in finding asylum in the traditionally neutral Sweden where they intend to actively work for peace. The following are statements made by the four.

"We four--Craig Anderson, John Barella, Richard Bailey and Michael Lindner--are against all aggressive wars in general and are against the American aggression in Vietnam in particular. We oppose the continuing increase of military might of the USA in Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia.

We consider it a crime for a technologically developed country to be engaged in the murder of civilians and to be destroying a small developing,agricultural country.

We believe that the Vietnamese people themselves should determine their own fate.

We are in favor of the total withdrawal of all forces of the USA from Southeast Asia.

* * *

The following circumstances preceded our decision to leave military service. The four of us met on board the American carrier the 'Intrepid' in September of 1967 which,at that time, was located in the Gulf of Tonkin. Michael Lindner,Dick Bailey and John Barella were working on the catapult of the carrier.

Michael met Craig Anderson during work whom he afterwards introduced to his friends.

Each of us had our own ideas with respect to the war, and our negative relations to it immediately became the theme of our discussions.

After a stay of an entire month on fighting position in the Gulf of Tonkin, the 'Intrepid' landed in Japan for a week's rest. The four of us received leave on the 23rd of October; and changing our military uniforms for civilian dress, we boarded a train heading for Tokyo.

We were quite aware of the consequences which might result from our action.

On the 24th of Oct.

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VIETNAM SHOWDOWN IN 1968?

The following is based on a summary of a report by Peter Arnett which appeared over the Associated Press wire in December of 1967, and was published in various GI papers. Arnett is an AP reporter who has been in Vietnam nearly six years.

(editor's note)

* * *

1968 appears to be shaping up as even bloodier than 1967. In Vietnam in 1967 both sides claimed victories, and each was right in terms of its own standards for victory. The U.S. command analyzes the war in terms of World War II--- how many bombs were dropped, how high was the "body count", and so on. The Vietnamese measure their progress by comparing this war with the successful war to defeat the French in the 1950s. It is at least certain that by the end of 1967, not one decisive battle has been fought.

Many see 1967 as an indication of what is to come in the fighting in 1968. On the U.S. side, General Westmoreland's tactics of attrition will continue. On the Vietnamese side, there will be a continuing attempt to match these tactics---at the DMZ, U.S. Marine officers were said to have reported that casualties were equal on both sides throughout 1967.

The optimism of the U.S. command for an early end to the war is partly based on the huge total of more than 80,000 Vietnamese war dead (ed. note: Arnett reports that this 80,000 was "by allied reckoning"; it is not clear whether the notoriously high "body counts" given by the ARVN are included in this total). But the Vietnamese opposition seems willing to commit endless numbers of men to battle in the greatest offensive of the war, begun in October and still continuing. As one U.S. brigade commander is said to have remarked, the Viet Minh lost an estimated 500,000 dead against the French. They are better organized now by far and have lost far fewer men. It is this willingness to commit troops to battle, and to match the U.S. buildup which, Arnett says, causes the most experienced observers to say that the Vietnamese have fired on late 1967 to begin a fight to the finish. In support of this policy, North Vietnam is said to be openly sending troops and supplies in great numbers down the Ho Chi Minh and Sihouk trails despite a fantastic U.S. bombing effort. As a result of the increase' fighting, U.S. efforts-

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GOVERNMENT CRACKS DOWN AS OPPOSITION GROWS.

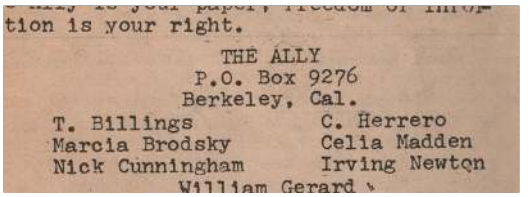
More young men were prosecuted and convicted last year for draft violations than any year since World War II. Also, stiffer sentences against draft offenders are being handed out now. Attorney General Ramsey Clark reported these facts to the President at the beginning of this year. He also warned that the Justice Department's intelligence apparatus might have to be revamped to cope with the threatened "riot and rebellion" in the cities (i.e. American cities, not Vietnamese--Ed.).

In the Justice Departments annual report, Mr. Clark disclosed that 952 young men were convicted in 1967 for violating Selective Service laws. This was in increase of 76% over 1966 convictions and 250% above convictions in 1965. Last year 1,648 prosecutions were begun, compared to 1,015 in 1966 and 506 in 1965. These figures cover a wide range of violations from refusing to report for induction to draft card burning. Comparable figures for the Korean War show that far fewer prosecutions and convictions occurred at that time.

In response to this widespread grass roots opposition to the war, the government has indicted Dr. Benjamin Spock, renowned pediatrician, and the Rev. William S. Orfin Jr. of Yale University and several others. They were charged with conspiring to counsel men to violate draft laws. Some of the specific acts the men were charged with were: sponsoring a nation-wide draft resistance program that would include disrupting the induction process at various induction centers; making public appeals for men to refuse to serve; and collecting draft cards to be turned over to the Justice Department. Spock and Coffin were also charged with writing a public statement entitled: "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority." They insist that the war is illegal, violating the Constitution of the United States, the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Agreement.

The Nation of January 22 editorialized that Spock and his associates didn't impede draftees in any way, but merely advocated the possibility of moral choice. Picking off the leadership of the opposition is an old trick designed to discourage dissent. Such repression is a violation of free speech. The government's usual charge is "conspiracy." In this case, presumably, conspiracy to urge individuals to follow their consciences. These "conspirators," instead of acting in secret to perform an illegal act, literally shouted their intentions from the housetops. Various groups and individuals have come to the defense of Spock and the others. Spock has subsequently pleaded innocent.

THE ALLY, NO. 1, FEBRUARY 1968


tion is your right.

THE ALLY
P.O. Box 9276
Berkeley, Cal.

T. Billings — C. Herrero
Marcia Brodsky — Celia Madden
Nick Cunningham — Irving Newton
William Gerard

T. BILLINGS, FIRST IN THE STAFF BOX

rhetoric and some others." The staff box of the first issue printed seven names, and the first of them was "T. Billings." That was Daniel. "My name, I used a false name," he said. "I called myself T. Billings." The reason was the times. "Because the CIA was very active."

The other six names were C. Herrero, Marcia Brodsky, Celia Madden, Nick Cunningham, Irving Newton and William Gerard, and whether all of them were any more real than T. Billings, the paper does not say. Daniel's own share of the writing, as he described it, was modest: "I wrote two or three articles. Yeah, to start with, to get it going. And my colleagues wrote the other articles."

His articles were translations. "The articles that I did," he said, "were translations of where these Vietnamese American GIs that escaped Vietnam and went to Russia were giving news reports and it was covered in Pravda so I just translated those articles from Pravda and there were other things in there." The lead story of the first issue was headed "THE INTREPID' FOUR SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES." It printed the four sailors' statement, signed "17th of November, 1967," and then an interview introduced with a line in parentheses: "The following is from an interview with a correspondent of a foreign newspaper—translated by THE ALLY."

The translated sailors spoke in the slightly formal English that comes out of another language. One of them, Richard Bailey, said that he had become convinced "that service in the American navy is a dulling occupation which turns a man into a beast." The piece is not signed, and nothing in the paper says who translated it. The Soviet government's own papers show that it had arranged for *Pravda* to interview the four in November.

The first issue's editorial was blunter than its jokes. "Why do we start this newspaper?" it asked. "The simplest answer is that the war motivates us." It promised to report "the facts of the war and the anti-war movement," to print servicemen's letters "anonymously," and to answer their legal questions. Daniel's idea of where it should go was clear from the start. "The object was that it would be started by students," he said, "but it would be taken over by returning vets from Vietnam because everybody over there was unhappy with the war."

On February 16 the paper took a classified advertisement in the *Berkeley Barb*, the town's underground weekly, a paper founded in 1965 that had made itself rich, as underground papers went, by selling a good part of its space to the lonely and the adventurous. The notice read: "THE ALLY—ANTI-WAR newspaper for servicemen. All the news thats fit to reprint. Subs $3. free to GI's." It ran on a page that also offered a psychedelic light machine that assembled in minutes. Daniel remembered the *Barb*'s part as larger: "It was published by the printed by the Berkeley Barb first."

The paper's first month was a busy one for the draft and for Oakland. On February 16 the Selective Service changed its rules so that most men working toward a master's degree could now be drafted, a decision that touched some 600,000 of them; students of medicine, dentistry and divinity were spared. Doctoral students who, like Daniel, had begun before the summer of 1967 kept their deferments for as long as they stayed enrolled. The next day, February 17, was Huey Newton's birthday.

Newton was in jail, charged with killing an Oakland police officer the previous October, and 5,000 people gathered in Oakland on his behalf, brought out by the Black Panther Party and the new Peace and Freedom Party. "Free Huey!" became a rallying cry for the movement, and was printed on buttons and T-shirts.

The second issue, in March, told its readers how the first had gone out. "As our first issue came off the press," the editors wrote, "we were faced with a major problem—what to do with 3,000 copies." They had a few names: "you could pick up the names of half a dozen guys who put ads in the local papers for girls to write them. (They're in for a surprise.)" That still left, as they counted it, "the other 2,989 copies."

San Francisco was a staging area for the war, so they took the paper to the men passing through. "So off we went to bus terminals and airports. Twice we were told to leave the USO lounge at SF airport. According to the receptionist, our presence was 'creating a disturbance' (all two of us!)." The soldiers' reactions were mixed. "One soldier read the paper, crumpled it into a tiny ball and returned it without a word. Another, on his way home from Vietnam, told us: 'I don't need this any more. I've been there and know what it's like.' He then offered cigarettes all around."

Money for the second issue came the way such money usually comes: "A few friends came up with $3 for subscriptions, and even some 5ers. Somebody's father gave $10 provided she not involve herself with us."

On the same page was a letter from a serviceman. "Just saw your notice of an anti-war newspaper in The Barb," it began. He wanted a copy, but "my C.O. would be on my ass if he knew about this, so please, a plain wrapper." The editors answered that most of their mail "has reflected this same fear of harassment," and that *The Ally* always went out "in plain white envelopes that look like any letter you might receive from a friend."

Daniel's own view of the war, as he set it out, came in three parts, and each can be set beside the record. The first was its origin: "Historians will show that there was no justification for us fighting that war, which is kind of the dirty laundry left by the French after Dien Bien Phu and this notion that the domino theory that if Vietnam fell, then all these other countries would go and be part of one big thing with China."

The domino theory had been named by President Eisenhower on April 7, 1954, while Dien Bien Phu was under siege: "You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly." The second was the Gulf of Tonkin, which had brought Congress into the war in 1964. "The various reports had been documented," Daniel said, "that we were not attacked by Viet Cong in the Bay of Tonkin by a couple cruisers. The justification for the war was really... not there."

The ships were in fact two destroyers, and the boats North Vietnamese, but on the main point he was right: the second attack that summer had never happened, and in January and February 1968 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reopened the matter and learned that the Navy's own communications center had doubted it. The third was money: "a lot of big construction companies were making billions by building harbors and so forth there." One consortium of four of them held a Navy contract worth $1.865 billion, then the largest construction program in history.

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In the spring of 1968, Daniel was still in Berkeley, and the Bay around him was full of the readers *The Ally* had been started for. Naval Air Station Alameda, across the estuary from Oakland, was home port in the war years to the aircraft carriers *Coral Sea*, *Hancock*, *Oriskany*, *Enterprise* and *Ranger*, and the naval station on Treasure Island sat in the middle of the Bay; *The Ally* is counted among the GI papers of those two bases. Oakland had the Army Base, through which men went out to the war and came home from it, and it had the induction center, through which they went in.

The Ally needed those readers, and Oakland had them by the busload. Daniel remembered taking the paper to the source. "Our interest," he said, "was to go down to the draft board in Oakland where the young men were in their underwear getting their physical." What happened next he told in one breath:

> *We would go on the bottom floor, three-floor building, start passing out allies on the way up, and then we would go down the stairs. ... We're at the top floor. The police came in the same door that we had come in, so we went quickly down the stairs. We dumped off all of our allies and then out the door and just eluded being caught by them.*

"And the police were very nasty then," he said. He had seen what happened to the people who stood their ground. "The students were quite surprised to see how brutal the police were. They were really bloodied and banged up. We have some pictures from that time." He believed the police "were instructed to be very nasty," because by then "there was a lot of frustration because



DOWN THE STAIRS (ILLUSTRATION)

the government was failing there and we were losing and the lies that underlay our going there were revealed." It was the same building where, the October before, by the federal commission's account, demonstrators, newsmen and spectators had been beaten and sprayed with Mace.

That April the brutality was not only at the induction center. Martin Luther King was killed in Memphis on April 4, and two nights later, in West Oakland, Oakland police shot dead Bobby Hutton, the Black Panther Party's first recruit and its treasurer, after a confrontation at a house there that went on for an hour and a half. He was seventeen. About 1,500 people came to his funeral on April 12, at the Ephesians Church of God in Berkeley.

The April issue of *The Ally* showed what handing out the paper was like when somebody else did it. One of its staff, C. Herrero, wrote of passing out copies at the San Francisco airport "with a friend" and meeting four Marines who had read it. "In general, they didn't like it. One kept saying, 'I don't dig it.'" One of them, who "seemed about ten feet tall," grew angry, and Herrero, who had been a little worried about having "difficulty at the airport," got off with a verdict: "'You're just lengthening the war,' the big Marine said finally. 'Get out of my sight.'" The letters page gave both sides.

A soldier wrote on March 18 that the paper was "great, truly great," and that he had been "fortunate enough to get a copy before they were thrown in the trash by my platoon sergeant." Another, writing to one of the editors by her first name, warned that the paper might "miscalculate the mood of the vast majority of GI's," who were, "by and large," convinced "that what we are doing in Vietnam is the right thing." The paper printed him anyway.

The Ally went on coming out once a month, and its May issue shows what Daniel meant about translating from the Russian press. Low on the front page, under the heading "U.S. BUYS NAZI GAS," a short unsigned item began: "The Russian government newspaper Pravda reports that the American government has purchased Zyklon-B gas from West Germany." It cited *Izvestia* as well. Whether it was true was another matter, and the paper did not stop to ask; it was what Moscow was saying, put into English in Berkeley for American soldiers.

Beside it, the lead story had a better joke and better arithmetic. Under the headline "April Fool! More Men to Vietnam," it pointed out that on March 31 President Johnson had told the country on television that only 13,500 more men would go to Vietnam, and that "the very next

day" the Pentagon had put the figure "closer to 60,000."

The June issue, the last before Daniel went north, ran eight pages, with T. Billings still at the head of the staff box. On its second page was a boxed chronology called "Know Your War," which went back to the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and came, in due course, to August 1964. The destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy*, it said, had been "attacked," with the word in quotation marks: "Contradictory accounts leave it in doubt whether an attack really took place."

Until that time, the chronology added, only 163 Americans had been killed in Vietnam. On the next page the paper printed its own count of the cost since 1961, from government figures, under the heading "THE GI TOLL: 169,261." Of that number 22,951 had been killed. Daniel's view of the Gulf of Tonkin, in other words, was already in print in the paper he had helped to start.

Somewhere in those months the family's money was running short. "We had a child, our money was low," Daniel said, "and my mother was living with me, helping take care of Alex." Daniel had been working for the YMCA. And one day a family of Alaskans came to Berkeley High School to show a film. "When we first met the Meters at Berkeley High School for their presentation," he said, "they were wearing skin clothing, like from caribou. And Fred had this big grizzly bear necklace."

They were "these Alaskan wilderness people that came in to show their movie, their wildlife movie," and Daniel and Regina "got real interested in that." There were teenagers, too, who had "been having trouble with, especially with pot smoking," and their parents had a choice, as Daniel told it, between "juvenile home" and a summer in the Brooks Range with the Meters, "to see if they would straighten out." The Meters invited Daniel to go up with them. Their film was a long way from finished.

It would become, years later, a feature called *Year of the Caribou*, and the American Film Institute's catalogue records that its makers took an earlier version of it around the country in the late 1960s, showing it wherever people would come, which is how a family from the Brooks Range came to be standing in caribou skins in a Berkeley high school.

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In the summer of 1968, Daniel went north with the teenagers. "I didn't smoke pot," he said, which put him in a minority of the party. "Of course they brought suitcases full of pot with them, and they were all the time I was up there. They were running around in the lake naked and smoking pot and fornicating." The straightening out, if it happened, happened slowly. Daniel spent his own time on the hunting.

"It was a very interesting time," he said, "because we were also doing big game hunting for the Dall sheep. And Fred was making money by getting like these Florida doctors up there with their wives and going way up in the Brooks Range to hunt the sheep... for their head and so forth." His verdict was simple: "I thought this was great." He wrote to Regina about it, "a whole bunch of letters," which the family still has, and took pictures.

He missed a good deal at home. At the end of June and into July, Telegraph Avenue had several nights of disturbances. The *Barb* reported tear gas, then "the second tear gas attack," a curfew, a state of emergency that the city council later voted to end, and 134 arrests. The same issue carried a shooting from the other side of the city line.

It was not in Berkeley, the paper said, but in West Oakland, where nine officers had answered a call, eight shots had missed, and "a shotgun blast finally 'cut him down'": a black man killed, by the *Barb*'s account, "the SAME NIGHT all of Berkeley was 'sealed off.'" *The Ally* went on without him. Its July issue still printed T. Billings at the head of the staff box, and on its fifth page it printed a poem called "The Policeman," seven stanzas of hyphenated names for a policeman ("Hey, man! / It's the policeman!") that end "Why, it's the lawman!"

It was signed "T. Billings." On the front page was the story of an Army private who had refused his orders at the Oakland Army Base and been given three years at hard labor. On the sixth page a twenty-four-year-old University of California graduate student, known on the campus for demonstrating against the war dressed as the

Grim Reaper, had been sentenced by a federal judge to four years in prison for refusing induction. Beside him, under "Ten GIs Get Asylum in Sweden," was a serviceman from Memphis who had been given a Purple Heart by President Johnson in a hospital ward at Cam Ranh Bay and had since deserted, reaching Stockholm by way of Moscow, where he and five others had "appeared on Soviet television to denounce the war."

When he came back at the end of the summer, he and Regina made up their minds. "When I came back to Berkeley at the end of the summer of 68," he said, "we said, oh, but goodness, let's go up to Alaska with these people."

In the fall of 1968, Daniel left the university. "I dropped out of," he said, "it was a trimester system and I completed the second one of the second year there. And I dropped out." His word was close enough. Under the new calendar, the year had three terms, and the second of them, the winter quarter, ran from early January to the middle of March. He went to work in a factory.

"I went to work in the American Can Company in Oakland, which was an extremely noisy job. You had to have headphones, and I worked with a magnet, like going around picking up can scraps under these machines, just making Coke cans." American Can had a plant at 3801 East 8th Street in Oakland, one enormous single-story building making soldered and welded steel cans and can ends. The federal minimum wage that year was $1.60 an hour. What Daniel was paid, he did not say.

"And we were still doing the Ally," he said, "putting out editions of the Ally." But the paper was changing hands, as he had meant it to. In September the staff names disappeared from the box. *The Ally* now described itself as the work of "an independent group of citizens, reservists, veterans, and active-duty GIs," and that month's editorial was written by two serving airmen. By October the editorial was signed by Clark Smith, and the paper was growing fast.

"We've gone from 6,000 to 20,000 circulation in two months," the editors wrote, and asked for money and for "gobs of six cent stamps." The letters page, "Sound off!," was full. One soldier wrote that "The Ally really beats the AF propaganda sheet, 'The Stars and Stripes.'" "It was very popular," Daniel said. "It was taken over entirely from students who knew nothing about it but were just on deferments, and it was taken on by actual former veterans that had experienced the conditions in Vietnam and it went very well."

Just across the Bay, on October 14, twenty-seven prisoners in the Army stockade at the Presidio of San Francisco sat down on the lawn, linked arms and sang "We Shall Overcome," for which the Army charged them with mutiny. It was the kind of reader *The Ally* had been started for. Daniel believed the paper had reached further still. "People like John Kerry," he said, "they were probably using it," because Kerry "was an anti-war Vietnam veteran." Vietnam Veterans Against the War had been founded in 1967, and Kerry would become its best-known spokesman, but no record found for this book connects him with *The Ally*; Daniel's "probably" is the honest word for it.

By the end of the year the decision was made. Daniel gave his reasons plainly. One was the work he had trained for. "It just wasn't clear, you know, how does one... get a career, for example, in Slavic languages. It's like there's one job per 1,000 applicants. And then you have to go through about a 10-year process to get your PhD because you take the classes. Then you have to do all this other shit to get a thesis approved."

Another was the town, as it had become. "And so we had this chance," he said, "just to get out of there." The last word was the simplest. "So anyway, it was very refreshing. So we go to Alaska. And we went there on January 1st of 1969." Regina was four months pregnant with Yana, and Alex was not yet two.

The Ally outlived its beginnings by a long way. It kept going for nearly six years, longer than most of the GI papers, and its last issue, number 43, was dated January 1974; Daniel remembered it going on to forty-eight. T. Billings had last appeared in its staff box in August 1968. Berkeley, too, went on without them. On May 15, 1969, at People's Park, sheriff's deputies fired tear gas and shotguns at the crowd, and a young man named

James Rector, watching from a roof, died four days later.

That was the shooting Daniel remembered: "a number of students were actually shot by shotguns in the park there," he said, and it happened, as he said, "when I was away in the Brooks Range." The papers of *The Ally*'s editor, Clark Smith, are in the Wisconsin Historical Society, closed to researchers until 2030, so the full story of who started the paper in a Berkeley living room is not yet to be had. Daniel kept his own copies, "number one, two, and three," and the bundle of letters from the summer of 1968. The rest of the story is Alaska's.

THE RECORDS

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